

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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THE
ADVENTURES
OF
ROBINSON CRUSOE.

BY
DANIEL DE FOE.

WITH
MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATED BY
SEPARATE PLATES,
AND NUMEROUS WOODCUTS INSERTED IN THE TEXT,
DESIGNED BY
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INDEX TO ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.....	xiii

CHAPTER I.

Robinson Crusoe declares his birth and parentage—He inclines to a seafaring life—His father expostulates with him—Visits Hull, where a companion tempts him to take a trip by sea—A storm arises, in the midst of which he reflects on his disobedient conduct—The ship springs a leak, and goes down in Yarmouth Roads—Escapes to the shore in a boat—Is advised not to go to sea again, but is unwilling to return home, and travels to London..... 1

CHAPTER II.

Crusoe makes the acquaintance of the captain of a merchant vessel bound for the African coast, and embarks as a trading adventurer—Takes a fever, learns how to navigate a ship, and returns enriched—On the death of the captain he makes a second voyage with the mate—The ship is taken by Turkish pirates, whose leader makes Crusoe his slave—Fishing off the Morocco coast, he contrives an escape—The Moor is thrown overboard, and swims for his life—Sets sail with the Moresco boy—Dangers of coasting—An African Lion—Steers for the south—Falls in with savages, who supply him with provisions—Shoots a leopard, whereat the natives are astonished and terrified—Is picked up by a Portuguese merchantman—Sells the Moresco boy, with a reservation—Arrives at the Brazils..... 13

CHAPTER III.

Crusoe buys land, and becomes a planter—The Portuguese captain continues his good offices—The plantation succeeds, but prosperity does not bring contentment—Becomes supercargo of a slaver—A hurricane—The ship is driven westward, and strikes on a sandbank—The crew take to their boat, which is swamped—All are

drowned, except Crusoe, who is washed against a rock, and succeeds in reaching the mainland—He rejoices at his deliverance, reflects on his position, and remembers that he has neither food for sustenance nor weapons for defence—Sleeps in a tree	30
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

Crusoe, on waking in the morning, sees the ship lying a-ground high out of the water—He comes down from the tree—Swims to the ship—Constructs a raft, which he loads with stores, and guides with difficulty to the shore—Surveys the country, and discovers that it is an island and uninhabited—Shoots a bird, the flesh of which proves to be carrion—Unloads the raft, and erects a hut—Swims to the ship again, and brings a second cargo ashore—On his return is confronted by a wild cat, which discovers a disposition to be friendly—Makes a tent, which he furnishes and fortifies—Repeats his visits to the ship, which he strips of its contents—Removes his tent to a more advantageous site, and fences it strongly—Kills a she-goat, and is grieved thereat	42
--	----

CHAPTER V.

Crusoe sets up a wooden cross, on which he inscribes the date of his landing, and keeps his reckoning of time—He seriously considers his position, and, balancing the good in it against the evil, arrives at the conclusion that he is not altogether miserable—Makes various articles of furniture for his house, with the aid of the tools found in the ship—Keeps a Journal.....	57
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

Crusoe enlarges upon the circumstances noted in his Journal, and details his difficulties—Is surprised by the appearance of barley growing out of the ground—At first supposes that Providence has specially intervened on his behalf, but afterwards remembers that the barley was accidentally sown—Prudently preserves the grain for seed—The Journal resumed—Is startled by an earthquake, which is followed by a hurricane—Recovers various articles from the wreck, which have been cast ashore in the storm—Finds a turtle, and cooks it—Falls ill, and is alarmed by a terrible dream—Reproaches himself on account of his past life, and reflects upon his present miseries	68
--	----

CHAPTER VII.

The Journal resumed—Crusoe's thoughts during his illness—His reflections on the dealings of Providence with him—Finds a Bible in a seaman's chest which is cast on shore, and is consoled and encouraged by the reading of it—Tobacco as a remedial agent—His first prayer—Finds deliverance from sin a greater blessing than deliverance from affliction—Convalescence—Takes a fresh survey of the Island, and discovers tobacco, aloes, lemons, melons, grapes, and wild sugar-canes—Gathers grapes, limes, and lemons, to store up for the winter—His lost cat returns with a family of kittens	81
--	----

CHAPTER VIII.

	PAGE
The Journal continued—Crusoe celebrates the anniversary of his landing on the island by a solemn fast—Sets apart every seventh day for a Sabbath—His ink beginning to fail, he only records remarkable events in his Journal—Sows a portion of the grain he had saved, at the wrong season, and learns something worth knowing from the experiment—A new division of the seasons—Turns his early habit of observing to account, in making baskets—Makes a journey through the island, and comes to a spot where the shore is covered with turtles—Loses his way in the interior, and returns to the shore, from whence he reaches his home—Catches and tames a young kid—The second anniversary of his landing—Reflections—Difficulties overcome by labour and patience.....	93

CHAPTER IX.

Crusoe in trouble about his growing crops, which are attacked by goats and birds—He delivers himself from these enemies, and reaps his corn—Is perplexed how to make bread of it, and determines to preserve the whole crop for seed—Makes a spade—In-door employment in the rainy season—Teaches his parrot to talk—Makes pottery, and a mortar to grind his corn in—His first baking—A new harvest—Contemplates escaping from the island—Constructs a boat, but is unable to launch it—Begins to cut a canal, but gives up the attempt in despair—Fresh reflections.....	104
--	-----

CHAPTER X.

Crusoe makes and launches a boat—Leaves the island in search of the main land, and encounters unexpected dangers—He despairs of getting back again—Returns to the island, and on reaching home is startled by the greeting of his parrot—Perfects himself in the making of earthenware and baskets—His contrivances to snare the goats which devour his corn—He catches and tames them—At home with his family—He describes his personal appearance—Sets out on a new journey through the island	122
--	-----

CHAPTER XI.

Crusoe is surprised by the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, and fears an attack from savages—Erects a second fortification round his dwelling—Discovers the remains of a feast of cannibals.....	137
---	-----

CHAPTER XII.

Crusoe takes precautions against an incursion of the savages—Lives a more retired life—His principal employment, the milking of his goats, and the management of his flock—Is surprised by an old he-goat in a cave—Discovers a party of cannibals on the shore—A ship in distress—Finds the body of a drowned boy cast on shore—Laments that not one of the crew has been saved, and feels more solitary than ever—Goes off to the wreck in his boat, and finds the only living thing on board to be a dog—Loads his boat with money-bags, clothes, etc., and returns to the shore—Reflections	155
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

The four-and-twentieth year of Crusoe's sojourn on the island—He dreams about the savages—He conceives the design of getting a savage into his possession—The cannibals visit the island again, and proceed to slay the prisoners they bring with them—The dream is fulfilled—One of the savages escapes, but is pursued—Crusoe knocks down one of the pursuers, and shoots the other—He welcomes the fugitive, whom he encourages to slay the second of his enemies—Names his savage, Friday—Instructs and clothes him—Human companionship almost reconciles him to his lot... 175

CHAPTER XIV.

Crusoe attempts to reclaim Friday from cannibalism, and converses with him about his country and its inhabitants—Instructs him in the knowledge of the true God, and exposes the delusions of Pagan priestcraft—Friday finds it difficult to account for the existence of evil—The savage becomes a Christian, and Crusoe is completely happy..... 188

CHAPTER XV.

Crusoe teaches Friday the use of fire-arms, and describes to him the countries of Europe—They make a boat, and fit it with masts and sails—Friday is instructed how to navigate it—The savages again visit the island—They are attacked and routed—Crusoe rescues a Spaniard, their prisoner, and Friday discovers his father..... 199

CHAPTER XVI.

Crusoe's subjects and their religions—The dead bodies of the slain savages are buried—The Spaniard and Friday's father set out for the mainland to fetch Europeans who had been shipwrecked there—In their absence Crusoe is surprised by the appearance of a boat-load of mutinous sailors, who bring their officers to the island to murder them—Crusoe releases the prisoners—The mutineers are attacked and defeated..... 217

CHAPTER XVII.

Crusoe and the captain consult how they may recover the ship from the mutineers—In the meanwhile a fresh party come ashore—An ambuscade is contrived, and the mutineers lay down their arms—The captain promises mercy to all except Will Atkins—The ship taken from the mutineers—Crusoe leaves the island, in which he had lived for twenty-eight years 231

CHAPTER XVIII.

Crusoe arrives in England, and finds that most of his relations are dead, and that his benefactor and steward has fallen into misfortune—He goes to Lisbon, where he makes himself known to the captain of the ship who took him up at sea, and is put

in the way of recovering his property in the Brazils—His possessions are restored, and he finds himself a wealthy man—Makes arrangements for the conduct of his estate, and sets out for England by way of Spain—An encounter with wolves—Friday makes merry with a bear—Crusoe arrives in England, and settles there..... 248

CHAPTER XIX.

Crusoe's reflections in England—He dreams of his island, and conceives a desire to return to it, which his wife discovers—Resolves to divert his thoughts, and begins farming in Bedfordshire—On the death of his wife, he determines to re-visit his island, and sets sail in an Indiaman, which is to touch at the Brazils—The vessel is driven by contrary winds on the coast of Galway, which leads to new adventures—Falls in with a French merchant vessel on fire, and delivers the crew, who are carried to Newfoundland—Steers thence for the West Indies, and falls in with a Bristol ship, the crew and passengers of which are famishing. 272

CHAPTER XX.

Crusoe arrives at his island, which he finds with some difficulty, having discovered, in his search for it, that that which he previously supposed to be a continent, was, in reality, a group of islands—Friday is very joyous upon seeing the old place—The first person Crusoe meets is the Spaniard whose life he saved—Friday meets with his father—Crusoe discovers that the English sailors he left behind have behaved badly—The history of the island during his absence..... 295

CHAPTER XXI.

The islanders are greatly relieved by the arrival of Crusoe, who furnishes them with tools of all kinds—The Spaniards recount their adventures among the savages before they came to the island, and describe their joy at being delivered—Will Atkins, who had been the ringleader of the English sailors in their evil doings, having shown a better disposition, the Spaniards take him and his companions into their confidence—The island is divided into three colonies—The French priest, whom Crusoe had brought out of the ship relieved by him at sea, proposes certain reforms—Conversion of Will Atkins' Indian wife—The English sailors are married—A religious conversation—Crusoe leaves the island in a hopeful condition..... 335

CHAPTER XXII.

Crusoe encounters a fleet of Indian canoes at sea—The savages attack his vessel—Friday is killed—Crusoe arrives at Brazil, where he gets his sloop set up, and despatches it, laden with live-stock, to his island—Sets sail for the East Indies—Touches at Madagascar, where they are well received by the natives—The crime of one of the sailors is avenged by his death, whereupon the crew commence a general massacre, which Crusoe vainly attempts to stay—On resuming the voyage, he reproaches the sailors, who at length mutiny, and leave him on shore at Bengal..... 352

CHAPTER XXIII.

At Bengal, Crusoe meets with an English merchant, with whom he enters into partnership, and makes a voyage to Siam and China—They return to Bengal, where they purchase a Dutch coasting vessel, which they afterwards discover the crew had run away with—Their new purchase brings them into danger, as they are mistaken for pirates, and chased by English and Dutch boats—They beat off their pursuers, and set sail for Cochin China, where they have an encounter with the natives—They arrive at Quinchang, where they part from their ship—Crusoe visits Nankin and Pekin, and travels with a caravan of merchants through Tartary and Russia—Winters in Siberia—Sails from Archangel to Hamburg—Arrives in England, after an absence of nearly eleven years, and determines to wander no more..... 366

INDEX TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

SEPARATE PLATES.

	PAGE
CRUSOE STEERING HIS RAFT FROM THE WRECK.....	45
CRUSOE AND HIS GOAT	66
THE ANNIVERSARY OF CRUSOE'S LANDING	93
CRUSOE'S FAMILY	132
CRUSOE MEETING WITH FRIDAY.....	182
FRIDAY INSTRUCTED IN BOAT BUILDING	204
A RELIGIOUS CONVERSATION	350
CRUSOE RESCUING THE INDIANS.....	362

WOODCUTS IN THE TEXT.

PORTRAIT OF DANIEL DE FOE	xiii
HIS BOOKS BURNT	xxv
DE FOE IN THE PILLORY.....	xxvi
IN NEWGATE	xxvii
THE RESTING PLACE.....	xxxì
CRUSOE AND HIS FATHER	4
AN ADVENTURE WITH A LION.....	23
THE PEAK OF TENERIFFE.....	29
CRUSOE CAST ASHORE	40
THE FIRST GUN FIRED ON THE ISLAND	48
THE SHE-GOAT AND HER KID	54
MEDITATION IN SICKNESS.....	81
THE FIRST PRAYER	85
A WALK BY THE SEA SHORE.....	97

	PAGE
CRUSOE GATHERS IN HIS HARVEST.....	104
A PERILOUS CRUISE	124
CRUSOE'S BOWER	128
THE FOOTPRINT DISCOVERED	137
THE PLACE OF SKULLS.....	148
MILKING GOATS.....	156
DISCOVERING SAVAGES	164
THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR BOY.....	168
VISITING THE WRECK	172
CRUSOE'S HOUSE	174
A DISCOURSE WITH FRIDAY.....	193
FRIDAY INSTRUCTED IN NAVIGATION.....	208
A RAZZIA AMONG THE SAVAGES	209
THE SPANISH PRISONER RESCUED	212
CRUSOE'S DEPARTURE FROM THE ISLAND	248
AN ENCOUNTER WITH WOLVES	261
THE SHIP ON FIRE	281
A BROIL ON THE ISLAND.....	316
A STORM AT SEA	351
DEATH OF FRIDAY.....	352
A FIGHT WITH THE COCHIN CHINESE	372
A CHINESE DON TRAVELLING.....	376
DINING <i>al fresco</i>	377
CRUSOE IN RETIREMENT	384



DANIEL DE FOE.



CONCERNING the ancestry, immediate or remote, of the great man who invented "Robinson Crusoe," little is known. That little, however, as might be reasonably expected of a stock from whence sprung so good a man, is fair and honourable; which, to my thinking—that is, to the thinking of an individual who cherishes the warmest love and regard for dear old Crusoe—is an exceedingly comfortable fact to reflect on. True, it would have mattered little to his fame as a story-wright, had De Foe been no better than a brawling tavern-haunter, and his father and grandfather mere men of the mob; but it would have been very painful to Crusoe's ten thousand friends and acquaintances to have made the discovery. The peculiarities of

the case should be considered. There can be no doubt that, as a rule, nine-tenths of the number of boy readers who peruse Robinson Crusoe's adventures have the most implicit belief that that hero once existed in the flesh: and this though they are aware that the matter was *written* by Daniel De Foe. For *written* they read *narrated*; and, if they think about De Foe at all, it is as a good sort of fellow who wrote from Crusoe's dictation,—an individual to whom the doughty adventurer was under considerable obligation. It is a severe blow to the young and trusting mind to discover that their darling solitary-islander is, after all, a fictitious personage that lived only in the brain of a romancist, as did Jack the Giant-killer; but if, in addition, truth insisted on the further explanation that the said romancist was a sot or a coxcomb, or a surly fellow, who wielded his pen for bread as a toy-maker handles his tools, and with as sincere contempt for his fantastic handiwork, the disappointment would indeed be complete.

De Foe's ancestry can be traced no further than his grandfather. He was a jovial country gentleman, living on his own estate, at Elton, in Northamptonshire, sowing and reaping for his profit, and following the hounds for his pleasure. It is not recorded that De Foe, the yeoman, was a public man, or that he at all meddled with the affairs of State; still it is shown that he was not indifferent concerning such matters, and that he followed, or at least countenanced, the common practice of the men of his time, of bestowing the names borne by statesmen not of their party on dogs and other animals of low degree. Says De Foe:—"I remember my grandfather had a huntsman that used the same familiarity with his dogs; and he had his Roundhead and his Cavalier, his Goring and his Waller, and all the generals of both armies were hounds in his pack, till, the times turning, the old gentleman was fain to scatter the pack, and make them up of more dog-like surnames."

The jovial fox-hunting squire had among his sons one named James.

Concerning the boyhood of this person nothing is recorded until we hear of his being bound apprentice to a certain John Levit, a butcher, of London; and, having duly served his master, we find him a master butcher in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and of habits altogether different from those of his respected father, inasmuch as he was a man of sober mind, and a strict Nonconformist, and, with his wife, among the most constant adherents of the Rev. Dr. Annesley.

Young Daniel is supposed to have been born in St. Giles's parish, but the registration of his birth does not exist in the parish records. This, however, may be explained. As before-mentioned, his parents were strict Nonconformists; and their pastor, Dr. Annesley, was, for a considerable period after James Foe the butcher had settled in business, the ordained minister of St. Giles's parish church. The severe and simple teachings of this good man, however, gave offence, and he was ejected from the living. After this, Dr. Annesley established a meeting-house in Little St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, whither the Foe family, with the majority of his old congregation, followed him. This alteration probably took place shortly before Daniel was born; and when that auspicious event occurred, the boy's parents found themselves in a strait concerning his registration. The foolish Church that had closed its doors against their pastor was not the place to which the sturdy Nonconformist's child could be carried; at the little meeting-house the ceremony could not be performed; and so the birthday of the great Daniel Foe remained unchronicled.

He is above spoken of as named "Foe," and correctly; for, however good his claim may have been to the prefix "De," his father and his grandfather did not adopt it. They were plain Foes; and a plain Foe our hero was born, in the year 1661. (Some few authorities give the date 1664.) Hazlitt remarks:—"Upon what occasion it was that De Foe made the alteration in his name, by connecting it with the foreign prefix, nowhere appears. His motive was probably a dislike to his original name, either

for its import or its harshness; or he might have been desirous of restoring it to its Norman origin." The period at which he adopted the new title also is not clear. It would almost seem that he must have been past the middle age before the alteration occurred to him; for, while at the age of forty-two, and while he was long a prisoner in Newgate for his offences against the State, he thus replies to one of his numerous enemies who had sneered at his name in connection with De Foe's own newspaper, the *Review*:—"If the gentleman has a favourable opinion of the *Review*, we fancy he will not dislike it upon the account of the author's name, as like a thing which he himself is not, being a Foe in name only, not in nature to anybody."

Of young De Foe's childhood little or nothing is positively known. Judging, however, from the man that sprung from the child, it is impossible to conceive him anything but a studious, frank, honest boy, with sufficient, perhaps, of his father's severity and bluntness to get him into scrapes innumerable, and certainly with sufficient fortitude to bear manfully the punishment thus brought upon him. It may, too, be fairly assumed that he was a daring and venturesome boy,—the sort of boy, in fact, who runs away to sea. But these are mere speculations, for which space cannot here be permitted. It cannot, however, but be regretted that more of such a man's boyhood is not known. Possessing but the merest foreshadowings of the imagination that could conjure up "Robinson Crusoe," with all his vicissitudes, adventures, and variable fortunes, an account of his behaviour from ten till fourteen years of age would be vastly interesting.

At the age of fourteen Daniel was placed under the care of the Rev. Charles Morton, who kept an academy for young gentlemen at Newington Green. "This gentleman," says De Foe, "was a polite and profound scholar; a master who taught nothing, either in politics or science, which was dangerous to monarchical government, or which was improper for a

diligent scholar to know." De Foe further declares that he left Dr. Morton's school with a considerable store of learning. Five languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, geography, and history were among his acquisitions.

He remained at school till he was nineteen, when he is again lost sight of for two years, and then appears with his first printed effusion. This, according to Chadwick, was a pamphlet on the then raging war between the Austrians and Turks, and in which he opposed the popular clamour, and pointed out the disastrous consequences likely to ensue from assisting the Turks against their enemies, who, as he observes, "were at least Christians." Hazlitt and others, however, assert that De Foe's first literary production was a lampoon directed against Roger L'Estrange, who shortly before had published a "Guide to the Inferior Clergy." The title of De Foe's pamphlet was "Speculum Crape-Gownorium; or a Looking-Glass for the young Academicks new Foyled, &c. By a Guide to the Inferior Clergy." L'Estrange had in his publication directed the heaviest and sharpest shafts of his wit against the Dissenters, but they were impotent as reeds compared with De Foe's rejoicing onslaught on the weaknesses of the Established clergy.

From this period—1682 to 1685—De Foe's mark is missing from the pages of history. Then we have the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, and the doughty Daniel De Foe, a hot-blooded young man of twenty-four, enlisted in his cause,—not with his pen, but practically; equipped as a soldier, and wearing a sword. The disastrous termination of the Monmouth attempt is well known; and De Foe with many others laid down the unprofitable sword, and returned to their peaceful and proper callings.

De Foe, who does not seem as yet to have embarked in any other business speculation save that of pamphlet printing, now turned his attention seriously to citizen life, and established himself in Freeman's Yard, Corn-

hill, as a hosier, or, according to Hazlitt, "as a hose-factor or middle-man between the manufacturer and retail dealer." Whatever its exact nature, the Freeman's Yard business must have proved tolerably satisfactory; for within two years De Foe had come so far to regard himself as a man whose future was settled, that, on his application, he was admitted a Liveryman of London on the 26th of January, 1688.

De Foe continued ten years in the hosiery business. He was not, however, so utterly devoted to it that the dangers of the nation escaped him. Within the above-mentioned ten years several most important events in English history transpired, and with the chief of which our hero was associated. About 1686, the King (James II.), actuated by craft and cowardice, held out to all religious sects and creeds a project of general toleration—Dissenters were to be allowed as much freedom of speech and action as members of the Established Church, and Papists as both. Such a pretence of generosity on the part of the King was well calculated to find favour with men as oppressed as were the Dissenters of the period; but although their desire for toleration was great, their hatred of Popery was greater, and as a body they stood firm against the proposition. At such a time, and in such a cause, De Foe was not likely to be idle. "Was ever anything more absurd," wrote he, "than this conduct of King James and his party in wheedling the Dissenters? Giving them liberty of conscience by his own arbitrary dispensing authority, and his expecting they should be content with their religious liberty at the expense of their constitution? a thing, though a few were deluded with, yet the body of Dissenters saw through. The strain, indeed, was laid deep and subtilly; but this was plain to everybody, that it was wholly inconsistent with Popish interests to protect the Dissenters any otherwise than it was made a project to create a feud between them and the Church, and in the end destroy both." De Foe afterwards stated that he did his utmost to oppose the scheme, and that he wrote two tracts on the subject.

This behaviour of the King created much discontent among all classes of his subjects; till at last certain of the nobility and gentry, and even clergy—including the University of Oxford—petitioned the Prince of Orange to come and take possession of the distracted kingdom. The Prince replied with alacrity, and on the 4th of November, 1688—being both his birth and marriage day—landed at Torbay with fifteen thousand men. His march to London was an uninterrupted triumph. The people so far from resenting the invasion welcomed the invader as a deliverer, and greeted him and his host with tumultuous joy. De Foe was an ardent admirer of this revolution. When he heard the news that the army of the Prince of Orange was approaching the city, he set out as far as Henley to meet it, and joined the motley troop of Dutch soldiers and English soldiers, and renegade statesmen, and disaffected clergy and citizens, in their march to Whitehall. The 4th of November was ever after regarded by De Foe as a sacred day—"a day famous on various accounts, and every one of them dear to Britons who love their country, value the Protestant interest, or have an aversion to tyranny and oppression. On this day he (the Prince of Orange) was born; on this day he married the daughter of England; and on this day he rescued the nation from a bondage worse than that of Egypt—a bondage of soul as well as bodily servitude; a slavery to the ambition and raging lust of a generation set on fire by pride, avarice, cruelty, and blood." The revolution was thus consummated without bloodshed; and the last of the Stuarts, finding a throne without the support of the people untenable, fled to France, where he was well received by the reigning monarch.

It may be assumed from passages that occur in some of his pamphlets, that during his occupancy of the Freeman's Yard warehouse, De Foe had a country house in Surrey. He was instrumental in forming the first regular Dissenting congregation at Tooting, the Rev. Joshua Oldfield being elected their pastor.

De Foe, in his pamphlets, repeatedly repudiates the occupation of an hosier and claims to be a trader—a general merchant. Oldmixon, one of De Foe's most annoying enemies, says, "he never had been a merchant, otherwise than peddling a little to Portugal." There is every reason to believe, however, that during his ten years' experience as a trader he made several voyages to Spain and Portugal, and he himself declares that he resided in Spain long enough to acquire the language of that country. He had some connexion also with Dutch commerce. He is alluded to contemptuously as a "civet-cat merchant;" but, says Hazlitt, "it was probably the drug, rather than the animal, in which he traded."

Whatever may have been the nature of the various enterprises De Foe embarked in during the said ten years, it is certain that they landed him a bankrupt, and he had to fly from his creditors. Various causes have been assigned for this collapse of his fortune; but it must be the boldest speculation to speak of the reasons of a man's failing in business when it is actually unknown what the nature of that business was. His debts amounted to several thousand pounds; and now his behaviour showed him something more than a "pedlar" or a man whose heart was in the till of a hosiery shop. He might—and still have been nothing below the average "trade mark"—have availed himself of the bankruptcy law, and to a very large extent have eluded the payment of his obligations. Had he done so, however, he would have been false to his own noble teaching, "Never think yourself discharged in conscience though you may be discharged in law. No title of honour, no recorded merit, no mark of distinction, can exceed that lasting appellation, an *honest man*. The obligations of an honest mind can never die. He that lies buried under such an epitaph has more said of him than volumes of history can contain. The payment of debts after fair discharge, is the dearest title to such a character that I know: and how any man can begin again and hope for a blessing from Heaven, or favour from man, without such a resolution, I know not." The debts

incurred during his trading were subsequently paid to the uttermost farthing.

To what part of the kingdom De Foe fled, that he might in quiet arrange his affairs, and at the same time avoid the horrors of a debtors' prison, is not certain. Probably Bristol was his hiding place. There is a tolerably well-authenticated story of his appearing in a certain quarter of that city, handsomely dressed with flowing wig, lace ruffles, and a sword at his side—*but only on Sundays*. “He there attained the name of the Sunday Gentleman, because through fear of the bailiffs he dare not appear in public on any other day.”

At this time he was thirty-four years old, and, having arranged his pecuniary affairs, he was offered and accepted a situation in the glass duty commission. This, however, he only retained for four years, as at the expiration of that time the glass tax was repealed. About this time he became secretary to a tile and brick making concern at Tilbury, in Essex. He must have had a considerable share in the monetary affairs of the business, for on its failure in 1703, De Foe's personal loss was three thousand pounds.

His duties, however, as a collector of taxes, or secretary at the tile works, did not induce him to throw aside his pen. From 1695 till 1701 he wrote and published numerous works and pamphlets. His “*Essay on Prospects*,” which appeared in 1697, is remarkable for the soundness and ingenuity of its arguments, as well as for the novel views it advocates. A tract in defence of the necessity of the maintenance of an English standing army was published by him in 1697, and shortly afterwards another tract on the same subject appeared. The subject was making considerable stir in the country at the time. The treaty of Ryswick had just been signed, and consequently a large army which had been engaged in the French war was now entirely without employment. It was the popular wish that this force should be disbanded. Tradition and precedent alike strengthened the

prevailing notion that a standing army was of all institutions the most to be dreaded in a country famous for its maintenance of civil and religious liberty. This however was, in the opinion of the wise King, a time when precedent should be disregarded, and a deaf ear turned to the shallow reasoning of the majority of his subjects. There were substantial grounds for this: James, the late King of England, was residing with the King of France, whose army was immense, skilfully generalled, and eager for active service. King James had not forgotten that he had an hereditary right to the English throne, and there were among the English people thousands who likewise remembered that fact, and who would be ready, at a fair opportunity, to push it to an issue. This, then, was no time for the reigning King of England to abate his defensive strength, but the rather to increase it. With all the vigour of his pen De Foe defended the King's policy, and the King was not ungrateful.

De Foe now appears to have devoted himself solely, and with considerable energy, to literary pursuits. Numerous works, both in poetry and prose, emanated from his fertile pen, the bare enumeration of which would occupy almost as many pages as are here devoted to his whole life. One of the most remarkable, however, and which more closely than ever attracted the King to him, was "The True-born Englishman," a satirical poem which made its appearance in 1701, and when the author was in his fortieth year. The phrase "True-born Englishman" was constantly in the mouths of those who were disaffected towards the King and his countrymen the Dutch. By this little sentence the malcontents expressed their immense superiority to the great Dutchman who ruled them, and to all his adherents; when a man declared "I am a true-born Englishman," it was as though he had said "I am an enemy to the King." De Foe's admiration of the King was very great: he was "his hero, his deliverer, his friend; he was bound to him by the ties of patriotism, of religion, and of personal obligation." Pamphleteers of all grades, taking the cant watch-

word as their cue, had indulged in the most scandalous libels against His Majesty, and it was to answer them, and through them their employers and admirers, that De Foe penned his satirical poem. His description of the origin of the "True-born Englishman" will serve as an example of the entire production.

These are the heroes who despise the Dutch
 And rail at new-come foreigners so much,
 Forgetting that themselves are all derived
 From the most scoundrel race that ever lived :
 A horrid crowd of rambling thieves and drones,
 Who ransacked kingdoms and dispeopled towns :
 The Pict and painted Briton, treacherous Scot,
 By hunger, theft, and rapine, hither brought ;
 Norwegian pirates, buccaneering Danes,
 Who, joined with Norman French, compound the breed
 From whence your true-born Englishmen proceed.

As might reasonably be expected, although a reply to his enemies couched in such language pleased King William not a little, and had the effect of stopping their clamour, it in no way tended to alter their opinions or to promote their esteem for Daniel De Foe, the writer. The poem had an enormous sale—at least eighty thousand copies finding their way into the hands of an equal number of Englishmen, "true-born" or otherwise.

From this time De Foe was high in favour with the King, who employed him in many secret services the nature of which is not known. In one of his "Reviews," published about ten years after the King's death, this bold counsellor tells how that he advised His Majesty "to send a strong fleet to the Havannah to seize that part of the island in which it is situated, and from thence to seize and secure the possession at least of the coast, if not by consequence the *Terra Firma*, of the Empire of Mexico, and thereby entirely cut off the Spanish commerce and the return of their plate ships, by the immense riches whereof, and by which only, both France and Spain have been enabled to support this war."

De Foe's career as a courtier was, however, cut short by the death of his royal patron, which took place on the 8th of March, 1702. No sooner was the lion dead than the host of curs who since the publication of "The True-born Englishman" had vented their spleen in smothered growls, again gave tongue and heaped scandal and abuse on the "dead Dutchman"—one pamphlet more prominent than the rest appearing with the title "The Mourners." To this De Foe replied by a dignified letter calling it "The Mock Mourners," sufficiently forcible to still the mirth of the dead King's cowardly defamers.

With Anne for Queen came in fresh troubles for the Dissenters. Advised doubtless by those whose interest that way lay, the Queen, from the moment of her accession to the throne, made it her business to conciliate the Church at all risks. "Sacheverell and the Established Church, and extermination to Dissenters," became a popular cry; and there was nothing left for De Foe but again to take the helm and endeavour to steer his co-religionists through the storm that lowered on every side. With the view of warning them he published "A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty," and shortly afterwards "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters," which is regarded as one of the finest pieces of satire and irony ever composed—indeed its extreme cleverness militated against it. The High Church, against whom the satire was of course levelled, failed to see or feel the hidden sting, and, taking the pamphlet, rejoiced at winning over so powerful an advocate to their cause; while the Dissenters, with marvellous dulness, especially as they had had so many proofs of De Foe's sincerity, failed likewise to catch the true meaning of the tract, and regarded their unwearying champion as a traitor—a wolf that at last had thrown off his disguise.

In this strait De Foe was reduced to the necessity of publishing an *explanation* to his pamphlet; but this only made bad worse, for while it failed to convince his fellow Dissenters of the injustice of which they had

been guilty, the eyes of the Churchmen were opened to the folly they had been betrayed into, and they suddenly turned from glorying in their new champion to hating him as a villain double-dyed. An advertisement was inserted in the *London Gazette* for the apprehension of "Daniel De Foe, alias De Foee, a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brownish complexion and dark brown-coloured hair, a hooked nose, a sharp chin, and a large mole near his mouth." At the same time it was resolved in the House of Commons, "That this book, being full of scandalous reflections on the Parliament, and tending to promote sedition, be burnt by the hands of the common hangman to-morrow in New Palace Yard."



His Books Burnt.

In this predicament he was forced to go into hiding to save himself from a gaol. This course, however, he soon abandoned. The offer of a reward of fifty pounds for his apprehension, was followed by the arrest of the printer and publisher of the obnoxious pamphlet, so he generously

came forward and gave himself up to the Government. He was brought to trial, and the penalty of his crime was fixed at a fine of two hundred marks, three separate standings in the pillory, and imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure; and, when that expired, he was to find substantial securities for his good behaviour during the following seven years.

It happened, however, that although De Foe had lost the faith of his old friends, and earned for himself the extreme hatred of his enemies, he was the idol of the crowd; and, when he was led out to the pillory, a vast mob accompanied him, cheering as lustily as though they had elected him king, and were about to crown him. As for the pillory, it was hung with garlands of flowers; and, while he stood in it, the mob made a merry time of it, cheering him and drinking his health, and converting what was intended as a degrading punishment into a famous triumph.



In the Pillory.

The imprisonment in Newgate had to be endured for several months. However, this time was not passed by the great man in an idle way. Novels and pamphlets were projected, and a complete edition of his works collected and printed. It was while he was a tenant of Newgate also that the *Review* was established—a publication which appeared two or three times a week for several years. It was entirely written by De Foe. At last,

in August, 1704, through the instrumentality of Mr. Harley, then Secretary of State, the prisoner was released. After all, it would not seem to have been the Queen's *pleasure* that he remained in Newgate so long, for when she was informed of the facts of his case, she not only gave him his liberty, but forwarded him by Lord Godolphin a considerable sum of money, wherewith he was enabled to pay his debts and re-establish his home.



In Newgate.

To recruit his health, De Foe now retired with his family to Bury St. Edmunds, continuing his literary labours, however, with untiring energy. In 1706 he was commissioned by the Government to visit Scotland, with a view of assisting in the formation of a union between the two countries. So ably did he acquit himself of this mission, that in 1708 a pension was granted him. Political changes, however, soon deprived him of this benefit.

Being once more dependent on his pen, he set to work assiduously, and from 1708 till 1715, produced a vast number of pamphlets and works

of greater size, including a "History of the Union of Great Britain," "An Essay on the South Sea Trade," "The Present State of Parties in Great Britain, &c., &c. In 1713, and when he was fifty-two years old, De Foe once more got into trouble. He produced a clever, well-meaning tract, entitled, "An Answer to the Question that nobody Thinks of, viz. : But what if the Queen should Die? and What if the Pretender should Come?" Once more was the point of his wit too fine for the dull-eyed. The Government was amazed at the writer's audacity, and he was arrested and sent to gaol; and it was not until he endured considerable imprisonment that his accusers saw their error, and recommended the Queen's pardon.

It would seem that even the giant mind of Daniel De Foe now found itself overtaxed, and he resolved to have no more to do—at least directly—with politics. For thirty years he had busied himself with public affairs, and with no better reward—beyond the serene consciousness that his course had been true and honest—than persecution, and disaster, and imprisonment, or, at best, with five enemies for one friend. Before, however, he abandoned his political career, he was desirous of squaring accounts with those with whom he had so long dealt, and to that end prepared "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." This narrative, however, though published, was never completed. While working at it, De Foe was smitten with apoplexy, and lay between life and death for six months. Knowing the sick man's anxiety that this "True Account of his Conduct" should go forth to the world, his friends resolved to delay its publication no longer, and it therefore appeared unfinished as it was, and with a note added by the publisher ascribing the delay to the author's illness.

As Hazlitt truly observes:—"The close of De Foe's political career was the beginning of his greatness. In the retirement which he now

sought to quit no more, the leisure of his active spirit was occupied in the creation of a series of works which raised his name immeasurably higher than it had ever been before in the opinion of his contemporaries, and which will preserve that name in freshness and honour so long as the language in which they are written endures." De Foe recovered from his illness, and, being in his fifty-fifth year, sat down to romance writing with a mind as vigorous and elastic as a young man of thirty. Within six years he produced more than a dozen works, among the rest,—“The Life, Adventures, and Pyracies of Captain Singleton;” “The Dumb Philosopher;” “Colonel Jack;” “Moll Flanders;” “The Mysteries of Magic;” “The History of the Plague;” and “Robinson Crusoe.” The last mentioned story was one of the earliest produced after his retirement from political life, and was published in 1719. Concerning “Robinson Crusoe,” nothing need here be said. All that could be attempted would be to sing its praises to a new air; and when one has so few words to harp on—“wondrous wisdom,” “perfection of wit,” “enchancing interest,” and a few others—their adaptation to a new tune is difficult, especially as the said tune must be one that every English boy may easily sing, for sing it he certainly will to some tune or other.

At the age of sixty, De Foe was famous through his latter works; he possessed a handsome house at Stoke Newington, and could have been in no other than easy circumstances. He was sorely afflicted with gout, and besides was troubled with a painful intestinal complaint. Another misfortune he had to bear was heavier than both,—a dissolute, ungrateful son. Still, in the teeth of these great troubles, De Foe’s teeming brain could not be still. His “History of the Plague” is justly regarded as one of the most marvellous of his productions. “No one,” says Hazlitt, “can take up the book without believing that it is the saddler of Whitechapel who is telling his own story; and that he was an eye-witness to all he relates; that he actually saw the blazing stars which portended the calamity; that he wit-

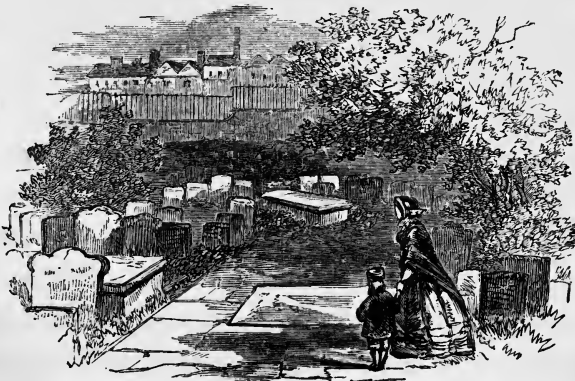
nessed the grass growing in the streets ; read the inscriptions upon the doors of the infected houses ; heard the bell-men crying ‘ Bring out your dead ;’ saw the dead carts conveying the people to their graves, and was present at the digging of the pits in which they were deposited. It is no wonder that a work so gravely written should have deceived Dr. Mead, who quoted it as an authentic history in his ‘ Treatise on the Plague.’ ”

In 1724 appeared “ Roxana, the Fortunate Mistress ;” and the following year a new “ Voyage Round the World,” the most instructive, if not the most interesting, of his histories. Other works of a less important character followed, and in 1727 was issued “ The Complete English Tradesman.” This is generally regarded as the best of De Foe’s practical works, and was greatly admired by Benjamin Franklin. Following this came “ The Military Memories of Captain Carleton,” which, with some few pamphlets, carried him on to his sixty-ninth year, when we find him engaged on a work of considerable magnitude, entitled “ The Complete Gentleman.”

Of this, however, part only was written, and but a single sheet printed. We find him writing to his printer (Mr. J. Watt, in Wild Court), apologising for some delay, but excusing himself on the ground that he is “ exceedingly ill.” He was not fated, however, to end his well-worn life easily and pleasantly. Strange as it may appear, considering the profitable nature of his works during the preceding twelve or fifteen years, he was reduced in his extreme old age to absolute poverty, forfeiting his house at Newington, and actually thrown into prison for debt. His imprisonment was of but short duration, but his worldly condition never afterwards mended. His bodily afflictions increased, and his wicked son added a climax to his previous ill-behaviour by squandering the little hoard saved from the wreck of his father’s property, entrusted to this son for the use of his mother and sisters. Writing concerning family matters generally to his son-in-law, Mr. Baker, a few months before his death, poor De Foe thus

alludes to this scapegrace: "I depended upon him—I trusted him—I gave up my two dear unprovided children into his hands; but he has no compassion, and suffers them and their poor dying mother to beg their bread at his door and to crave, as if it were an alms, what he is bound by hand and seal, besides the most sacred promises, to supply them with; himself at the same time living in a profusion of plenty. It is too much for me. Excuse my infirmity; I can say no more, my heart is too full."

On the 24th of April, 1731, in the seventieth year of his age, De Foe found rest from the world wherein he had worked so long and so nobly, and which at last treated him so unkindly. He died in the parish he was born in—St. Giles's, Cripplegate—and was buried in what was then known as Tindall's Burying Ground, and now as Bunhill Fields. Whether he died surrounded by his family, whether he died all alone or attended by strangers, cannot be discovered. The worst, however, may be surmised; for had one of his kindred been at hand at the time of his death, it is reasonable to suppose that the good man's proper name would have been supplied to the parish registrar, which certainly was not the case, for there the entry reads:—"1731—April 26—Mr. Dubow, Cripplegate."



The Resting Place.




ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE.

CHAPTER I.

Robinson Crusoe declares his birth and parentage—He inclines to a seafaring life—His father expostulates with him—Visits Hull, where a companion tempts him to take a trip by sea—A storm arises, in the midst of which he reflects on his disobedient conduct—The ship springs a leak, and goes down in Yarmouth Roads—Escapes to the shore in a boat—Is advised not to go to sea again, but is unwilling to return home, and travels to London.

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

I had two elder brothers, one of whom was lieutenant-colonel to an English regiment of foot in Flanders, formerly commanded by the famous Colonel Lockhart, and was killed at the battle near Dunkirk against the Spaniards. What became of my second brother, I never knew, any more than my father or mother did know what was become of me.

Being the third son of the family, and not bred to any trade, my head began to be filled very early with rambling thoughts. My father, who was very ancient, had given me a competent share of learning, as far as house

education and a country free school generally go, and designed me for the law: but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea: and my inclination to this led me so strongly against the will, ^{Me} nay, the commands of my father, and against all the entreaties and persuasions of my mother and other friends, that there seemed to be something fatal in that propension of nature, tending directly to the life of misery which was to befall me.

[My father, a wise and grave man, gave me serious and excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design.] He called me one morning into his chamber, where he was confined by the gout, and expostulated very warmly with me upon this subject: he asked me what reasons, more than a mere wandering inclination, I had for leaving my father's house, and my native country, where I might be well introduced, and had a prospect of raising my fortune, by application and industry, with a life of ease and pleasure. He told me it was for men of desperate fortunes, on one hand, or of aspiring superior fortunes, on the other, who went abroad upon adventures, to rise by enterprise, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road; that these things were all either too far above me, or too far below me; that mine was the middle state, or what might be called the upper station of low life, which he had found, by long experience, was the best state in the world, the most suited to human happiness; not exposed to the miseries and hardships, the labour and sufferings, of the mechanic part of mankind, and not embarrassed with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind: he told me, I might judge of the happiness of this state by this one thing, viz., that this was the state of life which all other people envied; that kings have frequently lamented the miserable consequences of being born to great things, and wished they had been placed in the middle of the two extremes, between the mean and the great; that the wise man gave his testimony to this as the just standard of true felicity, when he prayed to have "neither poverty nor riches."

He bid me observe it, and I should always find that the calamities of life were shared among the upper and lower part of mankind; but that the middle station had the fewest disasters, and was not exposed to so many vicissitudes as the higher or lower part of mankind: nay, they were not subjected to so many distempers and uneasinesses, either of body or mind, as those were who, by vicious living, luxury, and extravagancies, on one hand, or by hard labour, want of necessaries, and mean or

insufficient diet, on the other hand, bring distempers upon themselves by the natural consequences of their way of living; that the middle station of life was calculated for all kind of virtues, and all kind of enjoyments; that peace and plenty were the handmaids of a middle fortune; that temperance, moderation, quietness, health, society, all agreeable diversions, and all desirable pleasures were the blessings attending the middle station of life; that this way men went silently and smoothly through the world, and comfortably out of it, not embarrassed with the labours of the hands or of the head, not sold to the life of slavery for daily bread, or harassed with perplexed circumstances, which rob the soul of peace, and the body of rest; not enraged with the passion of envy, or secret burning lust of ambition for great things: but, in easy circumstances, sliding gently through the world, and sensibly tasting the sweets of living without the bitter; feeling that they are happy, and learning by every day's experience to know it more sensibly.

After this he pressed me earnestly, and in the most affectionate manner, not to play the young man, nor to precipitate myself into miseries which nature, and the station of life I was born in, seemed to have provided against; that I was under no necessity of seeking my bread; that he would do well for me, and endeavour to enter me fairly into the station of life which he had been just recommending to me; and that if I was not very easy and happy in the world, it must be my mere fate, or fault, that must hinder it; and that he should have nothing to answer for, having thus discharged his duty in warning me against measures which he knew would be to my hurt: in a word, that as he would do very kind things for me if I would stay and settle at home as he directed, so he would not have so much hand in my misfortunes as to give me any encouragement to go away; and, to close all, he told me I had my elder brother for an example, to whom he had used the same earnest persuasions to keep him from going into the Low Country wars, but could not prevail, his young desires prompting him to run into the army, where he was killed; and though, he said, he would not cease to pray for me, yet he would venture to say to me that if I did take this foolish step, God would not bless me, and I would have leisure, hereafter, to reflect upon having neglected his counsel, when there might be none to assist in my recovery.

I observed, in this last part of his discourse, which was truly prophetic, though, I suppose, my father did not know it to be so himself;

I say, I observed the tears run down his face very plentifully, especially when he spoke of my brother who was killed; and that, when he spoke of my having leisure to repent, and none to assist me, he was so moved that he broke off the discourse, and told me his heart was so full he could say no more to me.



I was sincerely affected with this discourse; as, indeed, who could be otherwise? and I resolved not to think of going abroad any more, but to settle at home, according to my father's desire. But, alas! a few days wore it all off: and, in short, to prevent any of my father's further importunities, in a few weeks after I resolved to run quite away from him. However, I did not act so hastily, neither as my first heat of resolution prompted; but I took my mother, at a time when I thought her a little pleasanter than ordinary, and told her that my thoughts were so entirely bent upon seeing the world, that I should never settle to any thing with resolution enough to go through with it, and my father had better give me his consent than force me to go without it; that I was now eighteen years old, which was too late to go apprentice to a trade, or clerk to an attorney; that I was sure, if I did, I should never serve out my time, and I should certainly run away from my master before my time was out,

and go to sea; and if she would speak to my father to let me go one voyage abroad, if I came home again, and did not like it, I would go no more; and I would promise, by a double diligence, to recover the time I had lost.

This put my mother into a great passion: she told me she knew it would be to no purpose to speak to my father upon any such a subject; that he knew too well what was my interest, to give his consent to any such thing so much for my hurt; and that she wondered how I could think of any such thing, after such a discourse as I had with my father, and such kind and tender expressions as she knew my father had used to me; and that, in short, if I would ruin myself, there was no help for me; but I might depend I should never have their consent to it: that, for her part, she would not have so much hand in my destruction, and I should never have it to say that my mother was willing when my father was not.

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

It was not till almost a year after this that I broke loose; though in the meantime I continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of settling to business, and frequently expostulating with my father and mother about their being so positively determined against what they knew my inclinations prompted me to. But being one day at Hull, where I went casually, and without any purpose of making an elopement that time, but I say, being there, and one of my companions being going by sea to London in his father's ship, and prompting me to go with them with the common allurements of seafaring men, viz., that it should cost me nothing for my passage, I consulted neither father nor mother any more, nor so much as sent them word of it; but leaving them to hear of it as they might, without asking God's blessing, or my father's, without any consideration of circumstances or consequences, and in an ill hour, God knows, on the 1st of September, 1651, I went on board a ship bound for London. Never any young adventurer's misfortunes, I believe, began sooner, or continued longer, than mine. The ship was no sooner got out of the Humber but the wind began to blow, and the waves to rise, in a most frightful manner; and

as I had never been at sea before, I was most inexpressibly sick in body, and terrified in mind: I began now seriously to reflect upon what I had done, and how justly I was overtaken by the judgment of Heaven for my wicked leaving my father's house. All the good counsels of my parents, my father's tears, and my mother's entreaties, came now fresh into my mind; and my conscience, which was not yet come to the pitch of hardness to which it has been since, reproached me with the contempt of advice, and the breach of my duty to God and my father.

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

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

I had slept well in the night, and was now no more sea-sick, but very cheerful, looking with wonder upon the sea that was so rough and terrible the day before, and could be so calm and so pleasant in so little time after. And now, lest my good resolutions should continue, my companion, who had indeed enticed me away, comes to me. "Well, Bob," says he,

clapping me on the shoulder, "how do you do after it? I warrant you were frightened, wa'n't you, last night, when it blew but a cap-full of wind?" "A cap-full, do you call it?" said I, "'twas a terrible storm." "A storm, you fool!" replies he, "do you call that a storm? Why, it was nothing at all; give us but a good ship and sea-room, and we think nothing of such a squall of wind as that. But you are but a fresh-water sailor, Bob. Come, let us make a bowl of punch, and we'll forget all that. D'ye see what charming weather 'tis now?" To make short this sad part of my story, we went the way of all sailors; the punch was made, and I was made drunk with it; and in that one night's wickedness I drowned all my repentance, all my reflections upon my past conduct, and all my resolutions for the future. In a word, as the sea was returned to its smoothness of surface and settled calmness by the abatement of the storm, so the hurry of my thoughts being over, my fears and apprehensions of being swallowed up by the sea forgotten, and the current of my former desires returned, I entirely forgot the vows and promises that I made in my distress. I found, indeed, some intervals of reflection; and the serious thoughts did, as it were, endeavour to return again sometimes; but I shook them off and roused myself from them, as it were from a distemper, and applying myself to drinking and company, soon mastered the return of those fits—for so I called them; and I had in five or six days got as complete a victory over conscience as any young fellow that resolved not to be troubled with it could desire. But I was to have another trial for it still; and Providence, as in such cases generally it does, resolved to leave me entirely without excuse: for if I would not take this for a deliverance, the next was to be such a one as the worst and most hardened wretch among us would confess both the danger and the mercy of.

The sixth day of our being at sea we came into Yarmouth Roads: the wind having been contrary and the weather calm, we had made but little way since the storm. Here we were obliged to come to an anchor, and here we lay, the wind continuing contrary, viz. at south-west, for seven or eight days, during which time a great many ships from Newcastle came into the same roads, as the common harbour where the ships might wait for a wind for the river. We had not, however, rid here so long, but we should have tided up the river, but that the wind blew too fresh; and, after we had lain four or five days, blew very hard. However, the roads being reckoned as good as a harbour, the anchorage good, and our ground tackle very strong, our men were unconcerned, and not in the least

apprehensive of danger, but spent the time in rest and mirth, after the manner of the sea. But the eighth day, in the morning, the wind increased, and we had all hands at work to strike our topmasts, and make everything snug and close, that the ship might ride as easy as possible. By noon the sea went very high indeed, and our ship rid forecastle in, shipped several seas, and we thought, once or twice, our anchor had come home; upon which our master ordered out the sheet anchor, so that we rode with two anchors ahead, and the cables veered out to the better end.

By this time it blew a terrible storm indeed; and now I began to see terror and amazement in the faces of even the seamen themselves. The master, though vigilant in the business of preserving the ship, yet, as he went in and out of his cabin by me, I could hear him softly to himself say several times, "Lord, be merciful to us! we shall be all lost; we shall be all undone!" and the like. During these first hurries I was stupid, lying still in my cabin, which was in the steerage, and cannot describe my temper. I could ill resume the first penitence, which I had so apparently trampled upon and hardened myself against: I thought the bitterness of death had been past, and that this would be nothing, too, like the first. But when the master himself came by me, as I said just now, and said we should be all lost, I was dreadfully frightened. I got up out of my cabin, and looked out; but such a dismal sight I never saw: the sea went mountains high, and broke upon us every three or four minutes. When I could look about, I could see nothing but distress round us. Two ships that rid near us, we found had cut their masts by the board, being deep laden; and our men cried out that a ship which rid about a mile ahead of us was foundered. Two more ships being driven from their anchors, were run out of the roads to sea, at all adventures, and that with not a mast standing. The light ships fared the best, as not so much labouring in the sea; but two or three of them drove, and came close by us, running away with only their spritsails out before the wind. Towards evening, the mate and boatswain begged the master of our ship to let them cut away the foremast, which he was very unwilling to do; but the boatswain protesting to him that if he did not the ship would founder, he consented; and when they had cut away the foremast the mainmast stood so loose, and shook the ship so much, they were obliged to cut it away also and make a clear deck.

Any one may judge what a condition I must be in at all this, who was but a young sailor, and who had been in such a fright before at but a

little. But if I can express, at this distance, the thoughts I had about me at that time, I was in tenfold more horror of mind upon account of my former convictions, and the having returned from them to the resolutions I had wickedly taken at first, than I was at death itself; and these, added to the terror of the storm, put me into such a condition, that I can by no words describe it. But the worst was not come yet; the storm continued with such fury, that the seamen themselves acknowledged they had never known a worse. We had a good ship, but she was deep laden, and wallowed in the sea, that the seamen every now and then cried out she would founder. It was my advantage, in one respect, that I did not know what they meant by *founder*, till I inquired. However, the storm was so violent, that I saw what is not often seen, the master, the boatswain, and some others, more sensible than the rest, at their prayers, and expecting every moment when the ship would go to the bottom. In the middle of the night, and under all the rest of our distresses, one of the men that had been down on purpose to see, cried out we had sprung a leak; another said there was four feet water in the hold. Then all hands were called to the pump. At that very word my heart, as I thought, died within me, and I fell backwards upon the side of my bed where I sat, into the cabin. However, the men roused me, and told me that I, that was able to do nothing before, was as well able to pump as another: at which I stirred up and went to the pump, and worked very heartily. While this was doing, the master, seeing some light colliers who, not able to ride out the storm, were obliged to slip and run away to sea, and would come near us, ordered us to fire a gun as a signal of distress. I, who knew nothing what that meant, was so surprised that I thought the ship had broke, or some dreadful thing had happened. In a word, I was so surprised, that I fell down in a swoon: As this was a time when every body had his own life to think of, nobody minded me, or what was become of me, but another man stepped up to the pump, and thrusting me aside with his foot, let me lie, thinking I had been dead; and it was a great while before I came to myself.

We worked on, but the water increasing in the hold, it was apparent that the ship would founder; and though the storm began to abate a little, yet as it was not possible she could swim till we might run into a port, so the master continued firing guns for help; and a light ship, who had rid it out just ahead of us, ventured a boat out to help us. It was with the utmost hazard the boat came near us, but it was impossible for

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

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

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

Had I now had the sense to have gone back to Hull, and have gone home, I had been happy, and my father, an emblem of our blessed Saviour's parable, had even killed the fatted calf for me; for, hearing the ship I went away in was cast away in Yarmouth Roads, it was a great while before he had any assurance that I was not drowned.

But my ill fate pushed me on now with an obstinacy that nothing could

resist; and though I had several times loud calls from my reason, and my more composed judgment, to go home, yet I had no power to do it. I know not what to call this, nor will I urge that it is a secret, overruling decree that hurries us on to be the instruments of our own destruction, even though it be before us, and that we push upon it with our eyes open. Certainly, nothing but some such decreed unavoidable misery attending, and which it was impossible for me to escape, could have pushed me forward against the calm reasonings and persuasions of my most retired thoughts, and against two such visible instructions as I had met with in my first attempt.

My comrade, who had helped to harden me before, and who was the master's son, was now less forward than I: the first time he spoke to me after we were at Yarmouth, which was not till two or three days, for we were separated in the town to several quarters; I say, the first time he saw me, it appeared his tone was altered, and, looking very melancholy, and shaking his head, he asked me how I did? and telling his father who I was, and how I had come this voyage only for a trial, in order to go farther abroad, his father, turning to me with a very grave and concerned tone, "Young man," says he, "you ought never to go to sea any more; you ought to take this for a plain and visible token that you are not to be a seafaring man." "Why, sir?" said I; "will you go to sea no more?" "That is another case," said he; "it is my calling, and therefore my duty; but as you made this voyage for a trial, you see what a taste Heaven has given you of what you are to expect if you persist. Perhaps this has all befallen us on your account, like Jonah in the ship of Tarshish. Pray," continues he, "what are you, and on what account did you go to sea?" Upon that I told him some of my story; at the end of which he burst out with a strange kind of passion. "What had I done," says he, "that such an unhappy wretch should come into my ship? I would not set my foot in the same ship with thee again for a thousand pounds." This indeed was, as I said, an excursion of his spirits, which were yet agitated by the sense of his loss, and was farther than he could have authority to go. However, he afterwards talked very gravely to me: exhorted me to go back to my father, and not tempt Providence to my ruin; told me I might see a visible hand of Heaven against me: "And, young man," said he, "depend upon it, if you do not go back, wherever you go you will meet with nothing but disasters and disappointments till your father's words are fulfilled upon you."

ADVENTURES OF

We parted soon after, for I made him little answer, and I saw him no more: which way he went, I know not. As for me, having some money in my pocket, I travelled to London by land, and there, as well as on the road, had many struggles with myself what course of life I should take, and whether I should go home or go to sea. As to going home, shame opposed the best motions that offered to my thoughts; and it immediately occurred to me how I should be laughed at among the neighbours, and should be ashamed to see, not my father and mother only, but even every body else: from whence I have since often observed, how incongruous and irrational the common temper of mankind is, especially of youth, to that reason which ought to guide them in such cases, viz., that they are not ashamed to sin, and yet are ashamed to repent; nor ashamed of the action for which they ought justly to be esteemed fools, but are ashamed of the returning, which only can make them be esteemed wise men.

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



CHAPTER II.

Crusoe makes the acquaintance of the captain of a merchant vessel bound for the African coast, and embarks as a trading adventurer—Takes a fever, learns how to navigate a ship, and returns enriched—On the death of the captain he makes a second voyage with the mate—The ship is taken by Turkish pirates, whose leader makes Crusoe his slave—Fishing off the Morocco coast, he contrives an escape—The Moor is thrown overboard, and swims for his life—Sets sail with the Moresco boy—Dangers of coasting—An African Lion—Steers for the south—Falls in with savages, who supply him with provisions—Shoots a leopard, whereat the natives are astonished and terrified—Is picked up by a Portuguese merchantman—Sells the Moresco boy, with a reservation—Arrives at the Brazils.



HAT evil influence which carried me first away from my father's house, that hurried me into the wild and indigested notion of raising my fortune, and that impressed those conceits so forcibly upon me, as to make me deaf to all good advice, and to the entreaties, and even the commands of my father; I say, the same influence, whatever it was, presented the most unfortunate of all enterprises to my view; and I went on board a vessel bound to the coast of Africa, or, as our sailors vulgarly call it, a voyage to Guinea.

It was my great misfortune that in all these adventures I did not ship myself as a sailor; whereby, though I might indeed have worked a little harder than ordinary, yet, at the same time, I had learned the duty and office of a foremastman, and in time might have qualified myself for a mate or lieutenant, if not for a master. But as it was always my fate to choose for the worse, so I did here; for, having money in my pocket and good clothes upon my back, I would always go on board in the habit of a gentleman; and so I neither had any business in the ship, nor learned to do any.

It was my lot, first of all to fall into pretty good company in London; which does not always happen to such loose and unguided young fellows as I then was, (the devil generally not omitting to lay some snare for them very early.) But it was not so with me. I first fell acquainted with the master of a ship who had been on the coast of Guinea, and who,

having had very good success there, was resolved to go again; and who, taking a fancy to my conversation, which was not at all disagreeable at that time, and hearing me say I had a mind to see the world, told me, if I would go the voyage with him, I should be at no expense—I should be his messmate and his companion; and if I could carry any thing with me, I should have all the advantage of it that the trade would admit; and, perhaps, I might meet with some encouragement. I embraced the offer, and entering into a strict friendship with this captain, who was an honest and plain-dealing man, I went the voyage with him, and carried a small adventure with me, which, by the disinterested honesty of my friend the captain, I increased very considerably; for I carried about forty pounds in such toys and trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This forty pounds I had mustered together by the assistance of some of my relations whom I corresponded with, and who I believe got my father, or, at least, my mother, to contribute so much as that to my first adventure. This was the only voyage which I may say was successful in all my adventures, and which I owe to the integrity and honesty of my friend the captain, under whom also I got a competent knowledge of the mathematics and the rules of navigation, learned how to keep an account of the ship's course, take an observation, and, in short, to understand some things that were needful to be understood by a sailor: for, as he took delight to instruct me, I took delight to learn; and, in a word, this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant: for I brought home five pounds nine ounces of gold dust for my adventure, which yielded me in London, at my return, almost three hundred pounds, and this filled me with those aspiring thoughts which have since so completed my ruin. Yet even in this voyage I had my misfortunes too; particularly, that I was continually sick, being thrown into a violent calenture* by the excessive heat of the climate—our principal trading being upon the coast, from the latitude of fifteen degrees north, even to the Line itself.

I was now set up for a Guinea trader: and my friend, to my great misfortune, dying soon after his arrival, I resolved to go the same voyage again; and I embarked in the same vessel with one who was his mate

* A violent fever, incident to persons in hot climates, especially to natives of cooler climates, and to which, therefore, European sailors are peculiarly liable. One of the symptoms is peculiar: the person affected imagines the sea to be a green field, and sometimes, attempting to walk on it, is lost.

in the former voyage, and had now got the command of the ship. This was the unhappiest voyage that ever man made; for though I did not carry quite a hundred pounds of my new-gained wealth—so that I had two hundred pounds left, and which I lodged with my friend's widow, who was very just to me—yet I fell into terrible misfortunes in this voyage: and the first was this, viz.—our ship, making her course towards the Canary Islands, or rather between those islands and the African shore, was surprised, in the gray of the morning, by a Turkish rover of Sallee, who gave chase to us with all the sails she could make. We crowded also as much canvass as our yards would spread, or our masts carry, to have got clear; but finding the pirate gained upon us and would certainly come up with us in a few hours, we prepared to fight, our ship having twelve guns, and the rover eighteen. About three in the afternoon he came up with us; and bringing to, by mistake, just athwart our quarter, instead of athwart our stern as he intended, we brought eight of our guns to bear on that side, and poured in a broadside upon him, which made him sheer off again, after returning our fire and pouring in also his small shot from near two hundred men which he had on board. However, we had not a man touched, all our men keeping close. He prepared to attack us again, and we to defend ourselves; but laying us on board the next time upon our other quarter, he entered sixty men upon our decks, who immediately fell to cutting and hacking the decks and rigging. We plied them with small shot, half-pikes, powder-chests, and such like, and cleared our deck of them twice. However, to cut short this melancholy part of our story, our ship being disabled and three of our men killed and eight wounded, we were obliged to yield, and were carried all prisoners into Sallee, a port belonging to the Moors.

The usage I had there was not so dreadful as at first I apprehended; nor was I carried up the country to the emperor's court, as the rest of our men were, but was kept by the captain of the rover as his proper prize, and made his slave, being young and nimble, and fit for his business. At this surprising change of my circumstances, from a merchant to a miserable slave, I was perfectly overwhelmed; and now I looked back upon my father's prophetic discourse to me, that I should be miserable and have none to relieve me, which I thought was now so effectually brought to pass, that I could not be worse—that now the hand of Heaven had overtaken me, and I was undone, without redemption. But,

alas! this was but a taste of the misery I was to go through, as will appear in the sequel of this story.

As my new patron, or master, had taken me home to his house, so I was in hopes that he would take me with him when he went to sea again, believing that it would, some time or other, be his fate to be taken by a Spanish or Portuguese man-of-war, and that then I should be set at liberty. But this hope of mine was soon taken away, for when he went to sea he left me on shore to look after his little garden, and do the common drudgery of slaves about his house; and when he came home again from his cruise, he ordered me to lie in the cabin, to look after the ship.

Here I meditated nothing but my escape, and what method I might take to effect it, but found no way that had the least probability in it. Nothing presented to make the supposition of it rational; for I had nobody to communicate it to that would embark with me,—no fellow-slave, no Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman there but myself: so that for two years, though I often pleased myself with the imagination, yet I never had the least encouraging prospect of putting it in practice.

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

It happened one time that, going a-fishing in a stark calm morning, a fog rose so thick that, though we were not half a league from the shore, we lost sight of it; and rowing we knew not whither, or which way, we laboured all day and all the next night, and when the morning came, we found we had pulled off to sea, instead of pulling in for the shore, and that we were at least two leagues from the shore: however, we got well in again, though with a great deal of labour, and some danger, for the wind began to blow pretty fresh in the morning; but, particularly, we were all very hungry.

But our patron, warned by this disaster, resolved to take more care of

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

We were frequently out with this boat a-fishing, and as I was most dexterous to catch fish for him, he never went without me. It happened that he had appointed to go out in this boat, either for pleasure or for fish, with two or three Moors of some distinction in that place, and for whom he had provided extraordinary, and had therefore sent on board the boat, overnight, a larger store of provisions than ordinary, and had ordered me to get ready three fuseses, with powder and shot, which were on board his ship, for that they designed some sport of fowling as well as fishing.

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

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

My first contrivance was to make a pretence to speak to this Moor, to get something for our subsistence on board; for I told him we must not presume to eat of our patron's bread. He said, that was true; so

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

After we had fished some time and caught nothing, for when I had fish on my hook I would not pull them up that he might not see them, I said to the Moor, "This will not do; our master will not be thus served; we must stand farther off." He, thinking no harm, agreed, and being in the head of the boat, set the sails; and as I had the helm, I run the boat out near a league farther, and then brought her to, as if I would fish. Then giving the boy the helm, I stepped forward to where the Moor was, and making as if I stooped for something behind him, I took him by surprise, with my arm under his twist,* and tossed him clear overboard into the

* The hollow on the inside of the thigh.

sea. He rose immediately, for he swam like a cork, and called to me, begged to be taken in, and told me he would go all over the world with me. He swam so strong after the boat that he would have reached me very quickly, there being but little wind; upon which I stepped into the cabin, and fetching one of the fowling-pieces, I presented it at him, and told him I had done him no hurt, and if he would be quiet I would do him none. "But," said I, "you swim well enough to reach the shore, and the sea is calm; make the best of your way to shore and I will do you no harm; but if you come near the boat I will shoot you through the head; for I am resolved to have my liberty." So he turned himself about, and swam for the shore, and I make no doubt but he reached it with ease, for he was an excellent swimmer.

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

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

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

Yet such was the fright I had taken at the Moors, and the dreadful

apprehensions I had of falling into their hands, that I would not stop, or go on shore, or come to an anchor, the wind continuing fair, till I had sailed in that manner five days; and then the wind shifting to the southward, I concluded also that if any of our vessels were in chase of me, they also would now give over: so I ventured to make to the coast, and came to an anchor in the mouth of a little river; I knew not what or where, neither what latitude, what country, what nation, or what river. I neither saw, nor desired to see, any people; the principal thing I wanted was fresh water. We came into this creek in the evening, resolving to swim on shore as soon as it was dark, and discover the country; but as soon as it was quite dark, we heard such dreadful noises of the barking, roaring, and howling of wild creatures, of we knew not what kinds, that the poor boy was ready to die with fear, and begged of me not to go on shore till day. "Well, Xury," said I, "then I won't; but it may be we may see men by day, who will be as bad to us as those lions." "Then we may give them the shoot-gun," says Xury, laughing, "make them run wey." Such English Xury spoke by conversing among us slaves. However, I was glad to see the boy so cheerful, and I gave him a dram out of our patron's case of bottles to cheer him up. After all, Xury's advice was good, and I took it. We dropped our little anchor, and lay still all night. I say still, for we slept none: for in two or three hours we saw vast great creatures (we knew not what to call them), of many sorts, come down to the seashore, and run unto the water, wallowing and washing themselves, for the pleasure of cooling themselves; and they made such hideous howlings and yellings, that I never indeed heard the like.

Xury was dreadfully frightened, and indeed so was I too; but we were both more frightened when we heard one of the mighty creatures come swimming towards our boat: we could not see him, but we might hear him by his blowing to be a monstrous huge and furious beast. Xury said it was a lion, and it might be so for aught I know, but poor Xury cried to me to weigh the anchor, and row away. "No," says I, "Xury, we can slip our cable with a buoy to it, and go to sea; they cannot follow us far." I had no sooner said so, but I perceived the creature (whatever it was) within two oars' length, which something surprised me; however, I immediately stepped to the cabin door, and taking up my gun, fired at him, upon which he immediately turned about, and swam towards the shore again.

But it is impossible to describe the horrible noises, and hideous cries and howlings that were raised, as well upon the edge of the shore as higher within the country, upon the noise or report of the gun ; a thing, I believe, those creatures had never heard before. This convinced me there was no going on shore for us in the night upon that coast, and how to venture on shore in the day, was another question too ; for to have fallen into the hands of any of the savages, had been as bad as to have fallen into the paws of lions and tigers : at least we were equally apprehensive of the danger of it.

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

I did not care to go out of sight of the boat, fearing the coming of canoes with savages down the river ; but the boy, seeing a low place about a mile up the country, rambled to it ; and, by and by, I saw him come running towards me. I thought he was pursued by some savage, or frighted with some wild beast, and I therefore ran forwards to help him ; but when I came nearer to him, I saw something hanging over his shoulders, which was a creature that he had shot, like a hare, but different in colour, and longer legs : however, we were very glad of it, and it was very good meat : but the great joy that poor Xury came with, was to tell me he had found good water, and seen no wild mans.

But we found afterwards that we need not take such pains for water ; for a little higher up the creek where we were, we found the water fresh when the tide was out, which flows but a little way up ; so we filled our jars, and feasted on the hare we had killed ; and prepared to go on our way, having seen no footsteps of any human creature in that part of the country.

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

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

Once or twice, in the daytime, I thought I saw the Pico of Teneriffe, being the high top of the mountain Teneriffe, in the Canaries, and had a great mind to venture out, in hopes of reaching thither; but having tried twice, I was forced in again by contrary winds, the sea also going too high for my little vessel: so I resolved to pursue my first design, and keep along the shore.

Several times I was obliged to land for fresh water, after we had left this place; and once, in particular, being early in the morning, we came to an anchor under a little point of land which was pretty high; and the tide beginning to flow, we lay still, to go farther in. Xury, whose eyes were more about him than, it seems, mine were, calls softly to me, and tells me that we had best go farther off the shore; "For," says he, "look, yonder lies a dreadful monster on the side of that hillock, fast asleep." I looked where he pointed, and saw a dreadful monster indeed, for it was a terrible great lion that lay on the side of the shore, under the shade of a piece of the hill that hung, as it were, over him. "Xury," says I,



“you shall go on shore and kill him.” Xury looked frightened, and said, “Me kill! he eat me at one mouth” — one mouthful he meant. However, I said no more to the boy but bade him

be still; and I took our biggest gun, which was almost musket bore, and loaded it with a good charge of powder, and with two slugs, and laid it down; then I loaded another gun with two bullets; and a third, for we had three pieces, I loaded with five smaller bullets. I took the best aim I could with the first piece, to have shot him into the head; but he lay so, with his leg raised a little above his nose, that the slugs hit his leg about the knee, and broke the bone. He started up, growling at first, but finding his leg broke, fell down again, and then got up upon three legs, and gave the most hideous roar that ever I heard. I was a little surprised that I had not hit him on the head; however, I took up the second piece immediately, and though he began to move off, fired again, and shot him into the head, and had the pleasure to see him drop, and make but little noise, but lie struggling for life. Then Xury took heart, and would have me let

him go on shore. "Well, go," said I; so the boy jumped into the water, and taking a little gun in one hand, swam to shore with the other hand, and coming close to the creature, put the muzzle of the piece to his ear, and shot him into the head again, which dispatched him quite.

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

After this stop, we made on to the southward continually, for ten or twelve days, living very sparingly on our provisions, which began to abate very much, and going no oftener into the shore than we were obliged to for fresh water. My design in this, was to make the river Gambia, or Senegal; that is to say, any where about the Cape de Verd, where I was in hopes to meet with some European ship: and if I did not, I knew not what course I had to take, but to seek for the islands, or perish among the Negroes. I knew that all the ships from Europe, which sailed either to the coast of Guinea, or to Brazil, or to the East Indies, made this Cape, or those islands: and in a word I put the whole of my fortune upon this single point, either that I must meet with some ship, or must perish.

When I had pursued this resolution about ten days longer, as I have said, I began to see that the land was inhabited; and in two or three places, as we sailed by, we saw people stand upon the shore to look at us: we could also perceive they were quite black and stark naked. I was once inclined to have gone on shore to them; but Xury was my better counsellor, and said to me, "No go, no go." However, I hauled in nearer the shore, that I might talk to them; and I found they ran along

the shore by me a good way. I observed they had no weapons in their hands, except one, who had a long slender stick, which Xury said was a lance, and that they would throw them a great way with good aim; so I kept at a distance, but talked to them by signs, as well as I could, and particularly made signs for something to eat. They beckoned to me to stop my boat, and they would fetch me some meat: upon this I lowered the top of my sail, and lay by, and two of them ran up into the country, and in less than half-an-hour came back and brought with them two pieces of dry flesh and some corn, such as is the produce of their country: but we neither knew what the one or the other was; however, we were willing to accept it. But how to come at it was our next dispute, for I was not for venturing on shore to them, and they were as much afraid of us: but they took a safe way for us all, for they brought it to the shore, and laid it down, and went and stood a great way off till we fetched it on board, and then came close to us again.

We made signs of thanks to them, for we had nothing to make them amends: but an opportunity offered that very instant to oblige them wonderfully; for while we were lying by the shore, came two mighty creatures, one pursuing the other (as we took it) with great fury, from the mountains towards the sea: whether it was the male pursuing the female, or whether they were in sport or in rage we could not tell, any more than we could tell whether it was usual or strange; but I believe it was the latter, because, in the first place, those ravenous creatures seldom appear but in the night; and, in the second place, we found the people terribly frightened, especially the women. The man that had the lance, or dart, did not fly from them, but the rest did; however, as the two creatures ran directly into the water, they did not seem to offer to fall upon any of the Negroes, but plunged themselves into the sea, and swam about, as if they had come for their diversion. At last, one of them began to come nearer our boat than I at first expected; but I lay ready for him, for I had loaded my gun with all possible expedition, and bade Xury load both the others. As soon as he came fairly within my reach, I fired, and shot him directly into the head: immediately he sunk down into the water, but rose instantly, and plunged up and down, as if he was struggling for life, and so indeed he was: he immediately made to the shore; but between the wound which was his mortal hurt, and the strangling of the water, he died just before he reached the shore.

It is impossible to express the astonishment of these poor creatures at

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

The other creature, frightened with the flash of fire and the noise of the gun, swam on shore, and ran up directly to the mountains from whence they came; nor could I, at that distance, know what it was. I found quickly the Negroes were for eating the flesh of this creature, so I was willing to have them take it as a favour from me; which, when I made signs to them that they might take him, they were very thankful for. Immediately they fell to work with him; and though they had no knife, yet with a sharpened piece of wood, they took off his skin as readily, and much more readily than we could have done with a knife. They offered me some of the flesh, which I declined, making as if I would give it them, but made signs for the skin, which they gave me very freely, and brought me a great deal more of their provisions, which, though I did not understand, yet I accepted. Then I made signs to them for some water, and held out one of my jars to them, turning it bottom upwards, to show that it was empty, and that I wanted to have it filled. They called immediately to some of their friends, and there came two women, and brought a great vessel made of earth, and burnt, as I suppose, in the sun; this they set down for me, as before, and I sent Xury on shore with my jars, and filled them all three. The women were as stark naked as the men.

I was now furnished with roots and corn, such as it was, and water; and, leaving my friendly Negroes, I made forward for about eleven days more, without offering to go near the shore, till I saw the land run out a great length into the sea at about the distance of four or five leagues before me; and the sea being very calm, I kept a large offing, to make this point. At length, doubling the point, at about two leagues from the land, I saw plainly land on the other side, to seaward: then I concluded, as it was most certain indeed, that this was the Cape de Verd, and those

the islands called, from thence, Cape de Verd Islands. However, they were at a great distance, and I could not well tell what I had best to do; for if I should be taken with a fresh of wind, I might neither reach one nor the other.

In this dilemma, as I was very pensive, I stepped into the cabin, and sat me down, Xury having the helm; when, on a sudden, the boy cried out, "Master, master, a ship with a sail!" and the foolish boy was frightened out of his wits, thinking it must needs be some of his master's ships sent to pursue us, when I knew we were gotten far enough out of their reach. I jumped out of the cabin, and immediately saw, not only the ship, but what she was, viz., that it was a Portuguese ship, and, as I thought, was bound to the Coast of Guinea for Negroes. But, when I observed the course she steered, I was soon convinced they were bound some other way, and did not design to come any nearer to the shore: upon which I stretched out to sea as much as I could, resolving to speak with them, if possible.

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

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

It was an inexpressible joy to me, which any one will believe, that I was thus delivered, as I esteemed it, from such a miserable, and almost hopeless, condition as I was in; and I immediately offered all I had to the captain of the ship, as a return for my deliverance; but he generously

told me he would take nothing from me, but that all I had should be delivered safe to me when I came to the Brazils. "For," says he, "I have saved your life on no other terms than I would be glad to be saved myself; and it may, one time or other, be my lot to be taken up in the same condition. Besides, said he, when I carry you to the Brazils, so great a way from your own country, if I should take from you what you have, you will be starved there, and then I only take away that life I have given. No, no, Seignior Inglese" (Mr. Englishman), says he, "I will carry you thither in charity, and these things will help to buy your subsistence there, and your passage home again."

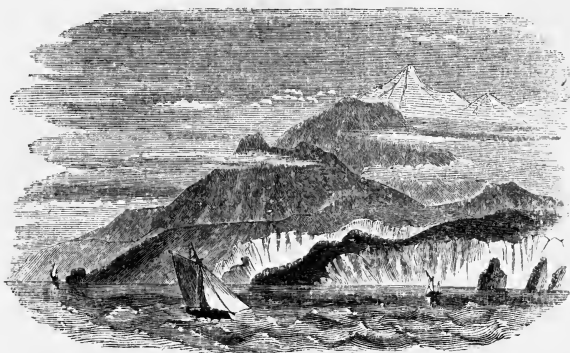
As he was charitable in this proposal, so he was just in the performance, to a tittle: for he ordered the seamen, that none should offer to touch any thing I had: then he took every thing into his own possession, and gave me back an exact inventory of them, that I might have them, even so much as my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

As to my boat, it was a very good one; and that he saw, and told me he would buy it of me for the ship's use, and asked me what I would have for it? I told him, he had been so generous to me in every thing, that I could not offer to make any price of the boat, but left it entirely to him: upon which he told me he would give me a note of his hand to pay me eighty pieces of eight for it at Brazil; and when it came there, if any one offered to give more, he would make it up. He offered me also sixty pieces of eight more for my boy Xury, which I was loth to take; not that I was not willing to let the captain have him, but I was very loth to sell the poor boy's liberty, who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own. However, when I let him know my reason, he owned it to be just, and offered me this medium, that he would give the boy an obligation to set him free in ten years, if he turned Christian. Upon this, and Xury saying he was willing to go to him, I let the captain have him.

We had a very good voyage to the Brazils, and arrived in the Bay de Todos los Santos, or All Saints' Bay, in about twenty-two days after. And now I was once more delivered from the most miserable of all conditions of life; and what to do next with myself I was now to consider.

The generous treatment the captain gave me, I can never enough remember: he would take nothing of me for my passage, gave me twenty ducats for the leopard's skin, and forty for the lion's skin, which I had

in the boat, and caused every thing I had in the ship to be punctually delivered to me; and what I was willing to sell he bought, such as the case of bottles, two of my guns, and a piece of the lump of bees-wax, —for I had made candles of the rest: in a word, I made about two hundred and twenty pieces of eight of all my cargo; and with this stock, I went on shore in the Brazils.



The Pico or Peak of Teneriffe.

CHAPTER III.

Crusoe buys land, and becomes a planter—The Portuguese captain continues his good offices—The plantation succeeds, but prosperity does not bring contentment—Becomes supercargo of a slaver—A hurricane—The ship is driven westward, and strikes on a sandbank—The crew take to their boat, which is swamped—All are drowned, except Crusoe, who is washed against a rock, and succeeds in reaching the mainland—He rejoices at his deliverance, reflects on his position, and remembers that he has neither food for sustenance nor weapons for defence—Sleeps in a tree.

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

I had a neighbour, a Portuguese of Lisbon, but born of English parents, whose name was Wells, and in much such circumstances as I was. I call him neighbour, because his plantation lay next to mine, and we went on very sociably together. My stock was but low as well as his, and we rather planted for food than any thing else, for about two years. However, we began to increase, and our land began to come into order; so that the third year we planted some tobacco, and made each of us a large piece of ground ready for planting canes in the year to come; but we both wanted help, and now I found, more than before, I had done wrong in parting with my boy Xury.

But alas! for me to do wrong, that never did right, was no great

wonder. I had no remedy, but to go on: I was gotten into an employment quite remote to my genius, and directly contrary to the life I delighted in, and for which I forsook my father's house and broke through all his good advice: nay, I was coming into the very middle station, or upper degree of low life, which my father advised me to before; and which, if I resolved to go on with, I might as well have staid at home, and never have fatigued myself in the world, as I had done: and I used often to say to myself, I could have done this as well in England, among my friends, as have gone five thousand miles off to do it among strangers and savages, in a wilderness, and at such a distance as never to hear from any part of the world that had the least knowledge of me.

In this manner I used to look upon my condition with the utmost regret. I had nobody to converse with, but now and then this neighbour; no work to be done but by the labour of my hands; and I used to say, I lived just like a man cast away upon some desolate island, that had nobody there but himself. But how just has it been! and how should all men reflect that, when they compare their present conditions with others that are worse, heaven may oblige them to make the exchange, and be convinced of their former felicity by their experience. I say, how just has it been that the truly solitary life I reflected on, in an island of mere desolation, should be my lot, who had so often unjustly compared it with the life which I then led, in which, had I continued, I had, in all probability, been exceeding prosperous and rich.

I was, in some degree, settled in my measures for carrying on the plantation, before my kind friend, the captain of the ship that took me up at sea, went back (for the ship remained there, in providing his loading, and preparing for his voyage, near three months) when telling him what little stock I had left behind me in London, he gave me this friendly and sincere advice: "Seignior Inglese," says he (for so he always called me), "if you will give me letters, and a procuration here in form to me, with orders to the person who has your money in London to send your effects to Lisbon to such persons as I shall direct, and in such goods as are proper for this country, I will bring you the produce of them, God willing, at my return; but since human affairs are all subject to changes and disasters, I would have you give orders but for one hundred pounds sterling, which, you say, is half your stock, and let the hazard be run for the first, so that, if it come safe, you may order the rest the same way;

and, if it miscarry, you may have the other half to have recourse to for your supply."

This was so wholesome advice, and looked so friendly, that I could not but be convinced it was the best course I could take; so I accordingly prepared letters to the gentlewoman with whom I had left my money, and a procuracy to the Portuguese captain, as he desired.

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

The merchant in London vested this hundred pounds in English goods, such as the captain had writ for, sent them directly to him at Lisbon, and he brought them all safe to me at the Brazils: among which, without my direction (for I was too young in my business to think of them), he had taken care to have all sorts of tools, iron work, and utensils, necessary for my plantation, and which were of great use to me.

When this cargo arrived, I thought my fortune made, for I was surprised with joy of it; and my good steward, the captain, had laid out the five pounds which my friend had sent him for a present for himself, to purchase and bring me over a servant under bond for six years' service, and would not accept of any consideration, except a little tobacco, which I would have him accept, being of my own produce.

Neither was this all: but my goods being all English manufactures, such as cloths, stuffs, baize, and things particularly valuable and desirable in the country, I found means to sell them to a very great advantage; so that I may say, I had more than four times the value of my first cargo, and was now infinitely beyond my poor neighbour, I mean in the advancement of my plantation; for the first thing I did, I bought me a Negro slave, and a European servant also—I mean another besides that which the captain brought me from Lisbon.

But as abused prosperity is oftentimes made the very means of our greatest adversity, so was it with me. I went on the next year with great

success in my plantation : I raised fifty great rolls of tobacco on my own ground, more than I had disposed of for necessaries among my neighbours ; and these fifty rolls, being each of above one hundred pounds weight, were well cured, and laid by against the return of the fleet from Lisbon. And now, increasing in business and in wealth, my head began to be full of projects and undertakings beyond my reach ; such as are, indeed, often the ruin of the best heads in business.

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

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

To come, then, by just degrees, to the particulars of this part of my story : you may suppose, that having now lived almost four years in the Brazils, and beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my plantation, I had not only learned the language, but had contracted acquaintance and friendship among my fellow-planters, as well as among the merchants at St. Salvador, which was our port ; and that, in my discourse among them, I had frequently given them an account of my two voyages to the coast of Guinea, the manner of trading with the Negroes there, and how easy it was to purchase upon the coast, for trifles—such as beads, toys, knives, scissørs, hatchets, bits of glass, and the like—not only gold dust, Guinea grains, elephants' teeth, etc., but Negroes, for the service of the Brazils, in great numbers.

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

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

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

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

case of my death, making the captain of the ship that had saved my life, as before, my universal heir, but obliging him to dispose of my effects as I had directed in my will,—one half of the produce being to himself, and the other to be shipped to England.

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

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

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

The same day I went on board, we set sail, standing away to the northward upon our own coast, with design to stretch over for the African coast, when they came about ten or twelve degrees of northern latitude, which, it seems, was the manner of their course in those days. We had very good weather, only excessive hot, all the way upon our own coast, till we came to the height of Cape St. Augustino; from whence, keeping farther off at sea, we lost sight of land, and steered as if we were bound for the isle Fernando de Noronha, holding our course N. E. by N. and leaving those isles on the east. In this course we passed the Line in about twelve days' time, and were, by our last observation, in seven degrees twenty-two minutes northern latitude, when a violent tornado, or hurricane, took us quite out of our knowledge: it began from the south-east, came about to the north-west, and then settled in the north-east, from whence it blew in such a terrible manner, that for twelve days

together we could do nothing but drive, and, scudding away before it, let it carry us whither ever fate and the fury of the winds directed; and, during these twelve days, I need not say that I expected every day to be swallowed up, nor, indeed, did any in the ship expect to save their lives.

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

I was positively against that; and looking over the charts of the sea-coast of America with him, we concluded there was no inhabited country for us to have recourse to, till we came within the circle of the Caribbee islands, and therefore resolved to stand away for Barbadoes, which, by keeping off at sea to avoid the indraft of the bay or gulf of Mexico, we might easily perform, as we hoped, in about fifteen days' sail,—whereas we could not possibly make our voyage to the coast of Africa without some assistance, both to our ship and to ourselves.

With this design, we changed our course, and steered away N. W. by W. in order to reach some of our English islands, where I hoped for relief: but our voyage was otherwise determined, for being in the latitude of twelve degrees eighteen minutes, a second storm came upon us, which carried us away with the same impetuosity westward, and drove us so out of the very way of all human commerce, that, had all our lives been saved as to the sea, we were rather in danger of being devoured by savages than ever returning to our own country.

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

into our close quarters, to shelter us from the very foam and spray of the sea.

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

Now, though we thought that the wind did a little abate, yet the ship having thus struck upon the sand, and sticking too fast for us to expect her getting off, we were in a dreadful condition indeed, and had nothing to do, but to think of saving our lives as well as we could. We had a boat at our stern just before the storm, but she was first staved by dashing against the ship's rudder, and, in the next place, she broke away, and either sunk, or was driven off to sea; so there was no hope from her. We had another boat on board, but how to get her off into the sea was a doubtful thing; however, there was no room to debate, for we fancied the ship would break in pieces every minute, and some told us she was actually broken already.

In this distress the mate of our vessel lays hold of the boat, and, with the help of the rest of the men, they got her slung over the ship's side; and, getting all into her, let go, and committed ourselves, being eleven in number, to God's mercy and the wild sea; for though the storm was abated considerably, yet the sea went dreadful high upon the shore, and might well be called *den wild zee*, as the Dutch call the sea in a storm.

And now our case was very dismal indeed; for we all saw plainly that the sea went so high that the boat could not live, and that we should be inevitably drowned. As to making sail, we had none; nor, if we had, could we have done anything with it, so we worked at the oar towards the land, though with heavy hearts, like men going to execution;

for we all knew that when the boat came nearer the shore, she would be dashed in a thousand pieces by the breach of the sea. However, we committed our souls to God in the most earnest manner, and the wind driving us towards the shore, we hastened our destruction with our own hands, pulling as well as we could towards land.

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

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

Nothing can describe the confusion of thought which I felt, when I sunk into the water; for though I swam very well, yet I could not deliver myself from the waves so as to draw breath, till that wave having driven me, or rather carried me, a vast way on towards the shore, and having spent itself, went back and left me upon the land almost dry, but half dead with the water I took in. I had so much presence of mind, as well as breath left, that, seeing myself nearer the main land than I expected, I got upon my feet and endeavoured to make on towards the land as fast as I could, before another wave should return and take me up again; but I soon found it was impossible to avoid it, for I saw the sea come after me as high as a great hill, and as furious as an enemy which I had no means or strength to contend with: my business was to hold my breath, and raise myself upon the water, if I could, and so, by swimming, to preserve my breathing, and pilot myself towards the shore, if possible; my greatest concern now being, that the sea, as it would carry me a great way towards the shore when it came on, might not carry me back again with it when it gave back towards the sea.

The wave that came upon me again buried me at once twenty or thirty foot deep in its own body, and I could feel myself carried with a mighty force and swiftness towards the shore, a very great way; but I held my

breath, and assisted myself to swim still forward with all my might. I was ready to burst with holding my breath, when, as I felt myself rising up, so, to my immediate relief, I found my head and hands shoot out above the surface of the water; and though it was not two seconds of time that I could keep myself so, yet it relieved me greatly, gave me breath and new courage. I was covered again with water a good while, but not so long but I held it out; and finding the water had spent itself and began to return, I struck forward against the return of the waves, and felt ground again with my feet. I stood still a few moments, to recover breath and till the water went from me, and then took to my heels and ran with what strength I had farther towards the shore. But neither would this deliver me from the fury of the sea, which came pouring in after me again; and twice more I was lifted up by the waves and carried forwards as before, the shore being very flat.

The last time of these two had well near been fatal to me; for the sea, having hurried me along, as before, landed me, or rather dashed me, against a piece of a rock, and that with such force as it left me senseless, and indeed helpless, as to my own deliverance; for the blow, taking my side and breast, beat the breath, as it were, quite out of my body, and had it returned again immediately, I must have been strangled in the water; but I recovered a little before the return of the waves, and, seeing I should be covered again with water, I resolved to hold fast by a piece of the rock, and so to hold my breath, if possible, till the wave went back. Now as the waves were not so high as the first, being near land, I held my hold till the wave abated, and then fetched another run, which brought me so near the shore that the next wave, though it went over me, yet did not so swallow me up as to carry me away; and, the next run I took, I got to the main land, where, to my great comfort, I clambered up the cliffs of the shore, and sat me down upon the grass, free from danger and quite out of the reach of the water.

I was now landed and safe on shore, and began to look up and thank God that my life was saved, in a case wherein there was, some minutes before, scarce any room to hope. I believe it is impossible to express to the life what the ecstasies and transports of the soul are, when it is so saved, as I may say, out of the grave; and I do not wonder now at that custom, viz., that when a malefactor, who has the halter about his neck, is tied up and just going to be turned off, and has a reprieve brought to him,—I say, I do not wonder that they bring a surgeon with it, to

let him blood that very moment they tell him of it, that the surprise may not drive the animal spirits from the heart, and overwhelm him :

“For sudden joys, like griefs, confound at first.”

I walked about on the shore, lifting up my hands, and my whole being, as I may say, wrapped up in the contemplation of my deliverance ;



making a thousand gestures and motions, which I cannot describe ; reflecting upon all my comrades that were drowned, and that there should not be one soul saved but myself,—for, as for them, I never saw them afterwards, or any sign of them, except three of their hats, one cap, and two shoes that were not fellows.

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

After I had solaced my mind with the comfortable part of my condition, I began to look round me, to see what kind of a place I was in, and what was next to be done; and I soon found my comforts abate, and that, in a word, I had a dreadful deliverance; for I was wet, had no clothes to shift me, nor anything either to eat or drink, to comfort me; neither did I see any prospect before me, but that of perishing with hunger, or being devoured by wild beasts: and that which was particularly afflicting to me was, that I had no weapon either to hunt and kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend myself against any other creature that might desire to kill me for theirs. In a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box. This was all my provision; and this threw me into terrible agonies of mind, that, for a while, I run about like a madman. Night coming upon me, I began, with a heavy heart, to consider what would be my lot if there were any ravenous beasts in that country, seeing at night they always come abroad for their prey.

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

CHAPTER IV.

Crusoe, on waking in the morning, sees the ship lying a-ground high out of the water—He comes down from the tree—Swims to the ship—Constructs a raft, which he loads with stores, and guides with difficulty to the shore—Surveys the country, and discovers that it is an island and uninhabited—Shoots a bird, the flesh of which proves to be carrion—Unloads the raft, and erects a hut—Swims to the ship again, and brings a second cargo ashore—On his return is confronted by a wild cat, which discovers a disposition to be friendly—Makes a tent, which he furnishes and fortifies—Repeats his visits to the ship, which he strips of its contents—Removes his tent to a more advantageous site, and fences it strongly—Kills a she-goat, and is grieved thereat.



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

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

A little after noon I found the sea very calm, and the tide ebbed so far out, that I could come within a quarter of a mile of the ship; and here I found a fresh renewing of my grief, for I saw evidently that, if

we had kept on board, we had all been safe—that is to say, we had all got safe on shore, and I had not been so miserable as to be left entirely destitute of all comfort and company as I now was. This forced tears from my eyes again, but as there was little relief in that, I resolved, if possible, to get to the ship; so I pulled off my clothes, for the weather was hot to extremity, and took the water: but when I came to the ship, my difficulty was still greater to know how to get on board, for as she lay aground, and high out of the water, there was nothing within my reach to lay hold of. I swam round her twice, and the second time I spied a small piece of rope, which I wondered I did not see at first, hang down by the fore-chains, so low as that with great difficulty I got hold of it, and by the help of that rope got into the fore-castle of the ship. Here I found that the ship was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold; but that she lay so on the side of a bank of hard sand, or rather earth, and her stern lay lifted up upon the bank, and her head low, almost to the water. By this means all her quarter was free, and all that was in that part was dry; for you may be sure my first work was to search and to see what was spoiled and what was free: and first I found that all the ship's provisions were dry and untouched by the water; and being very well disposed to eat, I went to the bread-room, and filled my pockets with biscuit, and eat it as I went about other things, for I had no time to lose. I also found some rum in the great cabin, of which I took a large dram, and which I had indeed need enough of, to spirit me for what was before me. Now I wanted nothing but a boat, to furnish myself with many things which I foresaw would be very necessary to me.

It was in vain to sit still and wish for what was not to be had, and this extremity roused my application; we had several spare yards, and two or three large spars of wood, and a spare topmast or two in the ship. I resolved to fall to work with these, and flung as many of them overboard as I could manage of their weight, tying every one with a rope, that they might not drive away. When this was done, I went down the ship's side, and, pulling them to me, I tied four of them fast together at both ends, as well as I could, in the form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them crossways, I found I could walk upon it very well, but that it was not able to bear any great weight, the pieces being too light; so I went to work, and with the carpenter's saw I cut a spare topmast into three lengths, and added them to my raft, with a great deal of labour and pains. But the hope of furnishing myself with

necessaries encouraged me to go beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another occasion.

My raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight. My next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I laid upon it from the surf of the sea. But I was not long considering this. I first laid all the planks, or boards, upon it that I could get, and having considered well what I most wanted, I first got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and emptied, and lowered them down upon my raft. The first of these I filled with provisions, viz., bread, rice, three Dutch cheeses, five pieces of dried goats' flesh (which we lived much upon), and a little remainder of European corn which had been laid by for some fowls which we had brought to sea with us, but the fowls were killed. There had been some barley and wheat together, but, to my great disappointment, I found afterwards that the rats had eaten or spoiled it all. As for liquors, I found several cases of bottles belonging to our skipper, in which were some cordial waters, and, in all, about five or six gallons of rack. These I stowed by themselves, there being no need to put them into the chests, nor no room for them. While I was doing this I found the tide began to flow, though very calm, and I had the mortification to see my coat, shirt, and waistcoat, which I had left on shore upon the sand, swim away; as for my breeches, which were only linen and open-kneed, I swam on board in them and my stockings. However, this put me upon rummaging for clothes, of which I found enough, but took no more than I wanted for present use, for I had other things which my eye was more upon, as first, tools to work with on shore; and it was after long searching that I found out the carpenter's chest, which was indeed a very useful prize to me, and much more valuable than a ship loading of gold would have been at that time. I got it down to my raft, even whole as it was, without losing time to look into it, for I knew in general what it contained.

My next care was for some ammunition and arms. There were two very good fowling-pieces in the great cabin, and two pistols; these I secured first, with some powder-horns and a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I knew there were three barrels of powder in the ship, but knew not where our gunner had stowed them, but with much search I found them, two of them dry and good, the third had taken water. Those two I got to my raft, with the arms. And now I thought myself pretty well freighted, and began to think how I should get to shore with





CRUSOE STEERING HIS RAFT FROM THE WRECK.

them, having neither sail, oar, nor rudder; and the least capful of wind would have overset all my navigation.

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

As I imagined, so it was: there appeared before me a little opening of the land, and I found a strong current of the tide set into it; so I guided my raft as well as I could, to keep in the middle of the stream. But here I had like to have suffered a second shipwreck, which, if I had, I think verily would have broke my heart; for, knowing nothing of the coast, my raft ran aground at one end of it upon a shoal, and not being aground at the other end, it wanted but a little that all my cargo had slipped off towards that end that was afloat, and so fallen into the water. I did my utmost, by setting my back against the chests, to keep them in their places, but could not thrust off the raft with all my strength; neither durst I stir from the posture I was in, but holding up the chests with all my might, stood in that manner near half an hour, in which time the rising of the water brought me a little more upon a level; and a little after, the water still rising, my raft floated again, and I thrust her off with the oar I had into the channel, and then, driving up higher, I at length found myself in the mouth of a little river, with land on both sides, and a strong current or tide running up. I looked on both sides for a proper place to get to shore, for I was not willing to be driven too high up the river, hoping, in time, to see some ship at sea, and therefore resolved to place myself as near the coast as I could.

At length I spied a little cove on the right shore of the creek, to which, with great pain and difficulty, I guided my raft, and at last got so near as that, reaching ground with my oar, I could thrust her directly in; but here I had like to have dipped all my cargo into the sea again, for that shore lying pretty steep, that is to say, sloping, there was no place to land, but where one end of my float, if it ran on shore, would lie so high, and

the other sink lower, as before, that it would endanger my cargo again. All that I could do was to wait till the tide was at the highest, keeping the raft with my oar, like an anchor, to hold the side of it fast to the shore, near a flat piece of ground which I expected the water would flow over; and so it did. As soon as I found water enough, for my raft drew about a foot of water, I thrust her upon that flat piece of ground, and there fastened, or moored her, by sticking my two broken oars into the ground, one on one side near one end, and one on the other side near the other end; and thus I lay till the water ebbed away, and left my raft and all my cargo safe on shore.

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

I found also that the island I was in was barren, and, as I saw good reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild beasts, of whom, however, I saw none; yet I saw abundance of fowls, but knew not their kinds, neither when I killed them could I tell what was fit for food and what not. At my coming back I shot at a great bird which I saw sitting upon a tree on the side of a great wood. I believe it was the first gun that had been fired there since the creation of the world: I had no sooner fired, but from all parts of the wood there arose an innumerable number of fowls, of many sorts, making a confused screaming, and crying every one according to his usual note; but not one of them of any kind that I knew. As for that creature I killed, I took it to be a kind of a hawk, its colour and beak resembling it, but had no talons or claws more than common. Its flesh was carrion and fit for nothing.

Contented with this discovery, I came back to my raft, and fell to

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

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

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

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

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

I was under some apprehensions, during my absence from the land, that at least my provisions might be devoured on shore ; but, when I came back,



I found no sign of any visitor, only there sat a creature like a wild cat upon one of the chests, which, when I came towards it, ran away a little distance and then stood still. She sat very composed and unconcerned, and looked full in my face, as if she had a mind to be acquainted with me. I presented my gun at her, but, as she did not understand it she was perfectly unconcerned at it, nor did she offer to stir away, upon which I tossed her a bit of biscuit, though, by the way, I was not very free of it, for my store was not great; however, I spared her a bit, I say,

and she went to it, smelled of it, and eat it, and looked, as pleased, for more; but I thanked her, and could spare no more, so she marched off.

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

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

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

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

The next day I made another voyage, and now, having plundered the ship of what was portable and fit to hand out, I began with the cables,

and cutting the great cable into pieces such as I could move, I got two cables and a hawser on shore, with all the iron work I could get; and, having cut down the spritsail-yard and the mizen-yard, and every thing I could, to make a large raft, I loaded it with all those heavy goods, and came away: but my good luck began now to leave me; for this raft was so unwieldy and so overladen, that, after I was entered the little cove where I had landed the rest of my goods, not being able to guide it so handily as I did the other, it overset, and threw me and all my cargo into the water. As for myself, it was no great harm, for I was near the shore; but as to my cargo, it was a great part of it lost, especially the iron, which I expected would have been of great use to me. However, when the tide was out, I got most of the pieces of cable ashore, and some of the iron, though with infinite labour; for I was fain to dip for it into the water, a work which fatigued me very much. After this I went every day on board, and brought away what I could get.

I had been now thirteen days on shore, and had been eleven times on board the ship, in which time I had brought away all that one pair of hands could well be supposed capable to bring; though, I believe verily, had the calm weather held, I should have brought away the whole ship, piece by piece; but, preparing the twelfth time to go on board, I found the wind began to rise. However, at low water, I went on board, and though I thought I had rummaged the cabin so effectually, as that nothing more could be found, yet I discovered a locker with drawers in it, in one of which I found two or three razors, and one pair of large scissors, with some ten or a dozen of good knives and forks; in another I found about thirty-six pounds value in money, some European coin, some Brazil, some pieces of eight, some gold, some silver.

I smiled to myself at the sight of this money. "O drug!" said I aloud, "what art thou good for? Thou art not worth to me, no, not the taking off the ground; one of those knives is worth all this heap: I have no manner of use for thee; e'en remain where thou art, and go to the bottom, as a creature whose life is not worth saving." However, upon second thoughts, I took it away; and, wrapping all this in a piece of canvass, I began to think of masting another raft; but while I was preparing this, I found the sky overcast, and the wind began to rise, and in a quarter of an hour it blew a fresh gale from the shore. It presently occurred to me, that it was in vain to pretend to make a raft with the wind off shore, and that it was my business to be gone before the tide of

flood began, otherwise I might not be able to reach the shore at all. Accordingly I let myself down into the water, and swam across the channel which lay between the ship and the sands, and even that with difficulty enough, partly with the weight of the things I had about me, and partly the roughness of the water; for the wind rose very hastily, and before it was quite high water it blew a storm.

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

I now gave over any more thoughts of the ship, or of anything out of her, except what might drive on shore from her wreck, as, indeed, divers pieces of her afterwards did; but those things were of small use to me.

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

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

I consulted several things in my situation, which I found would be proper for me: first, Health and fresh water I just now mentioned; secondly, Shelter from the heat of the sun; thirdly, Security from ravenous creatures, whether man or beast; fourthly, A view to the sea, that if God sent any ship in sight, I might not lose any advantage for my deliverance, for which I was not willing to banish all my expectation yet.

In search of a place proper for this, I found a little plain on the side of a rising hill, whose front towards this little plain was steep as a house

side, so that nothing could come down upon me from the top. On the side of this rock there was a hollow place, worn a little way in, like the entrance or door of a cave, but there was not really any cave, or way into the rock, at all.

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

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

In this half-circle I pitched two rows of strong stakes, driving them into the ground till they stood very firm like piles, the biggest end being out of the ground about five feet and a half, and sharpened on the top: the two rows did not stand above six inches from one another.

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

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

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

the uppermost with a large tarpaulin which I had saved among the sails.

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

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

When I had done this, I began to work my way into the rock, and, bringing all the earth and stones that I dug down out through my tent, I laid them up within my fence in the nature of a terrace, so that it raised the ground within about a foot and a half; and thus I made a cave, just behind my tent, which served me like a cellar to my house.

It cost me much labour and many days, before all these things were brought to perfection; and therefore I must go back to some other things which took up some of my thoughts. At the same time it happened, after I had laid my scheme for the setting up my tent, and making the cave, that a storm of rain falling from a thick, dark cloud, a sudden flash of lightning happened, and after that a great clap of thunder, as is naturally the effect of it. I was not so much surprised with the lightning as I was with a thought which darted into my mind as swift as the lightning itself: Oh, my powder! My very heart sunk within me when I thought, that at one blast, all my powder might be destroyed, on which, not my defence only, but the providing me food, as I thought, entirely depended. I was nothing near so anxious about my own danger, though, had the powder took fire, I had never known who had hurt me.

Such impression did this make upon me, that after the storm was over, I laid aside all my works, my building and fortifying, and applied myself to make bags and boxes, to separate the powder, and to keep it a little and a little in a parcel, in hope that whatever might come, it might not all take fire at once; and to keep it so apart, that it should not be possible to make one part fire another. I finished this work in about a fortnight, and I think my powder, which in all was about one hundred and forty pounds weight, was divided in not less than one hundred parcels. As to the barrel that had been wet, I did not apprehend any danger from that; so I placed it in my new cave, which, in my fancy, I called my kitchen, and the rest I hid up and down in holes among the

rocks, so that no wet might come to it, marking very carefully where I laid it.

In the interval of time while this was doing, I went out at least once every day with my gun, as well to divert myself as to see if I could kill



any thing fit for food, and, as near as I could, to acquaint myself with what the island produced. The first time I went out, I presently discovered that there were goats in the island, which was a great satisfaction to me; but then it was attended with this misfortune to me, viz., that they were so shy, so subtle, and so swift of foot, that it was the most difficult thing in the world to come at them: but I was not discouraged at this, not doubting but I might now and then shoot one, as it soon happened; for, after I had found their haunts a little, I laid wait in this manner for them: I observed, if they saw me in the valleys, though

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

Having now fixed my habitation, I found it absolutely necessary to provide a place to make a fire in, and fuel to burn; and what I did for that, as also how I enlarged my cave, and what conveniences I made, I shall give a full account of it in its place: but I must first give some little account of myself, and of my thoughts about living, which, it may well be supposed, were not a few.

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

But something always returned swift upon me to check these thoughts, and to reprove me; and, particularly, one day walking with my gun in my hand by the seaside, I was very pensive upon the subject of my present condition, when reason, as it were, expostulated with me the other way, thus: “Well, you are in a desolate condition, it is true;

but, pray remember, where are the rest of you? Did not you come eleven of you into the boat? Where are the ten? Why were not they saved, and you lost? Why were you singled out? Is it better to be here or there?" And then I pointed to the sea. All evils are to be considered with the good that is in them, and with what worse attended them. |

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

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

And now, being to enter into a melancholy relation of a scene of silent life, such, perhaps, as was never heard of in the world before, I shall take it from its beginning, and continue it in its order.



CHAPTER V.

Crusoe sets up a wooden cross, on which he inscribes the date of his landing, and keeps his reckoning of time—He seriously considers his position, and, balancing the good in it against the evil, arrives at the conclusion that he is not altogether miserable—Makes various articles of furniture for his house, with the aid of the tools found in the ship—Keeps a Journal.

IT was, by my account, the 30th of September, when, in the manner as above said, I first set foot upon this horrid island,—when the sun, being to us in its autumnal equinox, was almost just over my head; for I reckoned myself, by observation, to be in the latitude of nine degrees twenty-two minutes north of the Line.

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

In the next place, we are to observe that among the many things which I brought out of the ship, in the several voyages which, as above mentioned, I made to it, I got several things of less value, but not at all less useful to me, which I omitted setting down before, as, in particular, pens, ink, and paper; several parcels in the captain’s, mate’s, gunner’s, and carpenter’s keeping; three or four compasses, some mathematical instruments, dials, perspectives, charts, and books of navigation; all which I huddled together, whether I might want them or no: also

I found three very good Bibles, which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had packed up among my things; some Portuguese books also, and, among them, two or three Popish prayer books, and several other books, all which I carefully secured. And I must not forget that we had in the ship a dog and two cats, of whose eminent history I may have occasion to say something in its place; for I carried both the cats with me, and, as for the dog, he jumped out of the ship himself and swam on shore to me the day after I went on shore with my first cargo, and was a trusty servant to me many years. I wanted nothing that he could fetch me, nor any company that he could make up to me; I only wanted to have him talk to me, but that would not do. As I observed before, I found pen, ink, and paper, and I husbanded them to the utmost; and I shall show that, while my ink lasted, I kept things very exact, but, after that was gone, I could not, for I could not make any ink by any means that I could devise.

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

This want of tools made every work I did go on heavily, and it was near a whole year before I had entirely finished my little pale, or surrounded habitation. The piles, or stakes, which were as heavy as I could well lift, were a long time in cutting and preparing in the woods, and more by far in bringing home; so that I spent sometimes two days in cutting and bringing home one of those posts, and a third day in driving it into the ground; for which purpose, I got a heavy piece of wood at first, but at last bethought myself of one of the iron crows, which, however, though I found it, yet it made driving those posts, or piles, very laborious and tedious work. But what need I have been concerned at the tediousness of any thing I had to do, seeing I had time enough to do it in? Nor had I any other employment, if that had been over, at least that I could foresee, except the ranging the island to seek for food, which I did, more or less, every day.

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

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

EVIL.

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

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

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

I have no clothes to cover me.

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

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

GOOD.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have already described my habitation, which was a tent under the side of a rock, surrounded with a strong pale of posts and cables; but I might now rather call it a wall, for I raised a kind of wall up

against it of turfs, about two feet thick on the outside, and after some time (I think it was a year and half) I raised rafters from it, leaning to the rock, and thatched, or covered, it with boughs of trees and such things as I could get, to keep out the rain, which I found, at some times of the year, very violent.

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

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

And now I began to apply myself to make such necessary things as I found I most wanted, particularly a chair and a table; for without these I was not able to enjoy the few comforts I had in the world,—I could not write, or eat, or do several things, with so much pleasure, without a table.

So I went to work; and here I must needs observe that, as reason is the substance and original of the mathematics, so, by stating and squaring every thing by reason, and by making the most rational judgment of things, every man may be, in time, master of every mechanic art. I had never handled a tool in my life; and yet, in time, by labour, application, and contrivance, I found, at last, that I wanted nothing but I could have made it, especially if I had had tools. However, I made abundance of things, even without tools, and some with no more tools than an adze and a hatchet, which, perhaps, were never made that way before, and that with infinite labour. For example, if I wanted a board, I had no other way but to cut down a tree, set it on an edge before me, and hew it flat on either side with my axe, till I had brought it to be as thin as a plank, and then dub it smooth with my adze. It is true, by this method I could make but one board out of a whole tree; but this I had no remedy for but patience, any more than I had for the prodigious deal of time and labour which it took me up to make a plank or board:

but my time or labour was little worth, and so it was as well employed one way as another.

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

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

And now it was when I began to keep a journal of every day's employment; for, indeed, at first, I was in too much a hurry, and not only hurry as to labour, but in too much discomposure of mind, and my journal would have been full of many dull things; for example, I must have said thus—"Sept. 30th.—After I got to shore, and had escaped drowning, instead of being thankful to God for my deliverance, having first vomited with the great quantity of salt water which was gotten into my stomach, and recovering myself a little, I ran about the shore, wringing my hands, and beating my head and face, exclaiming at my misery, and crying out, I was undone, undone! till, tired and faint, I was forced to lie down on the ground to repose, but durst not sleep, for fear of being devoured."

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

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

THE JOURNAL.

September 30, 1659.—I, poor miserable Robinsoe Crusoe, being shipwrecked during a dreadful storm in the offing, came on shore on this dismal unfortunate island, which I called the ISLAND OF DESPAIR, all the rest of the ship's company being drowned, and myself almost dead. All the rest of the day I spent in afflicting myself at the dismal circumstances I was brought to, viz., I had neither food, house, clothes, weapon, nor place to fly to, and, in despair of any relief, saw nothing but death before me, either that I should be devoured by wild beasts, murdered by savages, or starved to death for want of food. At the approach of night I slept in a tree, for fear of wild creatures, but slept soundly, though it rained all night.

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

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

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

Oct. 25.—It rained all night and all day, with some gusts of wind;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nov. 5.—This day I went abroad with my gun and dog, and killed

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

Nov. 6.—After my morning walk, I went to work with my table again, and finished it, though not to my liking; nor was it long before I learned to mend it.

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

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

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

Nov. 17.—This day I began to dig behind my tent, into the rock, to make room for my farther conveniency.—*Note.* Three things I wanted exceedingly for this work, viz., a pickaxe, a shovel, and a wheelbarrow, or basket; so I desisted from my work, and began to consider how to supply that want, and make me some tools. As for a pickaxe, I made use of the iron crows, which were proper enough, though heavy; but the next thing was a shovel or spade: this was so absolutely necessary, that, indeed, I could do nothing effectually without it, but what kind of one to make I knew not.

Nov. 18.—The next day, in searching the woods, I found a tree of that wood, or like it, which, in the Brazils, they call the iron tree, for its

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

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

This was not so difficult to me as the making the shovel; and yet this and the shovel, and the attempt which I made in vain to make a wheelbarrow, took me up no less than four days,—I mean, always excepting my morning walk with my gun, which I seldom failed, and very seldom failed also of bringing home something fit to eat.

Nov. 23.—My other work having now stood still, because of my making these tools, when they were finished I went on, and working every day, as my strength and time allowed, I spent eighteen days entirely in widening and deepening my cave, that it might hold my goods commodiously.—*Note.* During all this time, I worked to make this room, or cave, spacious enough to accommodate me as a warehouse, or magazine, a kitchen, a dining-room, and a cellar. As for a lodging, I kept to the tent; except that sometimes, in the wet season of the year, it rained so hard that I could not keep myself dry, which caused me afterwards to cover all my place within my pale with long poles in the form of rafters, leaning against the rock, and load them with flags and large leaves of trees, like a thatch.

December 10.—I began now to think my cave or vault finished; when on a sudden (it seems I had made it too large) a great quantity of earth

fell down from the top and one side—so much, that, in short, it frightened me, and not without reason too; for if I had been under it I had never wanted a grave-digger. Upon this disaster, I had a great deal of work to do over again, for I had the loose earth to carry out, and, which was of more importance, I had the ceiling to prop up, so that I might be sure no more would come down.

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

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

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

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

Dec. 25.—Rain all day.

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

Dec. 27.—Killed a young goat, and lamed another, so that I caught it, and led it home in a string; when I had it home, I bound and splintered up its leg, which was broke.—*N.B.* I took such care of it that it lived, and the leg grew well, and as strong as ever; but, by nursing it so long, it grew tame, and fed upon the little green at my door, and would not go away. This was the first time that I entertained a thought of breeding up some tame creatures, that I might have food when my powder and shot was all spent.

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

January 1.—Very hot still; but I went abroad early and late with my gun, and lay still in the middle of the day. This evening, going farther into the valleys which lay towards the centre of the island, I found there was plenty of goats, though exceeding shy, and hard to come



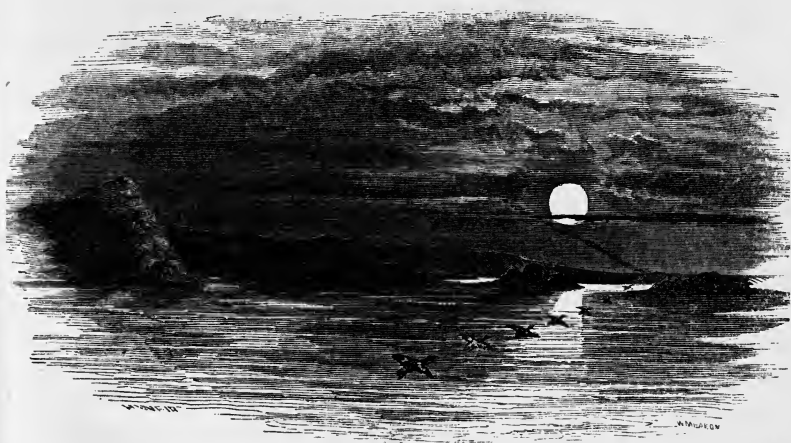
CRUSOE AND HIS GOAT.



at: however, I resolved to try if I could not bring my dog to hunt them down.

Jan. 2.—Accordingly, the next day I went out with my dog, and set him upon the goats; but I was mistaken, for they all faced about upon the dog, and he knew his danger too well, for he would not come near them.

Jan. 3.—I began my fence, or wall, which, being still jealous of my being attacked by somebody, I resolved to make very thick and strong.—*N.B.* This wall being described before, I purposely omit what was said in the journal: it is sufficient to observe, that I was no less time than from the 3rd of January to the 14th of April, working, finishing, and perfecting this wall,—though it was no more than about twenty-four yards in length, being a half circle, from one place in the rock to another place about eight yards from it, the door of the cave being in the centre behind it.



CHAPTER VI.

Crusoe enlarges upon the circumstances noted in his Journal, and details his difficulties—Is surprised by the appearance of barley growing out of the ground—At first supposes that Providence has specially intervened on his behalf, but afterwards remembers that the barley was accidentally sown—Prudently preserves the grain for seed—The Journal resumed—Is startled by an earthquake, which is followed by a hurricane—Recovers various articles from the wreck, which have been cast ashore in the storm—Finds a turtle, and cooks it—Falls ill, and is alarmed by a terrible dream—Reproaches himself on account of his past life, and reflects upon his present miseries.

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

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

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

And now, in the managing my household affairs, I found myself wanting in many things which I thought at first it was impossible for me to make, as, indeed, as to some of them, it was—for instance, I could never make a cask to be hooped. I had a small runlet or two, as I observed before, but I could never arrive to the capacity of making one by them, though I spent many weeks about it: I could neither put in the heads, nor join the staves so true to one another as to make them hold water; so I gave that also over.

In the next place, I was at a great loss for candle, so that, as soon as ever it was dark, which was generally by seven o'clock, I was obliged to go to bed. I remembered the lump of bees-wax with which I made candles in my African adventure, but I had none of that now. The only remedy I had was, that, when I had killed a goat, I saved the tallow, and with a little dish made of clay, which I baked in the sun, to which I added a wick of some oakum, I made me a lamp; and this gave me light, though not a clear steady light like a candle. In the middle of all my labours it happened, that, rummaging my things, I found a little bag, which, as I hinted before, had been filled with corn for the feeding of poultry, not for this voyage, but before, as I suppose, when the ship came from Lisbon. What little remainder of corn had been in the bag was all devoured with the rats, and I saw nothing in the bag but husks and dust; and being willing to have the bag for some other use (I think it was to put powder in, when I divided it for fear of the lightning, or some such use), I shook the husks of corn out of it, on one side of my fortification, under the rock.

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

It is impossible to express the astonishment and confusion of my thoughts on this occasion. I had hitherto acted upon no religious foundation at all: indeed, I had very few notions of religion in my head, nor had entertained any sense of any thing that had befallen me, otherwise than as a chance, or, as we lightly say, what pleases God,

without so much as inquiring into the end of Providence in these things, or His order in governing events in the world. But after I saw barley grow there, in a climate which I knew was not proper for corn, and especially that I knew not how it came there, it startled me strangely, and I began to suggest that God had miraculously caused this grain to grow without any help of seed sown, and that it was so directed purely for my sustenance on that wild miserable place.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The very next day after this wall was finished, I had almost had all my labour overthrown at once, and myself killed. The case was thus: As I was busy in the inside of it, behind my tent, just in the entrance into my cave, I was terribly frightened with a most dreadful surprising thing indeed; for, all on a sudden I found the earth come crumbling down from the roof of my cave, and from the edge of the hill over my head, and two of the posts I had set up in the cave cracked in a frightful manner. I was heartily scared, but thought nothing of what really was the cause, only thinking that the top of my cave was falling in, as some of it had done before. And for fear I should be buried in it, I ran forward to my ladder, and not thinking myself safe there neither, I got over my wall for fear of the pieces of the hill which I expected might roll down upon me. I was no sooner stepped down upon the firm ground but I plainly saw it was a terrible earthquake; for the ground I stood on shook three times at about eight minutes distance, with three such shocks as would have overturned the strongest building that could be supposed to have stood on the earth, and a great piece of the top of a rock which stood about half a mile from me, next the sea, fell down with such a terrible noise as I never heard in all my life. I perceived also the very sea was put into a violent motion by it, and I believe the shocks were stronger under the water than on the island.

I was so amazed with the thing itself, having never felt the like, or discoursed with any one that had, that I was like one dead or

stupefied, and the motion of the earth made my stomach sick, like one that was tossed at sea; but the noise of the falling of the rock awaked me, as it were, and rousing me from the stupefied condition I was in, filled me with horror, and I thought of nothing then but the hill falling upon my tent and all my household goods, and burying all at once: this sunk my very soul within me a second time.

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

While I sat thus, I found the air overcast, and grew cloudy, as if it would rain: soon after that the wind rose by little and little, so that in less than half an hour it blew a most dreadful hurricane. The sea was, all on a sudden, covered over with foam and froth; the shore was covered with the breach of the water, the trees were torn up by the roots, and a terrible storm it was; and this held about three hours and then began to abate, and in two hours more it was stark calm, and began to rain very hard.

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

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

It continued raining all that night and great part of the next day, so that I could not stir abroad; but my mind being more composed, I began to think of what I had best do, concluding that, if the island was subject to these earthquakes, there would be no living for me in a cave, but I must consider of building me some little hut in an open place, which I might surround with a wall, as I had done here, and so make myself secure from wild beasts or men: but concluded, if I staid where I was, I should certainly, one time or other, be buried alive.

With these thoughts, I resolved to remove my tent from the place where it stood, which was just under the hanging precipice of the hill, and which, if it should be shaken again, would certainly fall upon my tent. And I spent the two next days, being the 19th and 20th of April, in contriving where and how to remove my habitation.

The fear of being swallowed up alive made me that I never slept in quiet, and yet the apprehension of lying abroad, without any fence, was almost equal to it: but still, when I looked about, and saw how every thing was put in order, how pleasantly concealed I was, and how safe from danger, it made me very loth to remove.

In the meantime, it occurred to me that it would require a vast deal of time for me to do this, and that I must be contented to run the venture where I was, till I had formed a camp for myself, and had secured it so as to remove to it. So with this resolution I composed myself for a time, and resolved that I would go to work with all speed to build me a wall with piles and cables, etc., in a circle as before, and set my tent up in it when it was finished; but that I would venture to stay where I was till it was finished and fit to remove to. This was the 21st.

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

was done, though since I have observed it is very common there ; besides that, my grindstone was very large and heavy. This machine cost me a full week's work to bring it to perfection.

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

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

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

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

This wholly diverted my thoughts from the design of removing my habitation, and I busied myself mightily, that day especially, in searching whether I could make any way into the ship ; but I found nothing was to be expected of that kind, for all the inside of the ship was choked up with sand. However, as I had learned not to despair of anything, I resolved to pull every thing to pieces that I could of the ship, con-

cluding that everything I could get from her would be of some use or other to me.

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

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

May 5.—Worked on the wreck: cut another beam asunder, and brought three great fir planks off from the decks, which I tied together, and made swim on shore when the tide of flood came on.

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

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

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

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

May 10, 11, 13, 14.—Went every day to the wreck, and got a great deal of pieces of timber, and boards, or plank, and two or three hundred weight of iron.

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

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

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

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

June 16.—Going down to the seaside, I found a large tortoise, or turtle. This was the first I had seen, which, it seems, was only my misfortune, not any defect of the place, or scarcity; for had I happened to be on the other side of the island, I might have had hundreds of them every day, as I found afterwards, but perhaps had paid dear enough for them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

June 24.—Much better.

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

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

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

I thought that I was sitting on the ground on the outside of my wall, where I sat when the storm blew after the earthquake, and that I saw a man descend from a great black cloud, in a bright flame of fire, and light upon the ground; he was all over as bright as a flame, so that I could but just bear to look towards him: his countenance was most inexpressibly dreadful, impossible for words to describe; when he stepped upon the ground with his feet, I thought the earth trembled, just as it had done before in the earthquake, and all the air looked, to my apprehension, as if it had been filled with flashes of fire. He was no sooner landed upon the earth, but he moved forward towards me, with a long spear or weapon in his hand to kill me, and when he came to a rising ground at some distance he spoke to me, or I heard a voice so terrible that it is impossible to express the terror of it; all that I can say I understood, was this: "Seeing all these things have not brought thee to repentance, now thou shalt die,"—at which words I thought he lifted up the spear that was in his hand, to kill me.

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

I had, alas ! no divine knowledge ; what I had received by the good instruction of my father was then worn out by an uninterrupted series, for eight years, of seafaring wickedness, and a constant conversation with nothing but such as were, like myself, wicked and profane to the last degree. I do not remember that I had, in all that time, one thought that so much as tended either to looking upwards towards God, or inwards towards a reflection upon my own ways, but a certain stupidity of soul, without desire of good, or conscience of evil, had entirely overwhelmed me, and I was all that the most hardened, unthinking, wicked creature among our common sailors can be supposed to be, not having the least sense either of the fear of God, in danger, or of thankfulness to God, in deliverance.

In the relating what is already past of my story, this will be the more easily believed when I shall add, that, through all the variety of miseries that had to this day befallen me, I never had so much as one thought of it being the hand of God, or that it was a just punishment for my sin—my rebellious behaviour against my father, or my present sins, which were great, or so much as a punishment for the general course of my wicked life. When I was on the desperate expedition on the desert shores of Africa, I never had so much as one thought of what would become of me, or one wish to God to direct me whither I should go, or to keep me from the danger which apparently surrounded me, as well from voracious creatures as cruel savages ; but I was merely thoughtless of God or a Providence, acted like a mere brute, from the principles of nature, and by the dictates of common sense only, and indeed hardly that.

When I was delivered and taken up at sea by the Portuguese captain, well used and dealt justly and honourably with, as well as charitably, I had not the least thankfulness in my thoughts. When, again, I was shipwrecked, ruined, and in danger of drowning, on this island, I was as far from remorse, or looking on it as a judgment : I only said to myself often, that I was an unfortunate dog, and born to be always miserable.

It is true, when I got on shore first here, and found all my ship's crew drowned, and myself spared, I was surprised with a kind of ecstasy, and some transports of soul, which, had the grace of God assisted, might have come up to true thankfulness; but it ended where it began, in a mere common flight of joy, or, as I may say, being glad I was alive, without the least reflection upon the distinguishing goodness of the hand which had preserved me, and had singled me out to be preserved when all the rest were destroyed, or an inquiry why Providence had been thus merciful to me,—even just the same common sort of joy which seamen generally have after they have got safe ashore from a shipwreck, which they drown all in the next bowl of punch, and forget almost as soon as it is over: and all the rest of my life was like it.

Even when I was afterwards, on due consideration, made sensible of my condition,—how I was cast on this dreadful place, out of the reach of human kind, out of all hope of relief, or prospect of redemption, as soon as I saw but a prospect of living, and that I should not starve and perish for hunger, all the sense of my affliction wore off, and I began to be very easy, applied myself to the works proper for my preservation and supply, and was far enough from being afflicted at my condition, as a judgment from Heaven, or as the hand of God against me: these were thoughts which very seldom entered into my head.

The growing up of the corn, as is hinted in my Journal, had, at first, some little influence upon me, and began to affect me with seriousness as long as I thought it had something miraculous in it, but as soon as ever that part of the thought was removed, all the impression which was raised from it wore off also, as I have noted already.

Even the earthquake, though nothing could be more terrible in its nature, or more immediately directing to the invisible Power which alone directs such things, yet no sooner was the first fright over, but the impression it had made went off also. I had no more sense of God, or his judgments, much less of the present affliction of my circumstances being from his hand, than if I had been in the most prosperous condition of life.

But now, when I began to be sick, and a leisurely view of the miseries of death came to place itself before me,—when my spirits began to sink under the burden of a strong distemper, and nature was exhausted with the violence of the fever,—conscience, that had slept so long, began to awake, and I began to reproach myself with my past life, in which I had so evidently, by uncommon wickedness, provoked the justice of God.

to lay me under uncommon strokes, and to deal with me in so vindictive a manner.

These reflections oppressed me for the second or third day of my distemper, and in the violence, as well of the fever as of the dreadful reproaches of my conscience, extorted some words from me like praying to God, though I cannot say they were either a prayer attended with desires or with hopes; it was rather the voice of mere fright and distress. My thoughts were confused, the convictions great upon my mind, and the horror of dying in such a miserable condition raised vapours in my head with the mere apprehensions; and in these hurries of my soul I know not what my tongue might express, but it was rather exclamation, such as, "Lord, what a miserable creature am I! If I should be sick, I shall certainly die for want of help; and what will become of me?" Then the tears burst out of my eyes, and I could say no more for a good while.

In this interval, the good advice of my father came to my mind, and presently his prediction, which I mentioned at the beginning of this story, viz., that if I did take this foolish step God would not bless me, and I would have leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his counsel, when there might be none to assist in my recovery. "Now," said I, aloud, "my dear father's words are come to pass: God's justice has overtaken me, and I have none to help or hear me. I rejected the voice of Providence, which had mercifully put me in a posture or station of life wherein I might have been happy and easy, but I would neither see it myself, nor learn to know the blessing of it from my parents. I left them to mourn over my folly, and now I am left to mourn under the consequences of it: I refused their help and assistance, who would have lifted me into the world, and would have made every thing easy to me; and now I have difficulties to struggle with, too great for even nature itself to support, and no assistance, no comfort, no advice." Then I cried out, "Lord, be my help, for I am in great distress." This was the first prayer, if I may call it so, that I had made for many years. But I return to my Journal.





CHAPTER VII.

The Journal resumed—Crusoe's thoughts during his illness—His reflections on the dealings of Providence with him—Finds a Bible in a seaman's chest which is cast on shore, and is consoled and encouraged by the reading of it—Tobacco as a remedial agent—His first prayer—Finds deliverance from sin a greater blessing than deliverance from affliction—Convalescence—Takes a fresh survey of the Island, and discovers tobacco, aloes, lemons, melons, grapes, and wild sugar-canes—Gathers grapes, limes, and lemons to store up for the winter—His lost cat returns with a family of kittens.



UNE 28.—Having been somewhat refreshed with the sleep I had had, and the fit being entirely off, I got up, and though the fright and terror of my dream was very great, yet I considered that the fit of the ague would return again the next day, and now was my time to get something to refresh and support myself when I should be ill; and the first thing I did, I filled a large square case-bottle with water, and set it upon my table, in reach of my bed, and to take off the chill or aguish disposition of the water, I put about a quarter of a pint of rum into it,

and mixed them together. Then I got me a piece of the goat's flesh, and broiled it on the coals, but could eat very little. I walked about, but was very weak and withal very sad and heavy-hearted in the sense of my miserable condition, dreading the return of my distemper the next day. At night, I made my supper of three of the turtle's eggs, which I roasted in the ashes, and eat, as we call it, in the shell; and this was the first bit of meat I had ever asked God's blessing to, even, as I could remember, in my whole life. After I had eaten, I tried to walk, but found myself so weak that I could hardly carry the gun (for I never went out without that); so I went but a little way, and sat down upon the ground, looking out upon the sea, which was just before me, and very calm and smooth. As I sat here, some such thoughts as these occurred to me:

What is this earth and sea, of which I have seen so much? Whence is it produced? And what am I, and all the other creatures, wild and tame, human and brutal? Whence are we?

Sure we are all made by some secret power, who formed the earth and sea, the air and sky—And who is that? Then it followed most naturally,—It is God that has made it all. Well, but then—it came on strangely—if God has made all these things, he guides and governs them all, and all things that concern them; for the Power that could make all things must certainly have power to guide and direct them.

If so, nothing can happen in the great circuit of his works, either without his knowledge or appointment.

And if nothing happens without his knowledge, he knows that I am here, and am in this dreadful condition; and if nothing happens without his appointment, he has appointed all this to befall me.

Nothing occurred to my thought to contradict any of these conclusions, and therefore it rested upon me with the greater force, that it must needs be that God had appointed all this to befall me—that I was brought to this miserable circumstance by his direction, he having the sole power, not of me only, but of every thing that happened in the world. Immediately it followed—

Why has God done this to me? What have I done to be thus used?

My conscience presently checked me in that inquiry, as if I had blasphemed; and methought it spoke to me like a voice: "*Wretch! dost thou ask what thou hast done? Look back upon a dreadful misspent life, and ask thyself what thou hast not done? Ask, why is it that thou wert*

not long ago destroyed? Why wert thou not drowned in Yarmouth Roads; killed in the fight when the ship was taken by the Sallee man-of-war; devoured by the wild beasts on the coast of Africa; or drowned **HERE**, when all the crew perished but thyself? Dost thou ask, '*What have I done?*'"

I was struck dumb with these reflections, as one astonished, and had not a word to say,—no, not to answer to myself; but rose up pensive and sad, walked back to my retreat, and went up over my wall, as if I had been going to bed: but my thoughts were sadly disturbed, and I had no inclination to sleep, so I sat down in my chair, and lighted my lamp, for it began to be dark. Now, as the apprehension of the return of my distemper terrified me very much, it occurred to my thought that the Brazilians take no physic but their tobacco for almost all distempers; and I had a piece of a roll of tobacco in one of the chests, which was quite cured, and some also that was green, and not quite cured.

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

What use to make of the tobacco I knew not, as to my distemper, or whether it was good for it or no; but I tried several experiments with it, as if I was resolved it should hit one way or other. I first took a piece of a leaf, and chewed it in my mouth, which, indeed, at first, almost stupefied my brain, the tobacco being green and strong, and that I had not been much used to it. Then I took some and steeped it an hour or two in some rum, and resolved to take a dose of it when I lay down; and, lastly, I burnt some upon a pan of coals, and held my nose close over the smoke of it as long as I could bear it, as well for the heat, as almost for suffocation.

In the interval of this operation, I took up the Bible and began to read, but my head was too much disturbed with the tobacco to bear reading, at least at that time; only, having opened the book casually, the first words that occurred to me were these: "Call on me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me."

The words were very apt to my case, and made some impression

upon my thoughts at the time of reading them, though not so much as they did afterwards; for, as for being *delivered*, the word had no sound, as I may say, to me—the thing was so remote, so impossible in my apprehension of things, that I began to say, as the children of Israel did, when they were promised flesh to eat, “Can God spread a table in the wilderness?”—so I began to say, “Can God himself deliver me from this place?” And as it was not for many years that any hope appeared, this prevailed very often upon my thoughts. But, however, the words made a great impression upon me, and I mused upon them very often. It grew now late, and the tobacco had, as I said, dozed my head so much that I inclined to sleep; so I left my lamp burning in the cave, lest I should want any thing in the night, and went to bed. But before I lay down, I did what I never had done in all my life—I kneeled down, and prayed to God to fulfil the promise to me, that if I called upon him in the day of trouble, he would deliver me. After my broken and imperfect prayer was over, I drank the rum in which I had steeped the tobacco, which was so strong and rank of the tobacco, that, indeed, I could scarce get it down. Immediately upon this I went to bed. I found presently it flew up in my head violently, but I fell into a sound sleep, and waked no more till, by the sun, it must necessarily be near three o’clock in the afternoon the next day; nay, to this hour, I am partly of the opinion that I slept all the next day and night, and till almost three the day after; for otherwise I know not how I should lose a day out of my reckoning in the days of the week, as it appeared some years after I had done, for if I had lost it by crossing and recrossing the Line, I should have lost more than one day,—but certainly I lost a day in my account, and never knew which way.

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

The 30th was my well day, of course, and I went abroad with my gun, but did not care to travel too far. I killed a sea-fowl or two, something like a brand goose, and brought them home, but was not very forward to eat them, so I eat some more of the turtle’s eggs, which were very good. This evening I renewed the medicine which I had supposed did me good the day before, viz., the tobacco steeped in rum, only I did

not take so much as before, nor did I chew any of the leaf, or hold my head over the smoke: however, I was not so well the next day, which was the 1st of July, as I hoped I should have been, for I had a little spice of the cold fit, but it was not much.

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



July 3.—I missed the fit for good and all, though I did not recover my full strength for some weeks after. While I was thus gathering strength, my thoughts ran exceedingly upon this Scripture, "I will deliver thee," and the impossibility of my deliverance lay much upon my mind, in bar of my ever expecting it; but, as I was discouraging myself

with such thoughts, it occurred to my mind that I pored so much upon my deliverance from the main affliction, that I disregarded the deliverance I had received, and I was, as it were, made to ask myself such questions as these, viz. : "Have I not been delivered, and wonderfully, too, from sickness, from the most distressed condition that could be, and that was so frightful to me? and what notice had I taken of it? Had I done my part? God had delivered me, but I had not glorified him,—that is to say, I had not owned and been thankful for that as a deliverance, and how could I expect a greater deliverance?"

This touched my heart very much, and immediately I knelt down and gave God thanks aloud for my recovery from my sickness.

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

(This was the first time that I could say, in the true sense of the words, that I prayed in all my life; for now I prayed with a sense of my condition,) and with a true Scripture view of hope, founded on the encouragement of the word of God; and from this time, I may say, I began to have hope that God would hear me.

Now I began to construe the words mentioned above, "Call on me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee," in a different sense from what I had ever done before; for then I had no notion of any thing being called deliverance, but my being delivered from the captivity I was in: for though I was indeed at large in the place, yet the island was certainly a prison to me, and that in the worst sense in the world. But now I learned to take it in another sense; now I looked back upon my past life

with such horror, and my sins appeared so dreadful, that my soul sought nothing of God but deliverance from the load of guilt that bore down all my comfort. As for my solitary life, it was nothing; I did not so much as pray to be delivered from it, or think of it: it was all of no consideration, in comparison to this. And I added this part here, to hint to whoever shall read it, that, whenever they come to a true sense of things, they will find deliverance from sin a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction.

But, leaving this part, I return to my Journal.

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

From the 4th of July to the 14th, I was chiefly employed in walking about with my gun in my hand, a little and a little at a time, as a man that was gathering up his strength after a fit of sickness: for it is hardly to be imagined how low I was, and to what weakness I was reduced. The application which I made use of was perfectly new, and perhaps what had never cured an ague before,—neither can I recommend it to any one to practise, by this experiment; and though it did carry off the fit, yet it rather contributed to weakening me, for I had frequent convulsions in my nerves and limbs for some time.

I learnt from it also this, in particular,—that being abroad in the rainy season was the most pernicious thing to my health that could be, especially in those rains which came attended with storms and hurricanes of wind; for as the rain which came in a dry season was always most accompanied with such storms, so I found that rain was much more dangerous than the rain which fell in September and October.

I had now been in this unhappy island above ten months: all possibility of deliverance from this condition seemed to be entirely taken from me, and I firmly believe that no human shape had ever set foot upon that place. Having now secured my habitation, as I thought, fully to my mind, I had a great desire to make a more perfect discovery of the island, and to see what other productions I might find, which yet I knew nothing of

It was the 15th of July that I began to take a more particular survey of the island itself. I went up the creek first, where, as I hinted, I brought my rafts on shore. I found, after I came about two miles up, that the tide did not flow any higher, and that it was no more than a little brook of running water, and very fresh and good; but this being the dry season, there was hardly any water in some parts of it; at least, not enough to run in any stream so as it could be perceived.

On the banks of this brook I found many pleasant savannahs or meadows, plain, smooth, and covered with grass; and on the rising parts of them, next to the higher grounds (where the water, as it might be supposed, never overflowed), I found a great deal of tobacco, green, and growing to a great and very strong stalk: there were divers other plants which I had no notion of, or understanding about, and that might, perhaps, have virtues of their own which I could not find out. I searched for the cassava root, which the Indians in all that climate make their bread of, but I could find none. I saw large plants of aloes, but did not then understand them. I saw several sugar-canes, but wild, and, for want of cultivation, imperfect. I contented myself with these discoveries for this time, and came back musing with myself what course I might take to know the virtue and goodness of any of the fruits or plants which I should discover, but could bring it to no conclusion; for, in short, I had made so little observation while I was in the Brazils, that I knew little of the plants in the field, at least, very little that might serve me to any purpose now in my distress.

The next day, the 16th, I went up the same way again, and, after going something farther than I had gone the day before, I found the brook and the savannahs began to cease, and the country became more woody than before. In this part I found different fruits, and particularly I found melons upon the ground in great abundance, and grapes upon the trees: the vines, indeed, had spread over the trees, and the clusters of grapes were just now in their prime, very ripe and rich. This was a surprising discovery, and I was exceeding glad of them; but I was warned by my experience to eat sparingly of them, remembering that when I was ashore in Barbary, the eating of grapes killed several of our Englishmen, who were slaves there, by throwing them into fluxes and fevers. But I found an excellent use for these grapes, and that was to cure or dry them in the sun, and keep them as dried grapes or raisins are kept, which I thought would be (as indeed they

were) as wholesome and as agreeable to eat, when no grapes might be had.

I spent all that evening there, and went not back to my habitation, which, by the way, was the first night, as I might say, I had lain from home. In the night I took my first contrivance and got up into a tree, where I slept well, and the next morning proceeded upon my discovery, travelling near four miles, as I might judge by the length of the valley, keeping still due north, with a ridge of hills on the south and north sides of me.

At the end of this march I came to an opening, where the country seemed to descend to the west, and a little spring of fresh water, which issued out of the side of the hill by me, ran the other way, that is, due east; and the country appeared so fresh, so green, so flourishing, every thing being in a constant verdure, or flourish of spring, that it looked like a planted garden.

I descended a little on the side of that delicious vale, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure (though mixed with my other afflicting thoughts), to think that this was all my own; that I was king and lord of all this country indefeasibly, and had a right of possession, and, if I could convey it, I might have it in inheritance as completely as any lord of a manor in England. I saw here abundance of cocoa trees, orange, and lemon, and citron trees, but all wild, and few bearing any fruit,—at least not then. However, the green limes that I gathered were not only pleasant to eat, but very wholesome, and I mixed their juice afterwards with water, which made it very wholesome and very cool and refreshing.

I found now I had business enough, to gather and carry home, and I resolved to lay up a store, as well of grapes as limes and lemons, to furnish myself for the wet season, which I knew was approaching.

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

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

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

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

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

This thought ran long in my head, and I was exceeding fond of it for some time, the pleasantness of the place tempting me ; but when I came to a nearer view of it, and to consider that I was now by the seaside, where it was at least possible that something might happen to my advantage, and, by the same ill-fate that brought me hither, might bring some other unhappy wretches to the same place,—and though it was scarce probable that any such thing should ever happen, yet to enclose myself among the hills and woods in the centre of the island, was to anticipate my bondage, and to render such an affair not only improbable, but impossible,—and that therefore I ought not by any means to remove.

However, I was so enamoured of this place, that I spent much of my time there for the whole remaining part of the month of July ; and though, upon second thoughts, I resolved, as above, not to remove, yet I built me a little kind of a bower, and surrounded it at a distance with a strong fence, being a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well staked, and filled between with brushwood ; and here I lay very secure,

sometimes two or three nights together, always going over it with a ladder, as before,—so that I fancied now I had my country-house and my sea-coast house. And this work took me up till the beginning of August.

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

About the beginning of August, as I said, I had finished my bower, and began to enjoy myself. The 3rd of August, I found the grapes I had hung up were perfectly dried, and indeed were excellent good raisins of the sun: so I began to take them down from the trees, and it was very happy that I did so, for the rains which followed would have spoiled them, and I had lost the best part of my winter food; for I had above two hundred large bunches of them. No sooner had I taken them all down, and carried most of them home to my cave, but it began to rain; and from hence, which was the 14th of August, it rained, more or less, every day till the middle of October, and sometimes so violently that could not stir out of my cave for several days.

In this season, I was much surprised with the increase of my family. I had been concerned for the loss of one of my cats who ran away from me, or, as I thought, had been dead, and I heard no more tale or tidings of her, till, to my astonishment, she came home, about the end of August, with three kittens. This was the more strange to me, because, though I had killed a wild cat, as I called it, with my gun, yet I thought it was a quite differing kind from our European cats; yet the young cats were the same kind of house-breed like the old one, and both of my cats being females, I thought it very strange; but, from these three cats, I afterwards came to be so pestered with cats, that I was forced to kill them like vermin, or wild beasts, and to drive them from my house as much as possible.

From the 14th of August to the 26th, incessant rain, so that I could not stir, and was now very careful not to be much wet. In this confinement, I began to be straitened for food; but, venturing out twice, I one day killed a goat, and the last day, which was the 26th, found a very large tortoise, which was a treat to me, and my food was regulated thus: I eat a bunch of raisins for my breakfast, a piece of the goat's flesh, or of

the turtle, for my dinner, broiled (for, to my great misfortune, I had no vessel to boil or stew anything), and two or three of the turtle's eggs for my supper.

During this confinement in my cover, by the rain, I worked daily two or three hours at enlarging my cave, and by degrees worked it on towards one side till I came to the outside of the hill and made a door, or way out, which came beyond my fence or wall; and so I came in and out this way. But I was not perfectly easy at lying so open: for, as I had managed myself before, I was in a perfect enclosure, whereas now, I thought I lay exposed; and yet I could not perceive that there was any living thing to fear, the biggest creature that I had yet seen upon the island being a goat.







THE ANNIVERSARY OF CRUSOE'S LANDING.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Journal continued—Crusoe celebrates the anniversary of his landing on the island by a solemn fast—Sets apart every seventh day for a Sabbath—His ink beginning to fail, he only records remarkable events in his Journal—Sows a portion of the grain he had saved at the wrong season, and learns something worth knowing from the experiment—A new division of the Seasons—Turns his early habit of observing to account, in making baskets—Makes a journey through the island, and comes to a spot where the shore is covered with turtles—Loses his way in the interior, and returns to the shore, from whence he reaches his home—Catches and tames a young kid—The second anniversary of his landing—Reflections—Difficulties overcome by labour and patience.



SEPTEMBER THE 30TH—I was now come to the unhappy anniversary of my landing,—I cast up the notches on my post, and found I had been on shore three hundred and sixty-five days. I kept this day as a solemn fast, setting it apart for religious exercise, prostrating myself on the ground with the most serious humiliation, confessing my sins to God, acknowledging his righteous judgments upon me, and praying to him to have mercy on me through Jesus Christ; and having not tasted the least refreshment for twelve hours, even till the going down of the sun, I then eat a biscuit cake and a bunch of grapes, and went to bed, finishing the day as I began it.

I had all this time observed no sabbath-day; for, as at first I had no sense of religion upon my mind, I had, after some time, omitted to distinguish the weeks, by making a longer notch than ordinary for the sabbath-day, and so did not really know what any of the days were; but now having cast up the days, as above, I found I had been there a year, so I divided it into weeks, and set apart every seventh day for a sabbath: though I found, at the end of my account, I had lost a day or two in my reckoning.

A little after this, my ink began to fail me, and so I contented myself to use it more sparingly, and to write down only the most remarkable

events of my life, without continuing a daily memorandum of other things.

The rainy season and the dry season began now to appear regular to me, and I learned to divide them so as to provide for them accordingly; but I bought all my experience before I had it, and this I am going to relate was one of the most discouraging experiments that I made at all. I have mentioned that I had saved the few ears of barley and rice, which I had so surprisingly found spring up, as I thought, of themselves, and believe there were about thirty stalks of rice, and about twenty of barley; and now I thought it a proper time to sow it after the rains, the sun being in its southern position, going from me.

Accordingly, I dug up a piece of ground, as well as I could with my wooden spade, and, dividing it into two parts, I sowed my grain; but, as I was sowing, it casually occurred to my thoughts that I would not sow it all at first, because I did not know when was the proper time for it; so I sowed about two-thirds of the seed, leaving about a handful of each.

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

Finding my first seed did not grow, which I easily imagined was by the drought, I sought for a moister piece of ground to make another trial in, and I dug up a piece of ground near my new bower, and sowed the rest of my seed in February, a little before the vernal equinox; and this, having the rainy months of March and April to water it, sprung up very pleasantly, and yielded a very good crop: but having part of the seed left only, and not daring to sow all that I had, I had but a small quantity at last, my whole crop not amounting to above half a peck of each kind. But by this experiment I was made master of my business, and knew exactly when the proper season was to sow, and that I might expect two seed-times, and two harvests, every year.

While this corn was growing, I made a little discovery, which was of use to me afterwards. As soon as the rains were over and the weather began to settle, which was about the month of November, I made a visit up the country to my bower, where, though I had not been some months, yet I found all things just as I left them. The circle, or double hedge,

that I had made, was not only firm and entire, but the stakes which I had cut out of some trees that grew thereabouts, were all shot out and grown with long branches, as much as a willow-tree usually shoots the first year after lopping its head. I could not tell what tree to call it that these stakes were cut from. I was surprised, and yet very well pleased, to see the young trees grow, and I pruned them and led them up to grow as much alike as I could; and it is scarce credible how beautiful a figure they grew into in three years,—so that, though the hedge made a circle of about twenty-five yards in diameter, yet the trees, for such I might now call them, soon covered it, and it was a complete shade, sufficient to lodge under all the dry season. This made me resolve to cut some more stakes, and make me a hedge like this, in a semicircle round my wall (I mean that of my first dwelling), which I did; and placing the trees, or stakes, in a double row, at about eight yards distance from my first fence, they grew presently, and were at first a fine cover to my habitation, and afterwards served for a defence also, as I shall observe in its order.

I found now that the seasons of the year might generally be divided, not into summer and winter, as in Europe, but into the rainy seasons and the dry seasons, which were generally thus:—

Half February	}	Rainy, the sun being then on, or near, the equinox.
March		
Half April		
Half April	}	Dry, the sun being then to the north of the Line.
May		
June		
July		
Half August		
Half August	}	Rain, the sun being then come back.
September		
Half October		
Half October	}	Dry, the sun being then to the south of the Line.
November		
December		
January		
Half February		

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

In this time I found much employment, and very suitable also to the time, for I found great occasion of many things which I had no way to furnish myself with but by hard labour and constant application; particularly, I tried many ways to make myself a basket, but all the twigs I could get for the purpose proved so brittle that they would do nothing. It proved of excellent advantage to me now, that, when I was a boy, I used to take great delight in standing at a basket-maker's, in the town where my father lived, to see them make their wicker-ware; and being, as boys usually are, very officious to help, and a great observer of the manner how they worked those things, and sometimes lending a hand, I had by this means so full knowledge of the methods of it, that I wanted nothing but the materials,—when it came into my mind that the twigs of that tree from whence I cut my stakes that grew, might possibly be as tough as the salallows, and willows, and osiers, in England; and I resolved to try.

Accordingly, the next day, I went to my country-house, as I called it, and cutting some of the smaller twigs, I found them to my purpose as much as I could desire; whereupon I came the next time prepared with a hatchet to cut down a quantity, which I soon found, for there was great plenty of them. These I set up to dry within my circle, or hedge, and when they were fit for use, I carried them to my cave; and here, during the next season, I employed myself in making, as well as I could, a great many baskets, both to carry earth, or to carry or lay up any thing as I had occasion: and, though I did not finish them very handsomely, yet I made them sufficiently serviceable for my purpose; and thus, afterwards, I took care never to be without them,—and as my wicker-ware decayed, I made more, especially I made strong deep baskets to place my corn in, instead of sacks, when I should come to have any quantity of it.

Having mastered this difficulty, and employed a world of time about it, I bestirred myself to see, if possible, how to supply two wants. I had no vessels to hold anything that was liquid, except two runlets, which were almost full of rum, and some glass bottles, some of the common size and others, which were case-bottles, square, for the holding of waters, spirits, etc. I had not so much as a pot to boil anything, except a great kettle which I saved out of the ship, and which was too big for such use as I desired it for, viz., to make broth and stew a bit of meat by itself. The second thing I would fain have had, was a tobacco-

pipe, but it was impossible for me to make one; however, I found a contrivance for that, too, at last.

I employed myself in planting my second rows of stakes or piles, and in this wicker-work, all the summer, or dry season, when another business took me up more time than it could be imagined I could spare.



I mentioned before that I had a great mind to see the whole island, and that I had travelled up the brook, and so on to where I built my bower, and where I had an opening quite to the sea, on the other side of the island. I now resolved to travel quite across to the seashore, on that side. So, taking my gun, and hatchet, and my dog, and a larger quantity of powder and shot than usual, with two biscuit-cakes and a great bunch of raisins in my pouch, for my store, I began my journey. When I had passed the vale where my bower stood, as above, I came within view of

the sea, to the west; and it being a very clear day, I fairly descried land, whether an island or continent I could not tell, but it lay very high, extending from the west to the west-south-west, at a very great distance: by my guess, it could not be less than fifteen or twenty leagues off.

I could not tell what part of the world this might be, otherwise than that I knew it must be part of America, and, as I concluded by all my observations, must be near the Spanish dominions, and perhaps was all inhabited by savages, where, if I should have landed, I had been in a worse condition than I was now; and therefore I acquiesced in the dispositions of Providence, which I began now to own and to believe ordered every thing for the best,—I say, I quieted my mind with this, and left afflicting myself with fruitless wishes of being there.

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

With these considerations I walked very leisurely forward. I found that side of the island where I now was much pleasanter than mine, the open or savannah fields sweet, adorned with flowers and grass, and full of very fine woods. I saw abundance of parrots, and fain I would have caught one, if possible, to have kept it to be tame, and taught it to speak to me. I did, after some painstaking, catch a young parrot, for I knocked it down with a stick, and, having recovered it, I brought it home; but it was some years before I could make him speak: however, at last I taught him to call me by my name very familiarly. But the accident that followed, though it be a trifle, will be very diverting in its place.

I was exceedingly diverted with this journey. I found, in the low grounds, hares—as I thought them to be—and foxes, but they differed greatly from all the other kinds I had met with, nor could I satisfy myself to eat them, though I killed several. But I had no need to be venturous, for I had no want of food, and of that which was very good too, especially these three sorts, viz. goats, pigeons, and turtle, or tortoise,—which, added to my grapes, Leadenhall market could not have furnished a table better than I, in proportion to the company; and though my case

was deplorable enough, yet I had great cause for thankfulness that I was not driven to any extremities for food, but had rather plenty, even to dainties.

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

As soon as I came to the seashore, I was surprised to see that I had taken up my lot on the worst side of the island; for here, indeed, the shore was covered with innumerable turtles, whereas, on the other side, I had found but three in a year and a half. Here was also an infinite number of fowls of many kinds, some of which I had not seen before, and many of them very good meat, but such as I knew not the names of, except those called penguins.

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

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

I took another way to come back than that I went, thinking I could easily keep all the island so much in my view that I could not miss my first dwelling by viewing the country; but I found myself mistaken, for being come about two or three miles, I found myself descended into a very large valley, but so surrounded with hills, and those hills covered with woods, that I could not see which was my way by any direction but that

of the sun, nor even then, unless I knew very well the position of the sun at that time of the day.

It happened, to my farther misfortune, that the weather proved hazy for three or four days while I was in this valley, and, not being able to see the sun, I wandered about very uncomfortably, and at last was obliged to find out the seaside, look for my post, and come back the same way I went; and then by easy journeys I turned homeward, the weather being exceeding hot, and my gun, ammunition, hatchet, and other things very heavy.

In this journey, my dog surprised a young kid, and seized upon it, and I running in to take hold of it, caught it, and saved it alive from the dog. I had a great mind to bring it home if I could, for I had often been musing whether it might not be possible to get a kid or two, and so raise a breed of tame goats, which might supply me when my powder and shot should be all spent.

I made a collar for this little creature, and with a string which I made out of some rope yarn, which I always carried about me, I led him along, though with some difficulty, till I came to my bower, and there I enclosed him and left him, for I was very impatient to be at home, from whence I had been absent above a month.

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

I reposed myself here a week, to rest and regale myself after my long journey, during which most of the time was taken up in the weighty affair of making a cage for my Poll, who began now to be a mere domestic, and to be mighty well acquainted with me. Then I began to think of the poor kid which I had pent in within my little circle, and resolved to go and fetch it home, and give it some food: accordingly I went, and found it where I left it, for indeed it could not get out, but was almost starved for want of food. I went and cut boughs of trees, and branches of such shrubs as I could find, and threw it over, and having fed it, I tied it as I did before, to lead it away; but it was so tame with being hungry, that I had no need to have tied it, for it followed me like a dog, and, as I

continually fed it, the creature became so loving, so gentle, and so fond, that it became from that time one of my domestics also, and would never leave me afterwards.

The rainy season of the autumnal equinox was now come, and I kept the 30th of September in the same solemn manner as before, being the anniversary of my landing on the island, having now been there two years, and no more prospect of being delivered than the first day I came there. I spent the whole day in humble and thankful acknowledgments of the many wonderful mercies which my solitary condition was attended with, and without which it might have been infinitely more miserable. I gave humble and hearty thanks, that God had been pleased to discover to me even that it was possible I might be more happy in this solitary condition than I should have been in a liberty of society and in all the pleasures of the world,—that he could fully make up to me the deficiencies of my solitary state and the want of human society, by his presence and the communications of his grace to my soul, supporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence here, and hope for his eternal presence hereafter.

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

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

But now I began to exercise myself with new thoughts. I daily read the word of God, and applied all the comforts of it to my present state.

One morning, being very sad, I opened the Bible upon these words, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." Immediately it occurred that these words were to me: why else should they be directed in such a manner, just at the moment when I was mourning over my condition as one forsaken of God and man? "Well, then," said I, "if God does not forsake me, of what ill consequence can it be, or what matters it, though the world should all forsake me, seeing, on the other hand, if I had all the world and should lose the favour and blessing of God, there would be no comparison in the loss?"

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

I know not what it was, but something shocked my mind at that thought, and I durst not speak the words. "How canst thou be such a hypocrite," said I, even audibly, "to pretend to be thankful for a condition which, however thou mayest endeavour to be contented with, thou wouldest rather pray heartily to be delivered from?" So I stopped there; but, though I could not say I thanked God for being there, yet I sincerely gave thanks to God for opening my eyes, by whatever afflicting providences, to see the former condition of my life, and to mourn for my wickedness, and repent. I never opened the Bible, or shut it, but my very soul within me blessed God for directing my friend in England, without any order of mine, to pack it up among my goods, and for assisting me afterwards to save it out of the wreck of the ship.

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

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

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

My case was this—it was to be a large tree which was to be cut down, because my board was to be a broad one. This tree I was three days cutting down, and two more cutting off the boughs and reducing it to a log or piece of timber. With inexpressible hacking and hewing, I reduced both the sides of it into chips, till it began to be light enough to move; then I turned it, and made one side of it smooth and flat as a board from end to end; then, turning that side downward, cut the other side, till I brought the plank to be about three inches thick, and smooth on both sides. Any one may judge the labour of my hands in such a piece of work, but labour and patience carried me through that and many other things: I only observe this in particular, to show the reason why so much of my time went away with so little work, viz., that what might be a little to be done with help and tools, was a vast labour, and required a prodigious time to do alone, and by hand.

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





CHAPTER IX.

Crusoe in trouble about his growing crops, which are attacked by goats and birds—He delivers himself from these enemies, and reaps his corn—Is perplexed how to make bread of it, and determines to preserve the whole crop for seed—Makes a spade—In-door employment in the rainy season—Teaches his parrot to talk—Makes pottery, and a mortar to grind his corn in—His first baking—A new harvest—Contemplates escaping from the island—Constructs a boat, but is unable to launch it—Begins to cut a canal, but gives up the attempt in despair—Fresh reflections.

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

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

But as the beasts ruined me before, while my corn was in the blade, so the birds were as likely to ruin me now, when it was in the ear; for, going along by the place to see how it throve, I saw my little crop surrounded with fowls, of I know not how many sorts, which stood, as it were, watching till I should be gone. I immediately let fly among them (for I always had my gun with me): I had no sooner shot, but there rose up a little cloud of fowls, which I had not seen at all, from among the corn itself.

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

I staid by it to load my gun, and then, coming away, I could easily see the thieves sitting upon all the trees about me, as if they only waited till I was gone away; and the event proved it to be so, for as I walked off, as if I was gone, I was no sooner out of their sight, but they dropped down one by one into the corn again. I was so provoked that I could not have patience to stay till more came on, knowing that every grain that they eat now was, as it might be said, a peck loaf to me in the consequence; but, coming up to the hedge, I fired again, and killed three of them. This was what I wished for; so I took them up, and served them as we serve notorious thieves in England, viz., hanged them in chains, for a terror to others. It is impossible to imagine almost that this should have such an effect as it had; for the fowls would not only not come at the corn, but, in short, they forsook all that part of the island, and I

could never see a bird near the place as long as my scarecrows hung there.

This I was very glad of, you may be sure, and about the latter end of December, which was our second harvest of the year, I reaped my corn.

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

However, this was great encouragement to me, and I foresaw that in time it would please God to supply me with bread ; and yet here I was perplexed again, for I neither knew how to grind nor make meal of my corn, nor indeed how to clean it and part it ; nor, if made into meal, how to make bread of it ; and, if how to make it, yet I knew not how to bake it : these things being added to my desire of having a good quantity for store, and to secure a constant supply, I resolved not to taste any of this crop, but to preserve it all for seed against the next season, and, in the mean time, to employ all my study and hours of working to accomplish this great work of providing myself with corn and bread.

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

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

First, I had no plough to turn up the earth, no spade or shovel to dig it : well, this I conquered by making a wooden spade, as I observed before ; but this did my work but in a wooden manner, and, though it cost me a great many days to make it, yet, for want of iron, it not only wore out the sooner, but made my work the harder, and made it be performed much worse.

However, this I bore with, too, and was content to work it out with patience, and bear with the badness of the performance. When the corn was sowed, I had no harrow, but was forced to go over it myself, and drag a great heavy bough of a tree over it, to scratch the earth, as it may be called, rather than rake or harrow it.

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

But first I was to prepare more land, for I had now seed enough to sow above an acre of ground. Before I did this, I had a week's work, at least, to make me a spade, which, when it was done, was but a sorry one indeed, and very heavy, and required double labour to work with it: however, I went through that, and sowed my seed in two large flat pieces of ground, as near my house as I could find them to my mind, and fenced them in with a good hedge, the stakes of which were all cut off that wood which I had set before, which I knew would grow; so that, in one year's time, I knew I should have a quick, or living hedge, that would want but little repair. This work was not so little as to take me up less than three months, because great part of that time was in the wet season, when I could not go abroad.

Within doors, that is, when it rained, and I could not go out, I found employment on the following occasions, always observing that all the while I was at work, I diverted myself with talking to my parrot, and teaching him to speak; and I quickly learnt him to know his own name, and at last to speak it out pretty loud, "Poll," which was the first word I ever heard spoken in the island by any mouth but my own. This, therefore, was not my work, but an assistant to my work; for now, as I

said, I had a great employment upon my hands, as follows: viz., I had long studied, by some means or other, to make myself some earthen vessels, which indeed I wanted sorely, but knew not where to come at them: however, considering the heat of the climate, I did not doubt but, if I could find out any suitable clay, I might botch up some such pot as might, being dried by the sun, be hard enough and strong enough to bear handling, and to hold any thing that was dry, and required to be kept so; and, as this was necessary in the preparing corn, meal, etc., which was the thing I was upon, I resolved to make some as large as I could, and fit only to stand like jars, to hold what should be put into them.

It would make the reader pity me, or rather laugh at me, to tell how many awkward ways I took to raise this paste,—what odd, misshapen, ugly things I made, how many of them fell in, and how many fell out, the clay not being stiff enough to bear its own weight; how many cracked by the over violent heat of the sun, being set out too hastily, and how many fell to pieces with only removing, as well before as after they were dried; and, in a word, how, after having laboured hard to find the clay, to dig it, to temper it, to bring it home, and work it, I could not make above two large earthen ugly things (I cannot call them jars) in about two months' labour.

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

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

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

said to myself, that certainly they might be made to burn whole, if they would burn broken.

This set me to study how to order my fire, so as to make it burn me some pots. I had no notion of a kiln; such as the potters burn in, or of glazing them with lead, though I had some lead to do it with; but I placed three large pipkins and two or three pots in a pile, one upon another, and placed my firewood all round it, with a great heap of embers under them. I plied the fire with fresh fuel round the outside, and upon the top, till I saw the pots in the inside red hot quite through, and observed that they did not crack at all: when I saw them clear red, I let them stand in that heat about five or six hours, till I found one of them, though it did not crack, did melt or run,—for the sand which was mixed with the clay melted by the violence of the heat, and would have run into glass if I had gone on; so I slacked my fire gradually, till my pots began to abate of the red colour, and watching them all night, that I might not let the fire abate too fast, in the morning I had three very good—I will not say handsome—pipkins, and two other earthen pots, as hard burnt as could be desired, and one of them perfectly glazed with the running of the sand.

After this experiment, I need not say that I wanted no sort of earthenware for my use; but I must needs say, as to the shapes of them, they were very indifferent, as any one may suppose, when I had no way of making them but as the children make dirt pies, or as a woman would make pies that never learned to raise paste.

No joy at a thing of so mean a nature was ever equal to mine, when I found I had made an earthen pot that would bear the fire, and I had hardly patience to stay till they were cold, before I set one upon the fire again, with some water in it, to boil me some meat, which it did admirably well; and with a piece of a kid I made some very good broth, though I wanted oatmeal and several other ingredients requisite to make it so good as I would have had it.

My next concern was to get me a stone mortar to stamp or beat some corn in; for, as to the mill, there was no thought of arriving to that perfection of art with one pair of hands. To supply this want I was at a great loss, for, of all trades in the world, I was as perfectly unqualified for a stonecutter as for any whatever; neither had I any tools to go about it with. I spent many a day to find out a great stone big enough to cut hollow, and make fit for a mortar, and could find none at all, except what was in the solid rock, and which I had no way to dig or cut out; nor,

indeed, were the rocks in the island of hardness sufficient, but were all of a sandy crumbling stone, which would neither bear the weight of a heavy pestle, nor would break the corn without filling it with sand: so, after a great deal of time lost in searching for a stone, I gave it over, and resolved to look out a great block of hard wood, which I found indeed much easier, and getting one as big as I had strength to stir, I rounded it, and formed it on the outside with my axe and hatchet, and then, with the help of fire, and infinite labour, made a hollow place in it, as the Indians in Brazil make their canoes. After this, I made a great heavy pestle, or beater, of the wood called the ironwood, and this I prepared and laid by against I had my next crop of corn, when I proposed to myself to grind, or rather pound, my corn into meal to make my bread.

My next difficulty was to make a sieve, or searce, to dress my meal and to part it from the bran and the husk, without which I did not see it possible I could have any bread. This was a most difficult thing, so much as but to think on, for to be sure I had nothing like the necessary things to make it with—I mean fine thin canvass or stuff, to searce the meal through. And here I was at a full stop for many months, nor did I really know what to do. Linen I had none left but what was mere rags; I had goats'-hair, but neither knew I how to weave it nor spin it; and had I known how, here were no tools to work it with. All the remedy that I found for this was, that at last I did remember I had, among the seamen's clothes which were saved out of the ship, some neckcloths of calico or muslin, and with some pieces of these I made three small sieves, but proper enough for the work; and thus I made shift for some years. How I did afterwards, I shall show in its place.

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

When the firewood was burnt pretty much into embers, or live coals,

I drew them forward upon this hearth, so as to cover it all over, and there I let them lie till the hearth was very hot; then, sweeping away all the embers, I set down my loaf, or loaves, and wheeling down the earthen pot upon them, drew the embers all round the outside of the pot, to keep in and add to the heat; and thus, as well as in the best oven in the world, I baked my barley loaves, and became, in a little time, a good pastrycook into the bargain; for I made myself several cakes of the rice and puddings—indeed I made no pies, neither had I any thing to put into them, supposing I had, except the flesh either of fowls or goats.

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

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

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

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

But all this while I made no allowance for the dangers of such a condition, and how I might fall into the hands of savages, and perhaps such as I might have reason to think far worse than the lions and tigers of Africa,—that if I once came into their power, I should run a hazard of more than a thousand to one of being killed, and perhaps of being eaten,

for I had heard that the people of the Caribbean coast were cannibals, or men-eaters, and I knew, by the latitude, that I could not be far off from that shore,—that, suppose they were not cannibals, yet they might kill me, as many Europeans who had fallen into their hands had been served, even when they have been ten or twenty together; much more I, that was but one, and could make little or no defence. All these things, I say, which I ought to have considered well of, and I did cast up in my thoughts afterwards, yet took up none of my apprehensions at first; and my head ran mightily upon the thought of getting over to that shore.

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

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

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

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

This at length set me upon thinking whether it was not possible to make myself a canoe, or periagua, such as the natives of those climates

make, even without tools, or, as I might say, without hands, viz., of the trunk of a great tree. This I not only thought possible, but easy, and pleased myself extremely with the thoughts of making it, and with my having much more convenience for it than any of the Negroes or Indians; but not at all considering the particular inconveniences which I lay under more than the Indians did, viz., want of hands to move it, when it was made, into the water—a difficulty much harder for me to surmount than all the consequences of want of tools could be to them; for what was it to me that, when I had chosen a vast tree in the woods, I might with great trouble cut it down, if after I might be able with my tools to hew and dub the outside into a proper shape of a boat, and burn or cut out the inside to make it hollow, so to make a boat of it—if, after all this, I must leave it just there where I found it, and was not able to launch it into the water?

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

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

This was a most preposterous method; but the eagerness of my fancy prevailed, and to work I went and felled a cedar tree—I question much whether Solomon ever had such a one for the building of the Temple at Jerusalem; it was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the stump, and four feet eleven inches diameter at the end of twenty-two feet, after which it lessened for a while, and then parted into branches. It was not without infinite labour that I felled this tree; I was twenty days hacking and hewing at it at the bottom; I was fourteen more getting the branches and limbs, and the vast spreading head of it, cut off, which I hacked and hewed through with my axe and hatchet, with inex-

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

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

But all my devices to get it into the water failed me, though they cost me infinite labour, too. It lay about one hundred yards from the water, and not more; but the first inconvenience was, it was up hill towards the creek. Well, to take away this discouragement, I resolved to dig into the surface of the earth, and so make a declivity: this I began, and it cost me a prodigious deal of pains—but who grudge pains that have their deliverance in view? but when this was worked through, and this difficulty managed, it was still much at one, for I could no more stir the canoe than I could the other boat.

Then I measured the distance of ground, and resolved to cut a dock or canal, to bring water up to the canoe, seeing I could not bring the canoe down to the water. Well, I began this work, and when I began to enter upon it, and calculated how deep it was to be dug, how broad, how the stuff was to be thrown out, I found that by the number of hands I had, being none but my own, it must have been ten or twelve years before I should have gone through with it; for the shore lay high, so that at the upper end, it must have been at least twenty feet deep: so at length, though with great reluctance, I gave this attempt over also.

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

In the middle of this work, I finished my fourth year in this place, and kept my anniversary with the same devotion, and with as much com-

fort as ever before; for, by a constant study and serious application of the word of God, and by the assistance of his grace; I gained a different knowledge from what I had before. I entertained different notions of things. I looked now upon the world as a thing remote, which I had nothing to do with, no expectation from, and, indeed, no desires about: in a word, I had nothing, indeed, to do with it, nor was ever like to have; so I thought it looked, as we may perhaps look upon it hereafter, viz., as a place I had lived in, but was come out of it,—and well might I say, as father Abraham to Dives, “Between me and you there is a great gulf fixed.”

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

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

In a word, the nature and experience of things dictated to me, upon just reflection, that all the good things of this world are no farther good to us than as they are for our use, and that whatever we may heap up to give others, we enjoy as much as we can use, and no more. The most covetous griping miser in the world would have been cured of the vice of covetousness, if he had been in my case, for I possessed infinitely more than I knew what to do with. I had no room for desire, except it was of things which I had not, and they were but trifles, though indeed of great use to me. I had, as I hinted before, a parcel of money, as well gold as silver, above thirty-six pounds sterling. Alas!

there the nasty, sorry, useless stuff lay : I had no manner of business for it, and I often thought with myself, that I would have given a handful of it for a gross of tobacco-pipes, or for a hand-mill to grind my corn ; nay, I would have given it all for sixpenny-worth of turnip and carrot seed out of England, or for a handful of peas and beans, and a bottle of ink. As it was, I had not the least advantage by it, or benefit from it, but there it lay in a drawer, and grew mouldy with the damp of the cave in the wet season ; and if I had had the drawer full of diamonds it had been the same case, and they had been of no manner of value to me, because of no use.

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

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

I spent whole hours, I may say whole days, in representing to myself in the most lively colours how I must have acted if I had got nothing out of the ship ; how I could not have so much as got any food, except fish and turtles, and that, as it was long before I found any of them, I must have perished first ; that I should have lived, if I had not perished, like a mere savage ; that, if I had killed a goat or a fowl by any contrivance, I had no way to flay or open it, or part the flesh from the skin and the

bowels, or to cut it up, but must gnaw it with my teeth, and pull it with my claws like a beast.

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

I had another reflection which assisted me also to comfort my mind with hopes, and this was—comparing my present condition with what I had deserved, and had therefore reason to expect from the hand of Providence. I had lived a dreadful life, perfectly destitute of the knowledge and fear of God. I had been well instructed by father and mother, neither had they been wanting to me, in their early endeavours to infuse a religious awe of God into my mind, a sense of my duty, and of what the nature and end of my being required of me. But, alas! falling early into the seafaring life, which, of all lives, is the most destitute of the fear of God, though His terrors are always before them,—I say, falling early into the seafaring life, and into seafaring company, all that little sense of religion which I had entertained was laughed out of me by my messmates,—by a hardened despising of dangers, and the views of death, which grew habitual to me,—by my long absence from all manner of opportunities to converse with any thing but was like myself, or to hear any thing of what was good, or tended towards it.

So void was I of every thing that was good, or of the least sense of what I was, or was to be, that, in the greatest deliverances I enjoyed (such as my escape from Sallee, my being taken up by the Portuguese master of a ship, my being planted so well in Brazil, my receiving the cargo from England, and the like), I never had once the words, "Thank God," so much as on my mind, or in my mouth; nor, in the greatest distress, had I so much as a thought to pray to Him, or as much as to say, "Lord, have mercy upon me!"—no, not to mention the name of God, unless it was to swear by, and blaspheme it.

I had terrible reflections upon my mind for many months, as I have already observed, on the account of my wicked and hardened life past; and when I looked about me, and considered what particular providences had attended me since my coming into this place, and how God had dealt bountifully with me,—had not only punished me less than my iniquity

had deserved, but had so plentifully provided for me,—this gave me great hopes that my repentance was accepted, and that God had yet mercies in store for me.

With these reflections, I worked my mind up, not only to resignation to the will of God in the present disposition of my circumstances, but even to a sincere thankfulness for my condition, and that I, who was yet a living man, ought not to complain, seeing I had not the due punishment of my sins; that I enjoyed so many mercies which I had no reason to have expected in that place, that I ought never more to repine at my condition, but to rejoice, and to give daily thanks for that daily bread which nothing but a crowd of wonders could have brought; that I ought to consider I had been fed even by a miracle as great as that of feeding Elijah by ravens,—nay, by a long series of miracles; and that I could hardly have named a place in the uninhabited part of the world where I could have been cast more to my advantage,—a place where, as I had no society, which was my affliction on one hand, so I found no ravenous beasts, no furious wolves or tigers, to threaten my life,—no venomous creatures, or poisonous, which I might have fed on to my hurt,—no savages, to murder and devour me.

In a word, as my life was a life of sorrow one way, so it was a life of mercy another, and I wanted nothing to make it a life of comfort, but to be able to make my sense of God's goodness to me, and care over me, in this condition, be my daily consolation; and after I made a just improvement of these things I went away and was no more sad.

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

My ink, as I observed, had been gone for some time, all but a very little, which I eked out with water, a little and a little, till it was so pale, it scarce left any appearance of black upon the paper. As long as it lasted, I made use of it to minute down the days of the month on which any remarkable thing happened to me; and first, by casting up times past, I remembered that there was a strange concurrence of days in the various providences which befel me, and which, if I had been superstitiously inclined to observe days as fatal or fortunate, I might have had reason to have looked upon with a great deal of curiosity.

First, I had observed that the same day that I broke away from my father and my friends, and ran away to Hull, in order to go to sea, the

same day afterwards I was taken by the Sallee man-of-war; and made a slave; the same day of the year that I escaped out of the wreck of the ship in Yarmouth Roads, that same day of the year afterwards I made my escape from Sallee in the boat; the same day of the year I was born on, viz. the 30th of September, the same day I had my life so miraculously saved twenty-six years after, when I was cast on shore in this island,—so that my wicked life, and my solitary life, began both on a day.

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

My clothes, too, began to decay mightily: as to linen, I had none a good while, except some chequered shirts which I found in the chests of the other seamen, and which I carefully preserved, because many times I could bear no clothes on but a shirt, and it was a very great help to me that I had, among all the men's clothes of the ship, almost three dozen of shirts. There were also several thick watch-coats of the seamen, which were left, indeed, but they were too hot to wear, and though it is true that the weather was so violently hot that there was no need of clothes, yet I could not go quite naked, no, though I had been inclined to it, which I was not, nor could I abide the thought of it, though I was all alone.

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

Upon these views, I began to consider about putting the few rags I had, which I called clothes, into some order. I had worn out all the

waistcoats I had, and my business was now to try if I could not make jackets out of the great watch-coats which I had by me, and with such other materials as I had; so I set to work a-tailoring, or rather, indeed, a-botching, for I made most piteous work of it. However, I made shift to make two or three waistcoats, which I hoped would serve me a great while: as for breeches, or drawers, I made but very sorry shift, indeed, till afterwards.

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

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

Thus I lived mighty comfortably, my mind being entirely composed by resigning to the will of God, and throwing myself wholly upon the disposal of his providence. This made my life better than sociable; for when I began to regret the want of conversation, I would ask myself whether thus conversing mutually with my own thoughts—and, as I hope I may say, even with my Maker, by ejaculations and petitions—was not better than the utmost enjoyment of human society in the world?



CHAPTER X.

Crusoe makes and launches a boat—Leaves the island in search of the main land, and encounters unexpected dangers—He despairs of getting back again—Returns to the island, and on reaching home is startled by the greeting of his parrot—Perfects himself in the making of earthenware and baskets—His contrivances to snare the goats which devour his corn—He catches and tames them—At home with his family—He describes his personal appearance—Sets out on a new journey through the island.

I CANNOT say that, after this, for five years, any extraordinary thing happened to me, but I lived on in the same course, in the same posture and place, just as before; the chief thing I was employed in, besides my yearly planting my barley and rice and curing my raisins, of both which I always kept up just enough to have a sufficient stock of the year's provisions beforehand,—I say, besides this yearly labour, and my daily labour of going out with my gun, I had one labour—to make me a canoe, which at last I finished; so that by digging a canal to it of six feet wide and four feet deep, I brought it into the creek, almost half a mile. As for the first, that was so vastly big,—as I made it without considering beforehand, as I ought to do, how I should be able to launch it—so, never being able to bring it to the water, or bring the water to it, I was obliged to let it lie where it was, as memorandum to teach me to be wiser next time. Indeed, the next time, though I could not get a tree proper for it, and was in a place where I could not get the water to it at any less distance than, as I have said, of near half a mile, yet as I saw it was practicable at last, I never gave it over; and though I was near two years about it, yet I never grudged my labour, in hopes of having a boat to go off to sea at last.

However, though my little periagua was finished, yet the size of it was not at all answerable to the design which I had in view when I made the first,—I mean, of venturing over to the *terra firma*, where it was above forty miles broad; accordingly, the smallness of the boat

assisted to put an end to that design, and now I thought no more of it. But, as I had a boat, my next design was to make a tour round the island; for, as I had been on the other side in one place, crossing, as I have already described it, over the land, so the discoveries I made in that journey made me very eager to see the other parts of the coast: and now I had a boat, I thought of nothing but sailing round the island.

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

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

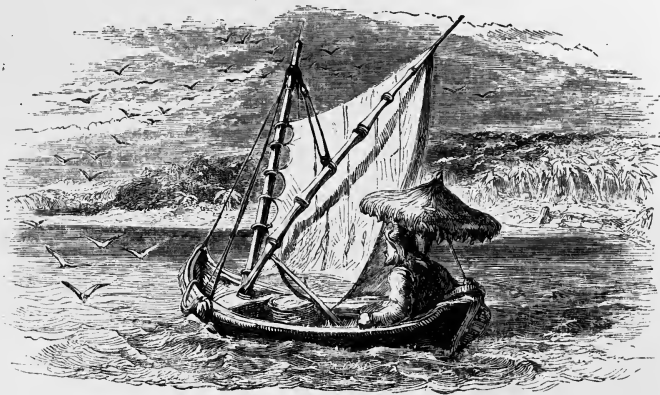
I fixed my umbrella also in a step at the stern, like a mast, to stand over my head, and keep the heat of the sun off me, like an awning; and thus I every now and then took a little voyage upon the sea, but never went far out, nor far from the little creek. But at last, being eager to view the circumference of my little kingdom, I resolved upon my tour; and accordingly I victualled my ship for the voyage, putting in two dozen of my loaves (cakes I should rather call them) of barley bread, an earthen pot full of parched rice (a food I eat a great deal of), a little bottle of rum, half a goat, and powder and shot for killing more, and two large watch-coats of those which, as I mentioned before, I had saved out of the seamen's chests; these I took, one to lie upon, and the other to cover me in the night.

It was the sixth of November, in the sixth year of my reign, or my captivity—which you please—that I set out on this voyage, and I found it much longer than I expected; for, though the island itself was not very large, yet, when I came to the east side of it, I found a great ledge of rocks lie out about two leagues into the sea, some above water, some under it, and beyond this a shoal of sand, lying dry half a league more,—so that I was obliged to go a great way out to sea to double that point.

When I first discovered them, I was going to give over my enterprise, and come back again, not knowing how far it might oblige me to go out

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

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



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

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

The third day, in the morning, the wind having abated over night, the sea was calm, and I ventured ; but I am a warning piece again to all rash and ignorant pilots, for no sooner was I come to the point, when I

was not my boat's length from the shore, but I found myself in a great depth of water, and a current like the sluice of a mill; it carried my boat along with it with such violence, that all I could do could not keep her so much as on the edge of it; but I found it hurried me farther and farther out from the eddy, which was on the left hand. There was no wind stirring to help me, and all that I could do with my paddles signified nothing. And now I began to give myself over for lost; for as the current was on both sides of the island, I knew in a few leagues' distance they must join again, and then I was irrecoverably gone, nor did I see any possibility of avoiding it: so that I had no prospect before me but of perishing, not by the sea, for that was calm enough, but of starving for hunger. I had indeed found a tortoise on the shore, as big almost as I could lift, and had tossed it into the boat; and I had a great jar of fresh water, that is to say, one of my earthen pots; but what was all this to being driven into the vast ocean, where, to be sure, there was no shore, no main land or island, for a thousand leagues at least?

And now I saw how easy it was for the providence of God to make the most miserable condition that mankind could be in, worse. Now, I looked back upon my desolate, solitary island as the most pleasant place in the world, and all the happiness my heart could wish for was to be there again. I stretched out my hands to it, with eager wishes. "O happy desert!" said I, "I shall never see thee more. O miserable creature!" said I, "whither am I going!" Then I reproached myself with my unthankful temper, and how I had repined at my solitary condition; and now what would I give to be on shore there again! Thus we never see the true state of our condition till it is illustrated to us by its contraries, nor know how to value what we enjoy, but by the want of it. It is scarce possible to imagine the consternation I was in, being driven from my beloved island (for so it appeared to me now to be) into the wide ocean, almost two leagues, and in the utmost despair of ever recovering it again. However, I worked hard, till indeed my strength was almost exhausted, and kept my boat as much to the northward—that is, towards the side of the current which the eddy lay on—as possibly I could, when about noon, as the sun passed the meridian, I thought I felt a little breeze of wind in my face, springing up from the south-south-east. This cheered my heart a little, and especially when, in about half an hour more, it blew a pretty small gentle gale. By this time I was gotten at a frightful distance from the island, and had the least cloud or hazy

weather intervened, I had been undone another way too, for I had no compass, on board, and should never have known how to have steered towards the island, if I had but once lost sight of it; but the weather continuing clear, I applied myself to get up my mast again, and spread my sail, standing away to the north as much as possible, to get out of the current.

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

They who know what it is to have a reprieve brought to them upon the ladder, or to be rescued from thieves just going to murder them, or who have been in such like extremities, may guess what my present surprise of joy was, and how gladly I put my boat into the stream of this eddy, and, the wind also freshening, how gladly I spread my sail to it, running cheerfully before the wind, and with a strong tide or eddy under foot.

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

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

About four o'clock in the evening, being then within about a league of the island, I found the point of the rocks which occasioned this distance stretching out, as is described before, to the southward, and casting

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

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

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

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

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

I was so dead asleep at first, being fatigued with rowing, or paddling, as it is called, the first part of the day, and walking the latter part, that I did not awake thoroughly, and dozing between sleeping and waking, thought I dreamed that somebody spoke to me; but, as the voice continued to repeat, "Robin Crusoe, Robin Crusoe," at last I began to awake more perfectly, and was at first dreadfully frightened, and started up in the



utmost consternation: but no sooner were my eyes open, but I saw my Poll sitting on the top of the hedge, and immediately knew that this was he that spoke to me, for just in such bemoaning language I had used to talk to him and teach him, and he had learned it so perfectly, that he would sit upon my finger and lay his bill close to my face and cry, "Poor Robin Crusoe! Where are you? Where have you been? How came you here?" and such things as I had taught him.

However, even though I knew it was the parrot, and that indeed it could be nobody else, it was a good while before I could compose myself. First, I was amazed how the creature got thither; and then, how he should just keep about the place, and nowhere else: but, as I was well satisfied it could be nobody but honest Poll, I got over it, and holding out my hand, and calling him by his name, "Poll," the sociable creature

came to me and sat upon my thumb, as he used to do, and continued talking to me, "Poor Robin Crusoe!" and how did I come here? and where had I been? just as if he had been overjoyed to see me again: and so I carried him home along with me.

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

In this government of my temper I remained near a year, lived a very sedate, retired life, as you may well suppose; and my thoughts being very much composed, as to my condition, and fully comforted in resigning myself to the dispositions of Providence, I thought I lived really very happily in all things, except that of society. I improved myself in this time in all the mechanic exercises which my necessities put me upon applying myself to, and I believe could, upon occasion, have made a very good carpenter, especially considering how few tools I had.

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

In my wickerware also I improved much, and made abundance of necessary baskets, as well as my invention showed me,—though not very handsome, yet convenient for my laying things up in, or fetching things home in. For example, if I killed a goat abroad, I could hang it up in a tree, flay it and dress it, and cut it in pieces, and bring it home in a basket; and the like by a turtle—I could cut it up, take out the eggs, and a piece or two of the flesh, which was enough for me, and bring them home in a basket, and leave the rest behind me. Also, large deep baskets were my receivers for my corn, which I always rubbed out as soon as it was dry, and cured, and kept it in great baskets instead of a granary.

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

But being now in the eleventh year of my residence, and, as I have said, my ammunition growing low, I set myself to study some art to trap and snare the goats, to see whether I could not catch some of them alive; and particularly I wished to possess a she-goat great with young.

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

At length I resolved to try a pitfall,—so I dug several large pits in the earth, in places where I had observed the goats used to feed, and over these pits I placed hurdles of my own making, too, with a great weight upon them, and several times I put ears of barley and dry rice, without setting the trap; and I could easily perceive that the goats had gone in and eaten up the corn, for I could see the marks of their feet. At length I set three traps in one night, and going the next morning, I found them all standing, and yet the bait eaten and gone. This was very discouraging. However, I altered my traps; and, not to trouble you with particulars, going one morning to see my traps, I found in one of them a large old he-goat, and in one of the other, three kids—a male and two females.

As to the old one, I knew not what to do with him; he was so fierce, I durst not go into the pit to him,—that is to say, to bring him away

alive, which was what I wanted: I could have killed him, but that was not my business, nor would it answer my end; so I even let him out, and he ran away, as if he had been frightened out of his wits. But I did not then know, what I afterwards learned, that hunger will tame a lion. If I had let him stay there three or four days without food, and then have carried him some water to drink, and then a little corn, he would have been as tame as one of the kids, for they are mighty sagacious and tractable creatures, where they are well used.

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

It was a good while before they would feed; but throwing them some sweet corn, it tempted them, and they began to be tame. And now I found that if I expected to supply myself with goat's flesh when I had no powder or shot left, breeding some up tame was my only way; when, perhaps, I might have them about my house like a flock of sheep.

But then it presently occurred to me that I must keep the tame from the wild, or else they would always run wild when they grew up; and the only way for this was to have some enclosed piece of ground, well fenced, either with hedge or pale, to keep them in so effectually that those within might not break out, or those without break in.

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

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

My hedge was begun and carried on, I believe about fifty yards, when

this thought occurred to me; so I presently stopped short, and for the first beginning, I resolved to enclose a piece of about one hundred and fifty yards in length, and one hundred yards in breadth, which, as it would maintain as many as I should have in any reasonable time, so, as my flock increased, I could add more ground to my enclosure.

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

This answered my end, and in about a year and a half I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all; and in two years more, I had three and forty, besides several that I took and killed for my food. And after that I enclosed five several pieces of ground to feed them in, with little pens to drive them into, to take them as I wanted, and gates out of one piece of ground into another.

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

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

It would have made a stoic smile to have seen me and my little family sit down to dinner. There was my majesty, the prince and lord of the whole island: I had the lives of all my subjects at my absolute command; I could hang, draw, give liberty, and take it away,—and no rebels among my subjects. Then to see how like a king I dined too, all alone; attended



CRUSOE'S FAMILY.



by my servants! Poll, as if he had been my favourite, was the only person permitted to talk to me. My dog, who was now grown very old and crazy, and had found no species to multiply his kind upon, sat always at my right hand, and two cats, one on one side of the table, and one on the other, expecting now and then a bit from my hand, as a mark of special favour.

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

I was something impatient, as I have observed, to have the use of my boat, though very loth to run any more hazards, and therefore sometimes I sat contriving ways to get her about the island, and at other times I sat myself down contented enough without her. But I had a strange uneasiness in my mind to go down to the point of the island where, as I have said, in my last ramble, I went up to the hill to see how the shore lay, and how the current set, that I might see what I had to do. This inclination increased upon me every day, and at length I resolved to travel thither by land, following the edge of the shore. I did so; but had any one in England been to meet such a man as I was, it must either have frightened him or raised a great deal of laughter; and, as I frequently stood still to look at myself, I could not but smile at the notion of my travelling through Yorkshire, with such an equipage and in such a dress.

I had a great high shapeless cap, made of a goat's skin, with a flap hanging down behind, as well to keep the sun from me as to shoot the rain off from running into my neck; nothing being so hurtful in these climates as the rain upon the flesh, under the clothes. I had a short jacket of goat's skin, the skirts coming down to about the middle of my thighs, and a pair of open-kneed breeches of the same, made of the skin of an old he-goat, whose hair hung down such a length on either side, that, like pantaloons, it reached to the middle of my legs. Stockings and shoes I had none, but I had made me a pair of something—I scarce know what to call them—like buskins, to flap over my legs, and lace on either side like spat-

terdashes, but of a most barbarous shape, as were all the rest of my clothes. I had on a broad belt of goat's skin dried, which I drew together with two thongs of the same, instead of buckles; and in a kind of a frog on either side of this, instead of a sword and a dagger, hung a little saw and a hatchet—one on one side, and one on the other. I had another belt, not so broad, and fastened in the same manner, which hung over my shoulder; and at the end of it, under my left arm, hung two pouches, both made of goat's skin too, in one of which hung my powder, in the other my shot. At my back I carried my basket, on my shoulder my gun, and over my head a great clumsy ugly goat's skin umbrella, but which, after all, was the most necessary thing I had about me, next to my gun. As for my face, the colour of it was really not so mulatto-like as one might expect from a man not at all careful of it, and living within nine or ten degrees of the equinox. My beard I had once suffered to grow till it was about a quarter of a yard long; but as I had both scissors and razors sufficient, I had cut it pretty short, except what grew on my upper lip, which I had trimmed into a large pair of Mahometan whiskers, such as I had seen worn by some Turks at Sallee—for the Moors did not wear such, though the Turks did: I will not say they were long enough to hang my hat upon them, but they were of a length and shape monstrous enough, and such as, in England, would have passed for frightful.

But all this is by the bye; for, as to my figure, I had so few to observe me that it was of no manner of consequence, so I say no more to that part. In this kind of figure I went my new journey, and was out five or six days. I travelled first along the seashore, directly to the place where I first brought my boat to an anchor, to get upon the rocks, and having no boat now to take care of, I went over the land a nearer way to the same height that I was upon before, when looking forward to the point of the rocks which lay out, and which I was obliged to double with my boat, as I said above, I was surprised to see the sea smooth and quiet,—no rippling, no motion, no current, any more there than in other places.

I was at a strange loss to understand this, and resolved to spend some time in the observing it, to see if nothing from the sets of the tide had occasioned it: but I was presently convinced how it was, viz., that the tide of ebb setting from the west, and joining with the current of waters from some great river on the shore, must be the occasion of this current; and that, according as the wind blew more forcibly from the west, or from the north, this current came nearer, or went farther from the shore: for

waiting thereabouts till the evening, I went up to the rock again, and then the tide of ebb being made, I plainly saw the current again as before, only that it ran farther off, being near half a league from the shore,—whereas, in my case, it set close from the shore, and hurried me and my canoe along with it, which at another time it would not have done.

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

You are to understand that now I had, as I may call it, two plantations in the island; one, my little fortification or tent, with the wall about it under the rock, and with the cave behind me, which by this time I had enlarged into several apartments or caves, one within another. One of these, which was the driest and largest, and had a door out beyond my wall or fortification—that is to say, beyond where my wall joined to the rock—was all filled up with the large earthen pots of which I have given an account, and with fourteen or fifteen great baskets, which would hold five or six bushels each, where I laid up my stores of provision, especially my corn, some in the ear, cut off short from the straw, and the other rubbed out with my hand. As for my wall, made, as before, with long stakes or piles, those piles grew all like trees, and were by this time grown so big and spread so very much, that there was not the least appearance, to any one's view, of any habitation behind them.

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

Besides this I had my country seat, and I had now a tolerable plantation there also; for first, I had my little bower, as I called it, which I kept in repair,—that is to say, I kept the hedge which circled it in constantly fitted up to its usual height, the ladder standing always in the inside: I kept the trees, which at first were no more than my stakes, but were now grown very firm and tall,—I kept them always so cut, that they might spread, and grow thick and wild, and make the more agree-

able shade, which they did effectually to my mind. In the middle of this I had my tent always standing, being a piece of a sail spread over poles, set up for that purpose, and which never wanted any repair or renewing; and under this I had made me a couch, with the skins of the creatures I had killed, and with other soft things, and a blanket laid on them, such as belonged to our sea bedding, and a great watch-coat to cover me; and here, whenever absent from my chief seat, I took up my country habitation.

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

This will testify for me that I was not idle, and that I spared no pains to bring to pass whatever appeared necessary for my comfortable support; for I considered the keeping up a breed of tame creatures thus at my hand would be a living magazine of flesh, milk, butter, and cheese for me as long as I lived in the place, if it were to be forty years; and that keeping them in my reach depended entirely upon my perfecting my enclosures to such a degree that I might be sure of keeping them together.

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

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



CHAPTER XI.

Crusoe is surprised by the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, and fears an attack from savages—Erects a second fortification round his dwelling—Discovers the remains of a feast of cannibals.

HT happened one day, about noon, going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen in the sand. I stood like one thunderstruck, or as if I had seen an apparition: I listened, I looked round me; I could hear nothing, nor see anything. I

went up to a rising ground, to look farther—I went up the shore, and down the shore; but it was all one,—I could see no other impression but that one. I went to it again to see if there were any more, and to observe if it might not be my fancy; but there was no room for that, for there was exactly the very print of a foot—toes, heel, and every part of a foot: how it came thither I know not, nor could in the least imagine; but, after innumerable fluttering thoughts, like a man perfectly confused and out of myself, I came home to my fortification, not feeling, as we say, the ground I went on, but terrified to the last degree—looking behind me at every two or three steps, mistaking every bush and tree, and fancying every stump at a distance to be a man. Nor is it possible to describe how many various shapes affrighted imagination represented things to me in, how many wild ideas were found every moment in my fancy, and what strange unaccountable whimsies came into my thoughts by the way.

When I came to my castle (for so I think I called it ever after this), I fled into it like one pursued; whether I went over by the ladder, as first contrived, or went in at the hole in the rock, which I called a door, I cannot remember: no, nor could I remember the next morning; for never frightened hare fled to cover, or fox to earth, with more terror of mind than I to this retreat.

I slept none that night: the farther I was from the occasion of my fright, the greater my apprehensions were, which is something contrary to the nature of such things, and especially to the usual practice of all creatures in fear; but I was so embarrassed with my own frightful ideas of the thing, that I formed nothing but dismal imaginations to myself, even though I was now a great way off it. Sometimes I fancied it must be the devil, and reason joined in with me upon this supposition; for how should any other thing in human shape come into the place? Where was the vessel that brought them? What marks were there of any other footsteps? And how was it possible a man should come there? But then to think that Satan should take human shape upon him in such a place, where there could be no manner of occasion for it, but to leave the print of his foot behind him, and that even for no purpose too, for he could not be sure I should see it,—this was an amusement the other way. I considered that the devil might have found out abundance of other ways to have terrified me, than this of the single print of a foot; that, as I lived quite on the other side of the island, he would never have been so simple as to leave a mark in a place where it was ten thousand to one whether I

should ever see it or not, and in the sand too, which the first surge of the sea, upon a high wind, would have defaced entirely: all this seemed inconsistent with the thing itself, and with all the notions we usually entertain of the subtilty of the devil.

Abundance of such things as these assisted to argue me out of all apprehensions of its being the devil; and I presently concluded, then, that it must be some more dangerous creature, viz., that it must be some of the savages of the main land over against me, who had wandered out to sea in their canoes, and, either driven by the currents or by contrary winds, had made the island, and had been on shore, but were gone away again to sea; being as loth, perhaps, to have staid in this desolate island as I would have been to have had them.

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

Thus my fear banished all my religious hope: all that former confidence in God, which was founded upon such wonderful experience as I had had of his goodness, now vanished, as if He that had fed me by miracle hitherto, could not preserve by his power the provision which he had made for me by his goodness. I reproached myself with my easiness, that would not sow any more corn one year than would just serve me till the next season, as if no accident could intervene to prevent my enjoying the crop that was upon the ground; and this I thought so just a reproof that I resolved for the future to have two or three years' corn beforehand, so that whatever might come, I might not perish for want of bread.

How strange a chequer-work of Providence is the life of man! and by what secret differing springs are the affections hurried about, as differing circumstances present! To-day we love what to-morrow we hate; to-day we seek what to-morrow we shun; to-day we desire what to-morrow we fear, nay, even tremble at the apprehensions of: this was

exemplified in me at this time, in the most lively manner imaginable ; for I, whose only affliction was that I seemed banished from human society, that I was alone, circumscribed by the boundless ocean, cut off from mankind, and condemned to what I called silent life ; that I was as one whom Heaven thought not worthy to be numbered among the living, or to appear among the rest of his creatures ; that to have seen one of my own species would have seemed to me a raising me from death to life, and the greatest blessing that Heaven itself, next to the supreme blessing of salvation, could bestow—I say, that I should now tremble at the very apprehensions of seeing a man, and was ready to sink into the ground at but the shadow, or silent appearance, of a man's having set his foot on the island.

Such is the uneven state of human life ; and it afforded me a great many curious speculations afterwards, when I had a little recovered my first surprise. I considered that this was the station of life the infinitely wise and good providence of God had determined for me ; that as I could not foresee what the ends of divine wisdom might be in all this, so I was not to dispute His sovereignty, who, as I was his creature, had an undoubted right, by creation, to govern and dispose of me absolutely as he thought fit ; and who, as I was a creature who had offended him, had likewise a judicial right to condemn me to what punishment he thought fit, and that it was my part to submit to bear his indignation, because I had sinned against him. [I then reflected that God, who was not only righteous but omnipotent, as he had thought fit thus to punish and afflict me, so he was able to deliver me ; that, if he did not think fit to do it, it was my unquestioned duty to resign myself absolutely and entirely to his will ; and, on the other hand, it was my duty also to hope in him, pray to him, and quietly to attend to the dictates and directions of his daily providence.]

These thoughts took me up many hours, days, nay,—I may say weeks and months ; and one particular effect of my cogitations on this occasion I cannot omit, viz., one morning early, lying in my bed, and filled with thoughts about my danger from the appearance of savages, I found it decomposed me very much ; upon which these words of the Scripture came into my thoughts, “Call upon me in the day of trouble : I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.” Upon this, rising cheerfully out of my bed, my heart was not only comforted, but I was guided and encouraged to pray earnestly to God for deliverance : when I had done praying, I

took up my Bible, and opening it to read, the first words that presented to me were, "Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer, and he shall strengthen thy heart; wait, I say, on the Lord." It is impossible to express the comfort this gave me. In answer, I thankfully laid down the book, and was no more sad, at least, not on that occasion.

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

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

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

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

boat, I could not possibly be on shore anywhere thereabout; secondly, when I came to measure the mark with my own foot, I found my foot not so large by a great deal. Both these things filled my head with new imaginations, and gave me the vapours again to the highest degree, so that I shook with cold like one in an ague, and I went home again, filled with the belief that some man or men had been on shore there; or, in short, that the island was inhabited, and I might be surprised before I was aware,—and what course to take for my security I knew not.

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

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

This confusion of my thoughts kept me waking all night; but in the morning I fell asleep, and having, by the amusement of my mind, been, as it were tired, and my spirits exhausted, I slept very soundly, and waked much better composed than I had ever been before. And now I began to think sedately; and, upon the utmost debate with myself, I concluded that this island, which was so exceeding pleasant, fruitful, and no

farther from the main land than as I had seen, was not so entirely abandoned as I might imagine; that, although there were no stated inhabitants who lived on the spot, yet, that there might sometimes come boats off from the shore, who, either with design, or, perhaps, never but when they were driven by cross winds, might come to this place; that I had lived here fifteen years now, and had not met with the least shadow or figure of any people yet; and that, if at any time they should be driven here, it was probable they went away again as soon as ever they could, seeing they had never thought fit to fix there upon any occasion to this time: that the most I could suggest any danger from, was from any such casual accidental landing of straggling people from the main, who, as it was likely, if they were driven hither, were here against their wills, so they made no stay here, but went off again with all possible speed—seldom staying one night on shore, lest they should not have the help of the tides and daylight back again; and that, therefore, I had nothing to do but to consider of some safe retreat, in case I should see any savages land upon the spot.

Now I began sorely to repent that I had dug my cave so large as to bring a door through again, which door, as I said, came out beyond where my fortification joined to the rock. Upon maturely considering this, therefore, I resolved to draw me a second fortification, in the same manner of a semicircle, at a distance from my wall, just where I had planted a double row of trees about twelve years before, of which I made mention: these trees having been planted so thick before, there wanted but a few piles to be driven between them, that they should be thicker and stronger, and my wall would be soon finished.

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

When this was done, I stuck all the ground without my wall, for a

great way every way, as full with stakes, or sticks, of the osier-like wood, which I found so apt to grow, as they could well stand ; insomuch, that I believe I might set in near twenty thousand of them, leaving a pretty large space between them and my wall, that I might have room to see an enemy, and they might have no shelter from the young trees, if they attempted to approach my outer wall.

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

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

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

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

Accordingly, I spent some time to find out the most retired parts of the island ; and I pitched upon one, which was as private, indeed, as my heart could wish for : it was a little damp piece of ground, in the middle

of the hollow and thick woods, where, as is observed, I almost lost myself once before, endeavouring to come back that way from the eastern part of the island. Here I found a clear piece of land, near three acres, so surrounded with woods that it was almost an enclosure by nature; at least, it did not want near so much labour to make it so as the other pieces of ground I had worked so hard at.

I immediately went to work with this piece of ground, and in less than a month's time I had so fenced it round, that my flock, or herd, call it which you please, who were not so wild now as at first they might be supposed to be, were well enough secured in it. So, without any farther delay, I removed ten she-goats and two he-goats to this piece; and when they were there, I continued to perfect the fence, till I had made it as secure as the other, which, however, I did at more leisure, and it took me up more time by a great deal.

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

But to go on: After I had thus secured one part of my little living

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

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

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

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

discharged the disorder from my stomach, and having vomited with an uncommon violence, I was a little relieved, but could not bear to stay in the place a moment. So I got me up the hill again with all the speed I could, and walked on towards my own habitation.

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

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

Yet I entertained such an abhorrence of the savage wretches that I have been speaking of, and of the wretched inhuman custom of their devouring and eating one another up, that I continued pensive and sad, and kept close within my own circle for almost two years after this: when I say my own circle, I mean by it my three plantations, viz., my castle, my country seat—which I called my bower,—and my enclosure in the woods: nor did I look after this for any other use than as an enclosure for my goats; for the aversion which nature gave me to these hellish wretches was such, that I was fearful of seeing them as of seeing the devil himself. Nor did I so much as go to look after my boat in all this time, but began rather to think of making me another; for I could

not think of ever making any more attempts to bring the other boat round the island to me, lest I should meet with some of these creatures at sea, in which, if I had happened to have fallen into their hands, I knew what would have been my lot.



Time, however, and the satisfaction I had that I was in no danger of being discovered by these people, began to wear off my uneasiness about them, and I began to live just in the same composed manner as before,—only with this difference, that I used more caution, and kept my eyes more about me than I did before, lest I should happen to be seen by any of them ; and particularly, I was more cautious of firing my gun, lest any of them, being on the island, should happen to hear it. And it was therefore a very good providence to me that I had furnished myself with a tame breed of goats, and that I needed not hunt any more about the woods,

or shoot at them,—and if I did catch any of them after this, it was by traps and snares, as I had done before: so that for two years after this, I believe I never fired my gun once off, though I never went out without it; and, which was more, as I had saved three pistols out of the ship, I always carried them out with me, or at least two of them, sticking them in my goat's-skin belt. I also furbished up one of the great cutlasses that I had out of the ship, and made me a belt to put it in also; so that I was now a most formidable fellow to look at when I went abroad, if you add to the former description of myself, the particular of two pistols, and a great broadsword hanging at my side in a belt, but without a scabbard.

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

As in my present condition there were not really many things which I wanted, so, indeed, I thought that the frights I had been in about these savage wretches, and the concern I had been in for my own preservation, had taken off the edge of my invention for my own conveniences, and I had dropped a good design, which I had once bent my thoughts too much upon,—and that was, to try if I could not make some of my barley into malt, and then try to brew myself some beer. This was really a whimsical thought, and I reproved myself often for the simplicity of it; for I presently saw there would be the want of several things necessary to the making my beer, that it would be impossible for me to supply,—as, first, casks to preserve it in, which was a thing that, as I have observed already, I could never compass—no, though I spent not only many days, but weeks, nay, months, in attempting it, but to no purpose. In the next place, I had no hops to make it keep, no yeast to make it work, no copper or kettle to make it boil; and yet, all these things notwithstanding, I verily believe, had not these things intervened—I mean the frights and terrors I was in about the savages—I had undertaken it,

and perhaps brought it to pass too; for I seldom gave any thing over without accomplishing it, when I once had it in my head enough to begin it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As long as I kept up my daily tour to the hill to look out, so long also I kept up the vigour of my design, and my spirits seemed to be all the while in a suitable form for so outrageous an execution as the killing twenty or thirty naked savages, for an offence which I had not at all entered into a discussion of in my thoughts, any further than my passions were at first fired by the horror I conceived at the unnatural custom of the people of that country, who, it seems, had been suffered by Providence, in his wise disposition of the world, to have no other guide than that of their own abominable and vitiated passions; and, consequently, were left, and perhaps had been so for some ages, to act such horrid things, and receive such dreadful customs, as nothing but nature, entirely abandoned

of Heaven, and actuated by some hellish degeneracy, could have run them into. But now, when, as I have said, I began to be weary of the fruitless excursion, which I had made so long and so far every morning in vain, so my opinion of the action itself began to alter; and I began, with cooler and calmer thoughts, to consider what it was I was going to engage in—what authority, or call, I had to pretend to be judge and executioner upon these men as criminals, whom Heaven had thought fit, for so many ages, to suffer, unpunished, to go on, and to be, as it were, the executioners of his judgments one upon another; also how far these people were offenders against me, and what right I had to engage in the quarrel of that blood which they shed promiscuously one upon another. I debated this very often with myself, thus:—“How do I know what God himself judges in this particular case? It is certain these people do not commit this as a crime; it is not against their own consciences reproving, or their light reproaching them. They do not know it to be an offence, and then commit it in defiance of divine justice, as we do in almost all the sins we commit. They think it no more a crime to kill a captive taken in war, than we do to kill an ox; nor to eat human flesh than we do to eat mutton.”

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

In the next place, it occurred to me, that albeit the usage they gave one another was thus brutish and inhuman, yet it was really nothing to me: these people had done me no injury,—that if they attempted me, or I saw it necessary, for my immediate preservation, to fall upon them, something might be said for it; but that I was yet out of their power, and they had really no knowledge of me, and consequently no design upon me, and therefore it could not be just for me to fall upon them: that this would justify the conduct of the Spaniards in all their barbarities practised in America, where they destroyed millions of these people, who—however they were idolators and barbarians, and had several bloody and barbarous rites in their customs, such as sacrificing human bodies to their idols—were yet, as to the Spaniards, very innocent

people, and that the rooting them out of the country is spoken of with the utmost abhorrence and detestation by even the Spaniards themselves, at this time, and by all other Christian nations of Europe, as a mere butchery—a bloody and unnatural piece of cruelty, unjustifiable either to God or man, and such as for which the very name of a Spaniard is reckoned to be frightful and terrible to all people of humanity, or of Christian compassion; as if the kingdom of Spain were particularly eminent for the product of a race of men who were without principles of tenderness, or the common bowels of pity to the miserable, which is reckoned to be a mark of generous temper in the mind.

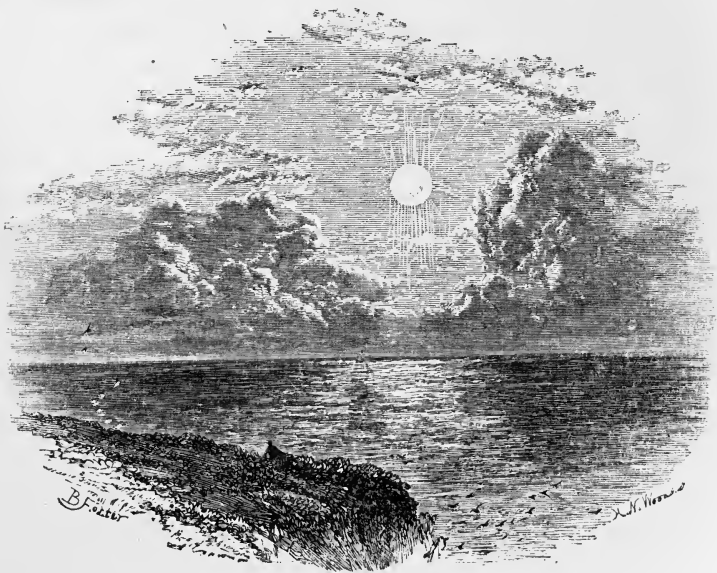
These considerations really put me to a pause, and to a kind of a full stop; and I began, by little and little, to be off my design, and to conclude I had taken wrong measures in my resolution to attack the savages—that it was not my business to meddle with them, unless they first attacked me, and this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

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

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

(* Religion joined in with this prudential resolution, and I was convinced now, many ways, that I was perfectly out of my duty when I was laying all my bloody schemes for the destruction of innocent creatures,—I mean innocent as to me. As to the crimes they were guilty of towards one another, I had nothing to do with them; they were national, and I ought to leave them to the justice of God, who is the governor of nations, and knows how, by national punishments, to make a just retribution for national offences, and to bring public judgments upon those who offend in a public manner, by such ways as best please Him.)

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



CHAPTER XII.

Crusoe takes precautions against an incursion of the savages—Lives a more retired life—His principal employment, the milking of his goats, and the management of his flock—Is surprised by an old he-goat in a cave—Discovers a party of cannibals on the shore—A ship in distress—Finds the body of a drowned boy cast on shore—Laments that not one of the crew has been saved, and feels more solitary than ever—Goes off to the wreck in his boat, and finds the only living thing on board to be a dog—Loads his boat with money-bags, clothes, etc., and returns to the shore—Reflections.



N this disposition I continued for near a year after this; and so far was I from desiring an occasion for falling upon these wretches, that in all that time I never once went up the hill to see whether there were any of them in sight, or to know whether any of them had been on shore there or not, that I might not be tempted to renew any of my contrivances against them, or be provoked by any advantage which might present itself, to fall upon them: only this I did, I went and removed my boat, which I had on the other side of the island, and carried it down to the east end of the whole island, where I ran it into a little cove which I found under some high rocks, and where I knew, by reason of the currents, the savages durst not, at least would not, come with their boats, upon any account whatsoever.

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

Besides this, I kept myself, as I said, more retired than ever, and seldom went from my cell, other than upon my constant employment, viz., to milk my she-goats, and manage my little flock in the wood, which, as it was quite on the other part of the island, was quite out of

danger ; for certain it is, that these savage people, who sometimes haunted this island, never came with any thoughts of finding any thing here, and consequently never wandered off from the coast, and I doubt not but they might have been several times on shore after my apprehensions of them had made me cautious, as well as before ; and, indeed, I looked back



with some horror upon the thoughts of what my condition would have been if I had chanced upon them and been discovered before that, when—naked and unarmed, except with one gun, and that loaded often only with small shot—I walked every where, peeping and peering about the island to see what I could get,—what a surprise should I have been in, if, when I discovered the print of a man's foot, I had, instead of that, seen fifteen or twenty savages, and found them pursuing me, and, by the swiftness of their running, no possibility of my escaping them ?

The thoughts of this sometimes sunk my very soul within me, and distressed my mind so much that I could not soon recover it ; to think what I should have done, and how I not only should not have been able to resist them, but even should not have had presence of mind enough to do what I might have done, much less what now, after so much consideration and preparation, I might be able to do. Indeed, after serious thinking of these things, I would be very melancholy, and sometimes it would last a great while ; but I resolved it at last all into thankfulness to that Providence which had delivered me from so many unseen dangers,

and had kept me from those mischiefs which I could no way have been the agent in delivering myself from, because I had not the least notion of any such thing depending, or the least supposition of it being possible.

This renewed a contemplation which often had come to my thoughts in former time, when first I began to see the merciful dispositions of Heaven in the dangers we run through in this life,—how wonderfully we are delivered when we know nothing of it; how, when we are in a quandary (as we call it)—a doubt or hesitation whether to go this way or that way, a secret hint shall direct us this way, when we intended to go that way; nay, when sense, our own inclination, and perhaps business, has called to go the other way,—yet a strange impression upon the mind, from we know not what springs, and by we know not what power, shall overrule us to go this way, and it shall afterwards appear, that had we gone that way which we should have gone, and even to our imagination ought to have gone, we should have been ruined and lost. Upon these, and many like reflections, I afterwards made it a certain rule with me, that whenever I found those secret hints or pressings of my mind, to doing or not doing any thing that presented, or to going this way or that way, I never failed to obey the secret dictate, though I knew no other reason for it than that such a pressure, or such a hint, hung upon my mind. I could give many examples of the success of this conduct in the course of my life, but more especially in the latter part of my inhabiting this unhappy island; besides many occasions which it is very likely I might have taken notice of, if I had seen with the same eyes then that I saw with now. But it is never too late to be wise; and I cannot but advise all considering men, whose lives are attended with such extraordinary incidents as mine, or even though not so extraordinary, not to slight such secret intimations of Providence, let them come from what invisible intelligence they will: that I shall not discuss, and perhaps cannot account for, but certainly they are a proof of the converse of spirits, and a secret communication between those embodied and those unembodied, and such a proof as can never be withstood,—of which I shall have occasion to give some very remarkable instances in the remainder of my solitary residence in this dismal place.

I believe the reader of this will not think it strange if I confess that these anxieties—these constant dangers I lived in, and the concern that was now upon me—put an end to all invention, and to all the contrivances that I had laid for my future accommodations and conveniences. I had

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

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

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

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

However, after some pause, I recovered myself, and began to call myself a thousand fools, and tell myself that he that was afraid to see the devil was not fit to live twenty years in an island all alone, and that I durst to believe there was nothing in this cave that was more frightful than myself. Upon this, plucking up my courage, I took up a great

firebrand, and in I rushed again, with the stick flaming in my hand: I had not got three steps in, but I was almost as much frightened as I was before, for I heard a very loud sigh, like that of a man in some pain, and it was followed by a broken noise, as if of words half expressed, and then a deep sigh again. I stepped back, and was indeed struck with such a surprise that it put me into a cold sweat; and if I had had a hat on my head, I will not answer for it that my hair might not have lifted it off. But still plucking up my spirits as well as I could, and encouraging myself a little with considering that the power and presence of God was every where, and was able to protect me—upon this I stepped forward again, and by the light of the firebrand, holding it up a little over my head, I saw lying on the ground, a most monstrous, frightful, old he-goat, just making his will, as we say, and gasping for life, and dying, indeed, of mere old age.

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

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

Accordingly, the next day I came provided with six large candles of my own making, for I had made very good candles now of goat's tallow; and going into this low place, I was obliged to creep upon all fours, as I have said, almost ten yards, which, by the way, I thought was a venture bold enough, considering that I knew not how far it might go, nor what was beyond it. When I was got through the strait, I found the roof rose higher up, I believe near twenty feet; but never was such a glorious sight seen in the island, I dare say, as it was to look round the sides and roof of this vault or cave. The wall reflected a hundred thousand lights

to me from my two candles ; what it was in the rock, whether diamonds, or any other precious stones, or gold, which I rather supposed it to be, I knew not.

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

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

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

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

I was now in my twenty-third year of residence in this island, and was so naturalized to the place and to the manner of living, that could I

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

But it was otherwise directed; and it may not be amiss for all people who shall meet with my story, to make this just observation from it, viz., how frequently, in the course of our lives, the evil which in itself we seek most to shun, and which, when we are fallen into, is the most

dreadful to us, is oftentimes the very means or door of our deliverance, by which alone we can be raised again from the affliction we are fallen into. I could give many examples of this in the course of my unaccountable life, but in nothing was it more particularly remarkable than in the circumstances of my last years of solitary residence in this island.

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

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

Then I prepared myself within, putting myself in a posture of defence: I loaded all my cannon, as I called them, that is to say, my muskets, which were mounted upon my new fortification, and all my pistols, and resolved to defend myself to the last gasp; not forgetting seriously to commend myself to the divine protection, and earnestly to pray to God to deliver me out of the hands of the barbarians.

After sitting awhile, and musing what I should do in this case, I was not able to bear sitting in ignorance any longer; so, setting up my ladder to the side of the hill, where there was a flat place, as I observed before, and then pulling the ladder up after me, I set it up again, and mounted to the top of the hill, and pulling out my perspective glass, which I had taken on purpose, I laid me down flat on my belly on the ground, and began to look for the place. I presently found there were no less than nine naked savages, sitting round a small fire they had made, not to warm them,—for they had no need of that, the weather being

extremely hot, but, as I supposed, to dress their barbarous diet of human flesh, which they had brought, whether alive or dead I could not know.

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

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

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

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

It seemed evident to me that the visits which they thus made to this island were not very frequent, for it was above fifteen months before any more of them came on shore there again,—that is to say, I never saw them, nor any footsteps or signals of them, in all that time; for, as to the rainy seasons, then they are sure not to come abroad, at least not so far: yet all this while I lived uncomfortably, by reason of constant apprehensions I

was in of their coming upon me by surprise. From whence I observe, that the expectation of evil is more bitter than the suffering, especially if there is no room to shake off that expectation, or those apprehensions.

During all this time I was in the murdering humour, and took up most of my hours, which should have been better employed, in contriving



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

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

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

The perturbation of my mind during this fifteen or sixteen months' interval was very great; I slept unquiet, dreamed always frightful dreams, and often started out of my sleep in the night: in the day, great troubles overwhelmed my mind, and in the night I dreamed often of killing the savages, and of the reasons why I might justify the doing of it. But to waive all this for a while: it was in the middle of May, on the sixteenth day, I think, as well as my poor wooden calendar would reckon, for I marked all upon the post still; I say, it was on the sixteenth of May that it blew a very great storm of wind all day, with a great deal of lightning and thunder, and a very foul night it was after it. I know not what was the particular occasion of it, but as I was reading in the Bible, and taken up with serious thoughts about my present condition, I was surprised with the noise of a gun, as I thought, fired at sea. This was, to be sure, a surprise of a quite different nature from any I had met with before; for the notions this put into my thoughts were quite of another kind. I started up in the greatest haste imaginable, and in a trice clapped up my ladder to the middle place of the rock and pulled it after me, and, mounting it the second time, got to the top of the hill the very moment that a flash of fire bade me listen for a second gun, which accordingly, in about half a moment, I heard, and, by the sound knew that it was from that part of the sea where I was driven out with the current in my boat.

I immediately considered that this must be some ship in distress, and that they had some comrade, or some other ship in company, and fired these guns for signals of distress, and to obtain help. I had this presence of mind at that minute, as to think that though I could not help them, it might be they might help me: so I brought together all the dry wood I could get at hand, and, making a good handsome pile, I set it on fire upon the hill. The wood was dry, and blazed freely, and though the wind blew very hard, yet it burnt fairly out, so that I was certain, if there was any such thing as a ship, they must needs see it; and no doubt they did,

for as soon as ever my fire blazed up I heard another gun, and after that several others all from the same quarter. I plied my fire all night long, till day broke; and when it was broad day, and the air cleared up, I saw something at a great distance at sea, full east of the island,—whether a sail or a hull I could not distinguish, the distance was so great, and the weather still continuing hazy also—at least it was so out at sea.

I looked frequently at it all that day, and soon perceived that it did not move, so I presently concluded that it was a ship at anchor: and being eager, you may be sure, to be satisfied, I took my gun in my hand, and ran towards the south-east side of the island, to the rocks where I had formerly been carried away with the current; and getting up there, the weather by this time being perfectly clear, I could plainly see, to my great sorrow, the wreck of a ship cast away in the night upon those concealed rocks which I found when I was out in my boat,—and which rocks, as they checked the violence of the stream, and made a counter-stream, or eddy, were the occasion of my recovering then from the most desperate, hopeless condition that ever I had been in in all my life.

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

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

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

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

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

Such were these earnest wishings, that but one man had been saved. Oh, that it had been but one! I believe I repeated the words, “Oh, that it had been but one!” a thousand times, and my desires were so moved by it, that when I spoke the words my hands would clinch together, and my fingers press the palms of my hands, that if I had had any soft thing in my hand it would have crushed it involuntarily; and my teeth in my head would strike together, and set against one another so strong, that for some time I could not part them again.

Let the naturalist explain these things, and the reason and manner of

them: all I can say to them is—to describe the fact, which was even surprising to me, when I found it: though I knew not from what it should proceed, it was doubtless the effect of ardent wishes, and of strong ideas formed in my mind, realising the comfort which the conversation of one of my fellow Christians would have been to me.



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

It was now calm, and I had a great mind to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not doubting but I might find something on board that might be useful to me; but that did not altogether press me so much as the possibility that there might be yet some living creature on board, whose life I might not only save, but might, by saving that life, comfort

my own to the last degree. And this thought clung so to my heart, that I could not be quiet night nor day, but I must venture out in my boat on board this wreck; and committing the rest to God's providence, I thought the impression was so strong upon my mind that it could not be resisted, that it must come from some invisible direction, and that I should be wanting to myself if I did not go.

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

These thoughts so oppressed my mind, that I began to give over my enterprise, and having haled my boat into a little creek on the shore, I stepped out, and sat me down upon a little spot of rising ground, very pensive and anxious between fear and desire about my voyage; when, as I was musing, I could perceive that the tide was turned, and the flood came on, upon which my going was for so many hours impracticable. Upon this, it presently occurred to me that I should go up to the highest piece of ground I could find, and observe, if I could, how the sets of the tide or currents lay, when the flood came in, that I might judge whether if I was driven one way out, I might not expect to be driven another way home, with the same rapidness of the currents. This thought was

no sooner in my head but I cast my eye upon a little hill which sufficiently overlooked the sea both ways, and from whence I had a clear view of the currents or sets of the tide, and which way I was to guide myself in my return. Here I found that, as the current of the ebb set out close by the south point of the island, so the current of the flood set in close by the shore of the north side, and that I had nothing to do but to keep to the north side of the island in my return, and I should do well enough.

Encouraged with this observation, I resolved the next morning to set out with the first of the tide; and reposing myself for the night in my canoe, under the great watch-coat I mentioned, I launched out. I first made a little out to sea, full north, till I began to feel the benefit of the current, which set eastward, and which carried me at a great rate, and yet did not so hurry me as the southern side current had done before, and so as to take from me all government of the boat; but having a strong steerage with my paddle, I went, I say, at a great rate directly for the wreck, and in less than two hours I came up to it. It was a dismal sight to look at: the ship, which, by its building, was Spanish, stuck fast, jammed in between two rocks: all the stern and quarter of her was beaten to pieces with the sea; and as her forecastle, which stuck in the rocks, had run on with great violence, her mainmast and foremast were brought by the board,—that is to say, broken short off; but her boltsprit was sound, and the head and bow appeared firm. When I came close to her, a dog appeared upon her, which, seeing me coming, yelped and cried, and as soon as I called him jumped into the sea to come to me, and I took him into the boat, but found him almost dead for hunger and thirst. I gave him a cake of my bread, and he eat it like a ravenous wolf that had been starving a fortnight in the snow. I then gave the poor creature some fresh water, with which, if I had let him, he would have burst himself.

After this, I went on board. The first sight I met with was two men drowned in the cook-room, or forecastle of the ship, with their arms fast about one another. I concluded, as is indeed probable, that when the ship struck, it being in a storm, the sea broke so high and so continually over her, that the men were not able to bear it, and were strangled with the constant rushing in of the water as much as if they had been under water. Besides the dog, there was nothing left in the ship that had life, nor any goods, that I could see, but what were spoiled by the water. There were some casks of liquor, whether wine or brandy I knew not, which lay lower in the hold, and which, the water being

ebbed out, I could see; but they were too big to meddle with. I saw several chests, which I believe belonged to some of the seamen, and I got two of them into the boat, without examining what was in them. Had the stern of the ship been fixed, and the fore part broken off, I am persuaded I might have made a good voyage; for, by what I found in these two chests, I had room to suppose the ship had a great deal of wealth on board: and, if I may guess from the course she steered, she must have been bound from Buenos Ayres, or the Rio de la Plata, in the south part of America, beyond the Brazils, to the Havanna, in the Gulf of Mexico, and so perhaps to Spain. She had, no doubt, a great treasure in her, but of no use at that time to anybody; and what became of the rest of her people I then knew not.

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

I reposed that night in the boat, and in the morning I resolved to harbour what I had gotten in my new cave,—not to carry it home to my castle. After refreshing myself, I got all my cargo on shore, and began to examine the particulars. The cask of liquor I found to be a kind of rum, but not such as we had at the Brazils, and in a word, not at all good; but when I came to open the chests, I found several things which I wanted,—for example, I found in one a fine case of bottles, of an extraordinary kind, and filled with cordial waters, fine and very good: the bottles held about three pints each, and were tipped with silver. I found two pots of very good succades, or sweetmeats, so fastened also on the top that the salt water had not hurt them; and two more of the same, which the water had spoiled. I found some very good shirts, which were very welcome to me; and about a dozen and a half of white linen handkerchiefs and coloured neckcloths: the former were also very welcome, being exceeding refreshing to wipe my face in a hot day. Besides this, when I came to the till in the chest, I found three great bags

of pieces-of-eight, which held about eleven hundred pieces in all; and in one of them, wrapped up in a paper, six doubloons of gold and some small bars or wedges of gold,—I suppose they might all weigh near a pound.

The other chest I found had some clothes in it, but of little value: but by the circumstances, it must have belonged to the gunner's mate,



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

Well, however, I lugged the money home to my cave, and laid it up,

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

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

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

I have been, in all my circumstances, a *memento* to those who are touched with that general plague of mankind, whence, for aught I know, one half of their miseries flow,—I mean that of not being satisfied with the station wherein God and nature hath placed them; for, not to look back upon my primitive condition, and the excellent advice of my father—the opposition to which was, as I may call it, my *original sin*—my subsequent mistakes of the same kind had been the means of my coming into this miserable condition; for had that Providence, which so happily had seated me at the Brazils as a planter, blessed me with confined desires, and I could have been contented to have gone on gradually, I might have been, by this time,—I mean in the time of my being in this island,—one of the most considerable planters in the Brazils. Nay, I am

persuaded, that by the improvements I had made in that little time I lived there, and the increase I should probably have made if I had staid, I might have been worth a hundred thousand moidores. And what business had I to leave a settled fortune, a well-stocked plantation, improving and increasing, to turn supercargo to Guinea to fetch negroes, when patience and time would have so increased our stock at home, that we could have bought them at our door from those whose business it was to fetch them; and though it had cost us something more, yet the difference of that price was by no means worth saving at so great a hazard?

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



CHAPTER XIII.

The four-and-twentieth year of Crusoe's sojourn on the island—He dreams about the savages—He conceives the design of getting a savage into his possession—The cannibals visit the island again, and proceed to slay the prisoners they bring with them—The dream is fulfilled—One of the savages escapes, but is pursued—Crusoe knocks down one of the pursuers, and shoots the other—He welcomes the fugitive, whom he encourages to slay the second of his enemies—Names his savage, Friday—Instructs and clothes him—Human companionship almost reconciles him to his lot.

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

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

It is as impossible as needless to set down the innumerable crowd of thoughts that whirled through that great thoroughfare of the brain, the memory, in this night's time: I ran over the whole history of my life in miniature, or by abridgment, as I may call it, to my coming to this island, and also of that part of my life since I came to this island. In my reflections upon the state of my case since I came on shore on this island, I was comparing the happy posture of my affairs in the first years of my habitation here, to that course of anxiety, fear, and care which I had lived in ever since I had seen the print of a foot in the sand;—not that I did not believe the savages had frequented the island even all the while, and might have been several hundreds of them at times on shore

there ; but as I had never known it, and was incapable of any apprehensions about it, my satisfaction was perfect though my danger was the same, and I was as happy in not knowing my danger as if I had never really been exposed to it. This furnished my thoughts with many very profitable reflections, and particularly this one : (How infinitely good that Providence is, which has provided, in its government of mankind, such narrow bounds to his sight and knowledge of things ; and though he walks in the midst of so many thousand dangers, the sight of which, if discovered to him, would distract his mind and sink his spirits, he is kept serene and calm, by having the events of things hid from his eyes, and knowing nothing of the dangers which surround him.

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

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

I never so much as troubled myself to consider what I should do with myself when I came thither ; what would become of me, if I fell into the hands of the savages ; or how I should escape from them, if they

attempted me;—no, nor so much as how it was possible for me to reach the coast, and not be attempted by some or other of them, without any possibility of delivering myself; and if I should not fall into their hands, what I should do for provision, or whither I should bend my course: none of these thoughts, I say, so much as came in my way; but my mind was wholly bent upon the notion of my passing over in my boat to the main land. I looked upon my present condition as the most miserable that could possibly be; that I was not able to throw myself into any thing, but death, that could be called worse; that if I reached the shore of the main, I might perhaps meet with relief, or I might coast along, as I did on the shore of Africa, till I came to some inhabited country, and where I might find some relief; and after all, perhaps, I might fall in with some Christian ship that might take me in; and, if the worst came to the worst, I could but die, which would put an end to all these miseries at once. Pray note, all this was the fruit of a disturbed mind, an impatient temper, made, as it were, desperate by the long continuance of my troubles, and the disappointments I had met in the wreck I had been on board of, and where I had been so near the obtaining what I so earnestly longed for, viz., somebody to speak to, and to learn some knowledge from, of the place where I was and of the probable means of my deliverance,—I say I was agitated wholly by these thoughts. All my calm of mind, in my resignation to Providence, and waiting the issue of the dispositions of Heaven, seemed to be suspended, and I had, as it were, no power to turn my thoughts to any thing but to the project of a voyage to the main, which came upon me with such force, and such an impetuosity of desire, that it was not to be resisted.

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

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

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

However, at last, after many secret disputes with myself, and after great perplexities about it (for all these arguments, one way and another struggled in my head a long time), the eager prevailing desire of deliverance at length mastered all the rest; and I resolved, if possible,

to get one of these savages into my hands, cost what it would. My next thing, then, was to contrive how to do it, and this indeed was very difficult to resolve on; but as I could pitch upon no probable means for it, so I resolved to put myself upon the watch, to see them when they came on shore, and leave the rest to the event, taking such measures as the opportunity should present, let be what would be.

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

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

About a year and a half after I had entertained these notions, and by long musing had, as it were, resolved them all into nothing, for want of an occasion to put them in execution, I was surprised, one morning early, with seeing no less than five canoes all on shore together on my side the island, and the people who belonged to them all landed, and out of my sight. The number of them broke all my measures,—for seeing so many, and knowing that they always came four or six, or sometimes more, in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my measures to attack twenty or thirty men single-handed; so I lay still in my castle, perplexed and discomforted: however, I put myself into all the same postures for an attack that I had formerly provided, and was just ready for action, if anything had presented. Having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any noise, at length, being very impatient, I set my guns at the foot of my ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill by my two stages, as usual, standing so, however, that my head

did not appear above the hill, so that they could not perceive me by any means. Here I observed, by the help of my perspective glass, that they were no less than thirty in number, that they had a fire kindled, and that they had had meat dressed; how they had cooked it, that I knew not, or what it was, but they were all dancing, in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, their own way, round the fire.

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

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

There was between them and my castle the creek, which I mentioned often at the first part of my story, when I landed my cargoes out of the ship; and this I saw plainly he must necessarily swim over, or the poor wretch would be taken there: but when the savage escaping came thither, he made nothing of it, though the tide was then up, but plunging in, swam through in about thirty strokes, or thereabouts, landed, and ran on with exceeding strength and swiftness. When the three persons came to the creek, I found that two of them could swim, but the third could not, and that, standing on the other side, he looked at the others,

but went no farther, and soon after went softly back again, which, as it happened, was very well for him in the main.

I observed that the two who swam were yet more than twice as long swimming over the creek as the fellow was that fled from them. It came now very warmly upon my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was my time to get me a servant, and perhaps a companion or assistant, and that I was called plainly by Providence to save this poor creature's life. I immediately ran down the ladders with all possible expedition, fetched my two guns, for they were both but at the foot of the ladders, as I observed above; and, getting up again with the same haste, to the top of the hill, I crossed toward the sea, and having a very short cut, and all down hill, clapped myself in the way between the pursuers and the pursued, hallooing aloud to him that fled, who, looking back, was at first, perhaps, as much frightened at me as at them; but I beckoned with my hand to him to come back, and in the meantime I slowly advanced towards the two that followed, then rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece. I was loth to fire, because I would not have the rest hear, though, at that distance, it would not have been easily heard, and being out of sight of the smoke too, they would not have easily known what to make of it. Having knocked this fellow down, the other who pursued him stopped, as if he had been frightened, and I advanced apace towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceived presently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to shoot at me,—so I was then necessitated to shoot at him first, which I did, and killed him at the first shot. The poor savage who fled, but had stopped, though he saw both his enemies fallen and killed (as he thought), yet was so frightened with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood stock-still, and neither came forward nor went backward, though he seemed rather inclined to fly still, than to come on. I hallooed again to him, and made signs to come forward, which he easily understood, and came a little way—then stopped again, and then a little farther, and stopped again; and I could then perceive that he stood trembling, as if he had been taken prisoner, and had just been to be killed, as his two enemies were. I beckoned him again to come to me, and gave him all the signs of encouragement that I could think of; and he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve steps, in token of acknowledgment for my saving his life. I smiled at him, and looked pleasantly, and beckoned to him to come still nearer; at length he came

close to me, and then he kneeled down again, kissed the ground, and laid his head upon the ground, and, taking me by the foot, set my foot upon his head : this, it seems, was in token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, and made much of him, and encouraged him all I could. But there was more work to do yet; for I perceived the savage whom I knocked down was not killed, but stunned with the blow, and began to come to himself: so I pointed to him, and showed him the savage, that he was not dead: upon this he spoke some words to me, and though I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear, for they were the first sound of a man's voice that I had heard, my own excepted, for above twenty-five years. But there was no time for such reflections now: the savage who was knocked down recovered himself so far as to sit up upon the ground, and I perceived that my savage began to be afraid; but when I saw that, I presented my other piece at the man, as if I would shoot him: upon this my savage, for so I call him now, made a motion to me to lend him my sword which hung naked in a belt by my side;—so I did: he no sooner had it, but he runs to his enemy, and, at one blow, cuts off his head as cleverly, no executioner in Germany could have done it sooner or better,—which I thought very strange for one who, I had reason to believe, never saw a sword in his life before, except their own wooden swords: however, it seems, as I learned afterwards, they make their wooden swords so sharp, so heavy, and the wood is so hard, that they will cut off heads even with them, aye and arms, and that at one blow too. When he had done this, he comes laughing to me, in sign of triumph, and brought me the sword again, and with abundance of gestures which I did not understand, laid it down with the head of the savage that he had killed, just before me.

But that which astonished him most was to know how I had killed the other Indian so far off; so, pointing to him, he made signs to me to let him go to him: so I bade him go, as well as I could. When he came to him, he stood like one amazed, looking at him,—turned him first on one side, then on the other, looked at the wound the bullet had made, which it seems was just in his breast where it had made a hole, and no great quantity of blood had followed; but he had bled inwardly, for he was quite dead. He took up his bow and arrows, and came back; so I turned to go away, and beckoned to him to follow me, making signs to him that more might come after them. Upon this, he signed to me that he should bury them with sand, that they might not be



CRUSOE MEETING WITH FRIDAY.



seen by the rest, if they followed; and so I made signs again to him to do so. He fell to work, and in an instant he had scraped a hole in the sand with his hands big enough to bury the first in, and then dragged him into it and covered him, and did so also by the other: I believe he had buried them both in a quarter of an hour. Then calling him away, I carried him not to my castle, but quite away, to my cave on the farther part of the island; so I did not let my dream come to pass in that part, viz. that he came into my grove for shelter.

Here I gave him bread and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water, which I found he was indeed in great distress for, by his running; and having refreshed him, I made signs for him to go lie down and sleep, pointing to a place where I had laid a great parcel of rice-straw, and a blanket upon it, which I used to sleep upon myself sometimes. So the poor creature lay down, and went to sleep.

He was a comely, handsome fellow—perfectly well made, with straight, strong limbs, not too large—tall, and well shaped, and, as I reckon, about twenty-six years of age. He had a very good countenance, not a fierce and surly aspect, but seemed to have something very manly in his face; and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of an European in his countenance too, especially when he smiled. His hair was long and black, not curled like wool; his forehead very high and large, and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The colour of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny, and yet not of an ugly, yellow, nauseous tawny, as the Brazilians and Virginians, and other natives of America are, but of a bright kind of a dun olive colour, that had in it something very agreeable, though not very easy to describe. His face was round and plump; his nose small, not flat like the Negroes; a very good mouth, thin lips, and his fine teeth well set, and white as ivory. After he had slumbered—rather than slept—about half an hour, he waked again, and comes out of the cave to me, for I had been milking my goats, which I had in the enclosure just by: when he espied me, he came running to me, laying himself down again upon the ground, with all the possible signs of an humble, thankful disposition, making a great many antic gestures to show it. At last, he lays his head flat upon the ground, close to my foot, and sets my other foot upon his head, as he had done before; and after this made all the signs to me of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable, to let me know how he would serve me as long as he lived. I

understood him in many things, and let him know I was very well pleased with him. In a little time I began to speak to him, and teach him to speak to me; and, first, I made him know his name should be FRIDAY, which was the day I saved his life: I called him so for the memory of the time. I likewise taught him to say "Master:" and then let him know that was to be my name: I likewise taught him to say "Yes" and "No," and to know the meaning of them. I gave him some milk in an earthen pot, and let him see me drink it before him, and sop my bread in it; and I gave him a cake of bread to do the like, which he quickly complied with, and made signs that it was very good for him.

I kept there with him all that night, but as soon as it was day I beckoned to him to come with me, and let him know I would give him some clothes, at which he seemed very glad, for he was stark naked. As we went by the place where he had buried the two men, he pointed exactly to the place, and showed me the marks that he had made to find them again, making signs to me that we should dig them up again, and eat them. At this I appeared very angry, expressed my abhorrence of it, made as if I would vomit at the thoughts of it, and beckoned with my hand to him to come away, which he did immediately, with great submission. I then led him up to the top of the hill, to see if his enemies were gone; and pulling out my glass, I looked, and saw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them or their canoes,—so that it was plain they were gone, and had left their two comrades behind them, without any search after them.

But I was not content with this discovery; but having now more courage, and consequently more curiosity, I took my man Friday with me, giving him the sword in his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I found he could use very dexterously, making him carry one gun for me, and I two for myself; and away we marched to the place where these creatures had been, for I had a mind now to get some fuller intelligence of them. When I came to the place, my very blood ran chill in my veins and my heart sunk within me at the horror of the spectacle: indeed, it was a dreadful sight, at least it was so to me, though Friday made nothing of it. The place was covered with human bones, the ground dyed with their blood, great pieces of flesh left here and there, half-eaten, mangled, and scorched, and, in short, all

the tokens of the triumphant feast they had been making there, after a victory over their enemies. I saw three skulls, five hands, and the bones of three or four legs and feet, and abundance of other parts of the bodies; and Friday, by his signs, made me understand that they brought over four prisoners to feast upon—that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth; that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whose subjects, it seems, he had been one of, and that they had taken a great number of prisoners, all which were carried to several places by those that had taken them in the fight, in order to feast upon them, as was done here by these wretches upon those they brought hither.

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

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

The next day, after I came home to my hutch with him, I began to consider where I should lodge him; and that I might do well for him, and yet be perfectly easy myself, I made a little tent for him, in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inside of the last, and in the outside of the first: and as there was a door or entrance there into my cave, I made a formal framed doorcase, and a door to it

of boards, and set it up in the passage a little within the entrance; and, causing the door to open on the inside, I barred it up in the night, taking in my ladders to; so that Friday could no way come at me in the inside of my innermost wall, without making so much noise in getting over that it must needs waken me: for my first wall had now a complete roof over it of long poles, covering all my tent, and leaning up to the side of the hill, which was again laid across with smaller sticks, instead of laths, and then thatched over a great thickness with the rice-straw, which was strong, like reeds; and at the hole or place which was left to go in or out by the ladder, I had placed a kind of trapdoor, which, if it had been attempted on the outside, would not have opened at all, but would have fallen down, and made a great noise: and as to weapons, I took them all into my side every night.

But I needed none of all this precaution; for never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant than Friday was to me: without passions, sullenness, or designs, perfectly obliged and engaged, his very affections were tied to me like those of a child to a father; and I dare say he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine, upon any occasion whatsoever; the many testimonies he gave me of this put it out of doubt, and soon convinced me that I needed to use no precautions as to my safety on his account.

This frequently gave me occasion to observe, and that with wonder, that however it had pleased God, in his providence, and in the government of the works of his hands, to take from so great a part of the world of his creatures the best uses to which their faculties and the powers of their souls are adapted,—yet that he has bestowed upon them the same powers, the same reason, the same affections, the same sentiments of kindness and obligation, the same passions and resentments of wrongs, the same sense of gratitude, sincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing good, and receiving good, that he has given to us; and that when he pleases to offer them occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay, more ready, to apply them to the right uses for which they were bestowed, than we are. And this made me very melancholy sometimes, in reflecting, as the several occasions presented, how mean a use we make of all these, even though we have these powers enlightened by the great lamp of instruction, the Spirit of God, and by the knowledge of his word added to our understanding; and why it has pleased God to hide the like saving knowledge from so many

millions of souls, who, if I might judge by this poor savage, would make a much better use of it than we did.

From hence I sometimes was led too far to invade the sovereignty of Providence, and, as it were, arraign the justice of so arbitrary a disposition of things, that should hide that light from some, and reveal it to others, and yet expect a like duty from both; but I shut it up, and checked my thoughts with this conclusion—first, that we do not know by what light and law these should be condemned; but that, as God was necessarily, and by the nature of his being, infinitely holy and just, so it could not be but that if these creatures were all sentenced to absence from himself, it was on account of sinning against that light, which, as the Scripture says, was a law to themselves, and by such rules as their consciences would acknowledge to be just, though the foundation was not discovered to us; and, secondly, that still, as we are all clay in the hands of the potter, no vessel could say to him, “Why hast thou formed me thus?”

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



CHAPTER XIV.

Crusoe attempts to reclaim Friday from cannibalism, and converses with him about his country and its inhabitants—Instructs him in the knowledge of the true God, and exposes the delusions of Pagan priestcraft—Friday finds it difficult to account for the existence of evil—The savage becomes a Christian, and Crusoe is completely happy.

AFTER I had been two or three days returned to my castle, I thought that, in order to bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the relish of a cannibal's stomach, I ought to let him taste other flesh ; so I took him out with me one morning to the woods. I went, indeed, intending to kill a kid out of my own flock, and bring it home and dress it ; but as I was going, I saw a she-goat lying down in the shade, and two young kids sitting by her. I caught hold of Friday. "Hold," said I ; "stand still ;" and made signs to him not to stir. Immediately I presented my piece, shot, and killed one of the kids. The poor creature, who had, at a distance indeed, seen me kill the savage—his enemy, but did not know, nor could imagine, how it was done, was sensibly surprised, trembled and shook, and looked so amazed, that I thought he would have sunk down. He did not see the kid I had shot at, or perceive that I had killed it, but ripped up his waistcoat, to feel if he was not wounded ; and, as I found presently, thought I was resolved to kill him, for he came and kneeled down to me, and embracing my knees, said a great many things I did not understand,—but I could easily see that his meaning was, to pray me not to kill him.

I soon found a way to convince him that I would do him no harm ; and, taking him up by the hand, laughed at him, and, pointing to the kid which I had killed, beckoned to him to run and fetch it, which he did : and while he was wondering, and looking to see how the

creature was killed, I loaded my gun again : and, by and by, I saw a great fowl, like a hawk, sit upon a tree, within shot ;—so, to let Friday understand a little what I would do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which was indeed a parrot, though I thought it had been a hawk,—I say, pointing to the parrot, and to my gun, and to the ground under the parrot, to let him see I would make it fall, I made him understand that I would shoot and kill that bird. Accordingly, I fired, and bade him look, and immediately he saw the parrot fall. He stood like one frightened again, notwithstanding all that I had said to him ; and I found he was the more amazed, because he did not see me put any thing into the gun, but thought there must be some wonderful fund of death and destruction in that thing, able to kill man, beast, bird, or any thing, near or far off : and the astonishment this created in him was such as could not wear off for a long time, and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipped me and my gun. As for the gun itself, he would not so much as touch it for several days after ; but would speak to it and talk to it as if it had answered him, when he was by himself ; which, as I afterwards learned of him, was to desire it not to kill him.

Well, after his astonishment was a little over at this, I pointed to him to run and fetch the bird I had shot, which he did, but stayed some time ; for the parrot, not being quite dead, had fluttered a good way from the place where she fell : however, he found her, took her up, and brought her to me ; and as I had perceived his ignorance about the gun before, I took this advantage to charge the gun again, and not let him see me do it, that I might be ready for any other mark that might present. But nothing else offered at that time,—so I brought home the kid, and the same evening I took the skin off, and cut it out as well as I could ; and having a pot for that purpose, I boiled or stewed some of the flesh, and made some very good broth. After I had begun to eat some, I gave some to my man, who seemed very glad of it, and liked it very well ; but that which was strangest to him, was to see me eat salt with it. He made a sign to me that the salt was not good to eat ; and, putting a little into his own mouth, he seemed to nauseate it, and would spit and sputter at it, washing his mouth with fresh water after it : on the other hand, I took some meat in my mouth without salt, and I pretended to spit and sputter for want of salt, as fast as he had done at the salt ; but it would not do—he would

never care for salt with his meat or in his broth, at least not a great while, and then but a very little.

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

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

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

This was the pleasantest year of all the life I led in this place. Friday began to talk pretty well, and understand the names of almost every thing I had occasion to call for, and of every place I had to send him to, and talk a great deal to me,—so that, in short, I began now to have some use for my tongue again, which, indeed, I had very little occasion for before, that is to say, about speech. Besides the pleasure of talking to him, I had a singular satisfaction in the fellow himself: his simple, unfeigned honesty appeared to me more and more every day,

and I began really to love the creature ; and, on his side, I believe he loved me more than it was possible for him ever to love any thing before.

I had a mind once to try if he had any hankering inclination to his own country again ; and, having learned him English so well that he could answer me almost any questions, I asked him whether the nation that he belonged to never conquered in battle ? At which he smiled, and said, “ Yes, yes, we always fight the better,”—that is, he meant, always get the better in fight ; and so we began the following discourse : “ You always fight the better ?” said I, “ how came you to be taken prisoner then, Friday ?”

FRIDAY. My nation beat much, for all that.

MASTER. How beat ? If your nation beat them, how came you to be taken ?

FRIDAY. They more many than my nation in the place where me was ; they take one, two, three, and me ; my nation overbeat them in the yonder place, where me no was ; there my nation take one, two, great thousand.

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

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

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

FRIDAY. Yes, my nation eat mans too ; eat all up.

MASTER. Where do they carry them ?

FRIDAY. Go to other place, where they think.

MASTER. Do they come hither ?

FRIDAY. Yes, yes, they come hither ; come other else place.

MASTER. Have you been here with them ?

FRIDAY. Yes, I have been here ; (points to the north-west side of the island, which, it seems, was their side.)

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

by laying so many stones in a row, and pointing to me to tell them over.

I have told this passage, because it introduces what follows,—that after I had had this discourse with him, I asked him how far it was from our island to the shore, and whether the canoes were not often lost. He told me there was no danger, no canoes ever lost; but that, after a little way out to sea, there was a current and a wind, always one way in the morning, the other in the afternoon.

This I understood to be no more than the sets of the tide, as going out or coming in; but I afterwards understood it was occasioned by the great draft and reflux of the mighty river Oroonoke, in the mouth of which river, as I found afterwards, our island lay; and that the land which I perceived to the west and north-west was the great island Trinidad, on the north point of the mouth of the river. I asked Friday a thousand questions about the country, the inhabitants, the sea, the coast, and what nations were near: he told me all he knew, with the greatest openness imaginable. I asked him the names of the several nations of his sort of people, but could get no other name than Caribs: from whence I easily understood that these were the Caribbees, which our maps place on that part of America which reaches from the mouth of the river Oroonoke to Guiana, and onwards to St. Martha. He told me that up a great way beyond the moon—that was, beyond the setting of the moon, which must be west from their country, there dwelt white bearded men, like me, and pointed to my great whiskers, which I mentioned before, and that they had killed much mans—that was his word,—by which I understood, he meant the Spaniards, whose cruelties in America had been spread over whole countries, and were remembered by all the nations, from father to son.

I enquired if he could tell me how I might come from this island, and get among those white men: he told me, “Yes, yes, I might go in two canoe.” I could not understand what he meant, or make him describe to me what he meant, by two canoe, till at last, with great difficulty, I found he meant that it must be in a large great boat, as big as two canoes.

This part of Friday’s discourse began to relish with me very well; and from this time I entertained some hopes that, one time or other, I might find an opportunity to make my escape from this place, and that this poor savage might be a means to help me to do it.

During the long time that Friday had now been with me, and that he began to speak to me, and understand me, I was not wanting to lay a foundation of religious knowledge in his mind. I asked him, one time, who made him? The poor creature did not understand me at all, but thought



I had asked who was his father? but I took it by another handle, and asked him who made the sea, the ground we walked on, and the hills and woods? He told me, it was one old Benamuckee, that lived beyond all: he could describe nothing of this great person, but that he was very

old, much older, he said, than the sea or the land, than the moon or the stars. I asked him then, if this old person had made all things, why did not all things worship him? He looked very grave, and with a perfect look of innocence said, "All things said O to him!" I asked him if the people who die in his country went away any where? He said, "Yes; they all went to Benamuckee." Then I asked him whether those they eat up went thither too? He said, "Yes."

From these things I began to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God. I told him that the great Maker of all things lived up there, pointing up towards heaven; that he governs the world by the same power and providence by which he made it; that he was omnipotent, could do every thing for us, give every thing to us, take every thing from us; and thus, by degrees, I opened his eyes. He listened with great attention, and received with pleasure the notion of Jesus Christ being sent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and his being able to hear us, even in heaven. He told me one day, that if our God could hear us up beyond the sun, he must needs be a greater God than their Benamuckee, who lived but a little way off, and yet could not hear till they went up to the great mountains where he dwelt to speak to him. I asked him if ever he went thither to speak to him? He said, "No; they never went that were young men: none went thither but the old men," whom he called their Oowookakee,—that is, as I made him explain it to me, their religious, or clergy; and that they went to say, "O" (so he called saying prayers), and then came back, and told them what Benamuckee said. By this I observed, that there is priestcraft even among the most blinded, ignorant pagans in the world; and the policy of making a secret of religion, in order to preserve the veneration of the people to the clergy, is to be found among all religions in the world, even among the most brutish and barbarous savages.

I endeavoured to clear up this fraud to my man Friday, and told him that the pretence of their old men going up to the mountains to say "O" to their god Benamuckee was a cheat, and their bringing word from thence what he said was much more so; that if they met with any answer, or spoke with any one there, it must be with an evil spirit; and then I entered into a long discourse with him about the devil, the original of him, his rebellion against God, his enmity to man, the reason of it, his setting himself up in the dark parts of the world to be worshipped instead of God, and as God, and the many stratagems he made use of to delude

mankind to their ruin; how he had a secret access to our passions and to our affections, to adapt his snares so to our inclinations as to cause us even to be our own tempters, and to run upon our destruction by our own choice.

I found it was not so easy to imprint right notions in his mind about the devil, as it was about the being of a God: nature assisted all my arguments to evidence to him even the necessity of a great First Cause, and overruling governing Power, a secret, directing Providence—and of the equity and justice of paying homage to him that made us, and the like. But there appeared nothing of all this in the notion of an evil spirit,—of his original, his being, his nature, and, above all, of his inclination to do evil, and to draw us in to do so too; and the poor creature puzzled me once in such a manner, by a question merely natural and innocent, that I scarce knew what to say to him.

I had been talking a great deal to him of the power of God, his omnipotence, his dreadful aversion to sin—his being a consuming fire to the workers of iniquity,—how, as he had made us all, he could destroy us and all the world in a moment; and he listened with great seriousness to me all the while. After this, I had been telling him how the devil was God's enemy in the hearts of men, and used all his malice and skill to defeat the good designs of Providence, and to ruin the kingdom of Christ in the world, and the like. "Well," says Friday, "but you say God is so strong, so great; is he not much strong, much might as the devil?" "Yes, yes," says I, "Friday, God is stronger than the devil: God is above the devil, and therefore we pray to God to tread him under our feet, and enable us to resist his temptations, and quench his fiery darts." "But," says he again, "if God much strong, much might as the devil, why God no kill the devil, so make him no more do wicked?"

I was strangely surprised at his question; and, after all, though I was now an old man, yet I was but a young doctor, and ill enough qualified for a casuist, or a solver of difficulties,—and, at first, I could not tell what to say, so I pretended not to hear him, and asked him what he said? but he was too earnest for an answer, to forget his question, so that he repeated it in the very same broken words as above. By this time I had recovered myself a little, and I said, "God will at last punish him severely; he is reserved for the judgment, and is to be cast into the bottomless pit, to dwell with everlasting fire." This did not satisfy

Friday; but he returns upon me, repeating my words, "Reserve at last: me no understand; but why not kill the devil now—not kill great ago?" "You may as well ask me," said I, "why God does not kill you and me, when we do wicked things here that offend him? We are preserved to repent and be pardoned." He muses a while at this. "Well, well," says he, mighty affectionately, "that well: so you, I, devil, all wicked, all preserve, repent, God pardon all." Here I was run down again by him to the last degree; and it was a testimony to me, how the mere notions of nature, though they will guide reasonable creatures to the knowledge of a God, and of a worship or homage due to the supreme being of God, as the consequence of our nature, yet nothing but divine revelation can form the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and of a redemption purchased for us; of a Mediator; of a new covenant; and of an Intercessor at the footstool of God's throne: I say, nothing but a revelation from Heaven can form these in the soul, and that, therefore, the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I mean the Word of God, and the Spirit of God, promised for the guide and sanctifier of his people, are the absolutely necessary instructors of the souls of men in the saving knowledge of God, and the means of salvation.

I therefore diverted the present discourse between me and my man, rising up hastily, as upon some sudden occasion of going out: then sending him for something a great way off, I seriously prayed to God that he would enable me to instruct savingly this poor savage, assisting, by his Spirit, the heart of the poor ignorant creature to receive the light of the knowledge of God in Christ reconciling him to Himself, and would guide me to speak so to him from the word of God, as his conscience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his soul saved. When he came again to me, I entered into a long discourse with him upon the subject of the redemption of man by the Saviour of the world, and of the doctrine of the gospel preached from heaven, viz., of repentance towards God, and faith in our blessed Lord Jesus. I then explained to him, as well as I could, why our blessed Redeemer took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham; and how, for that reason, the fallen angels had no share in the redemption,—that he came only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and the like.

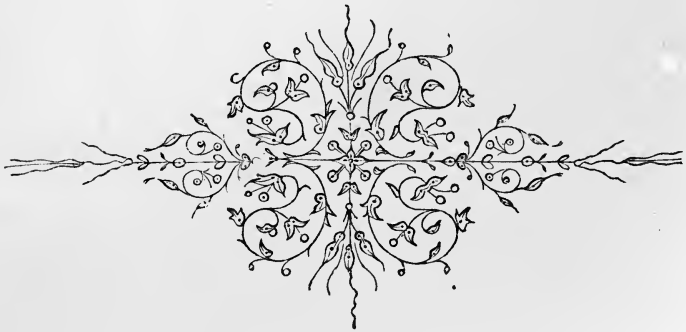
I had, God knows, more sincerity than knowledge in all the methods I took for this poor creature's instruction, and must acknowledge, what I believe all that act upon the same principle will find—that, in laying

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

In this thankful frame I continued all the remainder of my time, and the conversation which employed the hours between Friday and me was such as made the three years which we lived there together perfectly and completely happy, if any such thing as complete happiness can be found in a sublunary state. The savage was now a good Christian, a much better than I,—though I have reason to hope, and bless God for it, that we were equally penitent, and comforted, restored penitents. We had here the word of God to read, and no farther off from his Spirit to instruct, than if we had been in England. I always applied myself to reading the Scripture, and to let him know as well as I could the meaning of what I read; and he again, by his serious inquiries and questionings, made me, as I said before, a much better scholar in the Scripture-knowledge than I should ever have been by my own mere private reading. Another thing I cannot refrain from observing here also, from experience in this retired part of my life, viz., how infinite and inexpressible a blessing it is that the knowledge of God, and of the doctrine of salvation by Christ Jesus, is so plainly laid down in the word of God,—so easy to be received and understood, that, as the bare reading the Scripture made me capable of understanding enough of my duty to carry me directly on to the great work of sincere repentance for my sins, and laying hold of a

Saviour for life and salvation, to a stated reformation in practice, and obedience to all God's commands, and this without any teacher or instructor, I mean human,—so, the same plain instruction sufficiently served to the enlightening this savage creature, and bringing him to be such a Christian as I have known few equal to him in my life.

As to the disputes, wrangling, strife, and contention, which have happened in the world about religion, whether niceties in doctrines, or schemes of church government, they were all perfectly useless to us, as for aught I can yet see, they have been to all the rest in the world. We had the sure guide to heaven, viz., the word of God; and we had, blessed be God, comfortable views of the Spirit of God teaching and instructing us by his word, leading us into all truth, and making us both willing and obedient to the instruction of his word. And I cannot see the least use that the greatest knowledge of the disputed points in religion, which have made such confusions in the world, would have been to us, if we could have obtained it. But I must go on with the historical part of things, and take every part in its order.



CHAPTER XV.

Crusoe teaches Friday the use of fire-arms, and describes to him the countries of Europe—They make a boat, and fit it with masts and sails—Friday is instructed how to navigate it—The savages again visit the island—They are attacked and routed—Crusoe rescues a Spaniard, their prisoner, and Friday discovers his father.

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

I described to him the countries of Europe, and particularly England, which I came from ; how we lived, how we worshipped God, how we behaved to one another, and how we traded in ships to all parts of the world. I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and showed him, as near as I could, the place where she lay ; but she was all beaten in pieces before, and gone. I showed him the ruins of our boat, which we lost when we escaped, and which I could not stir with my whole strength then, but was now fallen almost all to pieces. Upon seeing this boat, Friday stood musing a great while, and said nothing. I asked him what it was he studied upon ? At last, says he, “ Me see such

boat like come to place at my nation." I did not understand him a good while; but, at last, when I had examined farther into it, I understood by him, that a boat, such as that had been, came on shore upon the country where he lived; that is, as he explained it, was driven thither by stress of weather. I presently imagined that some European ship must have been cast away upon their coast, and the boat might get loose, and drive ashore; but was so dull, that I never once thought of men making escape from a wreck thither, much less whence they might come: so I only inquired after a description of the boat.

Friday described the boat to me well enough, but brought me better to understand him when he added, with some warmth, "We save the white mans from drown." Then I presently asked him, if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat? "Yes," he said; "the boat full of white mans." I asked him how many? He told upon his fingers seventeen. I asked him then what became of them? He told me, "They live, they dwell at my nation."

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

It was after this some considerable time, that, being upon the top of the hill, at the east side of the island, from whence, as I have said, I had, in a clear day, discovered the main or continent of America, Friday, the weather being very serene, looks very earnestly towards the main land, and, in a kind of surprise, falls a jumping and dancing, and calls out to me, for I was at some distance from him. I asked him what was the matter? "O joy!" says he; "O glad! there see my country, there my nation!" I observed an extraordinary sense of pleasure appeared in his face, and his eyes sparkled, and his countenance discovered a strange

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

While my jealousy of him lasted, you may be sure I was every day pumping him, to see if he would discover any of the new thoughts which I suspected were in him; but I found everything he said was so honest and so innocent, that I could find nothing to nourish my suspicion; and, in spite of all my uneasiness, he made me at last entirely his own again: nor did he, in the least, perceive that I was uneasy, and therefore I could not suspect him of deceit.

One day, walking up the same hill, but the weather being hazy at sea, so that we could not see the continent, I called to him, and said, "Friday, do not you wish yourself in your own country, your own nation?" "Yes," he said, "I be much O glad to be at my own nation." "What would you do there?" said I; "would you turn wild again, eat men's flesh again, and be a savage as you were before?" He looked full of concern, and shaking his head, said, "No, no; Friday tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn-bread, cattle-flesh, milk; no eat man again." "Why then," said I to him, "they will kill you." He looked grave at that, and then said, "No, they no kill me, they willing love learn." He meant by this, they would be willing to learn. He added, "they learned much of the bearded mans that came in the boat." Then I asked him if he would go back to them. He smiled at that, and told me he could not swim so far. I told him I would make a canoe for him. He told me he would go, if I would go

with him. "I go?" says I; "why, they will eat me, if I come there." "No, no," says he; "me make they no eat you; me make they much love you." He meant, he would tell them how I had killed his enemies, and saved his life, and so he would make them love me. Then he told me, as well as he could, how kind they were to seventeen white men, or bearded men, as he called them, who came on shore there in distress.

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

Upon the whole, I was by this time so fixed upon my design of going over with him to the continent, that I told him we would go and make one as big as that, and he should go home in it. He answered not one word, but looked very grave and sad. I asked him what was the matter with him? He asked me again, "Why you angry mad with Friday? What me done?" I asked him what he meant? I told him I was not angry with him at all. "No angry?" says he, repeating the words several times, "Why send Friday home away to my nation?" "Why," says I, "Friday, did you not say you wished you were there?" "Yes, yes," says he, "wish be both there; no wish Friday there, no master

there." In a word, he would not think of going there without me. "I go there, Friday!" says I, "what shall I do there?" He turned very quick upon me at this: "You do great deal much good," says he; "you teach wild mans be good, sober, tame mans; you tell them know God, pray God, and live new life." "Alas! Friday," says I, "thou knowest not what thou sayest; I am but an ignorant man myself." "Yes, yes," says he, "you teachee me good, you teachee them good." "No, no, Friday," says I, "you shall go without me; leave me here to live by myself, as I did before." He looked confused again at that word: and running to one of the hatchets which he used to wear, he takes it up hastily, and gives it to me. "What must I do with this?" says I to him. "You take kill Friday," says he. "What must I kill you for?" said I again. He returns very quick, "What you send Friday away for? Take kill Friday, no send Friday away." This he spoke so earnestly, that I saw tears stand in his eyes: in a word, I so plainly discovered the utmost affection in him to me, and a firm resolution in him, that I told him then and often after, that I would never send him away from me, if he was willing to stay with me.

Upon the whole, as I found by all his discourse, a settled affection to me, and that nothing should part him from me, so I found all the foundation of his desire to go to his own country was laid in his ardent affection to the people, and his hopes of my doing them good; a thing which, as I had no notion of myself, so I had not the least thought, or intention, or desire, of undertaking it. But still I found a strong inclination to my attempting an escape, as above, founded on the supposition gathered from the discourse, viz., that there were seventeen bearded men there; and, therefore, without any more delay, I went to work with Friday, to find out a great tree proper to fell, and make a large periagua, or canoe, to undertake the voyage.

There were trees enough in the island to have built a little fleet, not of periaguas and canoes, but even of good large vessels; but the main thing I looked at was, to get one so near the water that we might launch it when it was made, to avoid the mistake I committed at first. At last, Friday pitched upon a tree; for I found he knew much better than I what kind of wood was fittest for it; nor can I tell, to this day, what wood to call the tree we cut down, except that it was very like the tree we call fustic, or between that and the Nicaragua wood, for it was much of the same colour and smell. Friday was for burning the hollow or

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

When she was in the water, and though she was so big, it amazed me to see with what dexterity, and how swift my man Friday would manage her, turn her, and paddle her along. So I asked him if he would, and if we might, venture over in her. "Yes," he said, "he venture over in her very well, though great blow wind." However, I had a further design that he knew nothing of, and that was to make a mast and a sail, and to fit her with an anchor and cable. As to a mast, that was easy enough to get: so I pitched upon a straight young cedar tree, which I found near the place, and which there were great plenty of in the island; and I set Friday to work to cut it down, and gave him directions how to shape and order it. But as to the sail, that was my particular care. I knew I had old sails, or rather pieces of old sails enough; but as I had had them now six-and-twenty years by me, and had not been very careful to preserve them, not imagining that I should ever have this kind of use for them, I did not doubt but they were all rotten, and, indeed, most of them were so. However, I found two pieces, which appeared pretty good; and with these I went to work, and with a great deal of pains, and awkward stitching—you may be sure, for want of needles—I at length made a three-cornered ugly thing, like what we call in England a shoulder-of-mutton sail, to go with a boom at bottom, and a little short sprit at the top, such as usually our ships' long boats sail with, and such as I best knew how to manage, for it was such a one as I had to the boat in which I made my escape from Barbary, as related in the first part of my story.

I was near two months performing this last work, viz., rigging and fitting my mast and sails; for I finished them, very complete, making a small stay, and a sail, or foresail, to it, to assist, if we should turn to windward; and, which was more than all, I fixed a rudder to the stern of her to steer with; and though I was but a bungling shipwright, yet, as I knew the usefulness, and even necessity of such a thing, I applied



FRIDAY INSTRUCTED IN BOAT-BUILDING.



myself with so much pains to do it, that at last I brought it to pass,—though, considering the many dull contrivances I had for it that failed, I think it cost me almost as much labour as making the boat.

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



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

I was now entered on the seven-and-twentieth year of my captivity in this place; though the three last years that I had this creature with me ought rather to be left out of account, my habitation being quite of another kind than in all the rest of the time. I kept the anniversary of my landing here with the same thankfulness to God for his mercies as at first: and if I had such cause of acknowledgment at first, I had much more so now, having such additional testimonies of the care of Providence

over me, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and speedily delivered; for I had an invincible impression upon my thoughts that my deliverance was at hand, and that I should not be another year in this place. However, I went on with my husbandry—digging, planting, and fencing, as usual: I gathered and cured my grapes, and did every necessary thing as before.

The rainy season was, in the mean time, upon me, when I kept more within doors than at other times; so I had stowed our new vessel as secure as I could;—bringing her up into the creek, where, as I said in the beginning, I landed my rafts from the ship, and haling her up to the shore, at high water mark, I made my man Friday dig a little dock, just big enough to hold her, and just deep enough to give her water enough to float in; and then, when the tide was out, we made a strong dam across the end of it, to keep the water out,—and so she lay dry as to the tide from the sea: and to keep the rain off, we laid a great many boughs of trees so thick, that she was as well thatched as a house, and thus we waited for the months of November and December in which I designed to make my adventure.

When the settled season began to come in, as the thought of my design returned with the fair weather, I was preparing daily for the voyage; and the first thing I did was to lay by a certain quantity of provisions, being the stores for our voyage, and intended, in a week or a fortnight's time, to open the dock, and launch out our boat. I was busy one morning upon something of this kind, when I called to Friday, and bid him go to the sea-shore, and see if he could find a turtle, or tortoise, a thing which we generally got once a week, for the sake of the eggs as well as the flesh. Friday had not been long gone, when he came running back, and flew over my outer wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or the steps he set his feet on; and before I had time to speak to him, he cries out to me, "O master! O master! O sorrow! O bad!" "What's the matter, Friday?" says I. "O yonder, there," says he, "one, two, three canoe: one, two, three!" By his way of speaking, I concluded there were six; but on enquiry, I found it was but three. "Well, Friday," says I, "do not be frightened." So I heartened him up as well as I could: however, I saw the poor fellow was most terribly scared, for nothing ran in his head but that they were come to look for him, and would cut him in pieces, and eat him; and the poor fellow trembled so, that I scarce knew what to do with him. I comforted him

as well as I could, and told him I was in as much danger as he, and that they would eat me as well as him. "But," says I, "Friday, we must resolve to fight them. Can you fight, Friday?" "Me shoot," says he, "but there come many great number." "No matter for that," said I, again; "our guns will fright them that we do not kill." So I asked him whether, if I resolved to defend him, he would defend me and stand by me; and do just as I bid him. He said, "Me die, when you bid die, master." So I went and fetched a good dram of rum and gave him; for I had been so good a husband of my rum, that I had a great deal left. When he had drank it, I made him take the two fowling-pieces, which we always carried, and loaded them with large swan-shot, as big as small pistol-bullets; then I took four muskets, and loaded them with two slugs, and five small bullets each, and my two pistols I loaded with a brace of bullets each: I hung my great sword, as usual, naked by my side, and gave Friday his hatchet.

When I had thus prepared myself, I took my perspective glass, and went up to the side of the hill, to see what I could discover; and I found quickly, by my glass, that there were one-and-twenty savages, three prisoners, and three canoes; and that their whole business seemed to be the triumphant banquet upon these three human bodies,—a barbarous feast indeed! but nothing more than, as I had observed, was usual with them. I observed also, that they were landed, not where they had done when Friday made his escape, but nearer to my creek: where the shore was low, and where a thick wood came almost close down to the sea. This, with the abhorrence of the inhuman errand these wretches came about, filled me with such indignation, that I came down again to Friday, and told him I was resolved to go down to them and kill them all, and asked him if he would stand by me. He had now gotten over his fright, and his spirits being a little raised with the dram I had given him, he was very cheerful, and told me, as before, he would die when I bid die.

In this fit of fury, I took, and divided the arms which I had charged, as before, between us. I gave Friday one pistol to stick in his girdle, and three guns upon his shoulder, and I took one pistol, and the other three guns myself; and in this posture we marched out. I took a small bottle of rum in my pocket, and gave Friday a large bag with more powder and bullets; and, as to orders, I charged him to keep close behind me, and not to stir, or shoot, or do anything, till I bid him; and, in the mean time, not to speak a word. In this posture, I fetched a

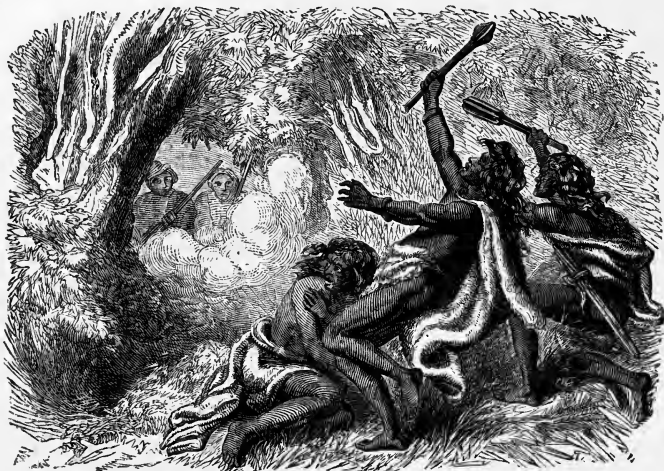
compass to my right hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek as to get into the wood, so that I might come within shot of them before I should be discovered, which I had seen, by my glass, it was easy to do.

While I was making this march, my former thoughts returning, I began to abate my resolution :—I do not mean that I entertained any fear of their number ; for, as they were naked, unarmed wretches, it is certain I was superior to them,—nay, though I had been alone. But it occurred to my thoughts, what call, what occasion, much less what necessity I was in, to go and dip my hands in blood, to attack people who had neither done nor intended me any wrong? who, as to me, were innocent, and whose barbarous customs were their own disaster; being, in them, a token indeed of God's having left them, with the other nations of that part of the world, to such stupidity and to such inhuman courses, but did not call me to take upon me to be a judge of their actions, much less an executioner of his justice ; that, whenever he thought fit, he would take the cause into his own hands, and, by national vengeance, punish them as a people, for national crimes ; but that, in the mean time, it was none of my business ; that, it was true, Friday might justify it, because he was a declared enemy, and in a state of war with those very particular people, and it was lawful for him to attack them ; but I could not say the same with respect to myself. These things were so warmly pressed upon my thoughts all the way as I went, that I resolved I would only go and place myself near them, that I might observe their barbarous feast, and that I would act then as God should direct : but that, unless something offered that was more a call to me than yet I knew of, I would not meddle with them.

With this resolution I entered the wood, and, with all possible wariness and silence, Friday following close at my heels, I marched till I came to the skirt of the wood, on the side which was next to them, only that one corner of the wood lay between me and them. Here I called softly to Friday, and showing him a great tree, which was just at the corner of the wood, I bade him go to the tree, and bring me word if he could see there plainly what they were doing. He did so, and came immediately back to me, and told me they might be plainly viewed there ; that they were all about their fire, eating the flesh of one of their prisoners, and that another lay bound upon the sand, a little from them, which, he said, they would kill next, and which fired all the very soul within me. He told me it was not one of their nation, but one of the bearded men

whom he had told me of, that came to their country in the boat. I was filled with horror at the very naming the white bearded man; and, going to the tree, I saw plainly, by my glass, a white man, who lay upon the beach of the sea, with his hands and his feet tied with flags, or things like rushes, and that he was an European, and had clothes on.

There was another tree, and a little thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than the place where I was, which, by going a little way about, I saw I might come at undiscovered, and that then I should be within half shot of them; so I withheld my passion, though I was



indeed enraged to the highest degree, and going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree, and then I came to a little rising ground, which gave me a full view of them, at the distance of about eighty yards.

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

ing him if he was ready, he said, "Yes." "Then fire at them," said I; and the same moment I fired also.

Friday took his aim so much better than I, that on the side that he shot, he killed two of them, and wounded three more; and on my side, I killed one, and wounded two. They were, you may be sure, in a dreadful consternation, and all of them who were not hurt jumped upon their feet, but did not immediately know which way to run, or which way to look, for they knew not from whence their destruction came. Friday kept his eyes close upon me, that, as I had bid him, he might observe what I did; so, as soon as the first shot was made, I threw down the piece, and took up the fowling-piece, and Friday did the like: he saw me cock and present; he did the same again. "Are you ready, Friday?" said I. "Yes," says he. "Let fly, then," says I, "in the name of God!" And with that I fired again among the amazed wretches, and so did Friday; and as our pieces were now loaden with what I called swan-shot, or small pistol-bullets, we found only two drop, but so many were wounded, that they ran about yelling and screaming like mad creatures, all bloody, and miserably wounded most of them, whereof three more fell quickly after, though not quite dead.

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

While my man Friday fired at them, I pulled out my knife, and cut

the flags that bound the poor victim ; and loosing his hands and feet, I lifted him up, and asked him in the Portuguese tongue, what he was. He answered in Latin, "Christianus," but was so weak and faint that he could scarce stand or speak. I took my bottle out of my pocket, and gave it him, making signs that he should drink, which he did ; and I gave him a piece of bread, which he eat. Then I asked him what countryman he was, and he said, "Espagniole ;" and being a little recovered, let me know, by all the signs he could possibly make, how much he was in my debt for his deliverance. "Seignior," said I, with as much Spanish as I could make up, "we will talk afterwards, but we must fight now : if you have any strength left, take this pistol and sword, and lay about you." He took them very thankfully ; and no sooner had he the arms in his hands, but, as if they had put new vigour into him, he flew upon his murderers like a fury, and had cut two of them in pieces in an instant ; for the truth is, as the whole was a surprise to them, so the poor creatures were so much frightened with the noise of our pieces, that they fell down for mere amazement and fear, and had no more power to attempt their own escape, than their flesh had to resist our shot : and that was the case of those five that Friday shot at in the boat ; for as three of them fell with the hurt they received, so the other two fell with the fright.

I kept my piece in my hand still without firing, being willing to keep my charge ready, because I had given the Spaniard my pistol and sword ; so I called to Friday, and bade him run up to the tree from whence we first fired, and fetch the arms which lay there that had been discharged, which he did with great swiftness ; and then, giving him my musket, I sat down myself to load all the rest again, and bade them come to me when they wanted. While I was loading these pieces, there happened a fierce engagement between the Spaniard and one of the savages, who made at him with one of their great wooden swords, the same like weapon that was to have killed him before, if I had not prevented it. The Spaniard, who was as bold and brave as could be imagined, though weak, had fought this Indian a good while, and had cut him two great wounds on his head ; but the savage being a stout, lusty fellow, closing in with him, had thrown him down, being faint, and was wringing my sword out of his hand, when the Spaniard, though undermost, wisely quitting the sword, drew the pistol from his girdle, shot the savage through the body, and killed him upon the spot, before I, who was running to help him, could come near him.

Friday being now left to his liberty, pursued the flying wretches with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet; and with that he despatched those three, who, as I said before, were wounded at first, and fallen, and all the rest he could come up with: and the Spaniard coming to me for a gun, I gave him one of the fowling-pieces, with which he pursued two of



the savages, and wounded them both; but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the wood, where Friday pursued them, and killed one of them, but the other was too nimble for him; and though he was wounded, yet had plunged himself into the sea, and swam with all his might off to those two who were left in the canoe, which three in the canoe, with one wounded, who we knew not whether he died or no, were all that escaped our hands of one-and-twenty. The account of the whole is as follows:—Three killed at our first shot from the tree; two killed at the next shot; two killed by Friday in the boat; two killed by Friday of

those at first wounded ; one killed by Friday in the wood ; three killed by the Spaniard ; four killed, being found dropped here and there of their wounds, or killed by Friday in his chase of them ; four escaped in the boat, whereof one wounded, if not dead—twenty-one in all.

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

I immediately cut the twisted flags or rushes, which they had bound him with, and would have helped him up ; but he could not stand or speak, but groaned most piteously, believing, it seems, still, that he was only unbound in order to be killed.

When Friday came to him, I bade him speak to him, and tell him of his deliverance ; and, pulling out my bottle, made him give the poor wretch a dram, which, with the news of his being delivered, revived him, and he sat up in the boat. But when Friday came to hear him speak, and looked in his face, it would have moved any one to tears to have seen how Friday kissed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, sung,—then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his own face and head, and then sung and jumped about again, like a distracted creature. It was a good while before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter ; but when he came a little to himself, he told me that it was his father.

It is not easy for me to express how it moved me to see what ecstasy and filial affection had worked in this poor savage at the sight of his father, and of his being delivered from death ; nor, indeed, can I describe half the extravagancies of his affection after this ; for he went into the boat and out of the boat a great many times : when he went into him, he would sit down by him, open his breast, and hold his father's head

close to his bosom half an hour together, to nourish it; then he took his arms and ankles, which were numbed and stiff with the binding, and chafed and rubbed them with his hands; and I, perceiving what the case was, gave him some rum out of my bottle to rub them with, which did them a great deal of good.

This action put an end to our pursuit of the canoe with the other savages, who were now gotten almost out of sight; and it was happy for us that we did not, for it blew so hard within two hours after, and before they could be gotten a quarter of their way, and continued blowing so hard all night, and that from the north-west, which was against them, that I could not suppose their boat could live, or that they ever reached to their own coast.

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

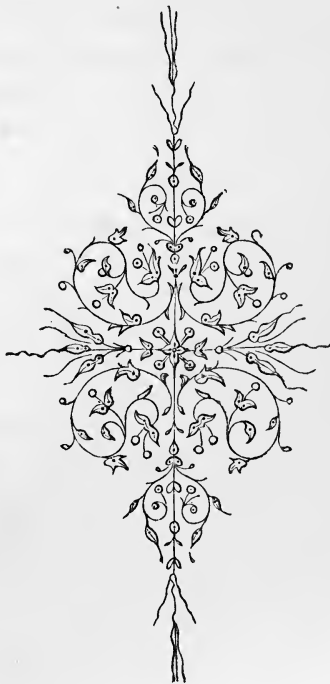
When his father had drunk, I called to him to know if there was any water left. He said, "Yes;" and I bade him give it to the poor Spaniard, who was in as much want of it as his father: and I sent one

of the cakes that Friday brought, to the Spaniard too, who was indeed very weak, and was reposing himself upon a green place under the shade of a tree, and whose limbs were also very stiff, and very much swelled with the rude bandage he had been tied with. When I saw that, upon Friday's coming to him with the water, he sat up and drank, and took the bread, and began to eat, I went to him and gave him a handful of raisins. He looked up in my face with all the tokens of gratitude and thankfulness that could appear in any countenance; but was so weak, notwithstanding he had so exerted himself in the fight, that he could not stand up upon his feet: he tried to do it two or three times, but was really not able, his ankles were so swelled and so painful to him; so I bade him sit still, and caused Friday to rub his ankles and bathe them with rum, as he had done his father's.

I observed the poor affectionate creature, every two minutes, or perhaps less, all the while he was here, turned his head about to see if his father was in the same place and posture as he left him sitting; and at last he found he was not to be seen,—at which he started up, and without speaking a word, flew with that swiftness to him, that one could scarce perceive his feet to touch the ground as he went: but when he came he only found he had lain himself down to ease his limbs, so Friday came back to me presently, and I then spoke to the Spaniard to let Friday help him up, if he could, and lead him to the boat, and then he should carry him to our dwelling, where I would take care of him. But Friday, a lusty strong fellow, took the Spaniard quite up upon his back, and carried him away to the boat, and set him down softly upon the side, or gunnel, of the canoe, with his feet in the inside of it, and then lifted him quite in, and set him close to his father; and presently, stepping out again, launched the boat off, and paddled it along the shore faster than I could walk, though the wind blew pretty hard too: so he brought them safe into our creek, and leaving them in the boat, ran away to fetch the other canoe. As he passed me, I spoke to him, and asked him whither he went. He told me, “Go fetch more boat:” so away he went like the wind, for sure never man or horse ran like him; and he had the other canoe in the creek almost as soon as I got to it by land. So he waded me over, and then went to help our new guests out of the boat, which he did; but they were neither of them able to walk, so that poor Friday knew not what to do.

To remedy this, I went to work in my thought, and calling to Friday

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



CHAPTER XVI.

Crusoe's subjects and their religions—The dead bodies of the slain savages are buried—The Spaniard and Friday's father set out for the mainland to fetch Europeans who had been shipwrecked there—In their absence Crusoe is surprised by the appearance of a boat-load of mutinous sailors, who bring their officers to the island to murder them—Crusoe releases the prisoners—The mutineers are attacked and defeated.

MY island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects; and it was a merry reflection, which I frequently made, how like a king I looked. First of all, the whole country was my own mere property, so that I had an undoubted right of dominion. Secondly, my people were perfectly subjected, —I was absolute lord and lawgiver; they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, if there had been occasion of it, for me. It was remarkable, too, I had but three subjects, and they were of three different religions: my man Friday was a Protestant, his father was a Pagan and a cannibal, and the Spaniard was a Papist. However, I allowed liberty of conscience throughout my dominions. But this is by the way.

As soon as I had secured my two weak rescued prisoners, and given them shelter, and a place to rest them upon, I began to think of making some provision for them; and the first thing I did, I ordered Friday to take a yearling goat, betwixt a kid and a goat, out of my particular flock, to be killed,—when I cut off the hinder quarter, and chopping it into small pieces, I set Friday to work to boiling and stewing, and made them a very good dish, I assure you, of flesh and broth, having put some barley and rice also into the broth: and as I cooked it without doors, for I made no fire within my inner wall, so I carried it all into the new tent, and having set a table there for them, I sat down and eat my own dinner also with them, and, as well as I could, cheered them and encouraged them; Friday being my interpreter,

especially to his father, and, indeed, to the Spaniard too,—for the Spaniard spoke the language of the savages pretty well.

After we had dined, or rather supped, I ordered Friday to take one of the canoes, and go and fetch our muskets and other fire-arms, which, for want of time, we had left upon the place of battle; and the next day, I ordered him to go and bury the dead bodies of the savages, which lay open to the sun, and would presently be offensive. I also ordered him to bury the horrid remains of their barbarous feast, which I knew were pretty much, and which I could not think of doing myself,—nay, I could not bear to see them, if I went that way; all which he punctually performed, and effaced the very appearance of the savages being there,—so that when I went again, I could scarce know where it was, otherwise than by the corner of the wood pointing to the place.

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

This, however, I knew not; and therefore was under continual apprehensions for a good while, and kept always upon my guard, I and

all my army; for, as there were now four of us, I would have ventured upon a hundred of them, fairly in the open field at any time.

In a little time, however, no more canoes appearing, the fear of their coming wore off, and I began to take my former thoughts of a voyage to the main into consideration,—being likewise assured by Friday's father that I might depend upon good usage from their nation, on his account, if I would go.

But my thoughts were a little suspended when I had a serious discourse with the Spaniard, and when I understood that there were fourteen more of his countrymen and Portuguese, who, having been cast away, and made their escape to that side, lived there at peace, indeed, with the savages, but were very sore put to it for necessaries, and indeed for life. I asked him all the particulars of their voyage, and found they were a Spanish ship, bound from the Rio de la Plata to the Havanna, being directed to leave their loading there, which was chiefly hides and silver, and to bring back what European goods they could meet with there; that they had five Portuguese seaman on board, whom they took out of another wreck; that five of their own men were drowned, when first the ship was lost, and that these escaped through infinite dangers and hazards, and arrived, almost starved, on the cannibal coast, where they expected to have been devoured every moment. He told me they had some arms with them, but they were perfectly useless, for that they had neither powder nor ball, the washing of the sea having spoiled all their powder but a little, which they used, at their first landing, to provide themselves some food.

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

an Englishman was certain to be made a sacrifice, what necessity or what accident soever brought him thither ; and that I had rather be delivered up to the savages, and be devoured alive, than fall into the merciless claws of the priests, and be carried into the Inquisition. I added, that otherwise I was persuaded, if they were all here, we might, with so many hands, build a bark large enough to carry us all away, either to the Brazils, southward, or to the islands, or Spanish coast, northward ; but that if, in requital, they should, when I had put weapons into their hands, carry me by force among their own people, I might be ill used for my kindness to them, and make my case worse than it was before.

He answered with a great deal of candour and ingenuity, that their condition was so miserable, and they were so sensible of it, that he believed they would abhor the thought of using any man unkindly that should contribute to their deliverance ; and that, if I pleased, he would go to them with the old man, and discourse with them about it, and return again, and bring me their answer ; that he would make conditions with them upon their solemn oath, that they would be absolutely under my leading, as their commander and captain ; and that they should swear upon the holy sacraments and gospel to be true to me, and go to such Christian country as that I should agree to, and no other, and to be directed wholly and absolutely by my orders, till they were landed safely in such country as I intended ; and that he would bring a contract from them, under their hands, for that purpose.

Then he told me he would first swear to me himself, that he would never stir from me as long as he lived, till I gave him orders ; and that he would take my side to the last drop of his blood, if there should happen the least breach of faith among his countrymen.

He told me they were all of them very civil, honest men, and they were under the greatest distress imaginable, having neither weapons nor clothes, nor any food, but at the mercy and discretion of the savages, out of all hopes of ever returning to their own country ; and that he was sure, if I would undertake their relief, they would live and die by me.

Upon these assurances I resolved to venture to relieve them, if possible, and to send the old savage and this Spaniard over to them to treat. But when we had gotten all things in a readiness to go, the Spaniard himself started an objection, which had so much prudence in it, on one hand, and so much sincerity on the other hand, that I could not but be very well satisfied in it ; and, by his advice, put off the deliverance of

his comrades for at least half a year. The case was thus: He had been with us now about a month, during which time I had let him see in what manner I had provided, with the assistance of Providence, for my support; and he saw evidently what stock of corn and rice I had laid up, which, as it was more than sufficient for myself, so it was not sufficient, at least without good husbandry, for my family, now it was increased to four; but much less would it be sufficient if his countrymen, who were, as he said, fourteen still alive, should come over; and least of all would it be sufficient to victual our vessel, if we should build one, for a voyage to any of the Christian colonies of America: so he told me he thought it would be more advisable to let him and the two other dig and cultivate some more land, as much as I could spare seed to sow, and that we should wait another harvest, that we might have a supply of corn for his countrymen, when they should come: for want might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not to think themselves delivered, otherwise than out of one difficulty into another. You know, says he, the children of Israel, though they rejoiced at first for their being delivered out of Egypt, yet rebelled even against God himself, that delivered them, when they came to want bread in the Wilderness.

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

Having now society enough, and our number being sufficient to put us out of fear of the savages, if they had come, unless their number had been very great, we went freely all over the island, wherever we found occasion; and as here we had our escape or deliverance upon our thoughts, it was impossible, at least for me, to have the means of it out of mine. To this purpose, I marked out several trees which I thought fit for our work, and I set Friday and his father to cutting them down; and then I caused the Spaniard, to whom I imparted my thought on that affair, to oversee

and direct their work. I showed them with what indefatigable pains I had hewed a large tree into single planks; and I caused them to do the like, till they had made about a dozen large planks of good oak, near two feet broad, thirty-five feet long, and from two inches to four inches thick: what prodigious labour it took up, any one may imagine.

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

It was now harvest, and our crop in good order: it was not the most plentiful increase I had seen in the island; but, however, it was enough to answer our end,—for from our twenty-two bushels of barley we brought in and threshed out above two hundred and twenty bushels, and the like in proportion of the rice; which was store enough for our food to the next harvest, though all the fourteen Spaniards had been on shore with me; or if we had been ready for a voyage, it would very plentifully have victualled our ship to have carried us to any part of the world, that is to say, of America.

When we had thus housed and secured our magazine of corn, we fell to work to make more wickerwork, viz., great baskets, in which we kept it, and the Spaniard was very handy and dexterous at this part, and often blamed me that I did not make some things for defence of this kind of work; but I saw no need of it.

And now, having a full supply of food for all the guests I expected, I gave the Spaniard leave to go over to the main, to see what he could do with those he had left behind them there. I gave him a strict charge, in writing, not to bring any man with him who would not first swear, in the presence of himself and of the old savage, that he would in no way injure, fight with, or attack the person he would find in the island, who was so kind as to send for them in order to their deliverance; but that they would stand by, and defend him against all such attempts, and wherever

they went, would be entirely under and subjected to his command ; and that this should be put in writing, and signed with their hands. How we were to have this done, when I knew they had neither pen nor ink, that indeed was a question which we never asked.

Under these instructions, the Spaniard and the old savage, the father of Friday, went away in one of the canoes which they might be said to come in, or rather were brought in, when they came as prisoners to be devoured by the savages. I gave each of them a musket, with a firelock on it, and about eight charges of powder and ball, charging them to be very good husbands of both, and not to use either of them but upon urgent occasions.

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

They went away with a fair gale, on the day that the moon was at full, by my account in the month of October ; but as for an exact reckoning of days, after I had once lost it, I could never recover it again, nor had I kept even the number of years so punctually as to be sure I was right, though, as it proved, when I afterwards examined my account, I found I had kept a true reckoning of years.

It was no less than eight days I had waited for them, when a strange and unforeseen accident intervened, of which the like has not perhaps been heard of in history. I was fast asleep in my hutch one morning, when my man Friday came running in to me, and called aloud, " Master, master, they are come, they are come ! "

I jumped up, and, regardless of danger, I went out as soon as I could get my clothes on, through my little grove, which, by the way, was by this time grown to be a very thick wood ;—I say, regardless of danger, I went without my arms, which it was not my custom to do ; but I was surprised, when turning my eyes to the sea, I presently saw a boat at about a league and a half's distance, standing in for the shore, with a shoulder-of-mutton sail, as they call it, and the wind blowing pretty fair to bring them in : also I observed presently, that they did not come from

that side which the shore lay on, but from the southernmost end of the island. Upon this I called Friday in, and bade him lie close, for these were not the people we looked for, and that we might not know yet whether they were friends or enemies.

In the next place, I went in to fetch my perspective glass, to see what I could make of them; and, having taken the ladder out, I climbed up to the top of the hill, as I used to do when I was apprehensive of anything, and to take my view the plainer without being discovered.

I had scarce set my foot upon the hill, when my eye plainly discovered a ship lying at an anchor, at about two leagues and a half's distance from me, south-south-east, but not above a league and a half from the shore. By my observation, it appeared plainly to be an English ship, and the boat appeared to be an English long-boat.

I cannot express the confusion I was in; though the joy of seeing a ship, and one that I had reason to believe was manned by my own countrymen, and, consequently, friends, was such as I cannot describe; but yet I had some secret doubts hang about me—I cannot tell from whence they came—bidding me keep upon my guard. In the first place, it occurred to me to consider what business an English ship could have in that part of the world, since it was not the way to or from any part of the world where the English had any traffic: and I knew there had been no storms to drive them in there, as in distress; and that if they were really English, it was most probable that they were here upon no good design, and that I had better continue as I was, than fall into the hands of thieves and murderers.

Let no man despise the secret hints and notices of danger, which sometimes are given him when he may think there is no possibility of its being real. That such hints and notices are given us, I believe few that have made any observations of things can deny; that they are certain discoveries of an invisible world, and a converse of spirits, we cannot doubt; and if the tendency of them seems to be to warn us of danger, why should we not suppose they are from some friendly agent (whether supreme, or inferior and subordinate, is not the question), and that they are given for our good?

The present question abundantly confirms me in the justice of this reasoning; for had I not been made cautious by this secret admonition, come it from whence it will, I had been undone inevitably, and in a far worse condition than before, as you will see presently. I had not kept

myself long in this posture, but I saw the boat draw near the shore, as if they looked for a creek to thrust in at, for the convenience of landing; however, as they did not come quite far enough, they did not see the little inlet where I formerly landed my rafts, but run their boat on shore upon the beach at about half a mile from me, which was very happy for me; for otherwise they would have landed just, as I may say, at my door, and would soon have beaten me out of my castle, and perhaps have plundered me of all I had.

When they were on shore, I was fully satisfied they were Englishmen, at least most of them; one or two I thought were Dutch, but it did not prove so; there were in all eleven men, whereof three of them I found were unarmed, and, as I thought, bound; and when the first four or five of them were jumped on shore, they took those three out of the boat, as prisoners: one of the three I could perceive using the most passionate gestures of entreaty, affliction, and despair, even to a kind of extravagance; the other two, I could perceive, lifted up their hands sometimes, and appeared concerned, indeed, but not to such a degree as the first. I was perfectly confounded at the sight, and knew not what the meaning of it should be. Friday called out to me in English, as well as he could, "O master! you see English mans eat prisoner as well as savage mans." "Why," says I, "Friday, do yo think they are going to eat them then?" "Yes," says Friday, "they will eat them." "No, no," says I, "Friday, I am afraid they will murder them, indeed; but you may be sure they will not eat them."

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

down all three upon the ground, very pensive, and looked like men in despair.

This put me in mind of the first time when I came on shore and began to look about me: how I gave myself over for lost; how wildly I looked around me; what dreadful apprehensions I had; and how I lodged in the tree all night, for fear of being devoured by wild beasts. As I knew nothing that night of the supply I was to receive by the providential driving of the ship nearer the land by the storms and tide, by which I have since been so long nourished and supported: so these three poor desolate men knew nothing how certain of deliverance and supply they were, how near it was to them, and how effectually and really they were in a condition of safety, at the same time that they thought themselves lost, and their case desperate. So little do we see before us in the world, and so much reason have we to depend cheerfully upon the great Maker of the world, that he does not leave his creatures so absolutely destitute, but that, in the worst circumstances, they have always something to be thankful for, and sometimes are nearer their deliverance than they imagine; nay, are even brought to their deliverance by the means by which they seem to be brought to their destruction.

It was just at the top of high water when these people came on shore; and while partly they stood parleying with the prisoners they brought, and partly while they rambled about to see what kind of a place they were in, they had carelessly staid till the tide was spent, and the water was ebbd considerably away, leaving their boat aground. They had left two men in the boat, who, as I found afterwards, having drunk a little too much brandy, fell asleep; however, one of them waking sooner than the other, and finding the boat too fast aground for him to stir it, hallooed for the rest, who were straggling about, upon which they all soon came to the boat; but it was past all their strength to launch her, the boat being very heavy, and the shore on that side being a soft oozy sand, almost like a quicksand.

In this condition, like true seamen, who are perhaps the least of all mankind given to forethought, they gave it over, and away they strolled about the country again; and I heard one of them say aloud to another, calling them off from the boat, "Why, let her alone, Jack, can't you? she'll float next tide," by which I was fully confirmed in the main inquiry of what countrymen they were.

All this while I kept myself very close, not once daring to stir out of

my castle, any farther than to my place of observation near the top of the hill; and very glad I was to think how well it was fortified. I knew it was no less than ten hours before the boat could be on float again, and by that time it would be dark, and I might be at more liberty to see their motions, and to hear their discourse, if they had any.

In the meantime I fitted myself up for a battle, as before, though with more caution, knowing I had to do with another kind of enemy than I had at first. I ordered Friday also, whom I had made an excellent marksman with his gun, to load himself with arms. I took myself two fowling-pieces, and I gave him three muskets. My figure, indeed, was very fierce: I had my formidable goat's skin coat on, with the great cap I have mentioned, a naked sword by my side, two pistols in my belt, and a gun upon each shoulder.

It was my design, as I said above, not to have made any attempt till it was dark; but about two o'clock, being the heat of the day, I found that, in short, they were all gone straggling into the woods, and, as I thought, laid down to sleep. The three poor distressed men, too anxious for their condition to get any sleep, were, however, set down under the shelter of a great tree, at about a quarter of a mile from me, and, as I thought, out of sight of any of the rest.

Upon this I resolved to discover myself to them, and learn something of their condition. Immediately I marched in the figure as above, my man Friday at a good distance behind me, as formidable for his arms as I, but not making quite so staring a spectre-like figure as I did.

I came as near them undiscovered as I could, and then, before any of them saw me, I called aloud to them in Spanish, "What are ye, gentlemen?"

They started up at the noise; but were ten times more confounded when they saw me, and the uncouth figure that I made. They made no answer at all, but I thought I perceived them just going to fly from me, when I spoke to them in English. "Gentlemen," said I, "do not be surprised at me; perhaps you may have a friend near, when you did not expect it." "He must be sent directly from Heaven, then," said one of them very gravely to me, and pulling off his hat at the same time to me, "for our condition is past the help of man." "All help is from Heaven, sir," said I; "but can you put a stranger in the way how to help you? for you seem to be in some great distress. I saw you when you landed;

and when you seemed to make supplication to the brutes that came with you, I saw one of them lift up his sword to kill you."

The poor man, with tears running down his face, and trembling, looking like one astonished, returned, "Am I talking to God or man? Is it a real man or an angel?" "Be in no fear about that, sir," said I; "if God had sent an angel to relieve you, he would have come better clothed, and better armed after another manner than you see me: pray lay aside your fears; I am a man, an Englishman, and disposed to assist you: you see I have one servant only; we have arms and ammunition,—tell us freely, can we serve you? What is your case?"

"Our case," said he, "sir, is too long to tell you, while our murderers are so near us: but, in short, sir, I was commander of that ship; my men have mutinied against me; they have been hardly prevailed on not to murder me; and at last have set me on shore in this desolate place, with these two men with me, one my mate, the other a passenger, where we expected to perish, believing the place to be uninhabited, and know not yet what to think of it."

"Where are these brutes, your enemies?" said I: "do you know where they are gone?" "There they lie, sir," said he, pointing to a thicket of trees; "my heart trembles for fear they have seen us, and heard you speak; if they have, they will certainly murder us all."

"Have they any fire-arms?" said I. He answered, "They have only two pieces, one of which they have left in the boat." "Well, then," said I, "leave the rest to me; I see they are all asleep, it is an easy thing to kill them all: but shall we rather take them prisoners?" He told me there were two desperate villains among them, that it was scarce safe to show any mercy to; but if they were secured, he believed all the rest would return to their duty. I asked him which they were? He told me he could not at that distance distinguish them, but he would obey my orders in anything I would direct. "Well," said I, "let us retreat out of their view or hearing, lest they awake, and we will resolve farther." So they willingly went back with me, till the woods covered us from them.

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

“Well,” says I, “my conditions are but two—First, That while you stay in this island with me, you will not pretend to any authority here; and if I put arms into your hands, you will, upon all occasions, give them up to me, and do no prejudice to me or mine upon this island, and, in the meantime, be governed by my orders. Second, That if the ship is, or may be recovered, you will carry me and my man to England passage free.”

He gave me all the assurances that the invention or faith of man could devise, that he would comply with these most reasonable demands; and, besides, would owe his life to me, and acknowledge it upon all occasions, as long as he lived.

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

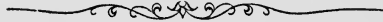
He said very modestly, that he was loath to kill them, if he could help it—but that those two were incorrigible villains, and had been the authors of all the mutiny in the ship, and if they escaped, we should be undone still; for they would go on board and bring the whole ship’s company, and destroy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

In the middle of this discourse we heard some of them awake, and soon after we saw two of them on their feet. I asked him if either of them were the heads of the mutiny? He said, “No.” “Well, then,” said I, “you may let them escape; and Providence seems to have awakened them on purpose to save themselves. Now,” says I, “if the rest escape you, it is your fault.”

Animated with this, he took the musket I had given him in his hand, and a pistol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, each man a piece in his hand: the two men who were with him going first, made some noise, at which one of the seamen who was awake turned about, and seeing them coming, cried out to the rest; but it was too late then, for the moment he cried out they fired; I mean the two men, the captain

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

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



CHAPTER XVII.

Crusoe and the captain consult how they may recover the ship from the mutineers—In the meanwhile a fresh party come ashore—An ambuscade is contrived, and the mutineers lay down their arms—The captain promises mercy to all except Will Atkins—The ship taken from the mutineers—Crusoe leaves the island, in which he had lived for twenty-eight years.

IT now remained that the captain and I should inquire into one another's circumstances. I began first, and told him my whole history, which he heard with an attention even to amazement, and particularly at the wonderful manner of my being furnished with provisions and ammunition; and, indeed, as my story is a whole collection of wonders, it affected him deeply. But when he reflected from thence upon himself, and how I seemed to have been preserved there on purpose to save his life, the tears ran down his face, and he could not speak a word more.

After this communication was at an end, I carried him and his two men into my apartment, leading them in just where I came out, viz. at the top of the house, where I refreshed them with such provisions as I had, and showed them all the contrivances I had made, during my long, long inhabiting that place.

All I showed them, all I said to them, was perfectly amazing; but, above all, the captain admired my fortification, and how perfectly I had concealed my retreat with a grove of trees, which, having been now planted near twenty years, and the trees growing much faster than in England, was become a little wood, and so thick, that it was impassable in any part of it, but at that one side where I had reserved my little winding passage into it. This I told him was my castle and my residence, but that I had a seat in the country, as most princes have, whither I could retreat upon occasion, and I would show him that too another time; but at present our business was to consider how to recover the ship. He agreed with me as to that; but told me he was perfectly at a loss what measures to take, for

that there were still six-and-twenty hands on board, who having entered into a cursed conspiracy, by which they had all forfeited their lives to the law, would be hardened in it now by desperation, and would carry it on, knowing that, if they were subdued, they would be brought to the gallows, as soon as they came to England, or to any of the English colonies; and that, therefore, there would be no attacking them with so small a number as we were.

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

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

When we had carried all these things on shore (the oars, mast, sail and rudder of the boat were carried away before, as above), we knocked a great hole in her bottom, that if they had come strong enough to master us, yet they could not carry off the boat. Indeed, it was not much in my thoughts that we could be able to recover the ship; but my view was, that if they went away without the boat, I did not much question to make her fit again to carry us to the Leeward Islands, and call upon our friends the Spaniards in my way, for I had them still in my thoughts.

While we were thus preparing our designs, and had first, by main strength, heaved the boat upon the beach so high that the tide would not float her off at high-water mark, and besides had broken a hole in her bottom too big to be quickly stopped, and were set down musing what we should do, we heard the ship fire a gun, and saw her make a waft with

her ancient as a signal for the boat to come on board ; but no boat stirred, and they fired several times, making other signals for the boat.

At last, when all their signals and firing proved fruitless, and they found the boat did not stir, we saw them (by the help of my glasses) hoist another boat out, and row towards the shore ; and we found, as they approached, that there were no less than ten men in her, and that they had fire-arms with them.

As the ship lay almost two leagues from the shore, we had a full view of them as they came, and a plain sight even of their faces, because the tide having set them a little to the east of the other boat, they rowed up under shore, to come to the same place where the other had landed, and where the boat lay.

By this means, I say, we had a full view of them, and the captain knew the persons and characters of all the men in the boat, of whom, he said, that there were three very honest fellows, who, he was sure, were led into this conspiracy by the rest, being overpowered and frightened ; but that as for the boatswain, who, it seems, was the chief officer among them, and all the rest, they were as outrageous as any of the ship's crew, and were no doubt made desperate in their new enterprise ; and terribly apprehensive he was that they would be too powerful for us.

I smiled at him, and told him that men in our circumstances were past the operation of fear,—that, considering every condition that could be was better than that we were supposed to be in, we ought to expect that the consequence, whether death or life, would be sure to be a deliverance. I asked him what he thought of the circumstances of my life, and whether a deliverance were not worth venturing for ? “And where, sir,” said I, “is your belief of my being preserved here on purpose to save your life, which elevated you a little while ago ? For my part,” said I, “there seems to me but one thing amiss in all the prospect of it.” “What is that ?” says he. “Why,” said I, “it is, that as you say there are three or four honest fellows among them, which should be spared ; had they been all of the wicked part of the crew I should have thought God's providence had singled them out to deliver them into your hands ; for, depend upon it, every man of them that comes ashore are our own, and shall die or live as they behave to us.”

As I spoke this with a raised voice and cheerful countenance, I found it greatly encouraged him ; so we set vigorously to our business. We had, upon the first appearance of the boat's coming from the ship, con-

sidered of separating our prisoners, and had, indeed, secured them effectually. Two of them, of whom the captain was less assured than ordinary, I sent with Friday and one of the three delivered men to my cave, where they were remote enough, and out of danger of being heard or discovered, or of finding their way out of the woods if they could have delivered themselves: here they left them bound, but gave them provisions; and promised them, if they continued there quietly, to give them their liberty in a day or two, but that if they attempted their escape, they should be put to death without mercy. They promised faithfully to bear their confinement with patience, and were very thankful that they had such good usage as to have provisions and a light left them, for Friday gave them candles (such as we made ourselves) for their comfort, and they did not know but that he stood sentinel over them at the entrance.

The other prisoners had better usage: two of them were kept pinioned, indeed, because the captain was not free to trust them; but the other two were taken into my service, upon the captain's recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us. So with them and the three honest men we were seven men well armed, and I made no doubt we should be able to deal well enough with the ten that were coming, considering that the captain had said there were three or four honest men among them also.

As soon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they run their boat into the beach, and came all on shore, haling the boat up after them, which I was glad to see; for I was afraid they would rather have left the boat at an anchor, some distance from the shore, with some hands in her to guard her, and so we should not be able to seize the boat.

Being on shore, the first thing they did, they ran all to their other boat, and it was easy to see they were under a great surprise to find her stripped, as above, of all that was in her, and a great hole in her bottom.

After they had mused awhile upon this, they set up two or three great shouts, hallooing with all their might, to try if they could make their companions hear; but all was to no purpose: then they came all close in a ring, and fired a volley of their small arms, which, indeed, we heard, and the echoes made the woods ring. But it was all one: those in the cave we were sure could not hear; and those in our keeping, though they heard it well enough, yet durst give no answer to them.

They were so astonished at the surprise of this, that, as they told us afterwards, they resolved to go all on board again to their ship, and let

them know there that the men were all murdered, and the long-boat staved: accordingly, they immediately launched their boat again, and got all of them on board.

The captain was terribly amazed and even confounded at this, believing they would go on board the ship again, and set sail, giving their comrades up for lost, and so he should still lose the ship, which he was in hopes we should have recovered; but he was quickly as much frightened the other way.

They had not been long put off with the boat, but we perceived them all coming on shore again; but with this new measure in their conduct, which it seems they consulted together upon, viz., to leave three men in the boat, and the rest to go on shore, and go up into the country to look for their fellows.

This was a great disappointment to us, for we were now at a loss what to do; for our seizing those seven men on shore would be no advantage to us, if we let the boat escape, because they would then row away to the ship, and then the rest of them would be sure to weigh and set sail, and so our recovery of the ship would be lost.

However, we had no remedy but to wait and see what the issue of things might present. The seven men came on shore, and the three who remained in the boat put her off to a good distance from the shore, and came to an anchor to wait for them; so that it was impossible for us to come at them in the boat.

Those that came on shore kept close together, marching towards the top of the little hill under which my habitation lay; and we could see them plainly, though they could not perceive us: we could have been very glad they would have come nearer to us, so that we might have fired at them, or that they would have gone farther off, that we might have come abroad.

But when they were come to the brow of the hill, where they could see a great way into the valleys and woods, which lay towards the north-east part, and where the island lay lowest, they shouted and hallooed till they were weary; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a tree, to consider of it. Had they thought fit to have gone to sleep there, as the other party of them had done, they had done the job for us; but they were too full of apprehensions of danger to venture to go to sleep, though they could not tell what the danger was they had to fear neither.

The captain made a very just proposal to me upon this consultation of theirs, viz., that perhaps they would all fire a volley again, to endeavour to make their fellows hear, and that we should all sally upon them, just at the juncture when their pieces were all discharged, and they would certainly yield, and we should have them without bloodshed. I liked this proposal, provided it was done while we were near enough to come up to them before they could load their pieces again.

But this event did not happen, and we lay still a long time, very irresolute what course to take. At length I told him there would be nothing done, in my opinion, till night; and then, if they did not return to the boat, perhaps we might find a way to get between them and the shore, and so might use some stratagem with them in the boat to get them on shore.

We waited a great while, though very impatient for their removing, and were very uneasy, when, after long consultations, we saw them all start up, and march down towards the sea: it seems they had such dreadful apprehensions upon them of the danger of the place, that they resolved to go on board the ship again, give their companions over for lost, and so go on with their intended voyage with the ship.

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

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

They were just going into the boat when Friday and the mate hallooed; and they presently heard them, and answering, ran along the shore westward, towards the voice they heard, when they were presently

stopped by the creek, where, the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up and set them over,—as, indeed, I expected.

When they had set themselves over, I observed that the boat being gone a good way into the creek, and, as it were, in a harbour within the land, they took one of the three men out of her to go along with them, and left only two in the boat, having fastened her to the stump of a little tree on the shore.

This was what I wished for; and immediately leaving Friday and the captain's mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and crossing the creek out of their sight, we surprised the two men before they were aware,—one of them lying on the shore, and the other being in the boat: the fellow on shore was between sleeping and waking, and, going to start up, the captain, who was foremost, ran in upon him, and knocked him down, and then called out to him in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man.

There needed very few arguments to persuade a single man to yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down; besides, this was, it seems, one of the three who were not so hearty in the mutiny as the rest of the crew, and therefore was easily persuaded not only to yield, but afterwards to join very sincerely with us.

In the meantime, Friday and the captain's mate so well managed their business with the rest, that they drew them, by hallooing and answering, from one hill to another, and from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them where they were very sure they could not reach back to the boat before it was dark; and, indeed, they were heartily tired themselves also by the time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark, and to fall upon them, so as to make sure work with them.

It was several hours after Friday came back to me before they came back to their boat, and we could hear the foremost of them, long before they came quite up, calling to those behind to come along, and could also hear them answer, and complain how lame and tired they were, and not able to come any faster, which was very welcome news to us.

At length they came up to the boat; but it is impossible to express their confusion when they found the boat fast aground in the creek, the tide ebbed out, and their two men gone. We could hear them call to one another in a most lamentable manner, telling one another they were gotten into an enchanted island; that either there were inhabitants in it,

and they should all be murdered, or else there were devils or spirits in it, and they should be all carried away and devoured.

They hallooed again, and called their two comrades by their names a great many times; but no answer: after some time, we could see them by the little light there was, run about, wringing their hands like men in despair, and that sometimes they would go and sit down in the boat, to rest themselves, then come ashore again, and walk about again, and so the same thing over again.

My men would fain have had me give them leave to fall upon them in the dark; but I was willing to take them at some advantage, so to spare them, and kill as few of them as I could: and especially I was unwilling to hazard the killing any of our men, knowing the others were very well armed. I resolved to wait, to see if they did not separate; and, therefore, to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer, and ordered Friday and the captain to creep upon their hands and feet as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and get as near them as they could possibly, before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture, when the boatswain, who was the principal ringleader of the mutiny, and had now shown himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them with two more of the crew: the captain was so eager at having the principal rogue so much in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him, for they only heard his tongue before: but when they came nearer, the captain and Friday, starting up on their feet, let fly at them.

The boatswain was killed upon the spot; the next man was shot in the body, and fell just by him, though he did not die till an hour or two after; and the third ran for it.

At the noise of the fire, I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now eight men, viz., myself, generalissimo; Friday, my lieutenant-general; the captain and his two men, and the three prisoners of war, whom we had trusted with arms.

We came upon them, indeed, in the dark, so that they could not see our number; and I made the man they had left in the boat, who was now one of us, to call them by name, to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so might perhaps reduce them to terms, which fell out just as we desired, for, indeed, it was easy to think, as their condition then was, they would be very willing to capitulate. So he calls out, as loud as he could,

to one of them, "Tom Smith! Tom Smith!" Tom Smith answered immediately, "Who's that? Robinson?" For it seems he knew the voice. The other answered, "Ay, ay; for God's sake, Tom Smith, throw down your arms and yield, or you are all dead men this moment."

"Who must we yield to? Where are they?" says Smith again. "Here they are," says he, "here's our captain and fifty men with him, have been hunting you these two hours: the boatswain is killed, Will Fry is wounded, and I am a prisoner; and if you do not yield, you are all lost."

"Will they give us quarter then?" says Tom Smith, "and we will yield." "I will go ask, if you promise to yield," says Robinson. So he asked the captain; and the captain himself then calls out, "You, Smith, you know my voice; if you lay down your arms immediately, and submit, you shall have your lives, all but Will Atkins."

Upon this Will Atkins cried out, "For God's sake, captain, give me quarter; what have I done? they have all been as bad as I,"—which by the way, was not true neither, for, it seems, this Will Atkins was the first man that laid hold of the captain, when they first mutinied, and used him barbarously, in tying his hands, and giving him injurious language. However, the captain told him he must lay down his arms at discretion, and trust to the governor's mercy, by which he meant me, for they all called me governor.

In a word, they all laid down their arms, and begged their lives; and I sent the man who had parleyed with them, and two more, who bound them all: and then my great army of fifty men, which, particularly with those three, were in all but eight, came up and seized upon them all, and upon their boat, only that I kept myself and one more out of sight for reasons of state.

Our next work was to repair the boat, and to think of seizing the ship; and as for the captain, now he had leisure to parley with them, he expostulated with them upon the villany of their practices with him, and at length upon the farther wickedness of their design, and how certainly it must bring them to misery and distress in the end, and perhaps to the gallows.

They all appeared very penitent, and begged hard for their lives. As for that, he told them they were none of his prisoners, but the commander's of the island; that they thought they had set him on shore in a barren, uninhabited island, but it had pleased God so to direct them, that the island was inhabited, and that the governor was an Englishman; that

he might hang them all there, if he pleased ; but, as he had given them all quarter, he supposed he would send them to England, to be dealt with there as justice required, except Atkins, whom he was commanded by the governor to advise to prepare for death, for that he would be hanged in the morning.

Though all this was but a fiction of his own, yet it had its desired effect : Atkins fell upon his knees, to beg the captain to intercede with the governor for his life ; and all the rest begged of him, for God's sake, that they might not be sent to England.

It now occurred to me that the time of our deliverance was come, and that it would be a most easy thing to bring these fellows in to be hearty in getting possession of the ship ; so I retired in the dark from them, that they might not see what kind of a governor they had, and called the captain to me : when I called, as at a good distance, one of the men was ordered to speak again, and say to the captain, " Captain, the commander calls for you ;" and presently the captain replied, " Tell his excellency I am just a-coming." This more perfectly amused them, and they all believed that the commander was just by with his fifty men.

Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him my project for seizing the ship, which he liked wonderfully well, and resolved to put it in execution the next morning.

But in order to execute it with more heart, and to be secure of success, I told him we must divide the prisoners, and that he should go and take Atkins and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinioned to the cave where the others lay. This was committed to Friday and the two men who came on shore with the captain.

They conveyed them to the cave as to a prison ; and it was, indeed, a dismal place, especially to men in their condition.

The others I ordered to my bower, as I called it, of which I have given a full description ; and as it was fenced in, and they pinioned, the place was secure enough, considering they were upon their behaviour.

To these in the morning I sent the captain, who was to enter into a parley with them,—in a word, to try them, and tell me whether he thought they might be trusted or no to go on board and surprise the ship. He talked to them of the injury done him, of the condition they were brought to, and that though the governor had given them quarter for their lives as to the present action, yet that if they were sent to England, they would all be hanged in chains, to be sure ; but that if they would

join in such an attempt as to recover the ship, he would have the governor's engagement for their pardon.

Any one may guess how readily such a proposal would be accepted by men in their condition; they fell down on their knees to the captain, and promised, with the deepest imprecations, that they would be faithful to him to the last drop, and that they should owe their lives to him, and would go with him all over the world; that they would own him for a father as long as they lived. "Well," says the captain, "I must go and tell the governor what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it." So he brought me an account of the temper he found them in, and that he verily believed they would be faithful.

However, that we might be very secure, I told him he should go back again and choose out five, and tell them that they might see he did not want men, but that he would take out those five to be his assistants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were sent prisoners to the castle (my cave) as hostages for the fidelity of those five; and that, if they proved unfaithful in the execution, the five hostages should be hanged in chains alive on the shore.

This looked severe, and convinced them that the governor was in earnest: however, they had no way left them but to accept it; and it was now the business of the prisoners, as much as of the captain, to persuade the other five to do their duty.

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

I asked the captain if he was willing to venture with these hands on board the ship; but as for me and my man Friday, I did not think it was proper for us to stir, having seven men left behind: and it was employment enough for us to keep them asunder, and supply them with victuals.

As to the five in the cave, I resolved to keep them fast, but Friday went in twice a day to them, to supply them with necessaries; and I made the other two carry provisions to a certain distance, where Friday was to take it.

When I showed myself to the two hostages, it was with the captain,

who told them I was the person the governor had ordered to look after them, and that it was the governor's pleasure they should not stir any where but by my direction; that if they did, they should be fetched into the castle, and be laid in irons: so that, as we never suffered them to see me as a governor, I now appeared as another person, and spoke of the governor, the garrison, the castle, and the like, upon all occasions.

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

When this was done, and all safe upon deck, the captain ordered the mate, with three men, to break into the round house, where the new rebel captain lay, who having taken the alarm, had got up, and with two men and a boy had gotten fire-arms in their hands; and when the mate, with a crow, split open the door, the new captain and his men fired boldly among them, and wounded the mate with a musket ball, which broke his arm, and wounded two more of the men, but killed nobody.

The mate, calling for help, rushed, however, into the round-house, wounded as he was, and with his pistol shot the new captain through the head, the bullet entering at his mouth, and came out again behind one of his ears, so that he never spoke a word: upon which the rest yielded, and the ship was taken effectually, without any more lives lost.

As soon as the ship was thus secured, the captain ordered seven guns to be fired, which was the signal agreed upon with me to give me notice of his success, which you may be sure I was very glad to hear, having sat watching upon the shore for it till near two o'clock in the morning.

Having thus heard the signal plainly, I laid me down; and it having been a day of great fatigue to me, I slept very sound, till I was something surprised at the noise of a gun: and presently starting up, I heard a man call me by the name of "Governor, Governor," and presently I knew the captain's voice,—when climbing up to the top of the hill, there he stood, and pointing to the ship, he embraced me in his arms. "My dear friend and deliverer," says he, "there's your ship, for she is all yours, and so are we, and all that belong to her." I cast my eyes to the ship, and there she rode within little more than half a mile of the shore; for they had weighed her anchor as soon as they were masters of her, and the weather being fair, had brought her to an anchor just against the mouth of a little creek; and the tide being up, the captain had brought the pinnace in near the place where I first landed my rafts, and so landed just at my door.

I was at first ready to sink down with the surprise; for I saw my deliverance, indeed, visibly put into my hands, all things easy, and a large ship just ready to carry me away whither I pleased to go. At first, for some time, I was not able to answer him one word; but as he had taken me in his arms, I held fast by him, or I should have fallen to the ground.

He perceived the surprise, and immediately pulls a bottle out of his pocket, and gave me a dram of cordial, which he had brought on purpose for me. After I drank it, I sat down on the ground; and though it brought me to myself, yet it was a good while before I could speak a word to him.

All this time the poor man was in as great an ecstasy as I, only not under any surprise, as I was; and he said a thousand kind and tender things to me, to compose and bring me to myself: but such was the flood of joy in my breast, that it put all my spirits into confusion; at last it broke out into tears, and in a little while after I recovered my speech.

Then I took my turn, and embraced him as my deliverer, and we rejoiced together. I told him I looked upon him as a man sent from Heaven to deliver me, and that the whole transaction seemed to be a chain of wonders; that such things as these were the testimonies we had of a secret hand of Providence governing the world, and an evidence that the eyes of an Infinite Power could search into the remotest corner of the world, and send help to the miserable whenever he pleased.

I forgot not to lift up my heart in thankfulness to Heaven; and what heart could forbear to bless Him who had not only in a miraculous

manner provided for me in such a wilderness, and in such a desolate condition, but from whom every deliverance must always be acknowledged to proceed?

When we had talked a while, the captain told me he had brought me some little refreshment, such as the ship afforded, and such as the wretches that had been so long his masters had not plundered him of. Upon this he called aloud to the boat, and bade his men bring the things ashore that were for the governor; and, indeed, it was a present as if I had been one that was not to be carried away with them, but as if I had been to dwell upon the island still.

First, he brought me a case of bottles full of excellent cordial waters; six large bottles of Madeira wine (the bottles held two quarts each), two pounds of excellent good tobacco, twelve good pieces of the ship's beef, and six pieces of pork, with a bag of peas, and about a hundred weight of biscuit: he brought also a box of sugar, a box of flour, a bag full of lemons, and two bottles of lime juice, and abundance of other things. But, besides these, and what was a thousand times more useful to me, he brought me six clean new shirts, six very good neckcloths, two pair of gloves, one pair of shoes, a hat, and one pair of stockings, with a very good suit of clothes of his own, which had been worn but very little; in a word, he clothed me from head to foot.

It was a very kind and agreeable present, as any one may imagine, to one in my circumstances; but never was any thing in the world of that kind so unpleasant, awkward, and uneasy, as it was to me to wear such clothes at their first putting on.

After these ceremonies were past, and after all his good things were brought into my little apartment, we began to consult what was to be done with the prisoners we had: for it was worth considering whether we might venture to take them away with us or no,—especially two of them, whom we knew to be incorrigible and refractory to the last degree; and the captain said he knew they were such rogues, that there was no obliging them, and if he did carry them away, it must be in irons, as malefactors, to be delivered over to justice at the first English colony he could come at; and I found that the captain himself was very anxious about it.

Upon this I told him, that if he desired it, I durst undertake to bring the two men he spoke of to make it their own request that he should leave them upon the island. "I should be very glad of that," says the captain, "with all my heart."

“Well,” says I, “I will send for them up, and talk with them for you.” So I caused Friday and the two hostages, for they were now discharged, their comrades having performed their promise,—I say, I caused them to go to the cave, and bring up the five men, pinioned as they were, to the bower, and keep them there till I came.

After some time, I came thither dressed in my new habit; and now I was called governor again. Being all met, and the captain with me, I caused the men to be brought before me, and I told them I had had a full account of their villanous behaviour to the captain, and how they had run away with the ship, and were preparing to commit farther robberies, but that Providence had ensnared them in their own ways, and that they were fallen into the pit which they had digged for others.

I let them know that by my direction the ship had been seized, that she lay now in the road, and they might see, by and by, that their new captain had received the reward of his villany, for that they would see him hanging at the yard-arm: that as to them, I wanted to know what they had to say why I should not execute them as pirates taken in the fact, as by my commission they could not doubt I had authority to do.

One of them answered in the name of the rest, that they had nothing to say but this, that when they were taken, the captain promised them their lives, and they humbly implored my mercy; but I told them I knew not what mercy to show them, for, as for myself, I had resolved to quit the island with all my men, and had taken passage with the captain to go for England; and as for the captain, he could not carry them to England, other than as prisoners in irons, to be tried for mutiny and running away with the ship—the consequence of which they must needs know would be the gallows; so that I could not tell what was best for them, unless they had a mind to take their fate in the island: if they desired that, as I had liberty to leave it, I had some inclination to give them their lives, if they thought they could shift on shore.

They seemed very thankful for it, and said they would much rather venture to stay there than be carried to England to be hanged: so I left it on that issue.

However, the captain seemed to make some difficulty of it, as if he durst not leave them there. Upon this I seemed a little angry with the captain, and told him that they were my prisoners, not his; that, seeing I had offered them so much favour, I would be as good as my word; and that if he did not think fit to consent to it, I would set them at liberty as

I found them ; and if he did not like that, he might take them again if he could catch them.

Upon this they appeared very thankful, and I accordingly set them at liberty, and bade them retire into the woods to the place whence they came, and I would leave them some fire-arms, some ammunition, and some directions how they should live very well, if they thought fit.

Upon this I prepared to go on board the ship, but told the captain that I would stay that night to prepare my things, and desired him to go on board in the meantime, and keep all right in the ship, and send the boat on shore the next day for me,—ordering him in the meantime to cause the new captain, who was killed, to be hanged at the yard-arm, that these men might see him.

When the captain was gone, I sent for the men up to me to my apartment, and entered seriously into discourse with them of their circumstances. I told them I thought they had made a right choice ; that if the captain carried them away, they would certainly be hanged. I showed them the new captain hanging at the yard-arm of the ship, and told them they had nothing less to expect.

When they had all declared their willingness to stay, I then told them I would let them into the story of my living there, and put them into the way of making it easy to them : accordingly, I gave them the whole history of the place, and of my coming to it ; showed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes ; and, in a word, all that was necessary to make them easy. I told them the story also of the fifteen Spaniards that were to be expected, for whom I left a letter, and made them promise to treat them in common with themselves.

I left them my fire-arms, viz., five muskets, three fowling-pieces, and three swords. I had about a barrel and a half of powder left ; for after the first year or two I used but little, and wasted none. I gave them a description of the way I managed the goats, and directions to milk and fatten them, and to make both butter and cheese : in a word, I gave them every part of my own story, and I told them I should prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gunpowder more, and some garden seeds, which I told them I would have been very glad of : also I gave them the bag of peas which the captain had brought me to eat, and bade them be sure to sow and increase them.

Having done all this, I left them the next day, and went on board

the ship. We prepared immediately to sail, but did not weigh that night. The next morning early, two of the five men came swimming to the ship's side, and making a most lamentable complaint of the other three, begged to be taken into the ship, for God's sake, for they should be murdered, and begged the captain to take them on board, though he hanged them immediately.

Upon this, the captain pretended to have no power without me ; but after some difficulty, and after their solemn promises of amendment, they were taken on board, and were some time after soundly whipped and pickled, after which they proved very honest and quiet fellows.

Some time after this the boat was ordered on shore, the tide being up, with the things promised to the men, to which the captain, at my intercession, caused their chests and clothes to be added, which they took, and were very thankful for. I also encouraged them, by telling them that if it lay in my way to send any vessel to take them in, I would not forget them.





CHAPTER XVIII.

Crusoe arrives in England, and finds that most of his relations are dead, and that his benefactor and steward has fallen into misfortune—He goes to Lisbon, where he makes himself known to the captain of the ship who took him up at sea, and is put in the way of recovering his property in the Brazils—His possessions are restored, and he finds himself a wealthy man—Makes arrangements for the conduct of his estate, and sets out for England by way of Spain—An encounter with wolves—Friday makes merry with a bear—Crusoe arrives in England, and settles there.

WHEN I took leave of this island, I carried on board, for reliques, the great goat-skin cap I had made, my umbrella, and one of my parrots; also I forgot not to take the money I formerly mentioned, which had lain by me so long useless, that it was grown rusty or tarnished, and could hardly pass for silver, till it had been a little rubbed and handled; as also the money I found in the wreck of the Spanish ship.

And thus I left the island, the 19th of December, as I found by the ship's account, in the year 1686, after I had been upon it eight-and-twenty years, two months, and nineteen days; being delivered from the second captivity the same day of the month that I first made my escape in the barcolongo, from among the Moors of Sallee.

In this vessel, after a long voyage, I arrived in England the 11th of June, in the year 1687, having been thirty and five years absent.

When I came to England, I was as perfect a stranger to all the world as if I had never been known there. My benefactor and faithful steward, whom I had left in trust with my money, was alive, but had had great misfortunes in the world—was become a widow the second time, and very low in the world. I made her very easy as to what she owed me, assuring her I would give her no trouble; but, on the contrary, in gratitude for her former care and faithfulness to me, I relieved her as my little stock would afford, which at that time would indeed allow me to do but little for her: but I assured her I would never forget her former kindness to me,—nor did I forget her when I had sufficient to help her, as shall be observed in its proper place.

I went down afterwards into Yorkshire; but my father was dead, and my mother and all the family extinct, except that I found two sisters, and two of the children of one of my brothers; and as I had been long ago given over for dead, there had been no provision made for me: so that, in a word, I found nothing to relieve or assist me; and that little money I had would not do much for me as to settling in the world.

I met with one piece of gratitude, indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, that the master of the ship whom I had so happily delivered, and by the same means saved the ship and cargo, having given a very handsome account to the owners of the manner how I had saved the lives of the men, and the ship, they invited me to meet them and some other merchants concerned, and altogether made me a very handsome compliment upon that subject, and a present of almost two hundred pounds sterling.

But after making several reflections upon the circumstances of my life, and how little way this would go towards settling me in the world, I resolved to go to Lisbon, and see if I might not come by some information of the state of my plantation in the Brazils, and of what was become of my partner, who, I had reason to suppose, had some years now given me over for dead.

With this view I took shipping for Lisbon, where I arrived in April following; my man Friday accompanying me very honestly in all these ramblings, and proving a most faithful servant upon all occasions.

When I came to Lisbon, I found out, by inquiry, and to my particular satisfaction, my old friend the captain of the ship who first took me up at sea off the shore of Africa. He was now grown old, and had left off the sea, having put his son, who was far from a young man, into his ship, and who still used the Brazil trade. The old man did not know me, and, indeed, I hardly knew him; but I soon brought him to my remembrance, and as soon brought myself to his remembrance, when I told him who I was.

After some passionate expressions of the old acquaintance, I inquired, you may be sure, after my plantation and my partner. The old man told me he had not been in the Brazils for about nine years; but that he could assure me that, when he came away, my partner was living, but the trustees whom I had joined with him to take cognizance of my part, were both dead; that, however, he believed I would have a very good account of the improvement of the plantation, for that upon the general belief of my being cast away and drowned, my trustees had given in the account of the produce of my part of the plantation to the procurator-fiscal, who had appropriated it, in case I never came to claim it, one-third to the king, and two-thirds to the monastery of St. Augustine, to be expended for the benefit of the poor, and for the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith; but that, if I appeared, or any one for me, to claim the inheritance, it would be restored,—only that the improvement, or annual production, being distributed to charitable uses, could not be restored. But he assured me that the steward of the king's revenue from lands, and the provedore, or steward of the monastery, had taken great care all along that the incumbent, that is to say, my partner, gave every year a faithful account of the produce, of which they received duly my moiety.

I asked him if he knew to what height of improvement he had brought the plantation, and whether he thought it might be worth looking after, or whether, on my going thither, I should meet with no obstruction to my possessing my just right in the moiety?

He told me he could not tell exactly to what degree the plantation was improved; but this he knew, that my partner was grown exceeding rich upon the enjoying but one half of it, and that, to the best of his remembrance, he had heard that the king's third of my part, which was,

it seems, granted away to some other monastery or religious house, amounted to above two hundred moidores a-year: that, as to my being restored to a quiet possession of it, there was no question to be made of that, my partner being alive to witness my title, and my name being also enrolled in the register of the country. Also he told me that the survivors of my two trustees were very fair, honest people, and very wealthy; and he believed I would not only have their assistance for putting me in possession, but would find a very considerable sum of money in their hands for my account, being the produce of the farm while their fathers held the trust, and before it was given up, as above,—which, as he remembered, was for about twelve years.

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

He told me that was true, but that, as there was no proof of my being dead, he could not act as executor, until some certain account should come of my death; and that, besides, he was not willing to intermeddle with a thing so remote; that it was true he had registered my will, and put in his claim, and, could he have given any account of my being dead or alive, he would have acted by procuration, and taken possession of the ingenio (so they called the sugar-house), and have given his son, who was now at the Brazils, order to do it. “But,” says the old man, “I have one piece of news to tell you, which, perhaps, may not be so acceptable to you as the rest; and that is, that, believing you were lost, and all the world believing so also, your partner and trustees did offer to account to me in your name for six or eight of the first years of profit, which I received; but there being at that time,” says he, “great disbursements for increasing the works, building an ingenio, and buying slaves, it did not amount to near so much as afterwards it produced. However,” says the old man, “I shall give you a true account of what I have received in all, and how I have disposed of it.”

After a few days' farther conference with this ancient friend, he brought me an account of the first six years' income of my plantation, signed by my partner and the merchant trustees, being always delivered in goods, viz., tobacco in roll, and sugar in chests, besides rum, molasses, etc., which is the consequence of a sugar-work: and I found by this account, that every year the income considerably increased; but, as

above, the disbursements being large, the sum at first was small. However, the old man let me see that he was debtor to me four hundred and seventy moidores of gold, besides sixty chests of sugar, and fifteen double rolls of tobacco, which were lost in his ship, he having been shipwrecked coming home to Lisbon, about eleven years after my leaving the place.

The good man then began to complain of his misfortunes, and how he had been obliged to make use of my money to recover his losses, and buy him a share in a new ship. "However, my old friend," says he, "you shall not want a supply in your necessity; and as soon as my son returns, you shall be fully satisfied." Upon this, he pulls out an old pouch, and gives me one hundred and sixty Portugal moidores in gold, and giving me the writings of his title to the ship, which his son was gone to the Brazils in, of which he was a quarter part owner, and his son another, he puts them both into my hands, for security of the rest.

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

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

When this was past, the old man began to ask me if he should put me on a method to make my claim to my plantation? I told him I thought to go over to it myself. He said I might do so, if I pleased, but that, if I did not, there were ways enough to secure my right, and immediately to appropriate the profits to my use; and as there were ships in

the river of Lisbon just ready to go away to Brazil, he made me enter my name in a public register, with this affidavit, affirming upon oath that I was alive, and that I was the same person who took up the land for the planting the said plantation at first. This being regularly attested by a notary, and a procuration affixed, he directed me to send it, with a letter of his writing, to a merchant of his acquaintance at the place, and then proposed my staying with him till an account came of the return.

Never anything was more honourable than the proceedings upon this procuration; for in less than seven months I received a large packet from the survivors of my trustees, the merchants, on whose account I went to sea, in which were the following particular letters and papers enclosed:—

First, There was the account-current of the produce of my farm or plantation, from the year when their fathers had balanced with my old Portugal captain, being for six years: the balance appeared to be one thousand one hundred and seventy-four moidores in my favour.

Secondly, There was the account of four years more, while they kept the effects in their hands, before the government claimed the administration, as being the effects of a person not to be found, which they called civil death; and the balance of this, the value of the plantation increasing, amounted to nineteen thousand four hundred crusadoes, being about three thousand two hundred and forty-one moidores.

Thirdly, There was the prior of the Augustine's account, who had received the profits for above fourteen years; but not being able to account for what was disposed to the hospital, very honestly declared he had eight hundred and seventy-two moidores not distributed, which he acknowledged to my account: as to the king's part, that refunded nothing.

There was also a letter of my partner's congratulating me very affectionately upon my being alive, giving me an account how the estate was improved, and what it produced a year: with a particular of the number of squares or acres that it contained, how planted, how many slaves there were upon it, and making two and twenty crosses for blessings, told me he had said so many "Ave Marias" to thank the blessed Virgin that I was alive; inviting me very passionately to come over and take possession of my own; and in the mean time, to give him orders to whom he should deliver my effects, if I did not come myself; concluding with a hearty tender of his friendship, and that of his family: and sent me, as a present, seven fine leopard's skins; which he had, it seems, received from Africa, by some other ship that he had sent thither, and who, it seems, had made

a better voyage than I. He sent me also five chests of excellent sweetmeats, and a hundred pieces of gold uncoined, not quite so large as moidores.

By the same fleet, my merchant trustees shipped me twelve hundred chests of sugar, eight hundred rolls of tobacco, and the rest of the whole account in gold.

I might well say now, indeed, that the latter end of Job was better than the beginning. It is impossible to express the flutterings of my very heart, when I looked over these letters, and especially when I found all my wealth about me; for as the Brazil ships come all in fleets, the same ships which brought my letters brought my goods, and the effects were safe in the river before the letters came to my hand. In a word, I turned pale, and grew sick; and had not the old man run and fetched me a cordial, I believe the sudden surprise of joy had overset nature, and I had died upon the spot. Nay, after that I continued very ill, and was so some hours, till, a physician being sent for and something of the real cause of my illness being known, he ordered me to be let blood, after which I had relief, and grew well; but I verily believe, if it had not been eased by the vent given in that manner to the spirits, I should have died.

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

him during his life, out of the effects, and fifty moidores a year to his son after him, for his life; and thus I requited my old man.

I was now to consider which way to steer my course next, and what to do with the estate that Providence had thus put into my hands; and, indeed, I had more care upon my head now than I had in my silent state of life in the island, where I wanted nothing but what I had, and had nothing but what I wanted; whereas, I had now a great charge upon me, and my business was how to secure it. I had never a cave now to hide my money in, or a place where it might lie without lock or key, till it grew mouldy and tarnished before any body would meddle with it; on the contrary, I knew not where to put it, or whom to trust with it. My old patron, the captain, indeed, was honest, and that was the only refuge I had.

In the next place, my interest in the Brazils seemed to summon me thither; but now I could not tell how to think of going thither till I had settled my affairs, and left my effects in some safe hands behind me. At first I thought of my old friend the widow, who I knew was honest, and would be just to me; but then she was in years, and but poor, and, for aught I knew, might be in debt: so that, in a word, I had no way but to go back to England myself, and take my effects with me.

It was some months, however, before I resolved upon this; and, therefore, as I had rewarded the old captain fully, and to his satisfaction, who had been my former benefactor, so I began to think of my poor widow, whose husband had been my first benefactor, and she, while it was in her power, my faithful steward and instructor. So the first thing I did, I got a merchant in Lisbon to write to his correspondent in London, not only to pay a bill, but to go find her out, and carry her in money a hundred pounds from me, and to talk with her, and comfort her in her poverty, by telling her she should, if I lived, have a further supply: at the same time I sent my two sisters in the country a hundred pounds each, they being, though not in want, yet not in very good circumstances—one having been married and left a widow, and the other having a husband not so kind to her as he should be.

But among all my relations or acquaintances, I could not yet pitch upon one to whom I durst commit the gross of my stock, that I might go away to the Brazils, and leave things safe behind me; and this greatly perplexed me.

I had once a mind to have gone to the Brazils, and have settled my-

self there,—for I was, as it were, naturalized to the place ; but I had some little scruple in my mind about religion, which insensibly drew me back. However, it was not religion that kept me from going thither for the present ; and as I had made no scruple of being openly of the religion of the country all the while I was among them, so neither did I yet ; only that, now and then, having of late thought more of it than formerly, when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret my having professed myself a Papist, and thought it might not be the best religion to die in.

But, as I have said, this was not the main thing that kept me from going to the Brazils, but that really I did not know with whom to leave my effects behind me : so I resolved, at last, to go to England with them, where, if I arrived, I concluded I should make some acquaintance, or find some relations that would be faithful to me ; and, accordingly, I prepared to go to England with all my wealth.

In order to prepare things for my going home, I first—the Brazil fleet being just going away—resolved to give answers suitable to the just and faithful account of things I had from thence ; and, first, to the prior of St. Augustine I wrote a letter full of thanks for his just dealings, and the offer of the eight hundred and seventy-two moidores which were undisposed of, which I desired might be given, five hundred to the monastery, and three hundred and seventy-two to the poor, as the prior should direct ; desiring the good padre's prayers for me, and the like.

I wrote next a letter of thanks to my two trustees, with all the acknowledgment that so much justice and honesty called for ; as for sending them any present, they were far above having any occasion of it.

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

Having thus settled my affairs, sold my cargo, and turned all my

effects into good bills of exchange, my next difficulty was, which way to go to England: I had been accustomed enough to the sea, and yet I had a strange aversion to go to England by sea at that time; and though I could give no reason for it, yet the difficulty increased upon me so much, that, though I had once shipped my baggage in order to go, yet I altered my mind, and that not once, but two or three times.

It is true I had been very unfortunate by sea, and this might be one of the reasons; but let no man slight the strong impulses of his own thoughts in cases of such moment: two of the ships which I had singled out to go in,—I mean more particularly singled out than any other, having put my things on board one of them, and, in the other, agreed with the captain; I say, two of these ships miscarried, viz., one was taken by the Algerines, and the other was cast away on the Start, near Torbay, and all the people drowned, except three; so that in either of those vessels I had been made miserable, and in which most, it was hard to say.

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

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

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

As I have troubled you with none of my sea journals, so I shall trouble you now with none of my land journals; but some adventures that happened to us in this tedious and difficult journey I must not omit.

When we came to Madrid, we being all of us strangers to Spain, were willing to stay some time to see the court of Spain, and to see what was worth observing; but it being the latter part of the summer, we hastened away, and set out from Madrid about the middle of October. But when we came to the edge of Navarre, we were alarmed, at several towns on the way, with an account that so much snow was fallen on the French side of the mountains, that several travellers were obliged to come back to Pampeluna, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to pass on.

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

Poor Friday was really frightened when he saw the mountains all covered with snow, and felt cold weather, which he had never seen or felt before in his life.

To mend the matter, when we came to Pampeluna, it continued snowing with so much violence, and so long, that the people said winter was come before its time; and the roads, which were difficult before, were now quite impassable: for, in a word, the snow lay in some places too thick for us to travel, and being not hard frozen, as is the case in the northern countries, there was no going without being in danger of being buried alive every step. We staid no less than twenty days at Pampeluna; when, seeing the winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better, for it was the severest winter all over Europe that had been known in the memory of man, I proposed that we should all go away to Fontarabia, and there take shipping for Bourdeaux, which was a very little voyage.

But while we were considering this, there came in four French gentlemen, who having been stopped on the French side of the passes, as we were on the Spanish, had found out a guide, who, traversing the country near the head of Languedoc, had brought them over the mountains by such ways that they were not much incommoded with the snow, and,

where they met with snow in any quantity, they said it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horses.

We sent for this guide, who told us he would undertake to carry us the same way with no hazard from the snow, provided we were armed sufficiently to protect ourselves from wild beasts; for, he said, upon these great snows it was frequent for some wolves to show themselves at the foot of the mountains, being made ravenous for want of food, the ground being covered with snow. We told him we were well enough prepared for such creatures as they were, if he would insure us from a kind of two-legged wolves, which, we were told, we were in most danger from, especially on the French side of the mountains.

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

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

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

It was about two hours before night, when, our guide being something before us and not just in sight, out rushed three monstrous wolves, and after them a bear, out of a hollow way adjoining to a thick wood. Two of the wolves flew upon the guide, and had he been half-a-mile before us, he had been devoured, indeed, before we could have helped him: one of

them fastened upon his horse, and the other attacked the man with that violence, that he had not time, or not presence of mind enough, to draw his pistol, but hallooed and cried out to us most lustily. My man Friday being next me, I bade him ride up, and see what was the matter. As soon as Friday came in sight of the man, he hallooed out as loud as the other, "O master! O master!" but, like a bold fellow, rode up directly to the man, and with his pistol shot the wolf that attacked him in the head.

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

But it was enough to have terrified a bolder man than I, and, indeed, it alarmed all our company, when, with the noise of Friday's pistol, we heard on both sides the dismallest howlings of wolves, and the noise redoubled by the echo of the mountains, that it was to us as if there had been a prodigious multitude of them; and, perhaps, indeed, there was not such a few as that we had no cause of apprehension.

However, as Friday had killed this wolf, the other that had fastened upon the horse left him immediately, and fled, having happily fastened upon his head, where the bosses of the bridle stuck in his teeth, so that he had not done him much hurt: the man, indeed, was most hurt, for the raging creature had bit him twice, once on the arm, and the other time a little above his knee, and he was just as it were tumbling down by the disorder of the horse, when Friday came up and shot the wolf.

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

But never was a fight managed so hardily, and in such a surprising manner, as that which followed between Friday and the bear, which gave us all (though at first we were surprised and afraid for him) the greatest diversion imaginable. As the bear is a heavy, clumsy creature, and does not gallop as the wolf does, which is swift and light, so he has two particular qualities which generally are the rule of his actions: first, as to



men, who are not his proper prey—I say not his proper prey, because, though I can't say what excessive hunger might do, which was now their case, the ground being all covered with snow, yet as to men, he does not usually attempt them, unless they first attack him; on the contrary, if

you meet him in the woods, if you don't meddle with him, he won't meddle with you : but then you must take care to be very civil to him, and give him the road, for he is a very nice gentleman ; he won't go a step out of his way for a prince—nay, if you are really afraid, your best way is to look another way, and keep going on, for sometimes, if you stop and stand still, and look steadfastly at him, he takes it for an affront, and if you throw or toss anything at him, and it hits him, though it were but a bit of stick as big as your finger, he takes it for an affront, and sets all other business aside to pursue his revenge, for he will have satisfaction in point of honour, and this is his first quality : the next is, that if he be once affronted, he will never leave you, night nor day, till he has his revenge, but follow at a good round rate till he overtakes you.

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

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

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

Friday, who had, as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and takes up a great stone and throws at him, and hit him just on the head, but did him no more harm than if he had thrown it against

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

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

When we came to the tree, there was Friday got out to the small of a large limb of the tree, and the bear got about half way to him. As soon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker, “Ha!” says he to us, “now you see me teachee the bear dance;” so he falls a jumping and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him, to see how he should get back; then, indeed, we did laugh heartily. But Friday had not done with him by a great deal: when he sees him stand still, he calls out to him again, as if he had supposed the bear could speak English, “What, you come no farther? pray you come farther;” so he left jumping and shaking the bough, and the bear, just as if he had understood what he said, did come a little farther; then he fell a jumping again, and the bear stopped again.

We thought now was a good time to knock him on the head, and

called to Friday to stand still, and we would shoot the bear; but he cried out earnestly, "O pray! O pray! no shoot, me shoot by and then;"—he would have said, by and by. However, to shorten the story, Friday danced so much, and the bear stood so ticklish, that we had laughing enough indeed, but still could not imagine what the fellow would do; for first we thought he depended upon shaking the bear off, and we found the bear was too cunning for that too, for he would not go out far enough to be thrown down, but clings fast with his great broad claws and feet, so that we could not imagine what would be the end of it, and where the jest would be at last.

But Friday put us out of doubt quickly; for, seeing the bear cling fast to the bough, and that he would not be persuaded to come any farther, "Well, well," says Friday, "you no come farther, me go, me go; you no come to me, me come to you," and upon this, he goes out to the smallest end of the bough, where it would bend with his weight, and gently lets himself down by it, sliding down the bough, till he came near enough to jump down on his feet, and away he runs to his gun, takes it up, and stands still.

"Well," said I to him, "Friday, what will you do now? Why don't you shoot him?" "No shoot," says Friday, "no yet; me shoot now me no kill; me stay, give you one more laugh." And, indeed, so he did, as you will see presently: for when the bear saw his enemy gone, he comes back from the bough where he stood, but did it mighty leisurely, looking behind him at every step, and coming backward till he got into the body of the tree; then, with the same hinder end foremost, he came down the tree, grasping it with his claws, and moving one foot at a time, very leisurely. At this juncture, and just before he could set his hind feet on the ground, Friday stepped up close to him, clapped the muzzle of his piece into his ear, and shot him dead as a stone.

Then the rogue turned about, to see if we did not laugh; and when he saw we were pleased, by our looks, he falls a laughing himself very loud. "So we kill bear in my country," says Friday. "So you kill them?" says I; "why you have no guns." "No," says he, "no gun, but shoot great much long arrow."

This was a good diversion to us; but we were still in a wild place, and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew: the howling of wolves run much in my head; and, indeed, except the noise I once heard on the shore of Africa, of which I have said some-

thing already, I never heard any thing that filled me with so much horror.

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

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

We had one dangerous place to pass, of which our guide told us, if there were more wolves in the country we should find them there; and this was a small plain, surrounded with woods on every side, and a long narrow defile, or lane, which we were to pass to get through the wood, and then we should come to the village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of sunset when we entered the first wood, and a little after sunset when we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the first wood, except that, in a little plain within the wood which was not above two furlongs over, we saw five great wolves cross the road, full speed, one after another, as if they had been in chase of some prey, and had it in view; they took no notice of us, and were gone out of sight in a few moments.

Upon this our guide, who, by the way, was but a faint-hearted fellow, bid us keep in a ready posture, for he believed there were more wolves a-coming.

We kept our arms ready, and our eyes about us; but we saw no more wolves till we came through that wood, which was near half a league, and entered the plain. As soon as we came into the plain, we had occasion enough to look about us: the first object we met with was a dead horse, that is to say, a poor horse which the wolves had killed, and at least a dozen of them at work,—we could not say eating of him, but picking of his bones rather, for they had eaten up all the flesh before.

We did not think fit to disturb them at their feast; neither did they take much notice of us. Friday would have let fly at them, but I would not suffer him by any means; for I found we were like to have more

business upon our hands than we were aware of. We were not gone half over the plain, when we began to hear the wolves howl on our left in a frightful manner, and presently after we saw about a hundred coming on directly towards us, all in a body, and most of them in a line, as regularly as an army drawn up by an experienced officer. I scarce knew in what manner to receive them, but found to draw ourselves in a close line was the only way: so we formed in a moment. But that we might not have too much interval, I ordered that only every other man should fire, and that the others who had not fired should stand ready to give them a second volley immediately, if they continued to advance upon us; and then that those who had fired at first should not pretend to load their fusils again, but stand ready every one with a pistol, for we were all armed with a fusil and a pair of pistols each man; so we were by this method able to fire six volleys, half of us at a time. However, at present we had no necessity; for upon firing the first volley, the enemy made a full stop, being terrified as well with the noise as with the fire; four of them, being shot in the head, dropped; several others were wounded, and went bleeding off, as we could see by the snow. I found they stopped, but did not immediately retreat; whereupon, remembering that I had been told that the fiercest creatures were terrified at the voice of a man, I caused all our company to halloo as loud as they could: and I found the notion was not altogether mistaken; for, upon our shout, they began to retire, and turn about. I then ordered a second volley to be fired in their rear, which put them to the gallop, and away they went to the woods.

This gave us leisure to charge our pieces again; and that we might lose no time, we kept going: but we had but little more than loaded our fusils, and put ourselves in readiness, when we heard a terrible noise in the same wood, on our left, only that it was farther onward, the same way we were to go.

The night was coming on, and the light began to be dusky, which made it worse on our side; but the noise increasing, we could easily perceive that it was the howling and yelling of those hellish creatures; and on a sudden, we perceived two or three troops of wolves, one on our left, one behind us, and one in our front, so that we seemed to be surrounded with them: however, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our way forward, as fast as we could make our horses go, which, the way being very rough, was only a good hard trot. In this manner we came in view of the entrance of the wood, through which we were to pass, at the

farther side of the plain ; but we were greatly surprised, when, coming nearer the lane or pass, we saw a confused number of wolves standing just at the entrance.

On a sudden, at another opening of the wood, we heard the noise of a gun; and, looking that way, out rushed a horse, with a saddle and bridle on him, flying like the wind, and sixteen or seventeen wolves after him, full speed; indeed, the horse had the heels of them, but as we supposed that he could not hold it at that rate, we doubted not but they would get up with him at last,—and no question but they did.

Here we had a most horrible sight; for riding up to the entrance where the horse came out, we found the carcass of another horse and of two men, devoured by the ravenous creatures. One of them was no doubt the same whom we heard fire a gun, for there lay a gun just by him fired off; but as to the man, his head and upper part of his body were eaten up.

This filled us with horror, and we knew not what course to take, but the creatures resolved us soon, for they gathered about us presently, in hopes of prey; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them. It happened very much to our advantage, that, at the entrance into the wood, but at a little way from it, there lay some large timber trees, which had been cut down the summer before, and I suppose lay there for carriage. I drew my little troop in among these trees, and placing ourselves in a line behind one long tree, I advised them all to alight, and keeping that tree before us for a breastwork, to stand in a triangle, or three fronts, enclosing our horses in the centre.

We did so, and it was well we did; for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in this place. They came on with a growling kind of noise, and mounted the piece of timber, which, as I said, was our breastwork, as if they were only rushing upon their prey; and this fury of theirs, it seems, was principally occasioned by their seeing our horses behind us, which was the prey they aimed at. I ordered our men to fire as before, every other man; and they took their aim so sure, that they killed several of the wolves at the first volley: but there was a necessity to keep a continual firing, for they came on like devils, those behind pushing on those before.

When we had fired a second volley of fusils, we thought they stopped a little, and I hoped they would have gone off; but it was but a moment, for others came forward again: so we fired two volleys of pistols; and I

believe in these four firings we killed seventeen or eighteen of them, and lamed twice as many,—yet they came on again.

I was loath to spend our shot too hastily; so I called my servant,—not my man Friday, for he was better employed,—for, with the greatest dexterity imaginable, he charged my fusil and his own while we were engaged,—but as I said, I called my other man, and, giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a train all along the piece of timber, and let it be a large train. He did so; and had just time to get away, when the wolves came up to it, and some were got upon it, when I, snapping an uncharged pistol close to the powder, set it on fire, and those that were upon the timber were scorched with it, and six or seven of them fell, or rather jumped in among us, with the force and fright of the fire: we dispatched these in an instant, and the rest were so frightened with the light, which the night, for it was now very near dark, made more terrible, that they drew back a little. Upon which I ordered our last pistols to be fired off in one volley, and after that we gave a shout: upon this the wolves turned tail, and we sallied immediately upon near twenty lame ones, which we found struggling on the ground, and fell a-cutting them with our swords, which answered our expectation; for the crying and howling they made was better understood by their fellows, so that they all fled and left us.

We had, first and last, killed about three score of them; and had it been daylight, we had killed many more. The field of battle being thus cleared, we made forward again, for we had still near a league to go. We heard the ravenous creatures howl and yell in the woods, as we went, several times; and sometimes we fancied we saw some of them, but the snow dazzling our eyes, we were not certain. So in about an hour more we came to the town where we were to lodge, which we found in a terrible fright, and all in arms; for it seems that the night before, the wolves and some bears had broke into that village, and put them in a terrible fright, and they were obliged to keep guard night and day, but especially in the night, to preserve their cattle, and, indeed, their people.

The next morning our guide was so ill, and his limbs swelled so much with the rankling of his two wounds, that he could go no farther; so we were obliged to take a new guide here, and go to Tholouse, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, or any thing like them; but when we told our story at Tholouse, they

told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great forest at the foot of the mountains, especially when the snow lay on the ground; but they inquired much what kind of a guide we had gotten, that would venture to bring us that way in such a severe season, and told us it was very strange we were not all devoured. When we told them how we placed ourselves, and the horses in the middle, they blamed us exceedingly, and told us it was fifty to one but we had been all destroyed, for it was the sight of the horses that made the wolves so furious, seeing their prey, and that, at other times, they are really afraid of a gun; but they, being excessive hungry, and raging on that account, the eagerness to come at the horses had made them senseless of danger,—and if we had not, by the continued fire, and at last by the stratagem of the train of powder, mastered them, it had been great odds but that we had been torn to pieces: whereas, had we been content to have sat still on horseback, and fired as horsemen, they would not have taken the horses so much for their own, when men were on their backs, as otherwise: and withal they told us, that, at last, if we had stood altogether, and left our horses, they would have been so eager to have devoured them, that we might have come off safe, especially having our fire arms in our hands, and being so many in number.

For my part, I was never so sensible of danger in my life; for seeing above three hundred devils come roaring and open-mouthed to devour us, and having nothing to shelter us, or retreat to, I gave myself over for lost; and, as it was, I believe I shall never care to cross those mountains again: I think I would much rather go a thousand leagues by sea, though I was sure to meet with a storm once a week.

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

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

My principal guide and privy counsellor was my good ancient widow, who, in gratitude for the money I had sent her, thought no pains too much, or care too great, to employ for me; and I trusted her so entirely with every thing, that I was perfectly easy as to the security of my effects:

and, indeed, I was very happy from the beginning, and now to the end, in the unspotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

And now I began to think of leaving my effects with this woman, and setting out for Lisbon, and so to the Brazils. But now another scruple came in the way, and that was religion; for as I had entertained some doubts about the Roman religion, even while I was abroad, especially in my state of solitude, so I knew there was no going to the Brazils for me, much less going to settle there, unless I resolved to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, without any reserve;—unless, on the other hand, I resolved to be a sacrifice to my principles, be a martyr for religion, and die in the Inquisition. So I resolved to stay at home, and, if I could find means for it, to dispose of my plantation.

To this purpose I wrote to my old friend at Lisbon, who, in return gave me notice that he could easily dispose of it there; but that if I thought fit to give him leave to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the survivors of my trustees, who lived in the Brazils, who must fully understand the value of it, who lived just upon the spot, and whom I knew to be very rich, so that he believed they would be fond of buying it, he did not doubt but I should make four or five thousand pieces of eight the more of it.

Accordingly I agreed, gave him orders to offer it to them, and he did so; and in about eight months more, the ship being then returned, he sent me an account that they had accepted the offer, and had remitted thirty-three thousand pieces of eight to a correspondent of theirs at Lisbon to pay for it. In return, I signed the instrument of sale in the form which they sent from Lisbon, and sent it to my old man, who sent me the bills of exchange for thirty-three thousand pieces of eight for the estate; reserving the payment of one hundred moidores a-year to him (the old man) during his life, and fifty moidores afterwards to his son for his life, which I had promised them, and which the plantation was to make good as a rent-charge.

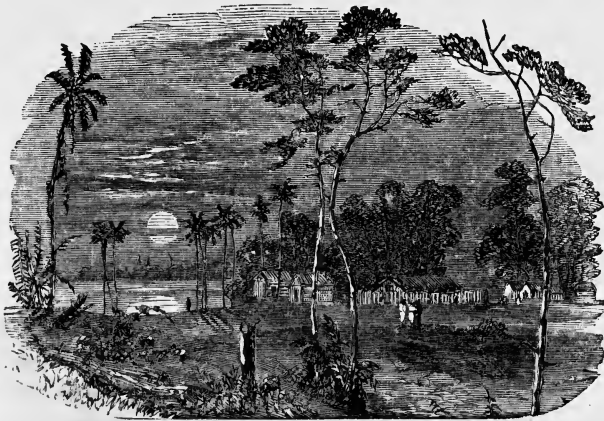
And thus I have given the first part of a life of fortune and adventure, a life of Providence's chequer-work, and of a variety which the world will seldom be able to show the like of: beginning foolishly, but closing much more happily than any part of it ever gave me leave so much as to hope for.

Any one would think, that in this state of complicated good fortune, I was past running any more hazards, and so indeed I had been, if other

circumstances had concurred: but I was inured to a wandering life, had no family, nor many relations, nor, however rich, had I contracted much acquaintance; and though I had sold my estate in the Brazils, yet I could not keep that country out of my head, and had a great mind to be upon the wing again: especially I could not resist the strong inclination I had to see my island, and to know if the poor Spaniards were in being there; and how the rogues I left there had used them.

My true friend, the widow, earnestly dissuaded me from it, and so far prevailed with me, that almost for seven years she prevented my running abroad, during which time I took my two nephews, the children of one of my brothers, into my care: the eldest having something of his own, I bred up as a gentleman, and gave him a settlement of some addition to his estate, after my decease; the other I put out to a captain of a ship: and after five years, finding him a sensible, bold, enterprising young fellow, I put him into a good ship, and sent him to sea; and this young fellow afterwards drew me in, as old as I was, to farther adventures myself.

In the meantime, I in part settled myself here; for, first of all, I married, and that not either to my disadvantage or dissatisfaction,—and had three children, two sons and one daughter.



CHAPTER XIX.

Crusoe's reflections in England—He dreams of his island, and conceives a desire to return to it, which his wife discovers—Resolves to divert his thoughts, and begins farming in Bedfordshire—On the death of his wife, he determines to re-visit his island, and sets sail in an Indiaman, which is to touch at the Brazils—The vessel is driven by contrary winds on to the coast of Galway, which leads to new adventures—Falls in with a French merchant vessel on fire, and delivers the crew, who are carried to Newfoundland—Steers thence for the West Indies, and falls in with a Bristol ship, the crew and passengers of which are famishing.



THAT homely proverb used on so many occasions in England, viz. "That what is bred in the bone will not go out of the flesh," was never more verified than in the story of my life.

Any one would think that, after thirty-five years' affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumstances, which few men, if any, ever went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fulness of all things, grown old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every state of middle life, and to know which was most adapted to make a man completely happy,—I say, after all this, any one would have thought that the native propensity to rambling, which I gave an account of in my first setting out in the world to have been so predominant in my thoughts, should be worn out, the volatile part be fully evacuated, or at least condensed, and I might, at sixty-one years of age, have been a little inclined to stay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay, 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, ran in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination ran upon it all day: it was uppermost in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked so steadily and strongly upon it, that I talked of it in my sleep. In short, nothing could remove it out of my mind: it even broke so violently into all my discourses, that it made my conversation tiresome, for I could talk of nothing else; all my discourse ran into it, even to impertinence, and I saw it myself.

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

For my part, I know not to this hour whether there are any such things as real apparitions, spectres, or walking of people after they are dead; or whether there is anything 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 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 villany of the three pirate sailors so lively related to me by the first Spaniard and Friday's father, that it was surprising: they told me how they barbarously attempted to murder all the Spaniards, and that they set fire to the pro-

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

But to return to my story. In this kind of temper I lived some years; I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleasant hours, no agreeable diversion, but what had something or other of this in it; so that my wife, who saw my mind so wholly bent upon it, told me very seriously one night, that she believed there was some secret powerful impulse of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again; and that she found nothing hindered my going, but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told me, that it was true she could not think of parting with me; but as she was assured, that if she was dead it would be the first thing I would do, so, as it seemed to her that the thing was determined above, she would not be the only obstruction; for, if I thought fit, and resolved to go— Here she found me very intent upon her words, and that I looked very earnestly at her, so that it a little disordered her, and she stopped. I asked her, why she did not go on, and say out what she was going to say? But I perceived that her heart was too full, and some tears stood in her eyes. “Speak out, my dear,” said I, “are you willing I should go?” “No,” says she, very affectionately, “I am far from willing; but if you are resolved to go,” says she, “and rather than I would be the only hinderance, I will go with you: for though I think it a preposterous thing for one of your years, and in your condition, yet, if it must be,” said she, again weeping, “I won’t leave you; for if it be of Heaven, you must do it; there is no resisting it: and if Heaven

makes it your duty to go, He will make it also 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 a secret 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 county, I was removed from conversing among ships, sailors, and things relating to the remote part of the world.

In a word, I went down to my farm, settled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horses, cows, sheep, and, setting seriously to work, became in one half year a mere country gentleman. My thoughts were entirely taken up in managing my servants, cultivating the ground, enclosing, planting, etc.; and I lived, as I thought, the most

agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes was capable of being retreated to.

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

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

But in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unforeseen Providence unhinged me at once, and not only made a breach upon me, inevitable and incurable, but drove me, by its consequence, upon a deep relapse into the wandering disposition, which, as I may say, being born in my very blood, soon recovered its hold of me, and, like the returns of a violent distemper, came on with an irresistible force upon me, so that nothing could make any more impression upon me. This blow was the loss of my wife.

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

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

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

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

All these things, had I improved them as I ought to have done, and as reason and religion had dictated to me, would have taught me to search 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 of the grave.

But my sage counsellor was gone; I was like a ship without a pilot, that could only run before the wind; my thoughts ran all away again into the old affair—my head was quite turned with the whimsies of foreign adventures; and all the pleasing innocent amusements of my farm and my garden, my cattle and my family, which before entirely possessed 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 housekeeping, let my farm, and return to London; and in a few months after I did so.

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

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, whom, as I 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 Brazils."

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, namely, that I would go to Lisbon and consult with my old sea-captain; and so, if it was rational and practicable, I would go and see the island again, and see what was become of my people there. I had pleased myself also with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the possession, and I know not what; when, in the middle of all this, in comes my nephew, as I have said, with his project of carrying me thither, in his way to the East Indies.

I paused a while at his words, and, looking steadily at him, "What devil," said I, "sent you this unlucky errand?" My nephew started, as if he had been frightened, 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 a few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go with him; but I told him I would not promise to go any farther than my own island. "Why, sir," says he, "you don't want to be left there again, I hope?" "Why," said I, "can you not take me up again 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 was very rational : but we both found out a remedy for it, which was, to carry a framed sloop on board the ship, which, being taken in pieces and shipped on board the ship, might, by the help of some carpenters, whom we agreed to carry with us, be set up again in the island and finished, fit to go to sea in a few days.

I was not long resolving ; for indeed the importunities of my nephew joined in so effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppose me ; on the other hand, my wife being dead, I had no body 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 befall me ; and for their education, I left it wholly to my widow, with a sufficient maintenance to herself for her care ; all which she richly deserved, for no mother could have taken more care in their education, or understood it better : and as she lived till I came home, I also lived to thank her for it.

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

First, I carried with me some servants, whom I purposed to place there as inhabitants, or at least to set on work there upon my own account while I staid, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they should appear willing ; particularly, I carried two carpenters, and a

smith, and a very handy, ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic ; for he was dexterous at making wheels and hand-mills to grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot-maker ; he also made any thing that was proper to make of earth or of wood : in a word, we called him our “Jack-of-all-trades.”

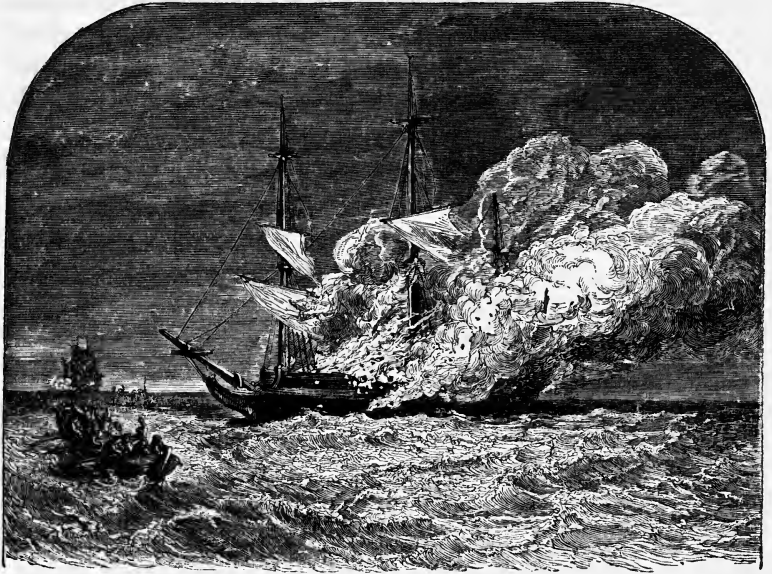
With these I carried a tailor, who had offered himself to go passenger to the East Indies with my nephew, but afterwards consented to stay on our new plantation, and proved a most necessary handy fellow as could be desired, in many other businesses besides that of his trade ; for, as I observed formerly,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

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

I carried also a hundred spare arms, muskets, and fusils, besides some pistols, a considerable quantity of shot of all sizes, three or four tons of lead, and two pieces of brass cannon ; and because I knew not what time and what extremities I was providing for, I carried a hundred barrels of powder, besides swords, cutlasses, and the iron part of some pikes and halberts ; so that, in short, we had a large magazine of all sorts of stores ; and I made my nephew carry two small quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ship, to leave behind if there was occasion,—that when they came there we might build a fort, and man it against all sorts of enemies ; and indeed I at first thought that there would be need enough of it all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our possession of the island, as shall be seen in the course of the story.

I had not such bad luck in this voyage as I had been used to meet with : and therefore shall have the less occasion to interrupt the reader, who, perhaps, may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony ; yet some odd accidents, cross winds, and bad weather, happened on this first setting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it at first ;

and I, who had never made but one voyage, namely, my first voyage to Guinea, in which I might be said to come back again as the voyage was first designed, began to think the same ill fate still attended me,—that I was born never to be contented with being on shore, and yet to be always unfortunate at sea.



Contrary winds first put us to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at Galway, in Ireland, where we lay wind-bound two and thirty days; but we had this satisfaction with the disaster, that provisions were here exceedingly 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 on the 5th of February from Ireland, and had a very fair gale of wind for some days; as I remember, it might be about the 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 way in which the fire showed itself—no, not for five hundred leagues, for it appeared at west-north-west. Upon this, we concluded it must be some ship on fire at sea; and, as by our hearing the noise of the 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, though the weather being hazy, we could not perceive any thing but the light for a while. In about half an hour's sailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly discern 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 Portuguese 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 daylight; when on a sudden, to our great terror, though we had reason to expect it, the ship blew up in the air, and immediately sunk. This was terrible, and indeed an afflicting sight, for the sake of the poor men, who, I concluded, must be either all destroyed in the ship, or be in the utmost distress in their boats in the middle of the ocean, which at present, by reason it was dark, I could not see: however, to direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship where we could, and which we had lanterns for, and kept firing guns all the night long: letting them know by this, that there was a ship not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning we discovered the ship's boats by the help of our perspective glasses; and found there were two of them, both thronged with people, and deep in the water: we perceived they rowed, the wind being against them—that they saw our ship, and did the utmost to make us see them.

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

Upon the whole, we found it was a French merchant ship, of three hundred tons, homeward bound from Quebec, in the river of Canada. The master gave us a long account of the distress of his ship, how the fire began in the steerage by the negligence of the steersman; but, on his crying out for help, was, as every body thought, entirely got out: but they soon found that some of the 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 ceiling of the ship, it proceeded into the hold, and mastered all the skill and all the application they were able to exert.

They had no more to do then but to get into their boats, which, to their great comfort, were pretty large; being their long-boat, and a great shallop, besides a small skiff, which was of no great service to them, other than to get some fresh water and provisions into her, after they had secured 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 at south-east-by-east. They had as much provisions and water as, with sparing it so as to be next door to starving, might support them about twelve days; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain said, he hoped he might get to the banks of Newfoundland, and might perhaps take some fish to sustain them till they might go on shore. But there were so many chances against them in all these cases—such as storms to overset and founder them, rains and cold to benumb and perish their limbs, contrary winds to keep them out and starve them—that it must have been next to miraculous if they had escaped.

In the midst of their consultations, every one being hopeless, and ready to despair, the captain, with tears in his eyes, told me, they were

on a sudden surprised with the joy of hearing a gun fire, and after that four more; these were the five guns which I caused to be fired at first seeing the light: this revived their hearts, and gave them the notice which, as above, I designed it should, namely, 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 windward, they resolved to lie by till morning. Some time after this, hearing no more guns, they fired three muskets, 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 our 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 ahead, at least that we might the sooner come up with them; and at last, to their inexpressible joy, they found we saw them.

It is impossible for me to express the several gestures, the strange ecstasies, the variety of postures, which these poor delivered people ran into, to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverance. Grief and fear are easily described—sighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of head and hands, make up the sum of its variety: but an excess of joy, a surprise of joy, has a thousand extravagances 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 downright lunatic; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands; some were dancing, several singing, some laughing, more crying; many quite dumb, not able to speak a word; others sick and vomiting, several swooning, and ready to faint; and a few were crossing themselves and giving God thanks.

I would not wrong them neither—there might be many that were thankful afterward; but the passion was too strong for them at first, and they were not able to master it—they were thrown into ecstasies and a kind of frenzy, and so there were but a very few who were composed and serious in their joy.

Perhaps also the case may have some addition to it, from the particular circumstance of the nation they belonged to—I mean the French, whose temper is allowed to be more volatile, more passionate, and more sprightly, and their spirits more fluid, than of other nations. I am not a

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 villains that set them on shore on 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 extravagances 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 this minute dumb, and, as it were, stupid and confounded, should the next minute be dancing and hallooing like an antic; and the next moment 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 fall into tears, then sick, then swooning; and, had not immediate help been had, would in a few moments more have been dead: and thus it was, not with one or two, or ten, or twenty, but with the greatest part of them; and, if I remember right, our surgeon was obliged to let above thirty of them blood.

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

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

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

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

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

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

I cannot help committing this to writing, and perhaps it may be useful to those into whose hands it may fall, in the guiding themselves in all the extravagances 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 extravagances 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 sometimes disordered by these extravagances among our new guests for the first day; but when they had been retired, lodgings provided for them all as well as our ship would allow, and they had slept heartily, as most of them did, being fatigued and frighted, they were quite another sort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgments for the kindness shown them, was wanting; the French, it is known, are naturally apt enough to exceed that way. The captain and one of the priests came to me the next day, and, 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, caught hastily out of the flames; and if we would accept of 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 overruled him in that part: for I knew what it was to be set on shore in a strange country; and if the Portuguese captain that took me up at sea had served me so, and took all that I had for my deliverance, I must have starved, or have been as much a slave at the Brazils as I had been at Barbary, the being sold to a Mahometan only excepted; and perhaps a Portuguese is not a much better master than a Turk, if not, in some cases, a much worse.

I therefore told the French captain that we had taken them up in their distress, it was true; but that it was our duty to do so, as we were fellow creatures, and as we would desire to be so delivered, if we were in the like or any other extremity; that we had done nothing for them but what we believed they would have done for us, if we had been in their case, and they in ours; 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 way of Brazil; and all I knew he could do for them was, to put ourselves in the way of meeting with other ships homeward bound from the West Indies, and get them passage, if possible, to England or France.

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

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

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

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

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

It was in the latitude of twenty-seven degrees five minutes north, and the 19th day of March, 1694-5, when we espied a sail, our course south-east-and-by-south. 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-topmast, foremast, and bowsprit, and presently she fires a gun as a signal of distress. The weather was pretty good, wind at north-north-west, a fresh gale, and we soon came to speak with her.

We found her a ship of Bristol bound home from Barbadoes, but had been blown out of the road at Barbadoes a few days before she was ready to sail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on shore; so that, besides the terror of the storm, they were but in an indifferent case for good artists to bring the ship home. They had been already nine weeks at sea, and had met with another terrible storm after the hurricane was over, which had blown them quite out of their knowledge to the westward, and in which they had lost their masts, as above: they told us they expected to have seen the Bahama Islands, but were then driven away again to the south-east by a strong gale of wind at north-north-west, 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-foremast, 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 sweatmeats, they had at first, but they were devoured; and they had seven casks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother, and a maid-servant on board, who were going passengers, and, thinking the ship was ready to sail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began: and, having no provisions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the rest; for the seamen being reduced to such an extreme necessity themselves, had no compassion, we may be sure, for the poor passengers; and they were indeed in a condition that their misery is very hard to describe.

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

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

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

I cautioned him to eat sparingly, but set meat before him immediately; and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before he began to be sick and out of order: so he stopped awhile, and our surgeon mixed him up something with some broth, which he said would be to him both food and physic, and after he had taken it he grew better. In the meantime, I forgot not

the men—I ordered victuals to be given them, and the poor creatures rather devoured than eat it: they were so exceedingly hungry that they were in a manner ravenous, and had no command of themselves; and two of them eat with so much greediness, that they were in danger of their lives the next morning.

The sight of these people's distress was very moving to me, and brought to mind what I had a terrible prospect of at my first coming on shore in my island, where I had not the least mouthful of food, or any hopes of procuring it,—besides the hourly apprehension I had of being made the food of other creatures. But all the while the mate was thus relating to me the miserable condition of the ship's company, I could not put out of my thought the story he had told me of the three poor creatures in the great cabin—namely, 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 cabin.

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

At the same time, I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and see 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 a large pitcher with some of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he did not question would restore them gradually.

I was not satisfied with this; but, as I said above, having a great mind to see the scene of misery, which I knew the ship itself would present me with in a more lively manner than I could have it by report,

I took the captain of the ship, as we now called him, with me, and went myself a little after in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almost in a tumult to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready ; but my mate observed his order, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door, and the men 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 every one, one to stay their stomachs, and told them it was for their own safety that he was obliged to give them but a little at a time. But it was all in vain ; and had not I 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 broken into the cook-room by force, and torn the meat out of the furnace—for words indeed are of a very small force to an hungry belly. However, we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiously for the first time, and the next time gave them more, and at last filled their bellies, and the men did well enough.

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

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

However, the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the sight, endeavoured to get some of the broth into her mouth ; and, as he said, got

two or three spoonfuls down, though I question whether he could be sure of it or not; but it was too late, and she died the same night.

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

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

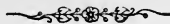
We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for, when our surgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, and, with great application, recovered her as to life, he had her upon his hand as to her senses: for she was little less than distracted for a considerable time after, as shall appear 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-topmast, and a kind of topmast to his jury-foremast, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days, and then, having given him five barrels of beef and pork, two hogsheads of biscuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could spare, and taking three casks of sugar, and some rum,

and some pieces of eight of them for satisfaction, we left them, taking on board with us, at their own earnest request, the youth, and the maid, and all their goods.

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

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



CHAPTER XX.

Crusoe arrives at his island, which he finds with some difficulty, having discovered, in his search for it, that that which he previously supposed to be a continent, was, in reality, a group of islands—Friday is very joyous upon seeing the old place—The first person Crusoe meets is the Spaniard whose life he saved—Friday meets with his father—Crusoe discovers that the English sailors he left behind have behaved badly—The history of the island during his absence.

H WAS now in the latitude of nineteen degrees thirty-two minutes, and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, though at first the winds had been contrary. I shall trouble nobody with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, etc., 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 Brazils, so now, coming in between the main and the island, and having no chart for the coast, nor any landmark, I did not know it when I saw it, or know whether I saw it or not.

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 learnt by my coasting the shore, that I was under one great mistake before, namely, that the continent which I thought I saw from the island I lived in, was really no continent, but a long island, or rather a ridge of islands, reaching from one to the other side of the extended mouth of that great river; and that the savages who came to my island were not properly those which we call Caribbees, but islanders, and other barbarians of the same kind, who inhabited something nearer to our side than the rest.

In short, I visited several of 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, I found they had a sloop lay in a small creek hard by, and that they came thither to make salt, and catch some pearl mussels, if they could: but they belonged to the Isle de Trinidad, which lay farther north, in the latitude of ten and eleven 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, "Oh, yes! Oh, there! Oh, yes! Oh, 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?"—"Oh, no! oh, 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 body else then?" The fellow, it seems, had better eyes than I, and he points just to the hill above my old house; and though we lay half a league off, he cries out, "Me see! me see! yes, yes; me see much man there, and there, and there." I looked, but I could see nobody—no, not with a perspective glass; which was, I suppose, because I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found upon inquiry the next day, and there were five or six men all together 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 first man I fixed my eye upon was the Spaniard whose life I had saved, and whom I knew by his face perfectly well : as to his habit I shall describe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go on shore at first but myself : but there was no keeping Friday in the boat, for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off the Spaniards, where indeed I saw nothing of him ; and if they had not let him go on shore, he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, but he flew away to his father like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man shed tears, in spite of the firmest resolution, to have seen the first transports of this poor fellow's joy when he came to his father—how he embraced him, kissed him, stroked his face, took him up in his arms, set him down upon a tree, and lay down by him ; then stood and looked at him, as any one would look at a strange picture, for a quarter of an hour together ; then lay down upon the ground, and stroked his legs, and kissed them, and then got up again, and stared at him : one would have thought the fellow bewitched. But it would have made a dog laugh to see how the next day his passion ran out another way : in the morning he walked along the shore, to and again, with his father, several hours,—always leading him by the hand as if he had been a lady ; and every now and then would come to fetch something or other for him from the boat, either a lump of sugar, or a dram, or 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 make a thousand antic postures and gestures ; and all the while he did this he would be talking to him, and telling him one story or another of his travels, and of what happened to him abroad, to divert him. In short, if the same filial affection was to be found in Christians to their parents in our parts of the

world, one would be tempted to say there hardly would have been any need of the fifth commandment.

But this is a digression ; I return to my landing. It would be endless to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the Spaniards received me with. The first Spaniard, whom, as I said, I knew very well, was he whose life I saved—he came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce also ; and he did not only not know me at first, but he had no thoughts, no notion, of its being me that was come, till I spoke to him. “Seignior,” said I, in Portuguese, “do you not know me ?” At which he spoke not a word ; but giving his musket to the man that was with him, threw his arms abroad, and, saying something in Spanish that I did not perfectly hear, came forward and embraced me, telling me he was inexcusable not to know that face again that he had once seen, as 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 if I had never been there ; for they had planted so many trees, and placed them in such a posture, so thick and close to one another, and in ten years time they were grown so big, that, in short, the place was inaccessible, except by such winding 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 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 make them our subjects who would not be content with being moderately our masters, but would be our murderers." I answered, "I was heartily afraid of it when I left them there; and nothing troubled me at my parting from the island, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in possession of every thing first, and left the others in a state of subjection, as they deserved: but if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and should be very far from finding any fault with it, for I knew they were a parcel of refractory, ungovernable villains, and were fit for any manner of mischief."

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

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

I shall no longer trouble the story with a relation in the first person, which will put me to the expense of ten thousand "said I's," and "said he's," and "he told me's," and "I told him's," and the like; but I shall collect the facts historically, as near as I can gather them out of my memory from what they related to me, and from what I met with in my conversing with them, and with the place.

In order to do this succinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I must go back to the circumstances in which I left the island, and 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 me off: and it could not but be a very great surprise to them when they came back, not only to find that I was gone, but to find three strangers left on the spot, possessed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwise have been their own.

The first thing, however, which I inquired into, that I might begin where I left off, was of their own part; and I desired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat, when I sent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part, for nothing remarkable happened to them on their 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 the savages, who they were satisfied would devour him, as they did all the rest of their prisoners; that when he told them the story of his deliverance, and in what manner he was furnished for carrying them away, it was like a dream to them, and their astonishment, he said, was 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 showed 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 prepared to come away with him.

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

In these they came away the next morning: it seems they wanted no time to get themselves ready, for they had no baggage,—neither clothes, nor provisions, nor any other 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 method which I took for managing every part of my life there—the way how I baked my bread, bred up my tame goats, and planted my corn—how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and, in a word, every thing I did: all this being written down, they gave to the Spaniards, two of whom understood English well enough; nor did they refuse to accommodate the Spaniards with any thing else, for they agreed very well for some time. They gave them an equal admission into the house, or cave, and they began to live very sociably; and the head Spaniard, who had seen pretty much of my method, and Friday's father together, managed all their affairs; for, as for the Englishmen, they did nothing but ramble about the island, shoot parrots, and catch tortoises, and when they came home at night, the Spaniards provided their suppers for them.

The Spaniards would have been satisfied with this, would the others 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 anchor to set sail, there happened a little quarrel on board our ship, which I was afraid once would turn out to a second mutiny; nor was it appeased till the captain, rousing up his courage, and taking us all to his assistance, parted them by force, and making two of the most refractory fellows prisoners, he laid them in irons: and as they had been active in the former disorders, and let fall some ugly dangerous words the second time, he threatened to carry them in irons to England, and have them hanged there for mutiny, and running away with the ship.

This, it seems, though the captain did not intend to do it, frightened some other men in the ship; and some of them had put it 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 jail and tried for their lives.

The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it; upon which it was desired that I, who still passed for a great man among them, should go down with the mate and satisfy the men, and tell them, that they might be assured, if they behaved well the rest of the voyage, all they had done for the time past should be pardoned. So I went, and after passing my honour's word to them, they appeared easy, and the more so, when I caused the two men 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 hauled 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 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 left all alone, left every thing as he 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 that nothing but industry and application would make them live comfortable, they pitched their tents on the north shore of the island, but a little more to the west, to be out of the danger of the savages, who always landed on the east parts of the island.

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

They were going on in this little thriving posture, when the three unnatural rogues, their own countrymen too, in mere humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, and told them the island was theirs; that the governor, meaning me, had given them possession of it, and nobody else had any right to it; and that they should build no houses upon their ground, unless they would pay 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 bade them go fetch a scrivener to draw 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 firebrand and claps it to the outside of their hut, and very fairly sets 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 musket, and that before the other two could come to help him; and then seeing the rest come, they stood together, and, presenting the other ends of their pieces to them, bade them to 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 begone: and, indeed, it seems the fellow was wounded sufficiently with the blow. However, they were much in the wrong, since they had the advantage, that they did not disarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the Spaniards, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them; for the three villains studied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them some intimation that they did so.

But not to crowd this part with an account of the lesser part of their rogueries, such as treading down their corn, shooting three young kids and a she-goat, which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their store, and, in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner, it forced the two men to such a desperation, that they resolved to fight them all three

the first time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this, they resolved to go to the castle, as they called it, that was my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the Spaniards all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and the Spaniards should stand by to see fair play. So they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and called the Englishmen by their names, telling a Spaniard that answered, that they wanted to speak with them.

It happened that, the day before, two of the Spaniards having been in the woods, had seen one of the two Englishmen, whom, for distinction, I call the honest men; and he had made a sad complaint to the Spaniards of the barbarous usage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and destroyed their corn that they had laboured so hard to bring forward, and killed the milch-goat, and their three kids, which was all they had provided for their sustenance—and that, if he and his friends, meaning the Spaniards, did not assist them again, they should be starved. When the Spaniards came home at night, and they were all at supper, he took the freedom to reprove the three Englishmen, though in gentle and mannerly terms, and asked them how they could be so cruel, they being harmless, inoffensive fellows, and that they were putting themselves in a way to subsist by their labour, and that it had cost them a great deal 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, if they chose; 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! why, they should be servants, and work for them." "But how can you expect that of them? They are not bought with your money; you have no right to make them servants." The Englishmen answered, "The island was theirs, the governor had given it to them, and no man had any thing to do there but themselves;" and, with that, swore by his Maker that he would go and burn all their new huts—they should build none upon their land.

"Why, Seignior," said the Spaniards, "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 oaths in the proper intervals of his speech. The Spaniard only smiled at that, and made him no answer. However, this little discourse had heated them ; and starting up, one says to the other—I think it was he they called Will Atkins—“Come, Jack, let us go and have the other brush with them ; we will demolish their castle, I will warrant you ; they shall plant no colony in our dominions.”

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

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

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

When they came thither, and found the men gone, Atkins, who, it seems, was the forwardest man, called out to his companions, “Ha ! Jack, here’s the nest ; but, the birds are flown !” They mused a while to think what should be the occasion of their going 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—pulling up the enclosure they had made to secure their cattle and their corn: and, in a word, sacked and plundered every thing, as completely as a herd of Tartars would have done.

The two men were at this juncture gone to find them out, and had resolved to fight them wherever they had been, though they were but two 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 to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again: we shall see their differing conduct presently. When the three came back like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; and one of them, stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and, giving it a twirl about, fleering in his face, says 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, stepped gravely up to him, and with one blow of his fist knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-axe; at which one of the rogues, insolent as the first, fired his pistol at the Spaniard immediately: he missed his body indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the Spaniard believe he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat; for before he acted all in a perfect calm, but now, resolving to go through with his work, he stooped and took the fellow’s musket whom he had knocked down, and was just going to shoot the man who had fired at him, when the rest of the Spaniards, being in the cave, came out, and

calling to him not to shoot, they stepped in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus disarmed, and found they had made all the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool, and, giving the Spaniards better words, would have 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 not 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 an 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 should 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 that they had provocation enough: they could scarce have room to tell their tale, the Spaniards were so eager to tell them theirs; and it was strange enough to find that three men should thus bully nineteen, and receive no punishment at all.

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

But the Spaniards interposed here too, and told them 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 a great pity we should not be all good friends. At length they did consent, and waited for the issue of the thing, living for some days with the Spaniards ; for their own habitation was destroyed.

In about five days' time the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, came back to the grove ; and finding my Spaniard 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 very 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.

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 as moderators between them ; and as they had obliged the two Englishmen not to hurt the three, while they were naked and unarmed, so they now obliged the three to go and rebuild their fellows' two huts, one to be of the same dimensions, and the other larger than they were before ; also to fence their ground again, where they had pulled up the fences ; plant trees in the room of those pulled up ; dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it ; and, in a word, to restore every thing in the same state as they found it, as near as they could,—for entirely it could not be, the season for the corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges, not being possible to be recovered.

Well, they all submitted to this ; and as they had plenty of provisions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, only that these three

fellows could never be persuaded to work for themselves, except now and then a little, just as they pleased. 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 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 resentment, and look to the preservation of their lives.

It happened one night that the Spaniard governor, as I call him—that is to say, the Spaniard whose life I had saved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the rest—found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep: he was perfectly well in body, only found his thoughts tumultuous, and his mind run upon men fighting, and killing one another; and, growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise. Being thus gotten up, he looked out; but, being dark, he could see little or nothing: and besides, the trees which I had planted, as in my former account is described, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his sight, so that he could only look up and see that it was a clear starlight night; and, hearing no noise, he returned and laid him down again. But it was all one; he could not sleep, nor could he compose himself to any thing like rest, but his thoughts were to the last degree uneasy, and yet he knew not for what.

Having made some noise with rising and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked, and, calling, asked who it was that was up? The governor told him how it had been with him. “Say you so!” says the other Spaniard; “such things are not to be slighted, I assure you: there is certainly some mischief working,” says he, “near us;” and presently he asked him, “Where are the Englishmen?” “They are all in their huts,” says he, “safe enough.” It seems, the Spaniards had kept possession of the main apartment, and had made a place where the three Englishmen, since their last mutiny, always quartered by themselves, and could not come at the rest. “Well,” says the Spaniard, “there is something in it, I am persuaded from my own experience; I am certain our spirits embodied have converse with, and receive intelligence from, the spirits unembodied, and inhabiting the invisible world; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we know how to make use of it. Come,” says he, “let us go out and look abroad; and

if we find nothing at all in it to justify our trouble, I'll tell you a story to the purpose, that shall convince you of the justice of my proposing it."

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

Whether it was the consequence of the escape of the three savages in our last encounter, who jumped into the boat, and of whom I mentioned that I was afraid they should go home and bring more help, 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 to have concealed themselves, and to have fallen upon them so effectually, as that not a man of them should have escaped, which could only have been by getting in between them and their boats: but this presence of mind was wanting to them, which was the ruin of their tranquillity for a great while.

We need not doubt but that the governor, and the man with him, surprised with this sight, ran back immediately, and raised their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were all in, and they again as readily took the alarm; but it was impossible to persuade them to stay close within where they were, but 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 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. Could they have seen the savages all together in one body, and at a distance from their canoes, they resolved, if there had been an hundred of them, to have attacked them ; but that could not be obtained, for there were some of them two miles off from the other, and, as it appeared afterwards, were of two different nations.

After having mused a great while on the course they should take, and exerted themselves 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 to what they came for, and what they intended to do, and the like. The old man undertook it without hesitation, 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 on 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 daylight 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 to be seen ; 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, namely, they did not go openly just by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themselves to advantage, where they might securely see them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not 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 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 of them. Upon this they resolved that they would stand armed within the wall, and, whoever came into the grove, they should sally out over the wall and kill them—so that, if possible, not one should return to give an account of it. They ordered also, that it should be done with their swords, or by knocking them down with the stock of the musket, not by shooting them, for fear of raising an alarm by the noise.

As they expected, it fell out: three of the routed army fled for life, and, crossing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for shelter. The scout they kept to look abroad gave notice of this within—with this addition, to our men's great satisfaction, namely, that the conquerors had not pursued them, or seen which way they were gone. Upon this, the Spaniard governor, a man of humanity, would not suffer them to kill the fugitives; but sending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round and come in behind them, surprise, and take them prisoners; which was done. The residue of the conquered people fled to their canoes and got off to sea; the victors retired, and made no pursuit, or very little, but, drawing themselves into a body together, gave two great screaming shouts, which they supposed were by way of triumph, and so the fight ended: and the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes. And thus the Spaniards had their island again free to themselves, the fight was over, and they saw no savages in several years after.

After they were all gone, the Spaniards came out of their den, and, viewing the field of battle, they found about two-and-thirty dead men upon the spot. They found not one wounded man that was not stone dead; for either these savages stay by their enemy till they have quite killed them, or they carry all the wounded men, that are not quite dead, away with them.

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

fall into the hands of those creatures, who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle. This, as I said, tamed even the three English brutes I have been speaking of, and, for a great while after, they were very tractable, and went about the common business of the whole society well enough—planted, sowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalised to the country; but sometime after this, they fell all into such simple measures again as brought them into a 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 with my man Friday, namely, 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, civilising 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, they should not rather remove their habitation.

After long debate, it was conceived that they should not remove their habitation, because 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 them all, and they were gone, and so their 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 de-

stroyed, the other might be saved : and one piece of prudence they used, which it was very well they did, namely, 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.

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 by 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 observations ; 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 bade him do, and seemed a little untractable in his showing him, drew a hatchet out of a frogbelt in which he bore it by his side, and fell upon him, the poor savage, not to correct him, but to kill him. One of the Spaniards, who was by, seeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but struck into his shoulder, so that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and, entreating him not to murder the poor man, clapped in between him and the savage to prevent the mischief.

The fellow, being enraged the more at this, struck at the Spaniard with his hatchet, and swore he would serve him as he intended to serve the savage ; which the Spaniard perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a

shovel which he had in his hand (for they were working in the field about the corn-land) knocked the brute down: another of the Englishmen, running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked the Spaniard down, and then two Spaniards more came to help their man, and a third Englishman fell upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or any other weapon but hatchets and other tools, except the third English-



man: he had one of my old rusty cutlasses, with which he made at the last Spaniards, and wounded them both. This fray set the whole family in an uproar, and, more help coming in, they took the three Englishmen prisoners. The next question was, what should be done with them? They had been so often mutinous, and were so furious, so desperate, and so idle withal, that they knew not what course to take with them, for they were mischievous to the highest degree, and valued not what hurt they did any man; so that, in short, it was not safe to live with them.

The Spaniard who was governor, told them, in so many words, that if they had been his own countrymen he would have hanged them all—for all laws and all governors were to preserve society, and those who were dangerous to 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 then 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 declared 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 would kill us? And what would you get by killing us? And what must we do to prevent you killing us? Must we kill you, or will you kill us? Why will you put us to the necessity of this, Seignior Atkins?" asks 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 hairbrained carriage obliged them to consider seriously what was to be done. After a long debate, it was agreed, first, that they should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either a 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, they should die without mercy.

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

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

They lived in this separate condition about six months, and had got in their first harvest, but when the rainy season came on, for want of a cave in the earth, they could not keep their grain dry: 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.

About three quarters of a year after this separation, a new frolic took these rogues, which, together with the former villany they had committed, brought mischief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony.

The three fellows came down to the Spaniards one morning, and, in very humble terms, desired to be admitted to speak with them: the Spaniards very readily heard what they had to say, which was this—that they were tired of living in the manner they did, that they were not handy enough to make the necessaries they wanted, and that, having no help, they found they should be starved; but, if the Spaniards would give them leave to take one of the canoes which they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition proportioned to 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 told them, with great kindness, that, if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themselves; and that, though they could ill spare their fire-arms, having not enough for themselves, yet they would let them have two muskets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet, which they thought sufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer; and, having baked them bread enough to serve them a month, and given them as much goat's flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basket full of dried grapes, a pot full of fresh water, and a young kid alive to kill, they boldly set out in a canoe for a voyage over the sea, where it was at least forty miles broad. The boat was, indeed, a large one, and would have very well carried fifteen or twenty men, and, therefore, was rather too big for them to manage; but, as they had a fair breeze, and the flood-tide with them, they did well enough. They had made a mast of a long pole, and a sail of four large goat-skins dried, which they had sewed 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.

After twenty-two days' absence, one of the two honest Englishmen being abroad upon his planting work, sees three strange men coming towards him, two of them with guns upon their shoulders. Away runs the Englishman, as if he was bewitched, and came, frightened 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 awhile, says to him, "How do you mean, you cannot tell who? They are savages, to be sure." "No, no," says the Englishman, "they are men in clothes, with arms." "Nay, then," says the Spaniard, "why are you concerned? If they are not savages, they must be friends; for there is no Christian nation upon earth but will do us good rather than harm."

While they were debating thus, came the three Englishmen, and, standing without the wood which was new planted, hallooed to them; they presently knew their voices, so all the wonder of that kind ceased. But now the admiration was turned upon another question, namely, what could be the matter, and what made them come back again.

It was not long before they brought the men in: and, inquiring where

they had been, and what they had been doing, they gave them a full account of their voyage in a few words—namely, that they reached the land in two days, or something less; but, finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island; 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 very 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 for four days, and inquired, as well as they could of them by signs, what nations were this way and that way, and were told of several fierce and terrible people that lived almost every way, who, as they made known by signs to them, used to eat men; but, as for themselves, they said that they never eat men or 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 inquired when they had a feast of that kind, and they told them two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war, and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The Englishmen seemed mighty desirous to see those prisoners, but the others, mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them to carry away for their own eating; so they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting of the sun, and then to the rising; which was to signify that the next morning, at sun-rising, they would bring some for them: and accordingly, the next morning they brought down five women and eleven men, and gave them to the Englishmen to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a sea-port town to victual a ship.

To refuse the prisoners, would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that offered them, and what to do with them they knew not. However, upon some debate, they resolved to accept of them; and,

in return, they gave the savages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and six or seven of their bullets, which, though they did not understand, they seemed extremely pleased with; and then, tying the poor creatures' hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the prisoners into the boat for our men.

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

In their voyage they endeavoured to have some communication with their prisoners, but it was 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 or fittest to kill first; nay, after they had brought them quite over, and begun 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 two other 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, with straight and fair limbs, about thirty or thirty-five years of age; and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty, two more not above twenty-four or twenty-five, and the fifth, a tall, comely

maiden, about sixteen or seventeen. The women were well-favoured, agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny; and two of them, had they been perfect white, would have passed for handsome women even in London itself, having very pleasant, agreeable countenances, and of a very modest behaviour, especially when they came afterwards to be clothed, and dressed, as they called it, though that dress was very indifferent, it must be confessed.

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 the 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 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 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 wives? 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, namely, that you will all engage that, if any of you take any of these women as a wife, he shall take but one." 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 Chris-

tians: and all together 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; 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 creatures were, and fetched out her he chose; and it was worth observing, that he that chose first took her that was reckoned the homeliest and the oldest of the five, which made mirth enough among the rest; and even the Spaniards laughed at it: but the fellow considered better than any of them, that it was application and business that they were to expect assistance in as much as any thing else; and she proved the best wife in the parcel.

When they had all chosen their wives, the men went to work, and the Spaniards came and helped them; and in a few hours they had built them every one a new hut or tent for their lodging apart. The three wicked ones had pitched farthest off, and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north shore of the island, so that they continued separate as before: and thus my island was peopled in three places, and, as I might say, three towns were begun to be planted.

And here it is very well worth observing, that, as it often happens in the world (what the wise ends of God's providence are in such a disposition of things, I cannot say), the two honest fellows had the two worst wives; and the three reprobates, that were scarce worth hanging, that were fit for nothing, and neither seemed born to do themselves good, nor any one else, had three clever, diligent, careful, and ingenious wives—not that the two first were ill wives as to their temper or humour, for all the five were

most willing, quiet, passive, and subjected creatures, rather like slaves than wives; but my meaning is, they were not alike capable, ingenious, or industrious, or alike cleanly and neat.

As to the three reprobates, as I justly call them, though they were much civilised by their new settlement, compared to what they were before, and were not so quarrelsome, having not the same opportunity, yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleness. It is true, they planted corn and made fences; but Solomon's words were never better verified than in them—"I went by the vineyard of the slothful, and it was overgrown with thorns;" for when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not see it in some places for weeds: the hedge had several gaps in it, where the wild goats had gotten in and eaten up the corn; perhaps here and there a dead bush was crammed in to stop them out for the present, but it was only shutting the stable-door after the steed was stolen: whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was the very face of industry and success upon all they did; there was not a weed to be seen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges; and they, on the other hand, verified Solomon's words in another place: "The diligent hand maketh rich;" for everything 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. The diligent lived well and comfortably, and the slothful lived hard and beggarly; and so, I believe, generally speaking, it is all over the world.

But now I come to a scene different from all that had happened before, either to them or me; and the origin of the story was this:—Early one morning there came on shore five or six canoes of Indians, or savages, call them which you please; and there is no room to doubt that they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their slaves: but that part was now so familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they had nothing to do but to give notice to all the three plantations to keep within doors, and not to show 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. The Spaniards were greatly surprised at this sight, and perfectly at a loss what to do. After some consultation, they resolved upon this, that they would lie still a while longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone: but then the governor Spaniard 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, and away they carried them, first to the bower, where was the chief of their countrywork, and afterwards to the habitation of the two Englishmen. Here they were set to work, though it was not much they had for them to do; and, whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them ran away, and, taking into the woods, they could never hear of him more.

They had good reason to believe he got home again soon after in some other boats or canoes of savages, who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off again in two days time. This thought terrified them exceedingly; for they concluded, and that not without good cause indeed, that if this fellow got safe home among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the island, as also how weak and few they were. 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 sunrise, at a convenient place about a mile from the habitation of the two Englishmen, where this escaped man had been kept.

When the poor frightened men had secured their wives and goods, they sent one of the slaves 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 meantime, they took their arms and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood where their wives were

sent, keeping at a distance, yet so that they might see, if possible, which way the savages took.

They had not gone far but that, from a rising ground, they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more could see all their huts and household stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification; for they had a very great loss, and to them irretrievable, at least for some time. They kept their station for a while, till they found the savages, like wild beasts, spread themselves all over the place, rummaging 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, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile further, 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, 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, but, after a very short debate, they resolved to stand them there, and, if they 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. 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. As the savages came on, they plainly saw that one of the three was the runaway savage that had escaped from them, and they 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, he fired, and hit two of them directly ; the foremost was killed outright, being shot in the head ; the second, which was the runaway Indian, was shot through the body and fell, but was not quite dead ; and the third had a little scratch in the shoulder, perhaps by the same ball that went through the body of the second, and being dreadfully frightened, though not much hurt, sat down upon the ground, screaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frightened with the noise than sensible of 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. However, all being silent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned to the place where their companions lay ; 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, inquiring, as may be supposed, how he came to be hurt. Our two men, 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, frightened even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest ; so that our men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all. This belief 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 muskets ; and first they made sure of the runaway savage that had been the cause of all the mischief, and of another that was hurt in 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 that they could understand.

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 chance in his pocket, tied his feet fast together, and his hands behind him, and there they left him, and made with what speed they could 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; and, being satisfied with that, they went back to the tree where they left their prisoner, but 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 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. 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, unless the persons seeking it had been directed by those that knew it, which these were not. While they were here, they had the comfort of seven of the Spaniards coming to their assistance: the other ten men, with their servants and Friday's father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that were kept there. 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.

The two Englishmen were now so encouraged, that they could not satisfy themselves to stay any longer there; but, taking five of the Spaniards and themselves, with four muskets and a pistol among them, and two stout quarter-staves, away they went in quest of the savages. 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 had 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. They then resolved to go forward towards their plantation; but a little before they came thither, coming in sight of the sea-shore, they plainly saw the savages all embarking again in their canoes.

The poor Englishmen being now twice ruined, and all their improve-

ments 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 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, they were set upon their legs again.

It was five or six months after this, when, on a sudden, they were invaded with a most formidable fleet of no less than twenty-eight canoes, full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such like engines of war; and they brought such numbers with them, that, in short, it put all our people into the utmost consternation. These new invaders, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore directly towards the plantation of the two Englishmen, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but small indeed; but, that which was worse, they had not arms for all their number neither. The whole account, it seems, stood thus:—first, as to men—

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

29

To arm these they had—

- 11 Muskets.
- 5 Pistols.
- 3 Fowling-pieces.
- 5 Muskets, 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 musket or fusil, but they had every one a 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, where the Indians fought with one another.

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

Had William Atkins and his men retired as soon as they had fired, 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, namely, 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, and some of the savages, spying them, came upon them behind, wounded Atkins himself, and killed one of his fellow Englishmen with their arrows, as they did afterwards one Spaniard and one of the Indian slaves who came with the women. Our men, being thus hard laid at, retreated to a rising ground in the wood ; and the Spaniards, after firing three volleys upon them, retreated also : for the number of the savages was so great 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.

The Spaniard governor having drawn his little body up together upon

a rising ground, Atkins, though he was wounded, would have had him march, and charge them 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 moonlight 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. 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. The savages stood altogether, but were in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together : they would have fought if they had seen us, but our men gave them no time, but, running up to them, fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the butt ends of their muskets, their swords, armed staves, and hatchets ; and laid about them so well that, in a word, they set up a dismal screaming and howling, flying to save their lives which way soever they could. Our men were tired with the execution, and killed, or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about one hundred and eighty of them ; the rest, being frightened 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 they got all together to the sea-side, where they landed and where their canoes lay. But it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the sea-ward, so that it was impossible for them to put off :

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 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. When they came in view of the place where the remains of the savages' army lay, there appeared about one hundred 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. The Spaniard governor ordered two muskets to be fired without ball, to alarm them: this he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect—namely, whether they were still in heart to fight, or were so heartily beaten, as to be dispirited and discouraged, and so he might manage accordingly.

This stratagem took; for, as soon as the savages heard the first gun and saw the flash of the second, they started upon their feet in the greatest consternation imaginable; and, as our men advanced, they ran screaming and yawling away up the hills into the country.

At first our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to sea. But Will Atkins 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. He told them they had better have to do with one hundred men than with one hundred nations; that, as they must destroy their boats, so they must destroy the men, or be all of them destroyed themselves. In a word, he showed them the necessity of it so plainly, that they all came into it: so they went to work immediately with the boats, and, getting some dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to set some of them on fire; but they were so wet, that they would 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 made pitiful gestures and strange noises, begging 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 ; 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.

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 the Indians did not find their main retreat, 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 our men were able to fight them upon all occasions, yet they were in no condition to pursue them, or hunt them up and down ; for, as they were too nimble of foot for our men when they found them single, so our men durst not go about single for fear of being surrounded with their numbers. The 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 harass them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduced the 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, he would fall down for fear ; and so dreadfully frightened 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 generous-minded man that ever I met with in my life ; and he proposed, if possible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to understand what they

meant, so far as to be able to act as interpreter, and to go among them and see if they might be brought to some conditions that might be depended upon, to save their lives, and do us no spoil.


It was some time before any of them could be taken ; but, being weak and half-starved, one of them was at last surprised, and made a prisoner. They brought old Friday to him, who 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, and corn to plant, and bread for their present subsistence, provided they would give satisfaction that they should keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond them, to injure or prejudice others. 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, 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 a 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 to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them ; they wanted nothing but wives, and they would soon have been a nation. Our men taught them to make wooden spades, such as I made for myself, and gave among them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives ; and there they lived, the most subjected innocent creatures that were ever heard of. After this, the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity with respect to the savages, till I came to revisit them, which was in about two years. Not but 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 ; and if they had, it would have been very hard for them to have found them out.

CHAPTER XXI.

The islanders are greatly relieved by the arrival of Crusoe, who furnishes them with tools of all kinds—The Spaniards recount their adventures among the savages before they came to the island, and describe their joy at being delivered—Will Atkins, who had been the ringleader of the English sailors in their evil doings, having shown a better disposition, the Spaniards take him, and his companions into their confidence—The island is divided into three colonies—The French priest, whom Crusoe had brought out of the ship relieved by him at sea, proposes certain reforms—Conversion of Will Atkins' Indian wife—The English sailors are married—A religious conversation—Crusoe leaves the island in a hopeful condition.

HUS, I think, I have given a full account of all that happened to my return, at least that was worth notice. My coming was a particular relief to these people, because we furnished them with knives, scissors, spades, shovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want. With the help of 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 exceedingly 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. This fellow showed 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.

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, namely, 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. 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.

Having thus given an account of the colony in general, and pretty much of my five runagate 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 it was remarkable that Englishmen had a greater presence of mind in their distress than any people that he ever 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. 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.

Then they gave me an account how the savages, whom they lived among, expected them to go out with them into their wars; but, being without powder and shot, when they came on 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; till at last they found the way to make themselves large targets of wood, which they covered with skins of wild beasts,—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 described, most affectionately, how they were surprised with joy at the return of their friend and companion in misery, and 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. 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 it was impossible to express it by words, for their excessive joy driving them to unbecoming extravagances, they had no way to describe them but by telling me that they bordered upon lunacy. 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. I entered into a serious discourse with the Spaniard, whom I called governor, about their stay in the island. 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 and 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 was very willing and desirous of living on terms of entire friendship and union with them, and would do any thing that lay in his power to convince them of it; and as for going to England, he cared not if he did not go thither these twenty years.

The Spaniards said they had indeed at first disarmed and excluded William Atkins and his two countrymen, for their ill conduct, but that Atkins had behaved himself so bravely in the great fight they had with the savages, and on several occasions since, and had showed himself so faithful to, and concerned for, the general interest of them all, that they had forgotten all that was past, and thought he merited as much to be trusted with arms, and supplied with necessaries, as any of them; and 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, 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 altogether; and, indeed, we made a splendid feast, at which we were very innocently merry: I brought out my cargo of goods, wherein, that there might be no dispute about dividing, I showed them that there was sufficient for them all. Having distributed these among them, I presented to them the people I had brought with me, particularly the tailor, the smith, and the two carpenters, all of them most necessary people; but above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name any thing that was more needful to them: and the tailor, to show his concern for them, went to work immediately, and made them every one a shirt the first thing he did; and, which was still more, he taught the women not only how to sew and stitch, and use the needle, but made

them assist to make the shirts for their husbands, and for all the rest. As for the carpenters, 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.

Then I brought them out all my store of tools, and gave every man a digging spade, a shovel, and a rake, and to every separate place a pick-axe, a crow, a broad axe, and a saw ; always appointing that, as often as any were broken, or worn out, they should be supplied, without grudging, out of the general stores that I left behind. Nails, staples, hinges, hammers, chisels, knives, scissors, and all sorts of tools and iron-work, they had without tale, as they required ; and, for the use of the smith, I left two tons of unwrought iron for a supply.

My magazine of powder and arms which I brought them was such, even to profusion, that they could not but rejoice at them ; for now they could march, as I used to do, with a musket upon each shoulder, if there was occasion, and were able to fight a thousand savages, if they had but some little advantages of situation, which also they could not miss 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. After a while, seeing things so well ordered, and in so fine a way of thriving upon my island, and considering that they had neither business nor acquaintance in the East Indies, nor reason for taking so long a voyage, both of them 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. 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 ; namely, the Spaniards, with old Friday and the first servants, at my old habitation under the hill, which was, in a word, the capital city ; and never was there such a little city in a wood, and so hid, I believe, in any part of the world. The other colony was that of Will Atkins, where there were four Englishmen I had left there, with their wives and children ; three savages that were slaves ; the widow and children of the Englishman that was killed, and the young man and the maid ; and, by the way, we made

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

And now I speak of marrying, it brings me naturally to say something of the French ecclesiastic, that I had brought with me out of the ship's crew whom I took at sea. It is true, this man was a Roman; but justice demands of me to give him a due character; and I must say he was a grave, sober, pious, and most religious person; exact in his life, extensive in his charity, and exemplary in almost every thing he did. The first hour that I began to converse with him, after he had agreed to go with me to the East Indies, I found reason to delight exceedingly in his conversation. He gave me a most diverting account of his life, and of adventures which had befallen him; and particularly this was very remarkable, namely, 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.

But I shall not make digressions into other men's stories, which have no relation to my own. I return to what concerns our affairs in the island. He came to me one morning 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 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. "There are three things," said he, "which, if I am right, must stand in the way of God's blessing upon your endeavours here, and which I should rejoice to see removed. First, you have here four Englishmen, who have fetched women from among the savages, and have taken them as their wives, and yet are not married to them after any stated legal manner, as the laws of God and man require; and therefore are yet 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 that he obliged them to make when they took these women, namely, that they should choose 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. 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 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 it was past remedy. "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. 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 yours."

I imagined that, by putting an end to it, he meant that I should part them, and not suffer them to live together any longer; and I said to him I could not do that by any means, for that it would put the whole island in confusion. He seemed surprised that I should so far mistake him. "No, sir," said 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, from transgressing the laws of God. But

recollecting what he had said of marrying them by a written contract, I 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 when I came to them, and I knew no reason why they should scruple to let him marry them all ; which I knew would be granted to be as authentic and valid in England, as if they were married by one of our own clergymen. He then said 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 whom, was false and absurd. This, he said, was an unaccountable neglect, and what God would certainly call them to an account for : and, perhaps, at last take the work out of their hands. He spoke this very affectionately and warmly. “I am persuaded,” says he, “had those men lived in the savage country whence their wives came, the savages would have taken more pains to have brought them to be idolaters, and to worship the devil, than any of these men, so far as I can see, has taken with them to teach them the knowledge of the true God. Now, sir,” said he, “though I do not acknowledge your religion, or you mine, yet we should be all glad to see the devil’s servants and the subjects of his kingdom taught to know the general principles of the Christian religion,—that they might at least hear of God, and of a Redeemer, and of the resurrection, and of a future state—things which we all believe : they had at least been so much nearer coming into the bosom of the true church, than they are now in the public profession of idolatry and devil-worship.”

I could hold no longer ; I took him in my arms, and embraced him with an excess of passion. “How far,” said I to him, “have I been from understanding the most essential part of a Christian, namely, 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.” “Oh, 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."

Then he went on to say, "It is a maxim, sir, that is, or ought to be, received among all Christians, of what church or pretended church soever, namely, 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 voyage, and the most dangerous residence among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the Christian faith. Now, sir, you have an opportunity here to have six or seven-and-thirty poor savages brought over from idolatry to the knowledge of God, their Maker and Redeemer, that I wonder how you can pass by such an occasion of doing good, which is really worth the expense of a man's whole life." He 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 hands to convert seven-and-thirty heathens to the knowledge of Christ; but as you are an ecclesiastic, and are given over to that work, so that it seems naturally to fall into the way of your profession, how is it then that you do not rather offer yourself to undertake it, than press me to it?"

Upon this he faced about, just before me, as he walked along, and, putting me to a full stop, made me a very low bow: "I most heartily thank God, and you, sir," says he, "for giving me so evident a call to so blessed a work; and, if you think yourself discharged from it, and desire me to undertake it, I will most readily do it, and think it a happy reward for all the hazards and difficulties of such a broken, disappointed voyage as I have met with, that I have dropped at last into so glorious a work. But since you will honour me with putting me into this work, I have one humble petition to you besides." "What is that?" said I, "Why," says he, "it is that you will leave your man Friday with me, to be my interpreter to them, and to assist me; for without some help I cannot speak to them, or they to me."

I was sensibly touched at his requesting Friday, because I could not think of parting with him, and that for many reasons. He had been the companion of my travels: he was not only faithful to me, but sincerely affectionate to the last degree; and I had resolved to do something considerable for him if he outlived me, as it was probable he would. Then I knew that as I had bred Friday up to be a Protestant, it would quite confound him to bring him to embrace another profession; that he would never, while his eyes were open, believe that his old master was a 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. I therefore told him I could not say that I was willing to part with Friday on any account; that 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 much concerned at this; 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 a very happy turn to all this.

I sent for the Englishmen all together; 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 if they were married men or bachelors? They soon explained their condition to me, and showed 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 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—namely, that there was nobody to marry them; that they agreed before the governor to keep 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 unless I was

assured of their honest intent, I could do nothing for 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.

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 on any account whatever. 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, he need not consider of it at all, for he was very ready to do it, and believed they would be all willing also. So we parted : I went back to my clergyman, and Will Atkins went in to talk with his companions. 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 that I had a clergyman in my company, and they were 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 honest when they chose them. So I appointed them to meet me the next morning, and that in the meantime they should let their wives know the meaning of the marriage law, and that it was not only to prevent any scandal, but also to oblige them that they should not forsake them whatever might happen. The women were easily made sensible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well satisfied with it ; so they failed not to attend all together at my apartment next morning, where I brought out my clergyman. When he came to them, he let them know that I had acquainted him with their circumstances, and with the present design ; that he was very willing to perform that part of his function, and marry them as I had desired, but that, before he could do it, he must take the liberty to talk with them. He told them that, in the sight of all different men, and in the sense of the laws of society, they had lived all this while in an open adultery ; and that it was true that nothing but the consenting to marry, or effectually separating them from one another now, could put an end to it ; but there was a difficulty in it too, with respect to the laws of Christian matrimony, which he was not fully satisfied about, namely, that of marrying one that is a professed Christian to a savage, an idolater, and a

heathen, one that is not baptised; and yet that he did not see that there was time left for it to endeavour to persuade the women to be baptised, or to profess the name of Christ, whom they had, he doubted, heard nothing of, and without which they could not be baptised. He told them 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 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.

They heard all this very attentively, and 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. "Oh, 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 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." "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. "Oh!" said the priest, "tell him there is one thing will make him the best minister in the world to his wife, and that is repentance, for none teach repentance like true penitents. He wants nothing but to repent, and then he will be so much the better qualified to instruct his wife: he will then be able to tell her that there is not only a God, and that he is the just rewarder of good and evil, but that he is a merciful Being, and, with infinite goodness and long-suffering, forbears to punish those that offend—waiting to be gracious, and willing not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should return and live; that he often suffers wicked men to go on a long time, and even reserves damnation to the general day of retribution; that it is a clear evidence of God and of a future state, that righteous men receive

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

I repeated all this to Atkins, who looked very serious all the while, and who, we could easily perceive, was more than ordinarily affected with it. "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."

I told the clergyman word for word what he said. The 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?"

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

Upon this discourse, and the men promising to persuade their wives to embrace Christianity, he married the three couple; but Will Atkins and his wife were not yet come in. After this, the clergyman waiting a while,

was curious to know where Atkins was gone ; and turning to me, says, " I entreat you, sir, let us walk out here and look ; I dare say we shall find this poor man somewhere or other, talking seriously with his wife, and teaching her already something of religion." I began to be of the same mind ; so we went out together, and I carried him a way which none knew but myself, and where the trees were so thick set, as that it was not easy to see through the thicket of leaves, and far harder to see in than to see out ; when, coming to the edge of the wood, I saw Atkins, and his tawny savage wife, sitting under the shade of a bush, very eager in discourse. I stopped short till my clergyman came up to me, and then, having shown him where they were, we stood and looked very steadily at them a good while. We observed him very earnest with her, pointing up to the sun, and to every quarter of the heavens ; 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, etc."—" I believe he is," said I. Immediately we perceived Will Atkins start up upon his feet, fall down upon his knees, and lift up both his hands ; we supposed he said something, but we could not hear him—it was too far off for that ; he did not continue kneeling half a minute, but comes and sits down again by his wife, and talks to her again. We perceived then the woman very attentive, but whether she said anything 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!" 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. 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. I then discovered that Atkins—whose father, it turned out, was a clergyman—had been himself affected by the words of the priest, and that he had brought his wife to embrace the knowledge of Christ and of redemption by Him, with joy, and faith, and 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 baptised. As soon as this was over, the priest 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.

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

Having thus brought the affairs of the island to a narrow compass, I was preparing to go on board the ship, when the young man 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 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 the man I have given you

already ; and as for the maid, she was a very honest, modest, sober, and religious woman ; had a good share of sense ; was agreeable in her person ; spoke very handsomely, and to the purpose ; was handy and housewifely, an excellent manager, and fit, indeed, to have been governess to the whole island. We married them the same day.

It now came into my thoughts that I had hinted to my friend, the clergyman, that the work of converting the savages might perhaps be set on foot in his absence to his satisfaction, and I told him that now I thought it was put in a fair way ; for the savages, being thus divided among the Christians, if they would but every one of them do their part with those which came under their hands, I hoped it might have a very good effect. This they engaged to do. When I came to Will Atkins's house, I found the young woman I have mentioned above and Atkins's wife were become intimates ; and this prudent and 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 baptised 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. I took a Bible in my pocket, and when I came to the tent, or house, I found the young woman and Atkins's baptised wife had been discoursing of religion together (for William Atkins told it me with a great deal of joy). I asked if they were together now ? and he said, Yes ; so I went into the house, and he with me, and we found them together, very earnest in discourse.

We talked a little, and I did not perceive they had a 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 his hands, and, turning to his wife, "Here, my dear," says he, "did not I tell you our God, though he lives above, could hear what we said ? Here 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 in such transports of passionate joy that, between the joy of having it and giving God thanks for it, the tears ran down his face like a child that was crying. The woman was surprised, and she firmly believed that God had sent the book upon her husband's petition. It is true that providentially it was so, but I believe it would



A RELIGIOUS CONVERSATION.



have been no difficult matter at that time to have persuaded the poor woman that an express messenger came from heaven to bring that individual book.

But I return to my disposition of things among the people. 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 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, 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. I reserved the sloop and the guns for their service another way.

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 5th day of May, having been five-and-twenty days among them.





CHAPTER XXII.

Crusoe encounters a fleet of Indian canoes at sea—The savages attack his vessel—Friday is killed—Crusoe arrives at Brazil, where he gets his sloop set up, and despatches it, laden with live-stock, to his island—Sets sail for the East Indies—Touches at Madagascar, where they are well received by the natives—The crime of one of the sailors is avenged by his death, whereupon the crew commence a general massacre, which Crusoe vainly attempts to stay—On resuming the voyage, he reproaches the sailors, who at length mutiny, and leave him on shore at Bengal.

THE next day, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail, and arrived at the bay of All Saints, in the Brazils, in about twenty-two days; meeting nothing remarkable in our passage. But the third day, towards evening, the sea smooth, and the weather calm, we saw the sea, as it were, covered towards the land with something very black, not being able to

discover what it was ; but after some time, our chief mate going up the main shrouds a little way, and looking at them by the 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 at this, and so, indeed, was my nephew, the captain ; for he had heard such terrible stories of them in the island, 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 to be afraid, but bring the ship to an anchor, as soon as we came so near as to know that we must engage them.

The weather continued calm, and they came on apace towards us ; so I gave orders to come to an anchor, and furl all our sails,—get the boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, and man them both well, and wait the issue in that posture : this I did that the men in the boats might be ready, with sheet and buckets, to put out any fire these savages might endeavour to fix upon the outside of the ship. In this posture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us : but never was such a horrid sight seen by Christians. My mate was much mistaken in his calculation of their number ; the most we could make of them, when they came up, being about one hundred and twenty-six canoes, and 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. 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 five hundred arrows came on board us from those boats, and one of our men in the long-boat was very much wounded. 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 waist boards, to cover them from the arrows of the savages, if they should shoot again.

About half an hour afterwards they came all up in a body astern of us and I easily found they were some of my old friends, the same sort of savages that I had been used to engage with : 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, 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 immediately Friday cried out they were going to shoot, and, unhappily for him, they let fly about three hundred of their arrows, and to my inexpressible grief killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very nigh him ; such unlucky marksmen they were !

I was so enraged at 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. I can neither tell how many we killed, nor how many we wounded ; but sure such a fright and hurry never was seen among such a multitude ; there were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split and upset in all, and the men all set a-swimming ; the rest, frightened out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot ; so I suppose that they were many of them lost. Our men took up one poor fellow swimming for his life, above an hour after they were all gone ; nor did we ever see the rest any more, for a breeze of wind springing up the same evening, we weighed and set sail for the Brazils.

Our prisoner was so sullen that he would neither eat nor speak ; and we all fancied he would starve himself to death. But I took a way to cure him ; for I made them take him and turn him into the longboat, 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. In time our men taught him some English, and he told us 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, 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 also 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 off it,—nay, I could hardly make Friday leave it off, though at last he did.

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

We now went away with a fair wind for Brazil, 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 south-by-east, 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.

It was with great difficulty that we were admitted to hold the least correspondence on shore. Not my partner himself, who was alive, and made a great figure among them, not my two merchant trustees, nor the fame of my wonderful preservation in the island, could obtain me that favour; but my partner, remembering that I had given five hundred moidores to the prior of the monastery of the Augustines, and three hundred and seventy-two to the poor, went to the monastery, and obliged the prior that then was to go to the governor and beg leave for me presently, with the captain, and one more, besides eight seamen, to come on shore, and no more,—and this upon condition absolutely capitulated for, that we should not offer to land any goods out of the ship, or to carry any person away without licence.

They were so strict with us as to landing any goods, that it was with extreme difficulty that I got on shore three bales of English goods, such as fine broad-cloths, stuffs, and some linen, which I had brought for a present to my partner. He was a very generous, broad-hearted man, though, like me, he came from little at first; and though he knew not that I had the least design of giving him any thing, he sent me on board a present of fresh provisions, wine, and sweetmeats, worth above thirty moidores, including some tobacco, and three or four fine medals in gold. But I was even with him in my present, which, as I have said, consisted of fine broad-cloths, English stuffs, lace, and fine Hollands. Also, I delivered him about the value of one hundred pounds 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 whom 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 Brazil planter of his acquaintance, who had fallen into the displeasure of the church, and had 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. 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 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 for 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, and two mares and a horse.

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

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

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 expectations; not made cautious by affliction and distress beyond imitation.

I had no more business to go to the East Indies, than a man at full liberty, and having committed no crime, has to go to the turnkey at Newgate, and desire him to lock him up among the prisoners there, and starve him. Had I taken a small vessel from England, and gone 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 for the government there, to have secured my property, in subjection only to that of England, which, to be sure, I might have obtained,—had I done this,

and staid 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. 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 government but my own. 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 sent me word, though I had not the letter till five years after it was written, that they went on but poorly, were discontent with their long stay there—that Will Atkins was dead—that five of the Spaniards were come away—and that they begged of him to write to me to think of the promise I had made to fetch them away, that they might see their 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.

But it is no time now to enlarge any farther upon the reason or absurdity of my own conduct. 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. 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 Brazils, we made directly away over the Atlantic Sea to the Cape of Good Hope, and had a tolerably good voyage, our course generally south-east ; now and then a storm, and some contrary winds. But my disasters at sea were at an end—my future rubs and cross events were to befall me on shore. We made no stay at the Cape longer than was needful to take in fresh water, but made the best of our way for the coast of Coromandel. We touched first at the island of Madagascar, where we fared very well with them a while. It happened one evening when we went on shore, that a greater number of their people came down than

usual, but all was very friendly and civil, 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 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 muskets, which was the number of the guns they had, and that three times over. 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. Our men were but nine in all, and only five had fusils; the rest, indeed, had pistols and swords, but they were of small use to them. We took up seven of our men, three of them being very ill wounded; and while we stood in the boat to take our men in, we were in as much danger as they were in on shore; for the people 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 we had in the boat.

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

When we were got on board, our supercargo, who had been often in those parts, said he was sure the inhabitants would not have touched us if we had not done something to provoke them to it. At length it came out, namely, 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 was selling us the milk, one of our men offered some rudeness to the girl that was with her, at which the old woman made a great noise. However, the seaman would not quit his prize, but carried her out of the old woman's sight among the trees, it being almost dark. The old woman went away without her, and, as we suppose, made an outcry among the people she came from,—who, upon notice, raised this great army upon us in three or four hours; and it was great odds but we had been all destroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance that was thrown at him just at the beginning of the attack, as he sallied out of the tent we had made; the rest came off free, all but the fellow who was the occasion of all the mischief, who paid dear enough for his black mistress. 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.

I could not satisfy myself, however, without venturing on shore once more. 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. We took with us twenty stout fellows 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. We divided our men into two companies, and 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-bye our boatswain, that led the first party, stumbled and fell over a dead body. Here we concluded to halt till the moon began to rise, and then we could easily discern the havoc we had made among them. We told two-and-thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead. 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 sent me word, that they were resolved to make a visit to the Indian town, where it might be they might find Thomas Jeffrys there—that was the man's name we had lost. So away they went, and though

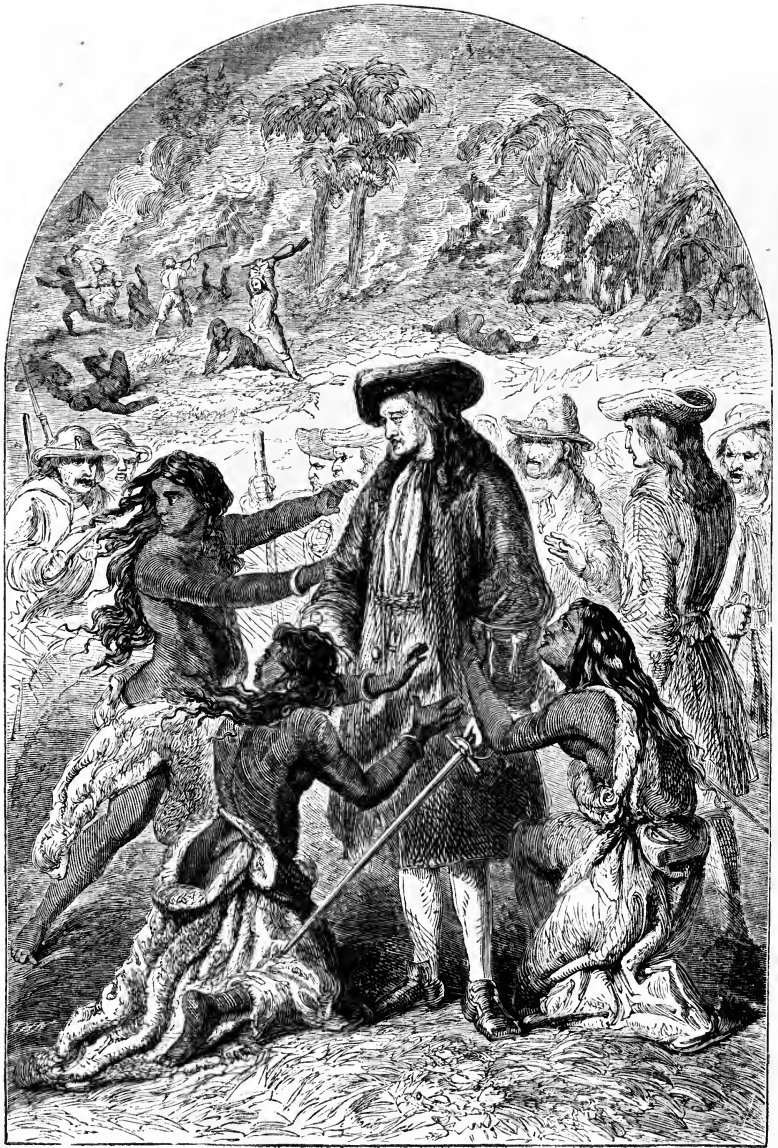
the attempt was desperate, and such as none but madmen would have gone about, yet, to give them their due, they went about it warily as well as boldly. Their chief design was plunder; but a circumstance, which none of them were aware of, set them on fire with revenge. When they came to the few Indian houses, which they thought had been the town, they were under a great disappointment; for there were not above twelve or thirteen houses. However, 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, and they untied her, and the cow went on before them directly to the town, which consisted of above two hundred houses, or huts. Here they found all profoundly secure as sleep and a country that had never seen an enemy of that kind could make them. Upon this, they resolved to divide themselves into three bodies, and to set three houses on fire in three parts of the town, and as the men came out, to seize them and bind them. 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. The sight of their poor mangled comrade so enraged them, that they swore to one another they would be revenged, and to work they went immediately. In a quarter of an hour they set the town on fire in four or five places, and as soon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frightened creatures began to rush out to save their lives, but met with their fate in the attempt.

My nephew, the captain, who was roused by his men, seeing such a fire, was very uneasy, not knowing what the matter was. A thousand thoughts oppressed his mind concerning me and the supercargo, what should become of us; and at last he takes another boat, and with thirteen men and himself, comes on shore to me. He was surprised to see me and the supercargo in the boat with no more than two men, and he was impatient to know what was doing, for the noise continued, and the flame increased. In a word, the captain told me he would go and help his men, let what would come, and so away went he. Nor was I any more able to stay behind; 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.

Being now on the march, we felt little of the ground we trod on ; and, being guided by the fire, we kept no path, but went directly to the place of the flame. If the noise of the guns was surprising to us before, the cries of the poor people were now quite of another nature, and filled us with horror. 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 that we met with was the ruins of a hut, or house ; and just before it, 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. 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 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 shrank 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—charging them to hurt nobody, but if possible to get at some of our people and see what devil it was possessed them, and what they intended to do ; and, in a word, to command them off—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



CRUSOE RESCUING THE INDIANS.



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 fain have learnt 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 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, covered with blood and dust, when our men hallooed to them as loud as they could halloo, and with much ado one of them made them hear. 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. " 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." 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 showed 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 sight as I had done, I had as much to do to restrain them as I should have had with the others ; nay, my nephew himself fell in with them, and told me, in their hearing, that he was only concerned for fear of the men being overpowered. 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 sight.

I got nobody to come back with me but the supercargo and two men, and with these I walked back to the boats. Immediately I took the pinnace and went aboard, and sent her back to assist the men in what might happen. By the 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 a manner that a small force of resolute men might have cut them all off. But the dread of them was upon the whole country. The people were amazed and surprised, and so frightened, that I believe a hundred of them would have fled at the sight of but five of our men.

I was very angry with my nephew, the captain, and indeed with all the men, in my mind, but with him in particular, as prompting rather than cooling the rage of his men in so bloody and cruel an enterprise. The next day we set sail. I always, after that time, told our men God would blast the voyage, for I looked upon the blood they shed that night to be murder in them. 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.

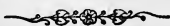
We were now bound to the gulf of Persia, and from thence to the coast of Coramandel, only to touch at Surat; but the chief of the supercargo's design lay at the Bay of Bengal. The first disaster that befel us was in the Gulf of Persia, where five of our men, venturing on shore on the Arabian side of the Gulf, were surrounded by the Arabs, and either all killed or carried away into slavery. 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 show any warrant for in Scripture, and referred to the thirteenth of St. Luke, verse 4th, 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.

But my frequent preaching to them on this subject had worse conse-

quences than I expected; and the boatswain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me that, 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 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 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. 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 me he would not have me trouble myself to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board. I immediately went and found out the supercargo, and told him the story, and entreated 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, told the captain in a few words that, as I was now gone peaceably on shore, they were loath to use any violence with me,—which, if I had not gone on shore, they would otherwise have done, to oblige me to have gone. They therefore thought fit to tell him that, as they shipped themselves to serve in the ship under his command, they would perform it 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.

When my nephew, the captain, who came to me on shore, told me this, I said he should not be concerned at all, for I would stay on shore: I only desired he would 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. So the matter was over in a very few hours; the men returned to their duty, and I began to consider what course I should steer.



CHAPTER XXIII.

At Bengal, Crusoe meets with an English merchant, with whom he enters into partnership, and makes a voyage to Siam and China—They return to Bengal, where they purchase a Dutch coasting vessel, which they afterwards discover the crew had run away with—Their new purchase brings them into danger, as they are mistaken for pirates, and chased by English and Dutch boats—They beat off their pursuers, and set sail for Cochin China, where they have an encounter with the natives—They arrive at Quinchang, where they part from their ship—Crusoe visits Nankin and Pekin, and travels with a caravan of merchants through Tartary and Russia—Winters in Siberia—Sails from Archangel to Hamburg—Arrives in England, after an absence of nearly eleven years, and determines to wander no more.

I WAS now alone in the remotest part of the world, for I was near three thousand leagues, by sea, farther off from England than I was at my island; only, it is true, I might travel here, by land, over the Great Mogul's country to Surat; might go from thence to Bassora by sea, up the Gulf of Persia, and 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 overland into France. 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.

Here I had the particular pleasure, speaking by contrarities, 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 the ship, and setting those that would not agree with their villany on shore. 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. After a long stay here, the English merchant, who lodged with me, and with whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance, came to me one

morning. "Countryman," says he, "I have a project to communicate to you, which, as it suits with my thoughts, may, for aught I know, suit with yours also, when you shall have thoroughly considered it.

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 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; 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. 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. However, after some time we got a mate, a boatswain, and a gunner, English; a Dutch carpenter, and three Portuguese foremastmen: with these we found we could do well enough, having Indian seamen, such as they are, to make up.

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 some for 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. I got so much money by the first adventure, and such an insight into the method of getting more, that, had I been twenty years younger, I should have been tempted to have staid 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 on in it? 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.

But my fellow-traveller and I had different notions. 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 on the search for business, proposed another voyage to me, namely, among the Spice Islands ; and to bring home a load of cloves from the Manillas, or thereabouts. We were not long in preparing for this voyage, 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 Gulf ; and, making near five of one, we really got a great deal of money.

A little while after this there came in a Dutch ship from Batavia ; she was a coaster, 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, he lay by at Bengal, and 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 a while, 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 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. A few days after, I came to know what sort of fellows they were ; for, in short, their history was—that this man they called captain was the gunner only, not the commander ; 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, after the captain was killed, these men had run away with the ship, and had brought her in at the Bay of Bengal, leaving the mate and five men more on shore.

We picked up some English seamen here after this, and some Dutch, and we now resolved for a second voyage for cloves, etc., among the Philippine and Molucca isles ; and, in short, 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 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 made the English mate, one Mr. Thomson, captain, not being willing to take the charge of the ship upon myself.

While we were here, and going often on shore for refreshment, there comes to me one day an Englishman, who was, it seems, a gunner's mate on board an English East India ship, which rode in the same river. "Sir," says he, "I have something to tell you that very nearly concerns you."—"If it very nearly concerns me," said I, "and not yourself, what moves you to tell it me?"—"I am moved," said 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. 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?"—"Well, sir," says he, "if you do not put to sea immediately, you will be attacked by five longboats full of men; and, perhaps, if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined into afterwards. I suppose you know well enough 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, and executed with very little ceremony, if they get you in their power. If you have any regard for your life, and the lives of all your men, put out to sea, without fail, at high water."—"Well," said I, "you have been very kind in this: what shall I do for you to make you amends?"—"Sir," says he, "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." He was surprised; but called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up, and we stood out to sea: then I called him into the cabin, and told him the story at large. Presently a seaman comes to the cabin door, and calls out to us that 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." We made ready for fight, but all this while kept out to sea, with wind enough, and could see five large longboats, following us, with all the sail they could make. Two of these boats, which we could see were English, had outsailed the rest, and gained upon us considerably; upon which we fired a gun without a shot, 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. It was all one: they crowded after us, and endeavoured to come under our stern, so to board us on our quarter; upon which I ordered to bring the ship to, so that they lay upon our broadside, when immediately we fired five guns at them—one of which carried away the stern of the hindermost boat. While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind 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, but she crowded close under our stern. Upon this our gunner ran out his two chase guns, and fired at her; then we woreed 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. Upon this I immediately manned out our pinnace, with orders to pick up some of the men. Our men in the pinnace followed their orders, and took up three men, one of whom was drowning. As soon as they were on board, we crowded all the sail we could, and the boats gave over their chase.

Being thus delivered from a danger, 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.

We now began to consult with the two seamen, and inquire what the meaning of all this should be? The Dutchman told us that the fellow that sold us the ship, as we said, was no more than a thief that had run away with her; that the captain 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, till at length he made his escape, and swam off to a Dutch ship. 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.

It was my partner's opinion that we should go directly back to Bengal, from whence we came, 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. I was some time of that 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 we should be sure to be waylaid.

This danger a little startled my partner, and we immediately resolved to go away to the coast of Tonquin, and so on to China. After a tedious and irregular course, we came within sight of the coast of Cochin China, and resolved to put into a small river, which, however, had depth enough of water for us. This happy step was our deliverance; for the next morning there came into the Bay of Tonquin two Dutch ships; and a third without any colours spread out, but which we believed to be a Dutchman, passed by at two leagues' distance, steering for the coast of China; and in the afternoon went by two English ships, steering the same course. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves, even by occupation or profession.

I have observed above that our ship sprang a leak at sea, and that it was stopped unexpectedly; 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, if possible, to find out where the leaks were. Accordingly, having lightened the ship, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom. The inhabitants came wondering down to the shore to look at us; 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. On this supposition, they came all about us, with ten or twelve large boats, intending, no doubt, to plunder the ship. I called to the men who worked upon the stages to get up the side into the ship, and bade those in the boat to row round and come on board; but, before they could do as they were ordered, the Cochin-Chinese were upon them, and boarded our long-

boat, and began to lay hold of the men as their prisoners. The first man they laid hold of was an English seaman, a stout, strong fellow, who, having a musket in his hand, never offered to fire it, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought. But he understood his business better than I could teach him; for he grappled the Pagan, and dragged him by main force out of their 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 meantime, a Dutchman, who stood next, took up the musket, and, with the butt-end of it, so laid about him, that he knocked down five who attempted to enter the boat. But this was little towards resisting thirty or forty men. An accident, however, gave our men a complete victory. Our carpenter, being prepared to grave the outside of the ship, as well as to pay the seams where he 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 the man that tended the carpenter had a great iron ladle in his hand: two of the enemy's men entered the boat just where the fellow stood, and 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, stepping forward himself, takes one of their mops, and dipping it in the pitch-pot, he and his man threw it among them so plentifully, that, of all the men in three boats, there was not one that was not scalded and burnt with it, and made such a howling and crying that I never heard a worse noise, and, indeed, nothing like it. All the while this was doing, my partner and I, who managed the rest of the men on board, had, with great dexterity, brought the ship almost to rights; and, having got the guns into their places again, the gunner called to me to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I bade 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, as we supposed, to see their mistake, and gave over the enterprise, finding it was not as they expected. The next day, having finished our work within board, and finding our ship was perfectly healed of all her leaks, we set sail. We kept on north-east, as if we

would go to the Manillas or the Philippine Islands, and this we did that we might not fall into the way of any European ships; and then we steered north again, till we came to the latitude of twenty-two degrees twenty minutes, by which means we made the island of Formoso directly, where we came to an anchor, in order to get water and fresh provisions. 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. Being now come to the latitude of thirty 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 came to offer his services, which, indeed, we were very glad of, and took him on board.

I had conversation with the pilot, who, it seems, knew the whole story of the attack of the Dutchman, and I told him it was our ship they followed and attacked, believing us to be pirates. Learning from him after we came to anchor at the south-west point of the great Gulf of Nanquin, whither I had pressed him to carry us, that the two Dutch ships had gone to Nanquin, 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.

We all agreed to go back to this place, and we weighed the next day, having only gone twice on shore, where we were to get fresh water. 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 foot on board that unhappy vessel again. When we came on shore, the old pilot, who was now our friend, got us a lodging, and a warehouse for our goods. Besides this, he brought us acquainted with three missionary Romish priests, who were in the town, and who had been there some time, converting the people to Christianity. 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 a Portuguese, and the other a Genoese. This French priest was appointed, it seems, by order of the chief of the mission, to go up to Peking, the royal seat of the Chinese Emperor, and waited only for another priest, who was ordered to come to him from Macao, to go along with him; and we scarce ever met together but he was inviting me to go that journey with him, telling me, how he would show me all the glorious things of that mighty empire, and amongst the rest, the greatest city in the world.

Dining with the missionary one day, I showed some little inclination to go with him; and he pressed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many persuasions, to consent. But we had our ship and our merchandise to dispose of. At length our prospects began to clear up a little. Our old Portuguese pilot brought a Japan merchant to us, who bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it. I proposed to him to deal with us for our ship also, and he consented to hire her to go to Japan, saying that on his return he would buy the ship. But after this, we, on the proposition of my partner, made over half the ship to the young man whom my nephew had left with me as a companion, and took a writing from him obliging him to account to us for the other half. So away he went to Japan.

We were now on shore in China, destitute of all manner of prospect of return! But in about four months' time there was to be another fair at that place where we were, and then we 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. 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. I had also a mind to see the city of Peking, which I had heard so much of, and Father Simon importuned me daily to do it. At length his time of going away being set, 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. We were five-and-twenty days travelling to Peking, through a country infinitely populous, but miserably cultivated: the husbandry, economy, and the way of living, all very miserable, though

they boast so much of the industry of the people. The pride of these people is infinitely great, and exceeded by nothing but their poverty, which adds to that which I call their misery.

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 merryandrew, 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 man, we saw him in a little place before his door, eating his repast; it was a kind of 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, namely, 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 to Pekin.

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, and told us there was a great caravan of Muscovy and Polish merchants in the city, and that they were preparing to set out on their journey, by land, to Muscovy, within four or five weeks. We then went to consult together what was to be done, and I and my partner agreed, that, if our Portuguese pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges to Moscow, or to England, if he pleased. He received the proposal like a man transported, and told us he would go with us over the whole world.

It was the beginning of February, our style, when we set out from Pekin. The company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made between three and four hundred horses and camels, and upwards of a hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events. We consisted of people of several nations, such as the Muscovites chiefly,—for there were about sixty of them who were merchants or inhabitants of Moscow, though of them some were Livonians ; and, to our particular satisfaction, five of them were Scots, who appeared also to be men of great experience in business and 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 expense of buying forage on the way, where it was not otherwise to be had, and for satisfying the guides, getting horses, and the like. And here they constituted the journey, as they called it, namely, 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. In two days more we passed the great China wall, made for a fortification against the Tartars. 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. Our leader for the day gave leave for about sixteen of us to go a-hunting, as they call it: and what was this but hunting of sheep! However, it may be called hunting too; for the creatures are the wildest and swiftest of foot that ever I saw of their kind,—only they will not run a great way; and you are sure of sport when you begin the chase, for they appear generally 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, who, as soon as they saw us, one of them blew a kind of horn very loud, but with a barbarous sound that I had never heard before 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; 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. 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. We had, however, this misfortune namely, that all our mutton that we had in chase got away.

We were all this while in the Chinese dominions, and therefore the Tartars were not so bold as afterwards; but, in about five days, we entered a vast great wild desert, which held us three days' and nights' march. 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 desert 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.

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.

We wanted about two days' journey of the fortified city of Naum, 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 that an unusual body of Tartars, making ten thousand in all, had appeared in the way, about thirty miles beyond the city. Accordingly, two days after, we had two hundred soldiers sent us from a garrison of the Chinese on our left, and three hundred more from the city of Naum, and with those we advanced boldly. We were entered upon a desert of about fifteen or sixteen miles over, when behold, by a cloud of dust they raised, we saw an enemy was at hand. The Tartars came on, and an innumerable company they were. A party of them came on first, and when within gunshot, our leader ordered the two wings to advance swiftly and give them a *salvo* on each wing, which was done; and, wheeling off to the left, they gave over the design.

Two days after this we came to the city of Naum, or Naumn. After this we passed several great rivers, and two dreadful deserts, one of which

we were sixteen days passing over ; and, on the 13th of April, we came to the frontiers of the Muscovite dominions. As we entered into the Muscovite dominions, we 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 ; though wherever we came 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 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. In a village near Nertzinskay, I had the curiosity to go and see their way of living, which is most brutish and insufferable : 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 any thing we can think of to represent the devil that can be made. It had a 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. Its upper 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 lying flat on the ground round this formidable block of shapeless wood. A little way off from this monster, and at the door of a tent or hut, 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. But these, it seems, were sacrifices to that senseless log of an idol ; and the three men, priests belonging to it ; and the seventeen prostrated wretches were the people who brought the offering, and were making their prayers.

I confess I was more moved at their stupidity, and this brutish worship of a hobgoblin, than ever I was at anything in my life. 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 caravan rested three nights at the town, so we had some leisure here to put my design in execution. I communicated my project to the Scots merchant of Moscow. He laughed at me at first, but finding me resolute, he told me that he would go with me ; but he would go first and bring a stout fellow, one of his countrymen, to go also with us. He 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 aquavitæ, 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 were 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 determined on making them our prisoners ; and, tying their hands, compelled them to stand and see their idol destroyed, which we accomplished by means of the combustibles we had brought with us.

In the morning we appeared among our fellow travellers, exceedingly busy in getting ready for our journey, and no one could suggest that we had been anywhere but in our beds. But it did not end so. Next day there came a great multitude of the country people to the town gates, demanding satisfaction of the Russian governor for insulting their priests, and burning their great Cham-Chi-Thaunga, for so they called the monstrous creature they worshipped. The governor gave them all the good words imaginable ; and at last, to appease them, told them there was a caravan gone to Russia that morning, and that it was perhaps some of this company that had done them the injury. Then he sent after us, intimating that if any in our caravan had done it, they should make their escape ; and that whether we had done it or no, we should make all the

haste forward that was possible. The captain of the caravan took the hint, and we travelled two days and two nights, without any considerable stop, and then we lay at a village called Plothus. From thence we hastened on towards Jarawena; but on the second day's march across the desert, by the clouds of dust behind us, we began to be sensible we were pursued. The third day, when we had encamped, the enemy came upon us in great numbers, and we only escaped them through the cunning of a Cossack of Jarawena; who, telling our leader he would send these people away to Sibeilka, rode away from our rear, and, taking a great circuit about, came to the army of Tartars, as if he had been sent express to them, and told them that the people who had burnt their Cham-Chi-Thaunga were gone to Sibeilka with a caravan of miscreants, that is to say Christians, and that they were resolved to burn the god Scal Isarg, belonging to the Tonguses. Upon this, away the Tartars drove in a violent hurry, and in less than three hours they were entirely out of our sight. So we passed safely on to Jarawena, and from thence through a frightful desert to a country pretty well inhabited.

I have nothing material to say of my particular affairs, till I came to Tobolski, the capital of Siberia, where I let the caravan go, and made provision to winter. This being the country where the state criminals of Muscovy are all banished, the city was full of noblemen, princes, and gentlemen, with several of whom I made acquaintance.

About the latter end of May I began to make all ready to pack up, and proposed to a certain prince,—a banished minister of the Czar,—that, as I went in the nature of a caravan, and could encamp every night where I would, he might easily pass with me uninterrupted to Archangel, where I could secure him on board an English or Dutch ship, and carry him off safe along with me. He heard me very attentively, declined my offer, but asked me if I had kindness enough to offer the same to another person in whom he had a great share of concern. I told him, if he would please to name the person to me, I would give him an answer. Thereupon he said it was his only son; I made no hesitation, but told him I would do it.

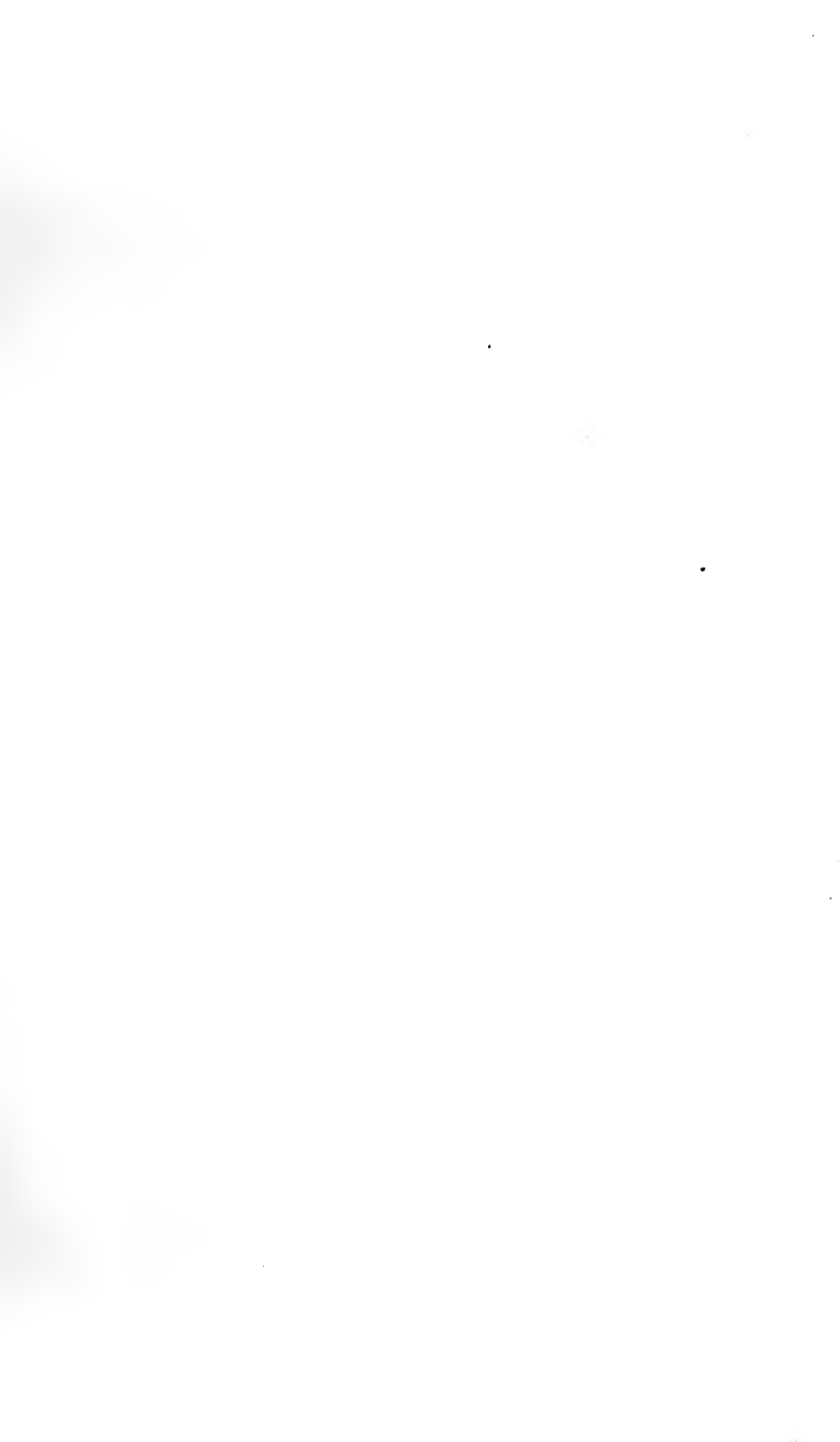
It was in the beginning of June when I left this remote place, with my young lord, and a faithful Muscovite, or rather Siberian, servant he had with him. On the 18th of July we all arrived safe at Archangel, but were obliged to stay at this place five weeks for the arrival of the ships. We sailed from Archangel on the 20th of August, in a Hamburger and arrived in the Elbe the 13th of September. Here my partner and I

found a very good sale for our goods ; and, dividing the produce, my share amounted to three thousand four hundred and seventy-five pounds seventeen shillings and three pence. Here the young lord took leave of us, and went up the Elbe, in order to go to the Court of Vienna, where he resolved to seek protection.

To conclude, having staid near four months at Hamburgh, I came from thence overland 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 harass myself no more, I am preparing for a longer journey than all these, having lived seventy-two years a life of infinite variety, and learnt sufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the blessing of ending our days in peace.







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