EBEN-EZER: OR, A SMALL MONUMENT OF GREAT MERCY, APPEARING IN THE Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley, John Anthony, William Adams, John Jephson, John Carpenter, From the Miserable Slavery of ALGIERS, with the wonderful Means of their Escape in a Boat of Canvas; the great Discontents and utmost Extremities which they endured at Sea for Six Days and Nights; their late Arrival at York; With several Matters of Remark during their long Captivity, and the following Providences of God which brought them safe to ENGLAND.

By me William Okeley.

Bless the Lord, O my Soul, and forget not all his Benefits, who Redeemeth thy Life from Destruction, who Crowneth thee with Loving Kindness, and tender Mercies, Psal. 103. 2. 4.

London, Printed for Nat. Ponder, at the Peacock in Chancery-Lane, near Fleet-street. 1675.
Upon this Book, and its Author.

This Author never was in Print before,
And (let this please or not) will never more.
If all the Prefs-Oppressors of the Age
Would to Resolv, 'twould Happiness prefsage:
He should as soon another Voyage take,
As be Oblig'd another Book to make.
His Canvas Boat Escaped Seas and Wind,
He fears this Paper-Vessel will not find
Such gentle Gales, when every Reader has
Pow'r with a puff to sink the Writer's Faith.
For who so Prints a Book, goes off from shore
To hazard what which was his own before:
As one poor Pinnace Over-match'd, that fights
With an Armado, so doth he who Writes:
If Books (like goodly Merchant-Ships) set forth,
Laden with Riches of the greatest worth;
With Counsels, Fathers, Text-Men, School-Men Mann'd;
With Sacred Cannon Mounted at each Hand;
Are hard before, and fore'd to make Defence
Against Arm'd Atheism, Pride, and Impudence.
How can this little Cock-Boat hope to escape,
When Scripture Suffers Piracy and Rape?
Nee's Ark (wherein the World Epitomiz'd,
And Mankind in OStavo was Compriz'd.)
Though in the Deluge 'twas preserved sound,
By Infidelity it self lies drown'd.
That Moses with a Rod the Sea should Cane,
And beat the Coward streams into a Plain;

With
With the same Cane should broach a Flint, and bring
Out of its Fiery Womb a flowing Spring:
That a dry srick alined for Levi's Share,
Should Bud, and Blossom, and Ripe Almonds bear;
Samson with the Jaw-Bone of an As
(And Atheists think him One that lets it pass)
Without a fomme) should slay a Thousand Men,
And being weary with the Slaughter; then
The kind Jaw-Bone, that was his Faithion first,
Should turn a Flaggion, and allay his Thirst.
These Miracles, and all the Sacred Store
Which Faith should grasp, and Piety adore,
Meet with Arrests, Arraignments, and a Doom
More harsh than Tales of Heathen Greece, or Rome.

Yet O the Folly of Confounded Man!
Who cannot Truth believe, but Fables can.
When Truth that cannot Lye, shall be bely'd,
Its Pow'r defy'd, and Weakness Deify'd:
When our Diseased Appetite shall Luit
For Egypt's Leek, or Gibees mouady Crust;
Ephraim will feed on Ashes, and disdain
The Manna Comfits, and the Candy'd Rain.
An Heaven-born Truth (like poor Mens Infants) may
For lack of God-Fathers, unchristn'd stay,
And find no Priest; when every stranger by
Will be a Gossip to a Great Man Lye.
O Miracle of Love! God-Man was fam
Each Miracle he wrought, to make it twain,
The Faith, and Faith too, else the Fact in vain.

There is a Generation alive,
That Live on Lying Miracles, and thrive.
There is a Guild of Priests will undertake
To make that God who doth all Wonders make:
Can make Him, Bake Him, Break Him, Eat Him too,
And with a Thought can All again undo.
Had but some Monk this History to dress,
He would have made the Iron-Teeth of the Priest

Turn Edge, and Grin, to chew the stuff and fille;
Compar'd with which all's Pap in Mandeville.
Had these Five Comrades been good Sons of Rome,
Nothing but Miracles had brought them home.
Okev had been inspired; Japhet had seen
An Apron dropt down from Heavens Virgin-Queen
To make a Sail; Carpenter should have pray'd
Saint Josep to assist him at his Trade;
And the n x Moon did in the Cellar find
The Keel: Robin, Pinf, all Modell'd to his Mind.
An Holy Sea CALL, in St. Peter's Port,
Had then appeared, and named before the Boat:
Saint Cuthber with a sweet Babe on's back,
Had slak'd along to save from Rock and Wreck:
Saint Nicholas (or in his Shape, Old Nick)
Had with a straw fiet'd the Boat Catholick.
The Tortoise taken napping in the Flood,
Had first said Grace, and then become their Food:
Yea, and his Sacred Shell had been preferr'd
To make fine Combs for Wilgesforth's Beard.
And who can tell (for now it's Thirty Years
Since this Strange Expedition from Algiers)
What Use the Friars of Mayork have made
Of the poor Skiff to raise their Legend-Trade?

But, be it as it will; Buy, or not Buy;
This Book is Protestants, and hates a Lye.
The Reader shall find in this Breviary
All Pater-Nosters, not one Ave Mary.
If Gentleman and Christian may avail,
If Honour and Religion can be bali
For this poor Pilgrims Truth and Faithfulness,
It may with Leave and safety pass the Prefs.
Let him who scorbs to Read, or Reads to scorn,
And thinks this Story might have been forborn;
First, buy the Book, then give Security
To do the like; The Book-Seller and I
Will give him Bond, when he Returns to Land;
To pay a Thousand pounds into his Hand.

Mean-
Meanwhile, this Narrative (all plain and true)
Is worth a Six-pence to a Turk or Jew;
But to a Christian (were the Story gone)
The Preface is a Penny-worth alone:
The whole hath no Errata's or Mistakes,
Save what the Printer and the Poet makes.

A

PREFACE
To the following
NARRATIVE:

Courteous Reader,

I

Do readily agree with thee, that there is
no sort of Writings more lyable to abuse
than this of the Narrative: Lying much at
the Mercy of the Composcr to be Corrupted;
and as much in danger to be mis-improved by the
Reader: The Reader therefore I am sure will de-
mand good Security that he is not imposed upon in
the ensuing Relation, and the Writer craves leave
too, to maintain a modest Jealousie, lest the Rea-
der should mis the benefit that is designed to him
in it: The Author will engage, and pawn his
Credit not to wrong the Narrative, and he would
take some care also that the Reader may not wrong
himself.

It is very true, that every Narrator is under a
strong Temptation to Season his Discourse to the
Gusto
The Preface.

Gust of the Time, not imposing a severe Law upon himself, to Report what is true, but accommodating his Story to the Liquorish appetite of others: I have observed that some Men are ashamed to Recount mean and humble Matters; if they bring us any thing below Prodigy and Miracle, if they stuff not their Farces with Gorgons, Harpies, Centaurs, and Enchanted Islands, they neither please themselves, nor hope to take their Readers by the Heart-strings. Hence is it, that we have so many lean, barren Stories, larded with the Additaments of Fruitful Invention, as if they had been Penn'd by the Pattern of Xenophon's Cyrus. Non ad Historia sider, sed ad justi Imperii Exemplar: Not for Counter-panes of Truth, but Counterfeits of Fancy: They tell us not what was really done, but what they would have had done, if they might have had the Conivance of the Scene, and Tragedy: They first form Idæa's of Ingenious Romances in their own Heads, and then obtrude them upon the World for Historical Verities.

Just as our Hydrographers in the Delineating of Countries, with one wanton Extravagant Frolick of their Graver can raise Mountains, where Nature left us Valleys; and sink deep Valleys, where God has stretch'd out a Champagn; can create Bays, and Creeks; where the Creator made firm Land; and jut out Promontories, and Capes, where there's nothing in Nature to answer them; and to fill up Vacuities (out of pure good Husbandry, that not an inch of Ground may be lo'd) present us with Flying Fishes, Tritons, and Mermaids, which spend their hours inter Peldinum & Speculum; and left Mare del zur should still be a Desolate Wilderness, have courteously stock'd it with the Painters Wife's Island, and Terra Incognita; at this rate are we dealt with, by this kind of Men, who love to blow up Lank Stories into huge Bladders, and then put something in them to make them Rattle to please Children, and yet they are but Bladders still, though swelled with the Tympany, and Wind-Cholick.

There are also a sort of Stories, which, by the way of Courtesie, we mis-call Histories, that scorn to give us an Account of any thing but Dreadful, and terrible Battles, and how one great Man above all the rest, chop't off Heads and Arms, and cut off some ficher by the waste, and with his Trenchant blade mowed down whole Files of Armed Enemies; the Fields all this while running with flames of Blood, and purple Gore; and all this, with as much confidence, and exactness in every Minute Circumstance, as if, like the Familiar Damon of Paracelsus, they had been inclosed in the pommel of the Generals Sword; or had hover'd, like Victory with her doubtful Wings, over both the Armies, where they might securely take notes of all that was said or done, in Shelton's Brachygraphy: but from what Principles or Interests these Warriors were Acted; by what Rules they proceeded, with what Councils and Intrigues,
The Preface.

Intrigues, designs were managed; and to what point all these Policies steer'd; is as much below their Spirits as above their Abilities, to inform us.

To secure the Reader against the fear of such Entertainment in this Narrative, let him know, that he shall meet with nothing in Fact but what is precisely true; what of wonderment he may encounter, was of God's own working, not of Mans inventing; let others make Tragedies to gratifie the Book-seller, and cheat the simple buyer; we need not Peter Lillicrap's Essex-Serpent, nor Livewell Chapman's Greater Monsters to Aggrandize our Title Page; God's Works need no foil to set them off, the greatest beauty of Truth, is its nakedness, and Symmetry.

There is a vast difference between the most elaborate products of Art, and the most homely pieces of Nature; for though the former will needs Ape the latter, yet how pitifully does she bungle in the imitation! Look upon the subtle point of the finest Needle through a Microscope, and you will soon be satisfied that Art is but a Dunce, for the Needle will appear as blunt, and dull as a Drum-stick; but come and view one of God's Handy-works in the same Glafs, V. G. The sting of a Bee, and you shall see it perpetually Accumulated till it ends in something, which the Eye must either confess to be a Point, or Nothing: The same Difference we may observe between those Romances, which are the Issues of fine wits, and the serious grave Contrivances of Divine Providence; what clammy'd things are the Cassandra's to one of those pieces of proportion, to be seen in God's Government of this lower World! So that it were unpardonable to strive to Recommend the wonderful Providences of God to the Genius of this Age, by a Lyce, or to talk deceitfully for him; whatever therefore this Narrative is, yet it's a naked Account of his own workings, and God needs no gilding.

But now the Readers great danger lies in running over some of God's works, and yet not seeing God in his works: Little Children, we see, do hugely please themselves with the gilded Covers, and Marbled Leaves of Books, but concern not themselves, what is within; and if they chance to look a little overly upon the forms and shapes of the Letters, yet understand not the sublime matter, that may be couched in them: Now, to divide the words from the meaning, is morally to Annihilate them, and so whilst they see Letters, and words only, they see but Nothing: There are a great many such παιδοχόροι, such Old Children in the World, that gaze upon the surface of God's Works, but never are led by them to admire the Wisdom, Power, Goodness, and Holiness of God: They deal with the works of Providence, just as they do with the works of Creation: God has engraven his own Name in Legible Characters upon the Heavenly Bodies. The Stars in their single beauties, their Combined
The Preface.

Asterisms, their Mutual Aspects, their Intricate, yet Regular Motions, speak their Author; nay, upon the lowest Recreations, the Leisure-sports of Nature, there is written, Deus fecit. But now the common observer, whose thoughts are terminated by his Eye, and his Eye with the visible Heavens, as 'tis bespangled with glittering things, called Planets, and Stars, looth quite their main design, which is to conduct and argue our thoughts up to a first Cause; for they were not so much out who cryed up the Musek of the Spheres to be so Ravishing: and we should confess it, could we but hear them sing this Antheme, Glory be to God on High. Can we be so Brutish, as once to imagine, that the wise God, who creates nothing little, nor for a little end, should create such great, and glorious Bodies only to be the Objects of Ignorant, and blind Amazement? Surely no; but that by the contemplation of them, we might be led into the Admiration of Him, whose Being, Wisdom, Power must needs be infinitely Glorious, when his very works are excellently so: Here then will be the Readers danger, lest all his Spirits should evaporate in a confused Admiration, that a Boat, a little, a Canvas Boat should, like the Ark, convey so many Persons so many Leagues safe to shore, whilst he misses the true intent, and meaning of it, to behold a watchful Providence (as well as the Being of a Deity,) over all Affairs. Now, that he may not split upon this dangerous Rock, but improve the Narrative to his best Advantage, I shall submissively lay before him a few Directions.

1. Self. Learn from this Narrative to trust, and in all thy ways to acknowledge God, who by the most contemptible means, can effect the most considersable things. Created Beings, as they cannot Act beyond the Sphere of their Activity, so neither can they Operate further than the suita-
blesness of their Instruments will enable them; it was ridiculous to attempt to cut down a Forrest with a Pen-knife, or Lave the Ocean with a spoon; but if the great God can make the dullest tool to cut, can serve himself of the most unfit Instruments, and accomplish the most noble works with the most Wooden Engines, he will sure deserve our greatest trust and confidence. As great Princes are attended with a numerous train of Servants, more for State, than absolute necessity; so God uses second causes, not because he cannot work without them, but to teach us to admire his strength, in their weakness, his All-sufficiency in their insufficiency.

The Grand Seignior had heard of the famous Achievement of Castriots Scimitar, and was very desirous to make an Experiment, whether its excellency answered the Report; he sends for it, proves it, it does no Execution; he sends it back with scorn, and indignation, that lying Fame should magnifie a sorry Ammunition Sword so far above its merits, but Scanderbeg, before the Messen-
The Preface.

Messengers face, hews in pieces Helmets, Coartlets; Go now (syes he) and tell your Master, though I sent him my Sword, I did not send him my Arm; none can work with God's means, that has not God's Arm: Hast thou an Arm like God? Job 40. 9. Here then the Reader may see, (and if he sees not, he forfeits his Eyes) the same God who in an Ark of bulrushes preferred Moses, and in another Ark saved Noah, in a small Canvas Skuller (which was our Ark, though in a lesser Volumn) waft us over the Ocean, and bring us all safe to Land: As God is seen in the smallest works of Creation, so in the smallest Instruments of his Providence. The little Fly, or Ant, expresses Creative power, and Omnipotency in Miniaturre, as well as the great, Cake-bearing Elephant: I have read somewhere of a Goldsmith that made a Lock and Key, and Chain so small, and subtle, that a Fly would draw them all about a Table, and never be stattled; surely the Spectator would not predicate the Strength of the poor Fly, but the skill of the Artist.

Est in tenibus, & Pusillis Reculis
Lam Optimiq; Maximiq; Maxima. Gaz
Pia hilar.
The Glory of the Great wise King,
Shines greatly in the smallest thing.

Indeed our whole passage was wonder; suppose we had met with one Night of Hazy Weather, we might have plyed back into the jaws of that Destruction which we had so far escaped. Had we met with one Storm (and an ordinary puff of wind had been a Storm to us) it had presently over-set us; but the same God that commands a calm for the Halyon, commanded Halyon days and nights for us, till under the wings of his gracious care he had bastis his own purposes of Mercy, into perfect Deliverance. It was a wonder too, that in our Six days Voyage, in the Mediterranean, the very High Road of Navigation, both for honest Men and Knaves, Merchants and Pirates, we should not meet with one Vessel, Friend or Foe: Had we met with a Friendly Vessel, they had pityed us, taken us up, and then the Power of God had not been so signalized in our Preservation; had we fallen in with an Enemy, we had immediately become a prey to their Teeth, they had swallowed us up quick, we had made but one poor Morsel to their greedy Stomachs, and thereby defeated a work of God gloriously begun, and rob'd him of the Revenue of his Praise.

If then they that go down to the Sea in Ships, see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep, Psal. 107. 23, 24. What Wonders, what Miracles of Providence have we seen, and may others see in us, who went down to the Sea, not in a ship, but in a Canoe, which for want of a better Name we call a Bear! Let the Reader therefore admire God with me; and both of us with the Psalmist,
The Preface.

mist, Psal. 86. 8. Amongst the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord, neither are there any works like thy works.

He deals unrighteously with God who measures him by the smallness of the means that he uses, and not by the greatness of those effects he produces by those means. And therefore,

Disc a Cymbalæ quisquae; & Deo
Da pro tenusibus, & pusilli Reculis,
Laude Optimo; Maximo; Maximam.
Gaz. Piabilar.
Let this our little Skiff thy Spirits raise,
To give to this great God, thy greatest Praise.

2. See. Let the Reader improve this Relation to Fortify his Faith against the little Cavils of Atheistical Spirits, who lay out their ill placed wit in forging Objections against Him that gave it. There is a Creature famous in Prov. 6. Qui lacte Materno impetus calcibus petit Lactantem, that being filled with the liberal Bag, ungratefully kicks his Dam. Thus this sort of Men are ambitious to be accounted witty, in creating knots and difficulties in the Historical passages of God's great Providences Recorded in Scripture, and particularly in his Preservation of Noah, and his Family in the Ark; But he that had seen with us the watchful eye of God super-intended, and the flabby hand of God to hold a poor Canvas Boat, built without:

Regular proportion, ill Victualled, without Anchor, Helm, Compass, or Tackle, and thereby preserve the Lives of five inconsiderable Persons, of no great use in the World, and after fix days great extremity and distress, Land them all safe, may eaily Credit the Report, how the same God should preserve eight Persons, upon whose Lives the re popling of the whole World did depend, in a Vessel of most exact proportions, strong built, and well laid in with all manner of Provisions. He that can see a Creator in the works of Creation, and a Governor in the works of Providence, may reasonably believe all Divine Revelations.

3. See. Let all that would not abuse this Narrative beware, left whilst they are admiring Providence in this instance of our preservation, they do not over-look those eminent appearances of God towards themselves every moment, which, though perhaps they carry not so much of Rarity in them, yet may have in them as much of real power, wisdom, and goodness. We are apt to deal with our Mercies, just as we do with our sins, where the Commonness and frequency of either, abates and takes off from the Observation and Notice which we owe them; we gaze, and wonder at Comets, and their flaming beards, but seldom admire the Sun, a far more glorious Body, because he rises and sets every Morning and Evening upon the just and the unjust: Dost thou admire God in our preservation,
The Preface.

servation, learn to admire him in thy own: Art thou surprized with wonder, that we were kept a few days, when there was not half an inch between us and Death? Consider, God has kept thee many days, and many years, and every minute of those many days and years, when there was but a hairs breadth between thee and Death: Dost thou then admire God preserved us alive in a Vessel of Clay? Admire that God that holdeth thy Soul in Life, and that in a more frail Vessel, a Vessel of Clay: Dost thou still wonder we were not blown over with every breath of wind? Admire also that the Lamp of thy Life which thou carryest in a paper Lamphorn, is not blown out by every blast of Sickness: But if thou wilt still wonder how such a Boat should carry us? Then wonder also how thy Food nourishes thee, how thy Cloaths keep thee warm, how thy sleep refreshes thee: There's not a moment in our Lives but is filled with real Miracle and Wonder. I will praise thee (says the Psalmist, Psal. 139. 14.) for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: Let us all praise God, for we are fearfully, and wonderfully preserved. If Preservation be but a Continued Creation, how should we adore that Power that Created us once, but preserves us always! God expects that we should equally magnifie his skill in making us out of Nothing, and securing us that we drop not into Nothing: and as much admire his goodness, that we crumble not, mould not into our dust, as that we were at first formed out of dust.

4. Selst. Let the Reader Learn from our Slavery, to prize, and improve his own Liberty. If we serve not our God sincerely, and cheerfully in plenty, he can send us where we shall serve our Enemies in want. If we glorifie him not with our Liberty, but turn it into licentiousness, he can clap us up close, where we shall learn to prize it higher, and wish we had improved it better. It argues great dis-ingeniousness and baseness in our Spirits that we provoke our God to teach us the worth of Mercies by the want of them: The Lord does not willingly afflict, nor grieve the Children of men, Lam. 3. 33. but we provoke him to take his Rod into his hand, and lay it smartly upon our backs, because that Folly which is bound up in our hearts will not otherwise be cast out of us. Thus God threatened his People of old, Deut. 28. 48. Because thou servedst not the Lord thy God with joyfulness and gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things, therefore shalt thou serve thine Enemies, in hunger, thirst, and nakedness, and in the want of all things. Thus he taught Judah by the Captivity of Babylon, to prize the freedom of Canaan; we might learn our Duty much cheaper from God's Word, but we like Tyrians, will not learn it there, till God sends us to School with a Rod at our backs.

5. Selst. Let all Learn from hence, in what State forever the Providence of God shall place them therewith to be content: Perhaps thou art a Servant to
The Preface.

a Christian; dost thou murmur? It shews, thou little knowest what it is to be a Slave to an imperious Turk. Thou Servest him that prays with thee, and for thee; dost thou repine? God might have made thee Serve one who would curse and torture thee, and make little Provision for thy Body, and none at all for thy Soul: The Christian Religion is surely the most excellent Religion in the World, because it holds the Balance fo even between Superiors, and Inferiors: It enjoins the one to give the most full Obedience, and yet prohibits the other to exercise Rigour. It is peremptory for Duty, and yet abhors Tyranny: whoever has known Turkish Slavery, is obliged to become a more Loyal Subject, a more Dutiful Child, a more Faithful Servant; and whoever has not known it, is yet obliged to become all these, lest God make him know it, and whip out of him that Restiff spirit of grumbling, and Disobedience with the Briars, and Thorns of the Wilderness.

God commanded all Masters amongst the Jews to allow their Servants a Day of Rest, Deut. 5. 14. and he gives this Reason for it, Remember that thou wast a Servant in the Land of Egypt. The Equity of which Reason holds stronger for the Christian: Remember thou wast a Servant to the worst of Masters, a Drudge in the basest of Works, and lyable to receive the worst of Wages: Has Christ set thee free? And art thou become a Servant to the best of Masters? Employed in the most reasonable, and honourable Services? And in expectation of the most glorious Rewards? Let it teach thee if thou beest a Master, to command gently; and if a Servant, to Obey cheerfully.

6. Set. Let all Learn to walk worthy of the Gospel. It is that which sweetens all our mercies, and mitigates the bitterness of all Afflictions; and if we sin away that, we either sin away all the rest, or whatever is useful, and desirable in all the rest. If we enjoy the Light, and yet walk in darkness, it's righteous with God, to over-spread our Habitations with Egyptian, or Babylonish, Turkish, or Papish darkness. God can carry us to Rome, or Algiers; or else send Rome, and Algiers home to us: For what should a People do with light, that only intend to play, or fight by it? The once Famous Churches of Asia, are now swallowed up by the Ottoman Sword, and the Mahometan Unbelief; and those sometimes Famous Cities, Carthage, and Hippo, which knew those burning and shining Lights, Cyprian, and Augustine, are now polluted with Moors, and defiled with the Abominations of the greatest Imposter that ever seduced the Nations, but One. And think'st thou, O Man, O Christian, that dost these things, so Alien from the Gospel of Christ, that art drunk in the day, and curst that God whom thou Worshippst, that thou shalt escape the Judgment of God? I tell thee, nay; and I tell all those that read these lines, and are guilty; and
The Preface.

and I tell my self, so far as I am guilty, that except we Repent, we shall all likewise perish.

The Lord Jesus Christ, in his Epistle to the Church of Ephesus, gives her this Memorial, Rev. 2.5. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and Repent, and do thy first works, or else I will come unto thee quickly, and remove thy Candlestick out of its place, except thou Repent: But Ephesus would none of his Counsel, none of his Caution; and Christ was as good as his word, he put out her Candle, and removed her Candlestick.

I have often wondered, what should be the grounds of their confidence, who speak as if the Gospel were enailed upon England, by vertue of some Ancient Charter; as if God would make us Exceptions from his General Rule, which is to take away abused, despised means, and mercies, and we must own much of prerogative in our case; but yet, let us Rejoyce with trembling, left when Prophanenes, and Debauchery dog Religion so close at the heels, she flye not thither, where she may find better Quarter: It has made great Impression upon me when I read the Divine Herbert, in his Church Militant;

Religion stands on Tip-toe in our Land,
Ready to pass to the American Strand;
When height of Malice, and Prodigious Lusts
Impudent sinning; Witchcrafts, and Distrusts,

The Marks of future bane shall fill our Cup
Unto the Brim, and make our Measure up, &c.

7. Sect. Let it be every Mans care to be found in Gods way: The Promise of Protection is annex to Gods way, Psal. 91.11. He shall give his Angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways: And the Blessing of God is annex to his own way too, Psal. 128.1. Blessed is every one that feareth God, and walketh in his ways. When we are over-taken with the evil of Affliction, let the first Question we propound to our selves be this. Am I not in the way of Transgression? Did this anger find me in my Duty? Was I in Gods High-way, or in some by path of my own? Was I doing his work? Serving his Glory? If we observe not the way of his Precepts, I know no Reason we should plead the promise of his Protection. There are two things upon which I look upon it as my great Duty to Reflect; first, whether we were in the way of Gods Precepts when we fell into our Enemies Hands? Secondly, whether we were in the way of Gods Promise when we escaped out of their Hands? For the former, I am abundantly satisfied, that we were in the way of our Duty; for we were sent out by Commission from the Right Honourable, Robert, Earl of Warwick, the Lord Say, and the Lord Brook, who
The Preface.

who by Patent from His Majesty King Charles the First, were Governors of the Isle of Providence, whither we were bound: For the latter, if the more severe Reader shall make it a Question, Whether we could in Faith expect Protection in an Adventure visibly for naught, and precipitoeus? And shall determine it against us, that we tempted God by casting our selves upon extraordinary protection, expecting deliverance without warrant, in a way little on this side Miracle: I shall first say, Let him shun that Rock in his own conversation, upon which he supposes us to have dafht: Let our Ship-wrack be a Buoy to warn him of the like presumption, and let him learn more wisdom, at our Cost and Charges. I shall further say, let him not discover greater rashness in Conseruing our Adventure, than he charges upon our Adventure, but modestly consider himself, lest he also be tempted; and if we were guilty of folly, he may thus gain wisdom by our folly: But I shall add, Extremity of Misery is none of the best Counsellors; let him put himself under our Circumstances, and if Cowardise did not hinder him from making our Attempt, I am confident Conscience would not: Our Lives were bitter to us by Reason of cruel Bondage, and (though mine was at that time much mitigated) yet there is a secret Magnetisme in a Native Soil, with which our Hearts being once strongly touched, could never admit of the least variation, but still pointed directly Homewards; and such

The Preface.

a Land too, as was like Goshen, all Light, when the Land of our Captivity was like Egypt, both for Slavery, and Darkness, that might both be felt; and we thought it below Men, for the love of Life, to lose the Reasons of our Lives, for

All may have
(If they dare try) a Glorious Life, or Grave. Herb. Ch. Porch.

In a word, though Success will not warrant an evil Action, yet there's much of Justification in it, on the behalf of those which are not so; nor did we tempt God to work Miracles, but trusted him to afford us special protection: But if this will not satisfy, let none imitate us where-in we failed, but rather admire Divine Condescension, that engaged in our Deliverance, notwithstanding our failing.

8. Self. Let all that Read this Narrative be Instructed never to promise themselves great matters from Men: I have observed it in the whole Course of our Captivity, and constant Tenour of those gracious Providences which brought us thence, and the Series of Mercy, Wisdom, and Power, that was our Convoy Home, that we ever found most of favour from God when we expected least from Men: and the least of kindness from those where we might, or thought we might in Reason have promised our selves most.
The Preface.

When we met with **unexpected Friendship**, God would teach us to own **Himself**. When we met with **disappointment**, God would teach us the folly of **Idolizing the Creature**: I have seriously admired the **Compassion and Relief** we found at **Mayork**, and yet we knew them to be **Romanists**, and they knew us to be **Protestants**, and how little respect we found from some of our own Countrcy, at **Aliscant, Cadiz, and St. Lucars**, and yet we were tied together in the strictest triple bonds of **Un Dieu, Un Roy, Un Ley, One God, One King, One Law**: But God was seen in both. I could Relate a Paffage during our Captivity in **Algiers**, that had more of bitterness in it, than in all our Slavery; and yet they were **Christians**, not **Algerines**; **Protestants**, not **Papists**; **Englishmen**, not **Strangers**, that were the cause of it: But I have put a force upon my self, and am resolved not to publish it. In our Return homewards, we met with some who would talk to the grief of those whom God had wounded; and was now in a way to heal again. Some would **Interpretatively** say, with the Churlish **Nabal**, 1 Sam. 25. 10. **VWho are these?** And whence come they? **There are many Servants now adays that break away, every one from his Master**. But then was the season when we had most Experience of Gods Faithfulness: And I shall never cease to own before the world the great Respect we found from some **English Merchants**, to whom we were perfect Strangers; and the

the Civilities of Captain Goodson, Captain Smith; his Mate, and his Son, are not to be forgotten.

Perhaps, after all this, the Reader will be earnest to be satisfied, why this Narrative has lien so long Dormant, and appeared no sooner in the World? And I shall herein also endeavour to give him all Reasonable Satisfaction.

1. When we return'd into England, we found our Native Countrcy embroyled in a most dreadful Civil War, and most Men had enough to do, to bear their own Personal Calamities, and had little need to be troubled with the miseries of others; they were other kind of Declarations that flew abroad then, and that was enough to super fede a Narrative of this Nature, for some Years.

2. The great mercies of God have not always their due weight upon our hearts at first; and I have received signal Deliverances from eminent dangers since that great one; and it's well if all the mercies of our Lives, all our Deliverances put together, will amount to an Argument strong enough to overcome our backwardness to make publick acknowledgments.

3. I thought a long while that it was not worth the while, to trouble the World with my particular concerns, till the Importunity of several Ministers, and others, both in City and Countrcy, overcome my reluctancy, in whose Reasons I did acquiesce.
The Preface.

4. I was conscious to my self of great unfitness to recommend it to publick view, in such a garb as might vindicate it from Contempt; for though it has been drawn out many Years with my own hand, and many have had the perusal of it, have approved it, and desired it; yet till I could prevail with a Friend to teach it to speak a little better English, I could not be persuaded to let it walk abroad: The Stuff and matter is my own, the Trimming and Form is another's, for whom I must vouch, that he has done the Truth, my self, and the Reader, Justice.

Having overcome all these difficulties, I do here Erect my Ebenezer, as A Small Monument of great Mercy, and as an Obligation upon my Soul to great Duty, and do pray that it may stand as an Abiding witness for God in my Conscience; that when ever I am tempted to sin, I may have an Answer ready to stop the mouth of the Tempter with Indigation: How can I do this great evil, and sin against my good God? When I am tempted to distrust, I may encourage my Faith from my own Narrative, saying, Remember that God who delivered thee at the Sea; when I am tempted to murmur, I may suppress those mutinous thoughts from my own Narrative, saying, Remember what thou endur'dst in Algiers. When my Heart grows cold, and unthankful, I may chide, and shame it, from my own Narrative, into gratitude to God; That God, who remember'd us in our low Estate; for his mercy endureth for ever! who preserved us at the Sea, the Great Sea; for his mercy endureth for ever! and secured us in a Boat, a Contemptible Boat, for his mercy endureth for ever! who gave us favour in the Eyes of Strangers, for his mercy endureth for ever! and opened to us the hearts of Enemies; for his mercy endureth for ever! and taught us to look up to his never failing Mercy, when Friends failed, for his mercy endureth for ever! who returned us safe to England, for his mercy endureth for ever! we called upon him in the day of our Trouble, he delivered us, and we will glorifie him.

Reader, this Narrative is true, peruse it seriously, and let not Vanity tempt thee to say; Things might have been better contrived, wiser managed; it was God that did what was Good in All; call not his wisdom in Question, because he did not create more wonders to gratifie thy itching Humour; perhaps thou wouldst have had us been brought over upon a Floating Island, or in a Whales Belly, but I do not understand that the great God is bound to work Miracles to sate mens longings: God has done his work well, and none can mend it; for, what can the man do that comes after the King? Eccl. 2. 12. For the matter of Fact Recorded herein, I might safely call God to Record upon my Soul that I lye not: The thing is known to many, and has been sifted, and scannd by such Eyes and Ears as are not guilty of easie Credulity; I have
The Preface.

Evidence that may form the most obstinate unbelief: Mr. Thomas Saunders, my Wife's Brother, being in Mayork not long after we came from thence, saw our Boat hang up for a Monument upon the side of the great Church there. Mr. Robert Hales, who was there 1671, assures me he saw the naked Ribs and Skeleton of it then hanging in the same place: Now, I assure thee, Reader, I should be much ashamed of myself, if Strangers unconcerned in my Personal Deliverances, should be so far concerned as to preserve a Memorial of them, and yet unthankful I should Erect no Standard or Pillar as an Evidence of God's wonderful appearing for me.

It's true, I am informed by one, that some affirm, there are more Boats hanging up in Mayork, in Memory of some such like escape: Now, if others have really escaped the same danger, by the same means, it greatly confirms our Narrative; and I do heartily rejoice, that Providence has appeared in the same Method for others, as for our selves: we never intended to Monopolize God's Providences to our sole use & behoof; and we rejoice if our Attempt and Success may have encouraged others to make the like attempt, and have found the like success; but I do assert it with great confidence, that when we were in Mayork, there was no such Boat hanging up, but the Inhabitants there entertained our Deliverance as such whereof they had no parallel: But if on the other side, these, or some of these succeeding Boats were but Imposture, then the goodness of God appears more remarkable towards us, that we really were the Subjects of such wonder, which others durst only pretend to; and it lets a lucre upon this great Salvation, which others have thought so considerable, that they judged it worth the while to tell a lie to entitle themselves to the Credit of it; for it's Gold and Silver, not Copper, or baser Metals, that they who drive the Coyning Trade, strive to Counterfeit.

Let then every one that Reads, understand, and seriously sit down, and consider with himself, whether he has not had many eminent Personal Deliverances in one kind or other, which this Marvellous Providence of God towards us may not refresh his memory withal; and if he shall hence be taught to blush at his forgetfulness of lapsed Mercies; if this Narrative shall recover any lost Providences, and fix them on, and rivet into his Soul; if he shall find himself awakened to due thankfulness to God for all his benefits towards him; let him joy with me in ascribing all the Power, and therefore all the Glory, to the Almighty, and let him kindly Accept the Assistance of him, who shall reckon it amongst his other Mercies, to have been Serviceable to any one in Reviving a better frame of Heart. I am,

Reader,
Thy Friend and Servant,
W. Okeley.
A SMALL MONUMENT OF GREAT MERCY:

SECT. I.

A Brief Account of those Providences which led towards our Captivity in Algiers.

This Narrative would be too Happy if it should not meet with some hasty and impatient Spirits, that grudge the time that's spent in Preface and Introduction, and such as these, are wild to come at the Story of the Boat; all the rest is but one great tedious Impertinency, they'll not give a Figg for all the other.
but God has given us the Advantage and leisure to see what great things were in the Womb of these little things. Had the Wind stood longer against us, it had been more for us, and the danger had been past; had it stood less while against us, it had been for us too, and we had been gone past the danger: But God appoints it the Moment when it should come about to blow us into the Mouths of our Enemies: We see the Truth of that, *Te know not what to pray for: We prayed for a Wind, and we had a Whirlwind:* If we always knew what mischief the Answer of our Prayers would do us, we should be glad to eat our words, and pray against our Prayers. Denial is often the best Answer, and we had need leave all Petitions to the wisdom of God to be Interpreted, according to his good pleasure, and returned as they may be good for us, and make most for his own Glory: we were also taught, that the Sea may sometimes be our best Friend, and the Earth our worst Enemy; and that *nothing can do us good or hurt but by the Direction and Commission of the Almighty.*

We were now three Ships in Company, and one of the other I remember carried Nine Guns, Mr. Church, Master. The sixth day after our setting Sail from the Isle of Wight, by break of Day in the Morning, we discovered three Ships about three or four Leagues to Lee-ward: The Masters of our Ships presently consulted, what...
A Small Monument

was most adviseable; whether to stay and speak with them, or to make the best of our way; at last (upon what Reasons I know not) it was determined that we should stay: It was not long before we DIScovered those other three Ships to be Turks Men of War, who espying their prey, endeavoured to come up with us, which about Night they effected: Whilst they were coming up, the Masters of our Ships seemed resolved to Fight them, and accordingly made preparation to receive them; but in the Night, the Master and Company of the Ship wherein I was, altered their Counsels, let their Resolutions dye, and agreed to run for it; uncertain Counsels never produce better success; when we might have gone, then we would stay; and when there was no way to escape, then we must needs attempt it: Had we either at first resolved not to Fight them, or resolving to Fight, had prosecuted our Resolutions like men of Courage, we might, perhaps, either have avoided the danger, or bravely Master'd it. The Turks perceiving us begin to run, sent one of their Number to chase us, whilst their other two attended the remaining two of our Company till the Morning. At break of Day they began to Fight us, and after a short Dispute Boarded us, and took us all three: In the Mary, six were slain, and many wounded; so small was the difference between Fight and Fight; but that the Death and Wounds of those that flye, are dishonourable; but of them that

Of Great Mercy.

that Fight, beautiful, and Glorious.

Many weeks they kept us close Prisoners at Sea; we found many Englishmen in their Ships, Slaves, like our selves, from whom we had no other Comfort, but the Condoling of each other Miseries, and that from them we learnt a smattering of the Common Language, which would be of some use to us when we should come to Algiers, whither, after five or six weeks, we were brought.
Of Great Mercy.

Famous than strong, but not more Famous for any thing than for infamy, being the Retreat, the Nest of those Turkish Corsairs, which have long Tyrannized in, and been a Terror to the Neighbouring Seas. It is suppos'd by some to contain four thousand Families, by others, four-foure thousand Persons; but they must needs be very short in their Reckoning, it having been Judged, that of all Nations there could be no less than twenty five thousand Slaves. The Private Buildings are very beautiful, flat Roof'd, Adorn'd with Galleries towards their Courts, supported by Pillars: And they may afford to build sumptuously, because they build at other mens cost, and with other mens hands: Their Temples are also very Magnificent, and much too good for their Religion, whose Practice and Conversation speaks them to say, There is no God. And yet we Read of a Religious Thief, who never went about the works of his calling (for so he called feeding) but he would solemnly implore the Assistance of his Idol: A strange god, fure; that would be accasy to his Devotee's Robberies: And a strange Worshipper, that either hoped to Flatter his god to become his accomplice in Villany, with the Vow of a good round share of the Booty, or would be such a Fool, to think That God worth the Worshipping that should be thus flatter'd. They have also many flately Baths, to which the Men resort in the Morning, and the Women in the After-
noon. But they want one worth them all, where in they might by Faith and Repentance wash away their filthiness.

To this fair City we were brought, yet in our Eyes it was most ugly and deformed; for the French Proverb is universally true, Il n'y a point de bel Prison. There is no such thing as a fair Prison. I confess, for a Goal, it's one of the least built that I have seen; there's nothing that the Soul of Man bears with more regret than Restraint: The Body itself is judged by some to be but the Souls little-safe, or Cage; where though it seems to Dwell, yet 'tis but in Honourable Durance; and though it dares not break the Prison, yet it listens, and longs for a Goal-delivery: There can be nothing large enough for a Soul but God, from whom since it once at first came, it must needs be reft less till it return to him again; and surely it has much forgot itself, and extract, if it can take up with satisfaction in any thing on this side its Creator.

As soon as we were put ashore, for the first Night we were lock'd down in a deep nasty Cellar; some inconveniences we felt, but they were nothing to what we feared: The next day we were carried, or led, or rather driven to the Vice-Roys, or Bashaw's Palace, who according to the Custom, and his own Right, is to have the tenth man for his Dividend of the Slaves.

When the next Market day came, we were driven

Of Great Mercy.

ariven like Beasts thither, and exposed to Sale; and there is a great deal of God's goodness in that one word, that it was not to the Slaughterhouse to be Butcher'd, as well as to the Market to be Sold. Their Cruelty is great, but their Covetousness exceeds their Cruelty; could they make as much of us Dead, as they make alive, that so both the Interests, of Cruelty, and of Covetousness might be secured and reconciled, we are well assured which way it should have gone with us. But it must be a great deal of Tallow and Fat, that will answer two or three Dollars a Month.

Their manner of Selling Slaves is this. They lead them up and down the Fair, or Market; and when a Chapman bids any money, they faintly cry, a Rache! a Rache! that is, Here's so much money hidden, who bids more? They that cheapen the exposed Slaves are very circumspect Persons, they carry their eyes in their Heads, as well as their money in their Purses, and use the one in laying out the other; for they are loth to buy a Pig in a poke: Their first Policy is to look in their mouths; and a good strong, entire set of Grinders will advance the Price considerably; and they have good Reason for this Practice: for first, they are Rational Creatures, and know, that they who have not Teeth, cannot eat; and they that cannot eat, cannot work; and they that cannot work, are not for their turn; and they that are not for their turn, are not for
their money. And Secondly, they intend to keep them at hard meat all the Year, and it must not be gums, but solid Teeth (nay, if it were possible, eacft-hardened Teeth) that must chew it; and when all is done, they had need of the Ostriches Stomach to digest it. Their next process is to feel their Limbs; as whether there be any Fracture, or Dislocation in the Bones; any thing Analogical to Spanin, or Ring-bone, for these will bring down the Market wonderfully: And to be clean Limb'd, close coupled, well jointed, will advance it as much. The Age is very considerable; but they that sell them, did not breed them, and therefore they know nothing, more or less of that: Two ways they have to find out the Age; the one is, to stand to the courtsey of the Slaves, but they are not bound to make any such Discovery, and therefore they go by general conjectures from the Beard, Face, or Hair; but a good set of Teeth will make any one ten Years Younger, and a broken one ten Years Older than the Truth; for if they were five hundred Years Old all is a case, if they could but eat and work; or if they could not eat, yet if they could but work, or if neither eat nor work, if their Skins would but fetch in the money again. You shall have the Seller commend his Goods to the Sky, and the Buyer, on the other hand, as much undervalue them, and the true Market-price commonly lies just between them; but so it is all the World over. O, says the Seller, mark what a back he has, what a breadth he bears between the shoulders! What a Chief! How strong set! How fitted on the nonce for Burdens! He'll do but 'e're too much work. Pith, says the Buyer, He looks like a Pillard, like a very Meacock at his Provender, and one that seems to be surfeited. But they are very curious in examining the Hands; for if they be callous and brawny, they will shrewdly guess they have been inured to Labour; if delicate, and tender, they will suspect some Gentleman, or Merchant, and then the hopes of a good Price of Redemption makes him Saleable.

When any are Sold, they must be trotted once more to the Vice-Roys, that he may have the Review of them, and if he likes any of them at the prizes they went off at, there's no more Dispute, they are his own.

As for my self, I was sold the first Market-day to a Tagareen; and that the Reader may not stumble at that hard word, he may understand; That when the Moors were driven out of Spain by Ferdinand the Great, they, upon their return into Africa, assumed Names that might Argue Gentility, and be an Evidence of their Ancient Extract, from such places where they had been great Dons, and accordingly there are many Families thus denominated; as Tagareens, Jarbeens, &c.
SECT. III.

An Account of some Difficulties that I met with during my Captivity in Algiers.

Those Miseries which it is dreadful to endure, are yet delightful to be remembered; and there's a secret pleasure to chew the Cud, and ruminate upon escaped dangers: However, the Reader may afford to run over with his Eye in an hour, that which I ran through in five Years; and supposing himself safe upon the Amphitheatre, may behold poor Slaves Combating with beasts below.

The first Adventure I met with after I was brought to my Patrons House (for so I must now stile him) had well nigh cost me my Life. My Patron's Father being desirous to see his Sons Penny-worth, commanded me up into a Gallery, which looked into the Court; he began to insult over me with insupportable scorn, reflecting upon me because I was a Christian, and cast out some Expressions which did really reflect upon the Person of my Redeemer, (though I have heard worse since.) My Neck was not yet bowed, nor my Heare broken to the Toke of Bondage; I could not well brooke, because I had not been used then to such Language; and because I could not express my self in the Moresco, or Lingua Franca, I supplied it with Signs; and imitating the Cobler's Tarke, I signified both ways as well as I could, That their Prophet was but a Cobler.

I confess, my meaning was no more, but that Mahomet, by the help of Sergius, a Nestorian Monk, and Abdalla the Jew, had patched up a Cento of Jewish, and Monkish Fopperies, which was now their Religion. But he, without the preamble of many Railing words, fell upon me with severe blows; what ever Rage and Fury his Hands or Feet could Execute, that I felt; and my intreaties did but irrage his choler, so that I saw I might sooner blow out the Fire with a pair of bellows, than lenifie his Passion with prayers; I had no other way but this, to make an offer of leaping down out of the Gallery into the Court, and therefore clapping my Hands upon the Rails, as if I would throw my self head-long down over them, and rather chuse to receive my Death from the Pavement, than his Hands, he presently asswages, if not his Rage, yet the Execution of it. The Old Gentleman knew very well, that if I lost my Life, his Son must lose his present money, and future profit; for there's little made out of a Dead Man's Skin: and therefore he respites my further punishment till my Patron's return, and then indeed this reputed Blasphemy of mine with full cry was carried to his Ears, and is lost nothing in the telling, but was aggravated to purpose: My Patron being Naturally
A Small Monument

Naturally a very passionate Man, said nothing, but without Examination, drew out his long knife, (which they constantly wear by their sides) and made at me; and had there doubtless put an end to my life and captivity at once, had not his wife, who was there seasonably present, taken him in her Arms, and sweetened him into more moderate counsels. Some will be ready enough to say that I was but a Martyr to my own Folly: This was not a place for Dispute, but Obedience. Well, I learnt from hence two Lessons: One, That when the Body is a Slave, the Reason must not expect to be Free; and where the whole outward Man is in Bondage, the Tongue must not plead Exemption. A Second, That it's fair for Slaves to enjoy the freedom of their own Consciences, without Reviling another's Religion, though erroneous; and this wit I bought, as it fell out, a pretty good Penny-worth.

When the Storm was ovet, my Employment was assigned me (for they had rather see a Slave dead than idle) and for about half a Year it lay in trudging on Errands, bearing Burdens, and discharging other domestick Services at Command, wherein the only consideration was, that it was commanded, and not What was commanded.

At this time my Patron had a part in a Man of War, which carried twelve Guns: She being at Sea (with some others of the same place) met with an English Merchant, Laden with Plate, and other Rich Commodities from Spain, and Bound for London, (one Isaac being Master,) and after a very sharp, though short dispute, the Algerines carried her, and brought her safe home. The Adventurers divide their Booty, and being high flown with this success, they Resolve to fit her out again to carry more Guns; and from hence grew my new Employment. Upon the Carpenters I attended, waited on the Smiths, to get the Iron-work fitted, and finilhed; and truly he allowed me more for Portage than to the ordinary Hammers, or Common Porters.

When this Ship was now fitted for another Adventure, my Patron tells me, I must go in her; it was a nipping word; I pleaded, that I was no Sea-man, understood nothing of the Mariners Art, and therefore as he could expect little Service from me in that kind, so I must expect most rigorous Treatment, because I could not acquit myself in the Service as well as others; he removed my Pleas, and promised I should not be wronged; but there was more at the bottom than all this: For here a case of Conscience offered it self, Whether I might without sin in any case fight against Christians, on the Port of the common Enemy of all Christianity? The best Resolution I could give my self, was this; that first, my employment would onely lye in managing the Tackle, which will kill no body; but it was replied, that without the due management of the
of Great Mercy.

hard chapter, That he that could not maintain himself, should be compelled to contribute to the maintenance of another; it was difficult to raise increase out of no stock, and to pay Interest out of no Principal; but there was no contending: It cost me much debate with myself, and I turn'd my thoughts into all forms and shapes, but all projects that presented themselves were incumberd with so many difficulties, that they amounted very near to impossibilities. The more I consulted, the further I found my self from a conclusion, and I could see no way but one, (but that was worth a thousand, could I have made the best of it,) and that was to commit myself to God, who had brought me into this strait, beseeching him that he would bring me out of it.

But that my trysting to God might not be a cloak for Laziness, or a Pillow for Sloath to rest upon, I address my self to an English-man, whose condition was that of a Slave, whose Calling was that of a Taylor. He at first word counsel'd me to come and stay with him, and he would teach me to work of his Trade. I accounted nothing base that was honest, and necessity would ennable a far meaner Employment, and very readily closed in my thoughts with his motion, and was sudenly elevated into huge hopes that I should now be in a capacity to Answer my Patron's demands, and escape his lash. But my straits were not (it seems) great enough to glorifie God; nor my condition mean enough to mag-
magnifie his Power in raising me; I was not reduced to that Extremity which would make an Opportunity to exalt his appearing Mercy; for when I came to him the next day, I perceived by his silence that his Mind was changed, and I was loth, either out of Modesty, or Pride, to give him further trouble; and therefore Interpreting his Silence to be a more Civil way of denial, I left him, and once more Launched out into the wide World.

In this forlorn Posture I wandered, but neither knew, nor much cared whither; though the wise God both knew, and cared; and his Providence Directed me to another English-man, who was sitting in a little Shop: He asked me what News? And (as that which is uppermost always comes out first,) I presently began the Story of my desperate Condition; how the Rigid Law of my Patron had imposed two Dollars per Month upon me, and I knew not where to levy the least Mite of it: He heard, considered, Pityed my Condition, and invited me to come and sit in the Shop with him; but seeing nothing but bare Walls, I asked him, to what End? What Trade should we drive there? There's not much difference between Sterving in the Streets, and in the Shop. Countrey-man (said he,) I drive here an unknown Trade; here I sell Lead, Iron, Shot, Strong-waters, Tabacco, and many other things: This Motion was a great deal too good to be refused; and I think at that time no tolerable condition would have sticked with me.

I acquainted my Patron with my Design, pleaded I wanted stock to fit up with; he lent me a small modicum, and with another pittance that I had privately reserved of my own, I began to Trade. That very Night I went and bought a parcel of Tabacco; the next Morning we dress'd it, cut it, and fitted it for Sale; and the World seemed to smile on us wonderfully. In this way of Partner-ship we continued for some while, and what we got clear, we divided every week according to the proportion of our respective stocks. In a while, finding the world to come in upon us, we ventured upon no less than a whole Butt of Wine; some Money we had, and some Credit: This Wine we drew out, and got considerably by it. But it's very difficult to maintain Moderation in an exalted state, for even our state was capable of better and worse; for my Partner being elevated with our good Success, grew a good Fellow, and a bad Husband; neglected his business, went tippling, and fudding up and down, and the concerns of the Shop and Trade lay wholly upon my shoulders.

It fell out, that one John Randal, who, with his Wife and Child were taken in the same Ship with my self, being put to the same shifts with my self, and, as 'tis very common, having a Monethly Tax imposed upon him by his Patron, which he must scrape up where he could, and besides maintain himself, his Wife, and Child, went
went up and down seeking for Relief, at last the poor Man straggled to our Shop: His case made great impression upon me, I could not but consider the goodness of God to me, that should now be in a condition to advise, and help another, who so lately warned both my self; and it had this operation upon me, that I wou'd not suffer a poor distressed Country-man, a Fellow-Captive, a Fellow-Christian to stand begging at that door, where I had so lately staid my self: Shall I shut the Door, or my Heart upon him, when God had opened a Door of hope to me in the day of my Trouble? Shall I so ill requite the Lords kindness to me? Surely that God who comforts us in our Tribulations, expects that we should comfort others in theirs, 2 Cor. 1. 4. I bad him therefore come in, and knowing him to be a Glover by Trade, advis'd him to learn to make Canvas Cloaths for Sea-men that are Slaves; and for my own part, he should fit Rent-free; but if my Partner would insult upon his Majesty, he must be willing to satisfie him, for I had no power to determine of another Right.

It were tedious to trouble the Reader how I wore out three or four irksome Years in this way of Trading: All this while there was no dawning of Deliverance from our Bondage: As one Year left us, another found us, and deliver'd us over Captives to the next: Our condition was bad, and in danger every day of being worse, worse, as the mutable Humours of our Patrones determin'd upon us, for our Shop and Trade was no free-hold: The truth is, in time we were so habituated to Bondage, that we almost forgot Liberty, and grew stupid, and fensles of our Slavery; like Issachar, we Couched down between our burdens, we bowed our shoulders to bear, and became Servants to Tribute, Gen. 49. 14, 15. And were in danger to be like those Israelites in Babylon, who being once settled, forgot Canaan, and dwelt with the King for his work, 1 Chron. 4. 23. We seem'd as if our Ears had been bored, and we had vowed to Serve our Patrones for ever. Long Bondage breaks the Spirits, it scatters Hope off, and discourages all attempts for Freedom: And there were more evils attended our condition than the bodily torture, which we were always liable to, and sometimes endured.

1. We were under a perpetual temptation to deny the Lord that bought us, to make our Souls Slaves, that our Bodies might Recover Liberty. As Satan once tempted Job to Curse God, and dye; so he knew how to change his note to us, and accommodate his Snare to our Condition, to Curse God, that we might Live. How many have made Ship-wreck of Faith, that they might not be Chained to the Galleys? I can never enough admire the grace of that Promise, Psal. 125. 3. The Rod of the Wicked shall not always rest upon the Lot of the Righteous, left the Righte-
Righteous put forth their hands to Iniquity; nor ever enough adore the faithfulness of him, who will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able, 1 Cor. 10. 13.

And 2. Evil is the unmaning, and dispiriting of the Soul to worthy Actions; for we are apt to put on the Tempor and Spirit of Slaves with the Habit, and the Christians of the Greek communion, are a very sad instance of this Truth.

And 3. We were very much at a loss for the Preaching of the Word: And yet herein the gracious God stept in for our Relief.

SECT. IV.
How God Provided for our Souls, by sending us an Able Minister to Preach the Gospel to us in our Bondage.

The Gracious God looking upon the affliction of his poor Servants, and Remembering us in our low Estate, was pleased many ways to mitigate the load of our Captivity: We have Reason to say, with the Church, Ezra 9. 9. We were Bondsmen, yet our God hath not forsaken us in our Bondage, but hath extended Mercy to us, to give us a reviving, and a Nail in his Holy place: And thus he brought about his Design of Grace and Mercy. There was an English Ship taken by some of our Algerine Pirates, and in her one Mr. Devereux Sprat, a Minister of the Gospel. It deserves our consideration, and greatest Admiration, that the wise God should supply our Necessities at the cost and charges of others of his dear Servants: But thus Providence sent Joseph into Egypt, where he endured a thirteen Years Slavery, that he might preserve the Lives of his Fathers Family, within whose narrow walls the most visible Church of God in those days was enclosed, Gen. 45. 5. Now, some of us observing this Mr. Sprat to be a Person
son of very Sober, Grave, and Religious Department, we addressed our selves to him, and humbly entreated him, that we might enjoy the benefit of his Ministry; in Order where to, we desired him that he would compound with his Patron at so much a moneth as he could, and because we were abundantly convin'd of our Duty to administer to him of our Carnal things, who should administer to us of his Spirituals, we engaged to allow him a Competency to maintain himself, and satisfy the expectations of his Patron: The good man hearkened to us with much readiness; and now indeed we found our burdens much lighter, and our conditions not press so hard upon our Spirits: *Thrice a week this Godly painful Servant of Jesus Christ prayed with us, and Preach'd to us the Word of God;* our meeting place was a Cellar, which I had hired at some distance from our Shop, where I stowed some Goods that were peculiarly my own, when we fell into a greater stroke of Trade. To our Meetings resorted many, sometimes three or fourscore, and though we met next the Street, yet we never had the least disturbance from the Turks, or Moors; for whilst we intermeddled not with their Superstitions, but paid our Patrones their demands, we might, without any disturbance from them, *Worship our God, according to our Consciences:* It's true, that such were the circumstances of the Slavery of many poor Christians, that they *could not attend;* and such
SECT. V.

Some Remarkable Observations that I gleaned up, whilst I remained in Algiers.

They that are pressed with their own Personal Grievances, have little leisure to look abroad, and observe the Motions of others; and indeed our own Afflictions however sweetened, lay still gnawing, and grating upon our Spirits, that we must needs be very ill qualified to treasure up materials to make a History. Such a Design required Leisure, Liberty, Privacy, Retiredness, Intelligence, and strict correspondence, to all which we were perfect Strangers. Yet sometimes I could make a Truce with my Troubles, and obtain so long a cessation from my Vexatious pressures, as to make Observation.

And, 1. The Hypocrite of their Profession was so notorious, that he must put out his Eyes that did not see it. One Month in the Year they Observe their Ramadan, which is their Lent; and indeed they Observe it by day with more than Monkish Austerity, imposing upon themselves a total Abstinence: An Observation which they may be presumed to owe to that Nestorian Monk, Monk, who club'd with Mahomet in the cursed invention of the Alchoran: But for all their demure Quadragesimal looks by day, they give, or sell themselves to commit with greediness all manner of the most execrable Villanies by night. And they cheat themselves with this evasion; that forsooth Mahomet Commanded them to Fast so many Days, but not so many Nights: For now they beat up their Drums, and call their Friends first out of bed, then out of doors; they provoke, challenge, dare one another to eat, drink, and run into all excess of Riot. They will neither spare Man in their Rage, nor Woman in their Lust: The two hungry Meals of the Day, makes the third of the Night an errant Glutton. By Day they create themselves a Purgatory, and by Night the poor Slaves find a Hell. Now, when they have cram'd their Guts all Night, and are Maw-sick in the morning, they put on their Lenten face again; and call that a Fast, which is but Physick; and pretend Religion for that which they are compell'd to by Nature; that is, they Fast when they can eat and drink no longer: But indeed their Fast by Day is nothing but a dry Drunkenness; for when they have drunk, and whored themselves into sin, they fancy they merit a pardon by abstinence. A piece of Hypocrisy so gross, that whether it be to be sampled any where in the World, unless, perhaps, by the Popish Carnivals, I cannot tell.
2. I could not but Observe, that though they allow, that every Man may be saved in that Religion he professes, provided he walks by its Rules, and therefore that at last, the Jews, under the Banner of Moses; the Christians, under the Banner of Christ; and the Turks, under the Banner of Mahomet, shall all March over a fair bridge, into I know not what Paradise, a place far beyond the Elysian Fields; yet they afford no mercy to one, who having once professed, afterwards Revolts from Mahometanism; an instance whereof I shall now present the Reader with.

The Spaniards every Year return a considerable sum of money to Algiers, to be employed in the Redemption of such of their own Country as are there in Slavery: Some say, there is a particular Treasury set apart for that Service; but this I know, that they use the charitable benevolence of well disposed Persons, to advance it. Now, there was a Spanish Friar, that was a Slave, who being passed by in the Redemption that Year, took it very hauniously to be neglected, thought himself much wronged; hereupon he grows Discontented, and the Devil (who never works with greater success than upon that Humour) takes the Advantage to push him on; and he in a pett, Renounces the Christian Religion, declares himself a Mussulman, and accordingly appears in his Turkish Habit. I knew him very well by sight, he was a fat, corpulent Person; but after he had turned Renegade, I observed him to become strangely lean, and dejected in his Countenance, but I little suspected, that the Root of his Distemper lay in his Conscience: but it seems he had severely reflected upon his Apostacy, for he had not Renounced only his Popery, but his Christianity: His own Conscience, which was a thousand Witnesses against him, was a thousand Tormentors to him: Long he bore it's secret and stinging Lashes, but when he could no longer stand under them, he goes to the Vice-Roy's Palace, and there openly declares himself a Christian, and protests against the Superstition and Idolatry of Mahomet, as a most Execrable, and damnable Imposture: Immediately he is convened before the Council, and there strictly Examined, he persistes resolutely in his Profession, whereupon he is clapt in Irons, and for some time there secured: Now, they pretended this Reason for their procedure. That there had been some practising and tampering with him, either Morally by Argument, or Naturally by some Dose of intoxicating Drugs, that had thus Distempered him; for loth they were it should be thought, that any Man of sound mind, or master of his Reason, would ever Revolt from their Religion: But when they saw him fixt in his Resolution, and that neither what he felt, or might fear; what they had inflicted, or could threaten, did unhinge him from his Profession, they proceeded
A Small Monument

Of Great Mercy.

preceded to the last Remedy, and inexorably Condemned him to the Fire: A way of Punishment which they learnt from the Spaniards themselves, who first set up the Inquisition against the Moors, and have now turned the edge of it against the Protestants. And now they proceed to the Execution of the Sentence, which was performed with some Pomp, and State. And first, they formed a Crown with a Cross upon the top of it, within the Places, and Bars whereof they put Flax; thus Crowned, they Guard him through the City, out of the West Gate, about half a mile, which was the appointed place of Execution: and first, one puts Fire to the Flax in his mock-Crown, to take possession of his Head, in the Name of the rest of his Body: at first he shook it off, but another put Fire again to it with a Cane, and then the poor man stood patiently; and presently they put Fire to the whole Pile, and there burnt him: I saw some of his Bones, and scorched Flesh after he was dead; and the same Evening came a Zealous Spaniard, and carried away some of his scorched Flesh, and Bones, as the Holy Reliques of a Martyr, saying, I have now done enough to make satisfaction for all the sins that I have committed.

3. It’s worth Admiration, to see in what great awe they stand of the meanest Officer, who is known to be such by his Turban, and Habit. If any Affray be made, or a murder committed in the Streets, the Chiana, or Officer present comes without any Weapon, or Person to assist him; and if he seizes the Offenders, none is so hardy as to resist even unarmed Authority.

4. The great Reverence which the Moors pay to the Turks, though both Musulmans, is remarkable: If a Musulman shall dare to strike a Turk, he is punish’d with great severity: I saw two Moors whilst I was there, whole Right Hands were chop’d off for this one Crime, and hung about their Necks in strings; the one was set upon an Ass, the other walked by on foot, the Common Cryer proclaiming before them their Offence, through the chief Streets of the City. I saw another also with his heels ty’d to a Horse’s Tail; he was wholly naked, only he had on a pair of Linnen Drawers, and thus was he dragg’d through the Streets: It was a most lamentable Spectacle, to see his Body all torn with the rugged way, and stones: the skin torn off his Back, and Elbows, his Head broken, and all covered with blood, and dirt, and thus was he dragg’d through the City out at Babazoon, or the East-Gate, where he ended his miserable Life.

Two others of their own Country-men I saw Executed in a most horrible, and dreadful manner, (but either I did not know, or do not remember their Crimes:) The one was thrown off from a high Wall, and in his Fall he was caught by the way, by one of the great sharp Hooks, which
which were fastned in the Wall; it caught him just under the Ribs, and there he hung roaring in unspeakable pain till he dyed. The other was fastned to a Ladder, his wrists, and Ankles being nailed through with Iron spikes, in such a poiture as somewhat resemblesthe Celebrated Cross of St. Andrew; and left his Flesh and Sinews should fail, and the Nails not hold; his Wrists and Ankles were bound fast with small Cords to the Ladder: Two days I saw him alive under this Torture, how much longer he Lived under it I cannot tell.

5. They are generally great Enemies to Debauchery in Publick: It's a great scandal to them when they see any Christians, who brought that Beastiality out of their own Countries with them, to be guilty of it. I have heard them say, of a Drunken Slave; A Christian? No, He's a Swine. And though they will indulge themselves by Night (especially in their Ramadam Moneth) yet woe be to him, that shall Offend by Day in that kind. There was an Englishman, who had brought over with him his Drunken Humour, and his Captivity had not made him Sober: and when Religion has not firm hold of the Heart, a little matter will make such a one let go his hold of Religion: This English-man turn'd a Renegado, and of a Drunken Christian became a Drunken Turk, and was not able to keep the Pot from his Head, during their holy time of Ramadam; being one day found thus like a Sot,

Sot, he was brought into the Caffabal, or chief Court of Judicature, where he was adjudged to receive many hundreds of violent blows, some upon his naked Back and Reins, others upon his naked Belly; he could not creep from the place of punishment, but was carried away by the Hammels; his Belly, and Back were so excori- cated, that Sampson Baker, an English-man, who was his Chirurgeon, assured me he was forced to cut off abundance of his Fleish before he could be Cured.

6. What Cruelties they Exercise upon poor Slaves, needs not be mentioned, and there will be an Occasion to speak of the most Ordinary way of punishment e're long. Let it suffice, that all is Arbitrary, and unlimited. If a Patron shall kill his Slave, for ought I could perceive, he suffers no more for it, than if he should kill his Horse: There was a Dutch Youth, a Slave to a Turk, who, upon some provocation, drew his Knife at his Patron; for this Offer, he was Sentenced to be dragg'd out at one of the Gates, and there to have his Arms and Legs broken in pieces with the great Sledge Hammer, which Sentence was accordingly Executed, for though I could not see his Face for the crowd, yet I heard the blows, and the miserable Crys of the poor dying Young Man.
SECT. VI.

The grievous Punishment Inflicted upon John Randal, the Authors Danger, and Deliverance from the same; upon pretence that they had attempted to make an Escape.

It is time to re-assume my own concerns, and look a little into my own Condition, which, through the good Providence of God, was much better than that of many of my poor Brethren and Fellow Captives; and yet I met with great Ebbings and Flowings in my Tranquillity: whilst, I was managing my Trade very stoutly and successfully, (John Randal walking with me in my Shop,) my Partner having now knockt off, and left all to me: One day I changed a Twenty shilling piece of Gold for Silver with a Friend, and having the money chinking in my hand, John Randal asked me, what did I do with so much money? I desired him to keep it for me, till our return; and he should know: For he being not very well, we agreed to walk out of the Town to take the fresh Air; a Liberty, which for somewhat above a mile, is indulged to the Slaves: When we had walked almost to the end of our Tedder,
and the Battoon was commanded to be brought forth, we answered, we durst not falsely accuse ourselves, nor make our selves Criminal, when we were not so, and therefore if such was their will and pleasure, we must abide by it, and so we sat down by the sticks.

The way of Punishment by the Battoon, or cudgel, is this. They have a strong staff, above six Foot long, in the middle whereof are bored two holes. Into these holes a Cord is put, and the ends of the Cord fastned on the one side the staff, with knots, so that it makes a Loop on the other side. Into this Loop of the Cord both the Feet of the Person Condemned to this Punishment are put; then two lusty Fellows, one at each end of the staff, lifts it up in their Arms, and twisting the staff about, till his Feet are fast pinched with the Cord by the Ankles, they raise up his Feet with the soles upwards, well nigh as high as their shoulders, and in this posture they hold them, the poor man the mean while resting only with his Neck and Shoulders on the ground: Then comes another lusty sturdy Knave behind him, and with a tough and strong Truncheon gives him as many violent blows on the soles of his Feet as the Council shall Order.

But the Vice-Roy, with his Council, gathering from circumstances, and induced to believe us by our constant, and resolute denial of the Fact, omitted at present any further punishment, and only commanded us to be laid in chains

in the Vice-Roy's Prison till our Patrones should demand our Liberty, and fetch us out. And the next day we were both delivered, though with differing Fates; As Pharaoh's Chief Butler, and Chief Baker were both taken from Prison, the one to be Advanced, the other to be Hanged: For John Randal's Patron being a very Termagant, used that absolute and unlimited Sovereignty which they pretend to, over their Slaves, and Commanded him to receive three hundred blows upon the Soles of his Feet with the Battoon, in manner before described: As for myself, when I was brought home, the Spye that seiz'd us, came and demanded Money of my Patron for his good Service (not reckoning that he had any thing of me) which put him into a most desperate fit of Passion, and calling me Dog and Few, and all to naught, commanded me to go work in the Looms with two other English-men that were Slaves, and Linnen-cloath Weavers: But alas, I was a very bungler, and understood nothing of the Craft and Mystery of Weaving more or less; but there I wrought till I had spoyle all that I laid my Hands on: Now, when he saw that my labour this way would not turn to Account, he rated me for a Logger-head, and bad me fill Quills for the other two; being now degraded from a bungling Weaver to an excellent filler of Quills, I continued about a Moneth; my Shop all this while lay at sixes and sevens, what was become
become of it I knew not, and durst not for my Life discover any desire to return to that employment. At last, my Patron asked me for the Money that he had lent me when I first began to Trade: I Answered submissively, that I had not a farthing, all my small Estate lay in a few Goods, and till they were Sold, I could not possibly repay him: He calls one of his Slaves, a Dutch Man, and Commands him to go with me, and turn all into ready Money, and bring it him: When I came to my Old Shop, there was the Nest indeed, but all the Birds were flown; for in my absence, (poor John Randall being Lame, and not able to work, my Partner sometime before having left me, and I confined to another Employment,) some of these Rascals had broken open my Shop, and thence carried the best of my Goods, though my Cellar was still safe, and some of my Goods I heard of, and recovered; what Money I had was hid in the Ground, as it was my constant way: That night the Dutch man and myself returned to our Patron, and told him we could sell nothing; whereupon he remanded me to my Shop, there to Trade, paying him the two Dollars a Moneth, as I had done before.

SECT.

Of Great Mercy.

The Authors Patron growing poor, he is Sold, or Mortgaged to another; the wonderful kindness that he found from his second Patron.

Here was nothing yet working towards a Deliverance, nor could I yet see the least glimmering of possibility which might so much as flatter my willing mind with a hope of escaping: But it's Observed, that the Night is always darkest towards Day-break; and God is often drawing nearer to us in Mercy, when we conceive he is departing further off in Displeasure.

My Patron had been sinking in his Estate a pretty while, the last Ship he had put to Sea broke his back: At last he was grown (insensibly) so low, that it could no longer be daubed up with his Repute, but he must be forced to sell all his Slaves to pay his Debts: It was not much to me whither I was shops and changed; I might change my Goaler, and my Goal, but still I was like to be a Prisoner: I might be bought and sold, and sold again, but still my Condition was Slavery; yet one thing methought was comfort-
table, that the last Instrument of my Bondage was come into Misery as well as my self.

In the partage of his Slaves, it fell to my Lot and another to be Mortgaged for a certain sum of Money, joyntly to two Persons, the one a Cap maker, the other a Grave Old Gentleman, who amongst his own People had the Repute of a good Natur'd and moderate Person, (as good Nature, and Moderation go at Algier.) The Day of Payment came, the Money was not paid; the Cap maker and the Old Gentleman seize on us, and hold us in Common, but in a while they resolved to divide us, that each of them might know his proper Goods and Chattels, and each of us might know whom to call Master; and whose whistle we were bound to Obey: We are both summoned to appear in a certain place at midday, and much ado there was about our Dividing: At last they agreed to Cast Lots for us, only because I was in a handsome way of Trade, it was accorded, that he to whose Share I should fall, should pay the other fifty Doubles, which, if I compute'aright, is something more than fifty Shillings Sterling. I was exceeding fearful I should fall to this Cap-maker, for he had the Character of a brutish, ill-humour'd Creature, and therefore I was concern'd to lift my Petition to God, that seeing, when the Lot should be cast into the Lap, yet the whole Disposition thereof is of God, he would give me forth a gracious Lot: Whatever there is of Contingency as to us, there's nothing accidental to God. Well, God Delivered me from that Tyrant, and I was adjudged by the decision of the Lot to the Old Gentleman: And if I should be silent here, I should be the most ungrateful wretch Living: I found not onely pity and compassion, but Love and Friendship from my New Patron; had I been his Son, I could not have met with more respect, nor been treated with more tenderness: I could not with a Friend a better Condition than I was then in, except my Bonds. If anything could be mingled with Bondage to make it sweet; if any thing could Reconcile Slavery to Nature; if any thing could beget an Acquiescence in such a state, I did not, I could not want it.

And indeed the Freedom that I found in Servitude, the Liberty I enjoyed in my Bonds was so great, that it took off much of the Edge of my desire to obtain, and almost blunted it from any vigorous attempt after Liberty, that carried hazard in it's Face; till at last I was awakeden upon this Occasion.

My Patron had a fair Farm in the Country, about twelve miles from the City, whither he took me along with him; he had me to their Markets, shewed me the manner of them, & at my return, he loaded me home with all manner of good Provisions, that I might make merry with my Fellow-Chrissians; & I had some Reason to conclude from his great kindness to me, that he intended to send me thither to manage the Farm for him.
A Small Monument

saw now evidently, that if I once quitted my shop, I should lose with it all means, all helps, and therefore all hopes to rid my self out of this Slavery: And though I might have been there a pett Lord, and Bashaw'd it over the rest of my Fellow-Servants, yet Slavery had in it something of I know not what Hardness that I could not brook. Fessers of Gold do not lose their Nature, they are Fessers still: Had Bashaw's Cage been of Gold, as 'twas of Iron, yet it was a Cage; and that was provocation enough to a haughty Spirit to beat out his own Brains against it's Bars. This therefore quickned my dull temper, and I began to Resolve to make an Attempt once for all. Now therefore mustering those few Wits Captivity had left me, I set them on work, and ran through all things possible, and impossible; he that will find what he has lost, must look where 'tis not, as well as where 'tis; and forming stratagems in my Head, some Idle, and Vain; some Desperate, others impossible; at last I pitcht upon one, that seemed to me feasible, and practicable.

SECT.

Having Formed the Design, or at least, the rude draught, and general Model of it, my first care was to open it to some skilful and faithful Counsellors, who might more impartially discover to me it's inconveniences, where it was like to prove leaky, or take wind; And first, I acquainted Mr. Sprat, our Minister, with it, and laid before him the whole of the Contrivance; and he so far approved it, that he judged it possible: Next, I acquainted one Robert Lake, a very wise and Religious Person, who bestowed his Blessing on it, and wished it all good Success: And lastly, I acquainted my Friend John Randal, who approved it: Yet none of these could, or would run the risque of it's miscarriage. Mr. Sprat was already delivered from his Patron, and in a fair way, to be absolutely enlarged, in a more safe and Regular way, for not long after our Escape came Captain Pack, of London, and paid the sixty Dollars,
A Small Monument

and took him along with him for England: John Randal had a Wife, and Child, and there were too dear pledges to be left behind, and yet too tender things to undergo our Difficulties: Robert Lake was an Ancient Person, and neither able passively to be carried in, nor actively to carry on a Design that required much hardiness of Body and Mind to endure, and much strength to go through with it; we had nothing more from them than Prayers and Counsels, which yet was the main; and then my next care was, to take in Partners, and Accomplices in the Design.

And herein I had a three-fold Respect: First, to such as were necessarily required to Form the Instrument of our Escape and Deliverance: Secondly, to such, whose tried, and approved Fidelity I might presume would be obstinately, and Religiously secure in concealing it: Thirdly, to such, whose Courage of Mind, and strength of Body would render them capable to pursue the ends of it, to put it in Execution, and go through with it.

But before I would reveal the Project to any of them in particular, I Required an Oath of Secrecy: That whereas I should now reveal to him, or them, a matter of great concernment to their Happiness and Well-fare, they should solemnly promise, and swear, that in case they did not approve it, or would not join in it, yet they should, neither directly, nor indirectly, for fear, or flattery, discover it, or the Persons engaged in it, to any Person whatsoever. When a Project was once mentioned, which promised in general their Happiness and Well-fare, I needed not tell them in particular what it drove at, they could smell out that with ease; for what could be Good, or Happy to Slaves without Liberty? This Oath therefore they willingly took: I judged seven Persons would be enough to manage, carry on, and Execute it; and therefore except the three fore-mentioned, I communicated it to no one Person but those following, who engaged in it, though all of them did not go through with it. John Anthony, a Carpenter, who had been a Slave fifteen Years; his Trade sufficiently shews, how useful he would prove in the Design. William Adams, who, since his Captivity, had learnt and used the Trade of a Bricklayer; his Serviceableness in it will be evident in the sequel; he had been a Slave eleven Years. John Jephs, who was a Seaman, and must therefore be presumed one of the Quorum in a Project of this Nature; he had endured Slavery about five Years. John -- a Carpenter, who was a skilful Man in his Trade, Lusty of Body, and therefore must be a good Wheel in this Engine, and he had been a Slave five Years: And two others, whose Employment it was to wash small Cloaths at the Seaside, and those had also their parts in carrying on the work, though they went not along with us; and William Oksley, who presents the Reader with
with this Narrative, who was taken August 17: 1639. and Escaped June 30: 1644. these made up the Number of 7. There arose a Scruple, nay, it amounted to a Question, whether to attempt an Escape from my Patron, one that so dearly Loved me, so courteously treated me, had so fairly bought me, were justifiable before God and Men?

And, 1. It might be a Question in point of Prudence; for, where could I hope to mend my self? Or better my Condition? I might possibly find worse Quarter in England, where the Civil Wars were now broke out, and to that height of exasperation, that those of the same Nation, and, perhaps, Blood, would hardly give Quarter of Life to one another: if the Name of Native Country bewitch me, if that dazzled my Eyes; surely where ever we are well is our Country, and all the World is Home to him that thrives all over the World: And why should the Name of Bondage, why should a word grate so harshly upon my delicate Spirit, when the sting of it was taken away? Liberty is a good word; but a Man cannot buy a Meal's meat with a word: And Slavery is a hard word, but it breaks no mans back. Thouands are more Slaves than I, who are yet their own Masters, and less at Liberty than my self, who have the free rake and range of the whole World. But yet my Patron's Favour was no free hold; I held not my Happy time in seel simple, all was ad vo-

lun: Of Great Mercy, 47

luntatem Domini; besides, he might dye, and leave me to another; or Live to Sell me to another, who might be of another Character, and then my Condition would be therefore worse, because I had known a better.

2. It might be Questioned in point of Ingenuity, how I could be so unworthy to leave him, who had Loved me? Would not all that should hear of it, Condemn me of ill Nature, to leave without taking leave, one that had been a Father to me, who might have used the Right of a Lord; and used me as a Child, who might have treated me as a Slave? But really I thought there was more of Manners and Courtship in the Objection, than of weight, and Cogency: Still I dwell with Mefhech, and had my Habitation amongst the Tents of Kedar; and one thought of England, and of its Liberty and Gospel confuted a thousand such Objections, and routed whole Legions of these little Scruples. It was no time to stand upon the Punifilio's of Honour and Ingenuity; no time to Complement, and strain courtezie; here was no Farewel Patron, in the Cafe, and therefore I soon over-came that.

But, 3. It might be Questioned in the Court of Conscience, whether it were not down-right Theft to with-draw my self from his Service, who had bought me, paid for me, enter'd upon me, possed me, and enjoyed me, as his own proper Goods, and now I was not my own, had no right to my self: Whether might not a Man be
A Small Monument

48

Man and where I had a right to a deed of bargain and Sale; and my consent was never asked to all their bargains, which is Essential, to create a right of Dominion over a Rational Creature, where he was not born a subject. If I had forfeited my Life or Liberty, the Law might take it; but I was not Conscientious to my self of any such forfeiture, but that I was at my own Disposal.

Thus all was clear and quiet, and we went on with our Design, which I now first opened to them: That I had contrived the Model of a Boat, which being formed in parcels, and afterwards put together, might, by the superintendency of Divine Providence, prove an Ark to deliver us out of the hands of our Enemies. This was soon said, and greedily entertained; to Escape was a pleasant word, the Name of Liberty made Music in our Ears, and our wishing hearts danced to the Tune of it; and a Boat was as promising a means as any thing could be imagined: But when once their thoughts cooled, and came more sedately to look into the difficulties of it, they appeared innumerable, and some of them seemed insuperable; and some things that had past

Of Great Mercy.

49

past currant in my own thoughts, and I went clever away with them, without any rub; yet when they came to be pierced into with more Eyes, and placed upon more Fingers, they were attended with considerable impediments: where this Boat should be built, was one flagging Question: Where it should be launched, and where put to Sea, was a choaking Objection: How we should escape those Argus-eyes, which are always observing us by Day, was a graveling Query; or how to get out of the City by Night, whose Walls are so high, whose Gates are so close shut, and strongly Guarded, was another vexatious Query: How we should be Rigged and Victualled for such a Voyage, was a considerable enquiry: and whither we should design, was not to be passed. But how such a little Skiff, rather than Boat, should be able to Weather all the Accidents of the Sea, was a Neck Question, enough to frighten Faith, and flie us with Despair.

To these Objections, I Answered. That I had designed my own Cellar, as the meetest place wherein to build the Boat; that when it was there Built, it might be taken in pieces again, and carried out of the City in parcels, and bestowed in private places till things were ripe for Execution. That for a place where to put to Sea, it would be time enough to determine upon that when we had finish'd our Vessel: That Mayork was the most commodious place to design to

Land
Land in: But in general I told them to this purpose; That if we never attempted any thing till we had Answered all Objections, we must sit with our Fingers in our Mouths all our days, and pine, and languish out our tedious Lives in Bondage: Let us be up and doing, and God would be with us. To begin is one half of our work: Let us make an Essay, and Answer particular Objections as they Offer'd themselves, and as we met with them in our work. That the Project had its difficulties, was confessed; but what has not, that is Commendable, and Glorious? Yet whatever difficulties and dangers we could meet with, Liberty, kept in our Eye, would sweeten the dangers we might encounter in Attempting. They were all well satisfied with what was said, and all engaged to venture the utmost they were, and had, to accomplish it.

SECT.

The Model of the Boat, Carrying it out of the City, and bestowing it in convenient Places.

In the Cellar where we had Worship'd God, we began our Work; and it was not the Holiness, but the Privacy of the place that invited us, and advised us to it. And first, we provided a piece of Timber, about twelve Foot long, to make the Keel: But because it was impossible to convey a piece of Timber of that length out of the City, but it must be seen; and of that shape, but it must be suspected, and that Suspicion would bring us into Examination, and the Rack, or Barloon might extort a Confession out of the most resolute, and obstinate breast; we therefore cut it in two pieces, and fitted it for Joyning, just in the middle. Our next care was the Timbers, or Ribs of the Boat, which we contrived thus; every one of the Timbers was made of three pieces, and joyned in two places, because a whole Rib at its full length, would be liable to the same inconveniences with the Keel. Now understand, that the joynets of the Ribs were not made with Mortice, and Tec-
4 Small Monument

non, but the flat side of one of the three pieces was laid over the other, and two holes were bored at every joint, into which two Nails were to be put, when we should joint the parcels of our Boat together: You must understand further, that these two holes at every joint were not made in a straight line, parallel with the sides of the pieces, for then the three pieces, which make one Rib, being joined together would have made one straight piece; a Form which would by no means comport with the Use and Design of the Timbers; But so, that when both the Nails were in the holes, each joint would make an obtuse angle, and so incline so near towards a Semicircular Figure, as our Occasion required. All this while here is no visible Provision made for boards, to cloath the naked Ribs of our Boat, without which, the Keel and Timbers looked but like an uselefs Anatomy; but neither had we, nor was it possible we should have any boards in our Vessel: Necessity is the best Artificer when all is done, if we except her Sister Contingency; to which two the World has been beholden for the most useful Inventions, which at this day do ease the Labour and Toyl of weary Mankind. For the Joining of these boards, and the Nailing of them, to make the Boat Water-tite, would require such Hammering, and that Hammering would make such a clamorous Echo in the Cellar, as must have drawn upon us the Jealous Eyes of the Algerines, who

Of Great Mercy.

about their Wives and Slaves are insupportably suspicious: And therefore from the first Conception of the Design, I always resolved upon a Canvas: In pursuance of which thought, being all satisfied that it was practicable; we bought as much strong Canvas as would cover our Boat twice over, upon the Convex of the Carine. We provided also as much Pitch, Tar, and Tallow as would serve to make it a kind of a Tarpawlin Scar-cloath, to swaddle the naked body of our Infant-Boat: With Earthen Pots to melt done our Materials in; and prefix a night wherein we might Execute that part of our Labour. The two Carpenters, and myself were appointed to this Service, and the Cellar was the place where we met. Matters had hither to run on very evenly, and smoothly, but here we met with some discouraging rubs. For when we had stoppt all the Chinks and Crannies of the Cellar, that the Steame of the melted Materials might not creep out, and betray us, (there being no Chimney,) we had not been long at our work before I felt my self exceeding sick, with the strong, and unusual scent of the melted Liquor; I was forced to go out into the streets to gasp for breath, where meeting with the cool Air, it over-came me, I swooned, fell down, brake my Face, and there lay: My Companions missing me, made out to seek me, found me in this sad plight, and carried me in again, though exceeding sick, and unserviceable. They
but what should I trouble him with those things that are common to all other Boats, I mention only what was peculiar to our own; and I do not intend to trouble him with the Boat-wright's Lecture.

In our Cellar we fitted all things, we made the Timbers fit to the Keel, and the Canvas fit for the Timbers, and the Seats fit to the whole, and then took all in pieces again, and laying our Heads together, plotted how to convey all out of the Town, and lodge them in secure and truly places.

And first, for our Keel, we all with unanimous consent judged Will. Adams the fitte's Person to Execute that part of the Design, for he had long Exercised the Trade of a Brick-layer, and his Employment lay much without the Town, and besides he used such pieces in leveling his work. He therefore, accoutred with his Apron before him, his Trowel in his hand, and one of the pieces upon his shoulder, undertook it, and without the least Observation went cleverly away with it, and as he saw his Opportunity, hid it in the bottom of a Hedge; and not long after conveyed out its Fellow, and Lodged it in the same place. This succeeding so happily, we saw no great difficulty in the Timbers, for we put one nail into a hole of every joyn, and then you will easily conceive, that the two extreme pieces of one Rib being folded inward, upon the middlemost, will lye in the room of one.
of the pieces for length, excepting that little that the ends of each piece were beyond the holes: Now, by general consent, the conveying these out of the City was committed to one, whose Employment was to wash small Cloaths by the Sea-side: He puts them into his bag amongst his Cloaths, and so very orderly carried them out, and hid them where he could find most commodious stowage, but yet with Respect to nearest to that place where the Keel was laid.

But how to convey our Tar-pawlin safe out of Town seemed most difficult; by Night it was impossible, and by Day the difficulties very considerable, and the danger proportionable; for the Gates are strictly watch’d, the Streets crowded, the Spies Pickeering in every corner, and the bulk of the Canvas thus dressed was very great. To divide it had been to ruine our selves, for no stitching together again, could so cheat the searching water, but it would find out the needle-holes. At last we ventured upon this way; we put it into a large Sack, and committed it to him that used to wash Cloaths, and left any should clap a jealous hand upon it, we put a Pillow over our Canvas within the Bag, that so its softness might delude the Inquisitor, and make it pass for Cloaths. Let none despise, or condemn these, as low, mean pieces of contrivance, for we had not Polititians tools to work withal; but the less was our Policy, the more glorious does the wisdom of God shine in succeeding it, and yet even that little Policy we were guilty of, was of his be-stowing also; what of sin was in all of it, was entirely our own; what of Power, Wisdom, and Success, was all his: But our Agent escaped happily with it, and Lodging it in a secret place, returned.

We had yet many things to provide, and Oars are absolutely necessary, they were of the Quorum to an Escape by Sea: As Finns are the Fishes Oars, so Oars are the Boats Finns, by help whereof she makes her way: Now, to supply this defect, we took two Pipe-staves, and flitting them a cross from corner to corner with a Hand-faw, we made of each Pipe-staff two Rude things, which Neceffity was pleased to entitle The blades for a pair of Oars, and these were easily conveyed out, without suspicion.

Next, we considered, that Provision must be laid in for our Voyage; and therefore we provided a small, and but a small quantity of Bread, presuming our stay at Sea must be but short; for either we should speedily recover Land, or speedily be drown’d, or speedily be brought back again: Two Goats skins also, stript off whole, and so Tann’d (a kind of Bottle much used by the Algerines to carry Milk and Water in) we had, which we lined with fresh water, and we know that must needs be a great Rarity in the Mediterranean.

We remembered also that a Sail might be of right good use to us for Expedition, and therefore
before we bought as much Canvas as would Answer that End, and when some Dispute was made about carrying it out, I Offered to undertake that last part of our work: I had not gone a quarter of a Mile, but as I cast my wary eye back, I espied the same Spie, who once before had seized me, and given me trouble, following me very roundly. My Heart began to ake; I was loth a Design of so near, and dear concernment to all of us, should be brought to the Birth, and there should be no strength to bring forth. It's sad, after a Voyage, to Ship-wrack in the Haven, but me-thought it was more sad to sink a Vessel before it could be Launched: And here I first found the difference between Innocence and Guilt; for how boldly could I hold up my Head to this Spie, and his betters, (at least, his Masters) when I was not Conscious of any such Design in hand? Whereas now the Reflection of my Conscience was enough to write Guilt in my Countenance, (for some things are sin there which are not so in other places;) and this had betray'd me, had not suddenly pluck'd up my Spirits, and spying an Englishman washing Cloaths by the Sea, I went the ready way to him, and desired him to help me wash that Canvas; as we were washing it, the leaving Spye came, and stood upon the Rock just over our Heads to watch our motions: As soon as we had a little formally wash'd it, to cast a Mift before his Observing Eyes, I took the Canvas and spread it before his Face, uppon the top of the Rock to dry; he staid his own Time, and then marched off. But I was as Jealous of him, as he could be of me for his Heart; and therefore fearing he might lie in Ambush for me, took it when 'twas dry, and very fairly carried it back into the City, and faithfully acquainted my Accom- plishes how the Matter squared. This Discouraged them not a little, for that they seemed timorous to proceed in the Enterprise.

At last we comforted, and encouraged one another, and entred into close Counsel; where we should meet that Night? At what time? Where should we put our Boat together, and where put to Sea? The Time was, an hour within Night; the Rendezvous on a Hill, about half a Mile from the Sea; and so we dispersed, some one way, some another; and privily lurking in Hedges and Ditches, lay close till the time appointed.

There is one thing that the Reader will be ready to ask, and I shall be more ready to Answer him for a special Reason: viz. What I did with my Shop and Goods? When I had once Resolved upon this Adventure, and saw it go on hopefully, I gave my Patron my wonted Visits, kept fair Correspondence, paid him his demands duly, but secretly I made off my Goods as fast as I could, and turn'd all into ready Money: I had a Trunk, for which John Anthony made me a false bottom; into which I put what Silver or Gold.
A Small Monument

Gold I had; and into the Body of the Trunk, what ever it would hold, and was worthy holding: This Trunk I committed privately to the Fidelity of our dear Minister, Mr. Sprat; he took the charge of it, and he was now ready to receive his full Discharge. This Trunk he Faithfully Secured, and carefully brought over, and as honestly delivered to me when he heard I was come safe to London; and I was willing to move that Question, merely for the Answers sake, which Witnesses his Fidelity.

Of Great Mercy.

SECT. X.

The putting of our Boat together, the Difficulties we met with therein; and our putting out to Sea, June 30. 1644.

As soon as we were met all together at the appointed place, we began to think of executing our long intended Design; but we were divided in our Counsels, where to begin our work: It had been a Question propounded before, and we thought we had fully Resolved upon the place; but at our Meeting we were strangely discomposed: There were two places which stood in Competition, each pretending good Conveniences for that end. The one was a Hill, about half a Mile from the Sea; the other was a Valley, encompassed with two Hedges, about a Furlong from the Hill, but of the same distance with it from the Sea: It was urged for the Valley, that it was a place of more Secrecy and Privacy, less obvious to view; but then it was objected, that we might there be surprized, and seized by the Clutches of our Enemies, ere we could have notice to shift for ourselves. For the Hill, it had been Argued, that we might there make better Discovery of Danger, and make Provision to avoid it; and in short, we all agreed over...
ever night, to put our Boat together upon the Hill; promising our selves much Advantage from its Situation: But when we were met, we all altered our Resolution without any visible Reason, and carried it for the Valley: God is much in the dark to us; but all our ways are in the open Light to him. It's very difficult to give an Account what God is doing at present, but we shall know, if we can but patiently wait till future Providences Comment upon the former: and in a while we saw the Reason why God overruled our purposes.

We had hid several of our Materials near the top of the Hill, where also grew a small Fig-tree, which we had marked with our Eye, as Judging it would be useful to strengthen the Keel of our Boat: Two of our Company were immediately dispatched to saw down this Fig-Tree, and bring it, and the parcels of our Boat thereto disposited, away with them: They were hardly come to the place, but we heard Dogs bark about the top of the Hill, and indeed two Men with Dogs came very near them; but our Men being aware, lay close and still, and so they passed by without making any Discovery, and then our Men be

And now we had once more brought the scattered Limbs of our Boat into one place, which, like those of Abraham, had been dispersed up and

and down the Fields: It was no time to trifle, and therefore we all buckled to our work in good earnest: But we were so nigh some that were at work in the Neighbouring Gardens, that we could hear them speak, and therefore must needs suppose they might hear us too; and therefore we Felted by Signs, and pointed, and pulled, and nodded, but were all Mutes: It might have been an Expedient for the Builders of Babel, when their Languages were Divided, to have carried on their great Project by Signs; but certainly there was Confusion poured out upon their Hearts and Counsels, as well as Division in their Tongues and Languages.

The two parts of our Keel we soon joyed; then opening the Timbers, which had already one Nail in every Joyn, we grooped out for the other hole, and put its Nail into it: Then we opened them at their full length, and applied them to the top of the Keel, fastening them with Rope-Yarn, and small Cords; and so we served all the Joyns to keep them firm and stable; then we bound small Canes all along the Ribs lengthways, both to keep the Ribs from perishing, and also to bear out the Canvas very stiff against the pressing Water: Then we made Notches upon the ends of the Ribs, or Timbers, wherein the Ours might ply; and having tied down the Seats, and strengthened our Keel with the Fig-Tree, we lastly drew on our double Canvas Carse, already fitted; and really the Canvas seemed a Winding-
A Small Monument

Sheet for our Boat; and our Boat a Coffin for us all.

This done, four of our Company took it upon their shoulders, and carried it down towards the Sea, which was about half a Mile off: It was a little Representation of a Funeral, to see the four Beavers Marching in deep silence, with something very like a Herse, and Coffin, upon their shoulders, and the rest of us decently attending the Ceremony; but we wanted Torches, and besides, it's not usual for any to wait upon their own Coffins: But we durst not grudge our Boat that small, and last Office, to carry it half a Mile, for we expected, it should re-pay us that Service and Civility with Interest, in carrying us many a League: We carried it at Land, where it could not swim; that it might carry us at Sea, where we could not walk. As we went along, they that were in the Gardens heard us passing by, and called to us, who comes there? But it was dark, and we had no mind to prate, and therefore without an Answer, we silently held on our way.

When we came to the Sea-side, we immediately stript our selves naked, and putting our Cloaths into the Boat, carried it, and them, as far into the Sea as we could wade; and this we did, lest our tender Boat should be torn against the Stones or Rocks; and then all seven of us got into her: But here we soon found how our Skill in Calculating the Lading of our Vessel failed us: For we were no sooner Embarqued, but she was ready to sink under us, the water coming in over the sides; so that once again we must entertain new Counsels; at last, one, whose Heart most failed him, was willing to shut out, and rather hazard the uncertain Torments of the Land, than certainly be drown'd at Sea; then we made a second Experiment, but still she was so deep Laden, that we all concluded there was no venturing out to Sea: At length, another went ashore, and then she held up her Head very stoutly, and seem'd hearty enough for our Voyage.

Of Great Mercy.

It was time now to commit, and Commend our selves, and Vessel to the Protection, and Conduct of that God who Rules the Winds and the Waves, and whose Kingdom is in the deep Waters, exploring Mercy for the Pardon of our Sins, and resigning up our Souls to God, as if we had been presently to Suffer Death by the Hand of the Executioner. And taking our Solemn Farewell of our two Companions, whom we left behind, and wishing them as much Happiness as could be hoped for in Slavery, and they to us as long a Life as could be expected by Men going to their Graves; we Launched out, upon the thirteenth day of June, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand, Six Hundred, Forty, and Four: A Night for ever to be remembered
A Small Monument

membred by his poor Creatures, who are our selves Great Monuments of Divine Providence, and do set up this Little Monument of his Goodness and Mercy, that may survive us, and bear up the Name of God to after-times, that by us Men may Learn to put their Trust in God: And the Bill of Lading is as followeth; John Anthony, William Adams, John Jephs, John---Carpenter, and William Okeley.

SECT.

The great Extremities we Endured at Sea for Six Days, and Nights, with the Coincident Providences of God that appeared for us in our Extremities, and our Miraculous Landing at Mayork, July 6. 1644.

WE are now out at Sea without Helm, or Pilot; without Anchor, Tacke, or Compass; but God was these, all these, and more than all these. Our Number was Small, our Work was Great, we could not afford one Idle Hand, not one Idle Finger: Four of the Company continually wrought at the Oars; and indeed we wrought for our Lives, and then I shall not need to say how we wrought: But this I shall say, I can truly say it, I never saw strength so strained, nor the utmost of what Nature could do for Life and Liberty, exerted so much in all my Life. The Employment of the fifth Man was more ease, but no less necessary, which was to free the Boat of that Water, which by Degrees leak't through our Canvas.

We Labour'd the harder that Night, because we would gladly be out of the Ken of our Old Matters
Masters by Day; but when Day appear'd, we were yet within sight of their Ships, that lay in the Haven, and Road, and off the Land: But our Boat being small, and lying close, and snug upon the Sea, either was not at all Discovered, or else seemed something that was not worth the taking up: A little hope in the midst of great Fears, made us double, and re-double our Diligence; we tugg'd at the Oars like those who are Chain'd to the Gallies, because we had no mind to be Slaves to our Old Patrones in their Gallies.

But upon all Occasions we found our want of fore call, for now our Bread, which was to be the staff of our decayed Strength, had lien soaking in the Salt water, like a drunken Toast foft in Brine, and was quite spoild: And our fresh water in the Bottles flank of the Tanned Skins, and Owze, having lyen lobbing in the Salt water, which made it nauseous: But yet that hope that hover'd over us, and flatter'd us that we should one day mend our Commons, sweeten'd all again; so long as Bread was Bread, we complained not: Three days with good Husbandry it lasted, but then pale Famine (which is the worst shape Death can be painted in) stared us in the Face; And there was no substitute for Bread at Sea: At Land, the Roots of Grass, the tops of Trees, and the vilest Excrements have served to stop the clamour of a Ravenous Stomach, but that which Slaves despised, we should have

have admired, and prized: Water indeed we might have, either cold, or hot; we had choice, but it was a hard choice: Either the cold salt water out of the Sea, or that warmer, which had been strained through our Bodies, and that we chose of the two, but we must not have that, after a while, unless we would first Accept the other: And the Mifery was, these did not asswage our thirst, but increase it; nor increase our Strength, but diminish it; yet these were the means of Life: Strange means, that would destroy the End.

Several things added to our Mifery; for trouble seldom comes solitary, For first, we had the Wind for some time full against us: And this was both an evil in itself, an evil in its effect, and an evil in its cause. It was a great evil in itself; it increased our Labour, and then defeated it: We Rowed harder, to less purpose; we moved, but did not advance; we spent our strength for nought, and in vain. It was an evil in its effect; for it engaged the Waters against us, and drew them into its party. The Sea is a perfect Neuter of it self, and willing to maintain its Neutrality; but the powerful Winds drew her into the Faction: And that Sea which serves the North to day, shall comply with the more prevailing South to Morrow; for the Waves are the greatest time servers in the World: But it was far the greatest evil in its Cause; for the Winds being against us, Argued that God was against
A Second great Inконveniency was, that our Labour was without Interruption, though we advanced not forwards at many broaks, yet cesso- tion had driven us backwards. The poor Sent of libal him that stands upon the Watch, yet comforts himself that another will Relieve him; but we had none to take the toyl off our Hands, and give us Respite: We might shift our places, but not our pains.

A Third great Evil that lay upon us, was the extremity of the heat by day; the Season was Raging hot, being the beginning of July; the Climate was hot, being under, or about the Fourth Climate; we wanted fresh Water to cool the Heat, and were engaged in continual Labour to engage the heat, and all these made it infupportable to our Bodies, and our little, or no hope, (which now like a Candle burnt down to the Socket, did rather blink, than burn) made it grievous to our Souls. One small help we had (if it was a help) that the fifth Man, who em- tyed the Boat of the Salt Water, threw it upon the Bodies of the rest to cool them; But this was a Miserable Remedy, for our Bodies were so bleached between the scorching Sun, and the cooling Water, that they rose up in Blisters all over. Great pain we felt, great danger we were in, great Miseries were endured, great wants we were under, and had nothing little, but hope, food, and strength. By Day we were all stark Naked, by Night we had our Shirts, or loose

A Small Monument

against us; for the Wind we know was his: He brings the Winds out of his Magazines. Were now so dispirited, that we debated, whether we should bear up with the Wind, or make the best of our way, and Row against it? That is, whether it were not better to go back to Algeria with ease, than painfully make towards Freedom? At last, like Persons that though we knew not what to do, yet resolved not to return; we resolved whilst we had Life, and Strength, and Breath, we would struggle with it: And now the great God interpoled; he rebuked his Wind, it was not against us; nay, he reconciled his Wind, and it became our Friend. He that can turn the Rivers in the South, could turn the Wind out of the North: Here we might have had a notable demonstration of God's Sovereignty. He determined the Quarter of the Wind, the Quantity of the Wind, and the Continuance of the Wind. The Quarter, whence it should blow. The Quantity, how much it should blow, and the Continuance, how long it should blow. The Quarter was our Enemy, the Continuance had quite brought us to Despair; but had he opened his Hand, and let out one blast more, the proud Waters had gone over our Souls, we had perished in the deep: But we see that our times are in God's Hand; the Ocean in the hollow of the same Hand, and the Winds in the same hand, and Happy it was for us, that we, and they, were all there.
A Small Monument

Coats, and that was all our Cloathing, the rest we left ashore to ease our Boat.

If any shall be so Inquisitive, as to ask, by what Directions we steered our Course, that we did not tack about insensibly in the dark Night, or Day? He may know, that for the Day, one of the Company had a Pocket Dial, which supplied the place of the Compass, c'ne he well enough for such a Vessel, and such Mariners. By Night, when the Stars appeared, we had our advice from them, and when they did appear, we guesst at our way by the Motions of the Clouds.

In this sad and woful plight we continued four Days and Nights; on the fifth Day, we were on the brink of the brink of despair, and all hope that we should be saved, utterly perished. And now, as Persons despairing of the End, we ceased to pursue the means; laid by our Oars, left off our Labour; either we had no strength left, or were loth to throw away that little we had to no purpose, only we kept still emptying the Boat; loth to drown, loth to dye, yet knew no ways to avoid Death: When the End is removed, all means perish with it.

They that Afl least commonly with the most; thus when we had left fruitless Labour, we fell upon fruitless wishes, that we might meet with some Vessel, some Ship to take us up: If it was but a Ship, we considered no further; English, or African, Tros, Tyriffs; all was a Caft: Of Great Mercy.

Cafe: Or if not, yet the worst was better than our bad cafe; and therefore resolved, could we have Discovered any Ship, to have made towards her, though it had been one of Algiers. How many wilt themselves again in Egypt, when they Combated with the unexpected Difficulties of the Wilderness! How oft have the People of God been more afraid of the means of their Deliverance, than of their Danger! When Christ came to save his Disciples from the Storm, yet because he came in a way uncouth, and unexpected, they cried out for fear, Mat. 14. 26. Whether the Reader will pity, or condemn us, I know not; but to that pass were we now brought, that we would have accepted Life upon any terms not base and sinful, and whether we should have stuck at such or no, I have no such security from my own Heart as to resolve him.

Whilft we were at this dead ebbe of Hope, the Great God, whose most Glorious Opportunity to help, is his Creaturesornest Extremity: He that appeared for Abraham in the Mount, and to the three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace; he that Delivered Israel at the Sea, at the Red Sea; he who times all his Mercies for their Advantage; even he sent us some Relief, and a little Relief is great, in great exigences. As we lay hulling up and down, we Discovered a Tortoise not far from us asleep in the Sea. Had the great Drake Discovered the Span.
Men awaked from sleep, not like Captives broke from the Chains of Algiers, but like Persons raised from the Dead. But Hope and Fear made a strange Medley Passion in our Souls; like the Reparties of two contrary jolting Tides, or the struggling of the Eddy with the main Stream: Hope would persuade us that we saw the Land; but chill Fear bade us pause upon it, for as we easily believe, what we desire to be true, so we are as ready to fear lest it should not prove true; for fear had got long possession of our Souls, and would hardly admit Hope to stir, but was ready to suppress it as a disturber of its Empire: We had seen nothing but Air, and Sea; Sea, and Air in five Days, and Nights; that though our Reason told us there was such a thing as Land, yet the Impressions that fear had made upon us, made it Questionable, whether ever we should see it. And we durst not give too much Credence to our Eyes, that had been used to bring faddler stories to our Hearts.

Yet still we wrought hard: Hope did us that kindness, it put us upon an earnest desire to see whether we were deceived or no. After some further Labour, we grew more confident, and at last, fully satisfied that it was Land: I hope I shall never forget what a sense we had of God's goodness upon that Assurance. Extremes do equally annoy, and sometimes infatuate the mind: They tell us, that in Greenland, the extremity of Cold will make the Iron stick to the Fingers,
Fingers, as our Experience assures extremity of Heat will do; for now like Distracted Persons, we all leap into the Sea, quitting our Boat, and being all good Swimmers, we there Bathed, and cooled our heated Bodies. An Adventure, which, if well considered, had as much of the Desperado in it as our putting to Sea: For now we were at the Mercy of the Sharks, which might have heard off a Leg, or Arni; and now our over-heated Bodies were open to receive the Impressions of that Cold Element: But as we never considered our Danger, the great and good God delivered us from the Ordinary effects of such Folly; we presently returned to our Boat, and being both wearied with Labour, and cooled a little with the Sea, we lay us all down to Sleep in as much security, as if we had been in our own Beds: Nature being almost spent, must have a Truce; she will not undertake to keep our Bodies upon their Legs, if we will not submit to her great standing Ordinance, of Rest; and here we saw still more of Divine Goodness, that our Leaky Vessel did not bury us in the Sea, and we awaking find our selves in the other World: But he that gave us Sleep, measured it, and he measured it exactly, not suffering us to out-Sleep the Season of plying our Pump, or that which supplied the place of it.

Being thus refreshed with sleep, we found new strength for our Work, and God found us New Work for our strength: We tugged the harder at the Oar, because we hoped ere Night to sleep upon a more stable, and faithful Element. But we made our way very slowly, and when we cast up the Account of our Progrefs, found, that we had gone but little way in a long time; towards Evening we discovered another Island: The first we saw was Mayork, the second, Fromentore; and some of our Company, that had Sailed in these Seas, would undertake to assure us of it: We debated not long to which of these we should direct our Course, for the latter being much infested with venomous Serpents, and little, if at all Inhabited, we resolved all for Mayork: All that Night we Rowed very hard, and the next, being the Sixth of July, and from our putting to Sea, we kept within sight of it all Day, and about Ten a Clock at Night we came under the Island; but the Rocks were there so craggy, and steep, that we could not climb up.

Whilst we were under these Rocks there came a Vessel very near us. Let the Reader put himself in our stead, let him but Copy out our Thoughts, let him imagine how lothe we were to lose all our toil and Travel, to forgo our Deliverance, to have this Rich Mercy, which God had put into our Hands, wrested out of them again by some Turkish Pickaroon, or Corsair, that are always skimming those Seas: It concerned us therefore to lie close, and when they were
were passed by, we gently crept along the Coast as near the shoar as we durst, till we found a convenient place, where we might thrust in our Weather-beaten Boat.

If these Papers should fall into the hands of some that are great Clerks in the Art of Navigation, and have con'd the Mariners Terms of Art, they will smile at my improper wording of these Matters, and say, I am one of Paul's Mariners. But I can be content to be Accounted one of his Mariners, whilst I have shared in his Mercies: How many of those that speak the Language of the Sea, yet have found her Billows deaf to their Cries and Prayers, and their stately Ships made the Scorn of Winds, and the Reproach of Waves, when we, who had none of their Ships, and little of their skill, have had Experience of those Providences, to which they have been Strangers.


SECT. XII.

The great kindness we Received at Mayork from the Vice-Roy, and the Inhabitants of that Island and City.

When we were come to Land, we were not unsensible of our Deliverance; though like Men newly awakened out of a Dream, we had not the true Dimensions of it: We confessed God had done Great things for us, but how great things he had done was beyond our Comprehension: We had escaped the Sea, but yet Death might be found at Land; and we were ready to say, with Sampson, Judg. 15.18. Lord, thou hast given this great Deliverance into the hands of thy Servants, and now shall we dye for Thirst? We had had no Food since we eat the Liver, and drank the Blood of the Tortoise, and therefore leaving three of our Company with the Boat, the other two, viz. John Anthony, and myself, we were sent out to scout abroad for fresh Water; And the rather were we sent, because this John Anthony could speak both the Spanish, and Italian Tongues very perfectly; and I had as much of the Spanish as might serve to express our wants, and desires, if perhaps we might meet with any Persons thereabouts.
A Small Monument

we remembered our Brethren left with our Boat, and Observing the Sentinels Directions, came to a Well, where there was a Pot with string to draw with: We drank a little Water, and eat a bit of our Cake, but the passage was so disted, that we had much ado to force our Throats to relieve our clamorous stomachs: But here we failed not, but, with the four Leopers in the Tents of the Syrians, 2 Kings 7. 9. Rebuked our selves, We do not well, we have glad Tidings to carry, and do we hold our peace? We return to our Boat, are welcomed by our Companions, acquaint them with the good success of our Embassy, and all prepare to make to the Well.

Of Great Mercy.

And now we must leave our Boat; that faithful Instrument of Gods Providence, which had so truly served his purpose to deliver us: It was not without some Recolyings upon our Spirits, that we should so much as in appearance imitate the ingratitude of those, who having served their private ends on their Friends, and have now no further use of them, most ungratefully shake them off: That we should be like the water-dog, which uses the water to pursue his Game, and when he comes to Land, shakes it off as troublesome, and burdensome. But it was no time to stand upon Complements; Hunger, Thirst, Weariness, Desire of Refreshment and Rest, those impertinent Duns, Commanded us away.

When we came within call, fearing he might Discharge at us, we spoke to him upon the Watch, told him our Condition, what we were, whence we came, how we escaped; and earnestly begged of him to direct us to some fresh Water, and in the mean time to bestow upon us some Bread. He very kindly threw us down an old mouldy Cake, but so long as it was a Cake, and not a stone, nor a Bullet, Hunger did not consider its Mouldiness: Then he directed us to fresh Water, which was hard by: We food not telling Stories; we remembered our selves, 

abouts. We were not far gone, before we fell into a Wood, and we were in a Wilderness in our thoughts, which way to take: He will needs go his way, and I mine. Good Lord! what a frail, impotent thing is Man! That they whom common dangers by Sea, common Deliverances from Sea had United, should now about our own wills fall out at Land. And yet thus we did: He gave me reproachful words, and it's well we came not to blows: But I went my own way, and he seeing me resolute, followed me, and the Providence of God, not dealing with us according to our frowardness, followed us both: This way led us to a Watch-Tower of the Spaniards, many of which they keep upon the Sea-Coasts, to give the Countrie timely notice of any Pickaroons that come afoot to Rob, and Spoyl.

When we came within call, fearing he might Discharge at us, we spoke to him upon the Watch, told him our Condition, what we were, whence we came, how we escaped; and earnestly begged of him to direct us to some fresh Water, and in the mean time to bestow upon us some Bread. He very kindly threw us down an old mouldy Cake, but so long as it was a Cake, and not a stone, nor a Bullet, Hunger did not consider its Mouldiness: Then he directed us to fresh Water, which was hard by: We food not telling Stories; we remembered our selves,
away; and tying our Boat as fast as we could to the Shoar, we left her to Mercy, which had been so good to us.

As we were going, or rather creeping, or crawling towards the Well, another Quarrel started amongst us, the Memory whereof is so ungrateful, that I shall give it a Burial in silence, the best Tomb for Controversies.

And now we are at the Well, and the Well is provided of Water, and we have something to draw; all these helps God has given us, but he must give us one more, even a throat to swallow it, without which, all the rest signifies nothing. This was the evil Disease Solomon had Observed in his Days, Eccles. 6. 2. "A Man to whom God had given Riches, Wealth, and Honour, so that he wanteth nothing for his Soul, of all that he desireth; yet God giveth him not Power to eat thereof: He that gives us water to drink, and meat to eat, must give us Power to eat and drink also. How totally do we depend upon him for Life, and Breath, and all things! One of our Company, William Adams, attempting to drink, after many Essays was not able to swallow it, but still the water returned, so that he sunk down to the Ground, faintly saying, I am a dead Man; we forgot ourselves, to remember him, and after much striving, and forcing, he took a little; and when he and we were refreshed with

with our Cake and water, we lay down by the Well-side till the Morning. None of us could watch for the rest, but One God watched over us all: There we lay lockt up, and buried in Sleep; The Heavens covered us, when we wanted a Canopy: Each might say in the Morning, with David, Psal. 3. 5 I laid me down and slept; I awaked, for the Lord sustained me.

When it was clear Day, we address our selves once more to the Man upon the watch, Tower, entreating him to Direct us the ready way to the next House, or Town, where we might find Relief. He civilly points us towards a House about two Miles off, whither, with wearyed steps, and joyful Hearts, we now began to Travel: Our Feet had been so parboiled, and quondled with the Sun's heat, in the Salt water-pickle, that they were very raw, and more blither'd; and long it was before we could over-come the tediousness of those two Miles. When we approach'd the House, the Owner espying us, and concluding by our shabby garb, that we were some Pilfering Rascals, Prefented a Fowling Piece at us, and charged us to stand. The foremost of our Company, who could speak that Language well, meekly told him, he might spare that Language, we were not able, if we had so wicked a will; nor willing, if we had been able, to offer him the least injury; That we were a Company of poor Creatures, whom the wonderful Providence of God had

Rescu-
Refused from the Slavery of Algiers, and hoped he would shew Mercy to the Afflicted. The Honest Farmer, moved with our Relation, sent us our Bread, Water, and Olives, with which when we had refresh'd our selves, we lay down, and Refeted three or four hours in the Field; and returning thanks for his Charity, prepared to crawl away at our lame rate. He seeing us thankful Beggers, enlarged his Civility to us, called us into his House, and gave us good warm Bean Pottage, which seemed to me the most Pleasant Food that ever I eat in my Life: Our Leave once more taken, we Advanced towards the City of Mayork, which from this place is about ten Miles: No water could we meet with upon our way, but towards Evening, we discovered one drawing Water at a Well, we hastened to him, and he drew for us; that was our Supper, and there was our Lodging that Night.

The next Morning we came into the Suburbs of the City, the strangeness of our Attire, being bare foot, bare leg'd, having nothing on but loose Coats over our Shirts, drew a crowd of enquirers about us, who we were? whence we came? whither we went? We gave them a particular Account of our Deliverance, with its Circumstances; and they as willing to pity, as to know our Estate, and as ready to Relieve, as pity, accommodated us for the present with food; they gave us Wine, and Strong Waters, and whatever else might recover our exhausted Spirits;

rits; but told us, we must be obliged to tarry in the Suburbs, till the Vice-Roy had notice that such Strangers were Arrived: He had seen Information of us, and we as soon Command to appear before him: He Examined us about many Affairs; what Men of War the Algiers had at Sea? what Strength they were of at Land? But above all, he was most curious, and exact in satisfying himself about our Escape, our Boat, our Hazards at Sea, wherein we had fully Obeyed him, he Ordered we should be maintaine at his own Cost till we could have passage to our own Country.

In this while the People gathered us Money to buy us Cloaths and Shoes, and we wanted nothing that Nature called for, but thankful Hearts to God. And they endeavoured to help to that Mercy too: As I was walking in the Streets viewing the City, a Young Man steps to me, Friend (said he) are you one of those that came lately Over in the Canvas Boat? I Answered, Yes, I was one of them: well (replied the Young Man) It was not the little Boat, but the Great God that brought you Over. I must needs say, I often think of this Young mans words, and as often as I think of them they chide me, that I have not hitherto more publickly owned God in his Gracious and wonderful Deliverance. However, others may be concern'd to Read I know not yet I am concern'd to Write of the great things God has done for me.

SECT.
A Small Monument

Sect. XIII.

The Providences of God which attended us, and Conduced us all safe to England.

It may not prove ungrateful to the Reader, to see how the great God, who began to work for us, perfected his work concerning us: How he that had, and did deliver, would still deliver us; as single Stars have their Glories, yet Constellations are more Glorious: So each Providence of God is Admirable; but taken together, as one serving another, and this helping forwards that, so indeed they are most Admirable; when the Creator viewed his each days work, it so punctually answered its Idea according to which, and Obeyed the Power by which it was Created, that he pronounced it Good; but when he reviewed the Product of the six days, he pronounced all to be very good: Each Letter in a Book speaks skill, but when those Letters form words, those words, sentences, there is a greater Excellency, and more skill Discovered: Separate Providences speak out eminently some of Gods Attributes; but when we put them together, all the Attributes of God shine forth in them, and one Illustrate another, which reflects a light upon the former.

Mayork is a City where our English Ships did seldom Trade, and we being full of desire to see our Native Countrey, preferr'd our humble Petition to the Vice-Roy, That we might have Passage in the King of Spains Gallies, which were then in the Road, bound for Alicant in Spain, which he graciously granted us: What cold Entertainment we met with there from some of our own Countrey, I shall draw a veil over; yet even there we found the Mercies of God. One Merchant took Compassion on us, and Conduced us to an English-mans House, where we Lodged, and gave us half a Dollar to defray our Charges. The next day, understanding that there was an English-man in the Road, bound for England, we went aboard to see for Passage; we made our Condition our best Argument to prevail: The Master told us, he had but little Provision, but if we would be content with Bread, and Beverage, we might go. We accounted that, Royal Fare, and accordingly waited till he set Sail: Whilst we were aboard, two English Merchants came thither also, and were very earnest that we would give them the short of our Adventure: We gratified them, and one of them said; Countrey-men, we have heard your story. After a few days, we set Sail, and when we were at Sea, were hotly Chafed by two Turkish Men of War, but being near Gible-H
A Small Monument

whilst we were talking, the Boat came to fetch him aboard, and in her there was a Youth, who was the Masters Son: He asked his Fathers Mate, who was also his Uncle, who we were? He told him, we were poor Men Escaped from Algiers, but for want of Provision, he doubted we could not go for England. No! (said the Youth) do you think my Father will deny passage to poor English-men, that come from Algiers? Come Countrey-men (said he) come into the Boat, you shall have Passage: He presently acquaints his Father with us and our Condition: He treated us with great kindness, he prevailed with the Merchants to lay in Provision for us: we continued in his Ship till we came away: In the time of our stay, I went aboard one Captain Goodson, who lay then in the Road, he was extremely civil to me; at my departure he gave me twenty Shillings, and set me aboard our Ship, in his own Boat. We met with contrary winds, and were very near Engaging with a Hamburger; it was five weeks before we could reach the Downs: where we arrived in Sep. 1644. The Commander of the Ship was Captain Smith, of Redriff.
To his Ingenious Friend, Mr.
William Okeley, upon his Miraculous Deliverance in his Canvas Boat.

THY Boat, thy Coffin call; and Greet
The Canvas as thy Winding-Sheet:
From Coffin, Shroud Delivered,
Call't Resurrection from the Dead!
And since thy Life's the Great, thy Lines present
As God's Great Mercies Lesser Monument.

FINIS.

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