Defoe
21
.G42
.1724R

Defoe 21.G42.1724B
The Public Library of the City of Boston.



A GENERAL

HISTORY

OF THE

PYRATES,

FROM

Their first RISE and SETTLEMENT in the Island of *Providence*, to the present Time.

With the remarkable Actions and Adventures of the two Female Pyrates

MARY READ and ANNE BONNY;

Contain'd in the following Chapters,

Introduction.
Chap. I. Of Capt. *Avery*.
II. Of Capt. *Martel*.
III. Of Capt. *Teach*.
IV. Of Capt. *Bonnet*.
V. Of Capt. *England*.
VI. Of Capt. *Vane*.
VII. Of Capt. *Rackam*.
VIII. Of Capt. *Davis*.
IX. Of Capt. *Roberts*.
X. Of Capt. *Anstis*.
XI. Of Capt. *Worley*.
XII. Of Capt. *Lowther*.
XIII. Of Capt. *Low*.
XIV. Of Capt. *Evans*.
XV. Of Capt. *Phillips*.
XVI. Of Capt. *Spriggs*.
And their several Crews.

To which is added,

A short ABSTRACT of the Statute and Civil Law, in Relation to Pyracy.

The second EDITION, with considerable ADDITIONS

By Captain CHARLES JOHNSON.

LONDON:

Printed for, and sold by *T. Warner*, at the *Black-Boy* in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1724.

** Defoe 21. G42. 1724B

6-11-64
011
A L Whitney Bk

THE PREFACE.

HAVING taken more than ordinary Pains in collecting the Materials which compose the following History, we could not be satisfied with our selves, if any Thing were wanting to it, which might render it entirely satisfactory to the Publick: It is for this Reason we have subjoined to the Work, a short Abstract of the Laws now in Force against Pyrates, and made Choice of some particular Cases, (the most curious we could meet with) which have been heretofore tried, by which it will appear what Actions have, and what have not been adjudged Pyracy.

It is possible this Book may fall into the Hands of some Masters of Ships, and other honest Mariners, who frequently, by contrary Winds or Tempests, or other Accidents incident to long Voyages, find themselves reduced to great Distresses, either through Scarcity of Provisions, or Want of Stores. I say, it may be a Direction to such as those, what Lengths they may venture to go, without violating the Law of Nations, in Case they should meet other Ships at Sea, or be cast on some inhospitable Shore, which should refuse to trade with them for such Things as are absolutely necessary for the Preservation of their Lives, or the Safety of the Ship and Cargoe.

We have given a few Instances in the Course of this History of the Inducements Men have to engage themselves

headlong in a Life of so much Peril to themselves, and so destructive to the Navigation of the trading World; to remedy which Evil there seems to be but two Ways, either to find Employment for the great Numbers of Seamen turn'd adrift at the Conclusion of a War, and thereby prevent their running into such Undertakings, or to guard sufficiently the Coast of Africa, *the* West-Indies, *and other Places whereto Pyrates resort.*

I cannot but take Notice in this Place, that during this long Peace, I have not so much as heard of a Dutch *Pyrate: It is not that I take them to be honester than their Neighbours; but when we account for it, it will, perhaps, be a Reproach to our selves for our want of Industry: The Reason I take to be, that after a War, when the* Dutch *Ships are laid up, they have a Fishery, where their Seamen find immediate Business, and as comfortable Bread as they had before. Had ours the same Recourse in their Necessities, I'm certain we should find the same Effect from it; for a Fishery is a Trade that cannot be overstock'd; the Sea is wide enough for us all, we need not quarrel for Elbow-room: Its Stores are infinite, and will ever reward the Labourer. Besides, our own Coast, for the most Part, supply the* Dutch, *who employ several hundred Sail constantly in the Trade, and so sell to us our own Fish. I call it our own, for the Sovereignty of the* British Seas, *are to this Day acknowledged us by the* Dutch, *and all the neighbouring Nations; wherefore, if there was a publick Spirit among us, it would be well worth our while to establish a National Fishery, which would be the best Means in the World to prevent Pyracy, employ a Number of the Poor, and ease the Nation of a great Burthen, by lowering the Price of Provision in general, as well as of several other Commodities.*

I need not bring any Proofs of what I advance, viz. *that there are Multitudes of Seamen at this Day unemploy'd; it is but too evident by their straggling, and begging all over the Kingdom. Nor is it so much their Inclination to Idleness, as their own hard Fate, in being cast off after their Work is done, to starve or steal. I have not known a Man of War*

War commiſſion'd for ſeveral Years paſt, but three times her Compliment of Men have offer'd themſelves in 24 Hours; the Merchants take their Advantage of this, leſſen their Wages, and thoſe few who are in Buſineſs are poorly paid, and but poorly fed; ſuch Uſage breeds Diſcontents amongſt them, and makes them eager for any Change.

I ſhall not repeat what I have ſaid in the Hiſtory concerning the Privateers of the West-Indies, *where I have taken Notice they live upon Spoil; and as Cuſtom is a ſecond Nature, it is no Wonder that, when an honeſt Livlyhood is not eaſily had, they run into one ſo like their own; ſo that it may be ſaid, that Privateers in Time of War are a Nurſery for Pyrates againſt a Peace.*

Now we have accounted for their Riſe and Beginning, it will be natural to enquire why they are not taken and deſtroy'd, before they come to any Head, ſeeing that they are ſeldom leſs than twelve Men of War ſtationed in our American *Plantations, even in Time of Peace; a Force ſufficient to contend with a powerful Enemy. This Enquiry, perhaps, will not turn much to the Honour of thoſe concern'd in that Service; however, I hope I may be excus'd, if what I hint is with a Deſign of ſerving the Publick.*

I ſay, 'tis ſtrange that a few Pyrates ſhould ravage the Seas for Years, without ever being light upon, by any of our Ships of War; when in the mean Time, they (the Pyrates) ſhall take Fleets of Ships; it looks as if one was much more diligent in their Affairs, than the other. Roberts *and his Crew, alone, took* 400 *Sail, before he was deſtroy'd.*

This Matter, I may probably ſet right another Time, and only obſerve for the preſent, that the Pyrates at Sea, have the ſame Sagacity with Robbers at Land; as the latter underſtand what Roads are moſt frequented, and where it is moſt likely to meet with Booty, ſo the former know what Latitude to lie in, in order to intercept Ships; and as the Pyrates happen to be in want of Proviſions, Stores, or any particular Lading, they cruiſe accordingly for ſuch Ships, and are morally certain of meeting with them; and by the ſame Reaſon, if the Men of War cruiſe in thoſe Latitudes,

they might be as sure of finding the Pyrates, as the Pyrates are to find the Merchant Ships; and if the Pyrates are not to be met with by the Men of War in such a Latitude, then surely down the same Latitude may the Merchant Ships arrive safely to their Port.

To make this a little plainer to my Country Readers, I must observe that all our outward bound Ships, sometime after they leave the Land, steer into the Latitude of the Place they are bound to; if to the West-India *Islands, or any Part of the Main of* America, *as* New-York, New-England, Virginia, &c. *because the Latitude is the only Certainty in those Voyages to be found, and then they sail due West, till they come to their Port, without altering their Course. In this West Way lie the Pyrates, whether it be to* Virginia, &c. *or* Nevis, St. Christophers, Montserat, Jamaica, &c. *so that if the Merchant Ships bound thither, do not fall a Prey to them one Day, they must another: Therefore I say, if the Men of War take the same Track, the Pyrates must unavoidably fall into their Mouths, or be frighted away, for where the Game is, there will the Vermin be; if the latter should be the Case, the trading Ships, as I said before, will pass unmolested and safe, and the Pyrates be reduced to take Refuge in some of their lurking Holes about the uninhabited Islands, where their Fate would be like that of the Fox in his Den, if they should venture out, they would be hunted and taken, and if they stay within they must starve.*

I must observe another Thing, that the Pyrates generally shift their Rovings, according to the Season of the Year; in the Summer they cruise mostly along the Coast of the Continent of America, *but the Winters there, being a little too cold for them, they follow the Sun, and go towards the Islands, at the approach of cold Weather. Every Man who has used the* West-India *Trade, knows this to be true; therefore, since we are so well acquainted with all their Motions, I cannot see why our Men of War under a proper Regulation, may not go to the Southward, instead of lying up all the Winter useless: But I shall proceed too far*

in

in this Enquiry, I shall therefore quit it, and say something of the following Sheets, which the Author may venture to assure the Reader that they have one Thing to recommend them, which is Truth; those Facts which he himself was not an Eye-Witness of, he had from the authentick Relations of the Persons concern'd in taking the Pyrates, as well as from the Mouths of the Pyrates themselves, after they were taken, and he conceives no Man can produce better Testimonies to support the Credit of any History.

It will be observed, that the Account of the Actions of Roberts *runs into a greater Length, than that of any other Pyrate, for which we can assign two Reasons, first, because he ravaged the Seas longer than the rest, and of Consequence there must be a greater Scene of Business in his Life: Secondly, being resolved not to weary the Reader, with tiresome Repetitions: When we found the Circumstances in* Roberts's *Life, and other Pyrates, either as to pyratical Articles, or any Thing else, to be the same, we thought it best to give them but once, and chose* Roberts's *Life for that Purpose, he having made more Noise in the World, than some others.*

As to the Lives of our two female Pyrates, we must confess they may appear a little Extravagant, yet they are never the less true for seeming so, but as they were publickly try'd for their Pyracies, there are living Witnesses enough to justify what we have laid down concerning them; it is certain, we have produced some Particulars which were not so publickly known, the Reason is, we were more inquisitive into the Circumstances of their past Lives, than other People, who had no other Design, than that of gratifying their own private Curiosity: If there are some Incidents and Turns in their Stories, which may give them a little the Air of a Novel, *they are not invented or contrived for that Purpose, it is a Kind of Reading this Author is but little acquainted with, but as he himself was exceedingly diverted with them, when they were related to him, he thought they might have the same Effect upon the Reader.*

I presume we need make no Apology for giving the Name of a History to the following Sheets, though they contain no-

thing but the Actions of a Parcel of Robbers. It is Bravery and Stratagem in War which make Actions worthy of Record; in which Sense the Adventures here related will be thought deserving that Name. Plutarch *is very circumstantial in relating the Actions of* Spartacus, *the Slave, and makes the Conquest of him, one of the greatest Glories of* Marcus Crassus; *and it is probable, if this Slave had liv'd a little longer,* Plutarch *would have given us his Life at large.* Rome, *the Mistress of the World, was no more at first than a Refuge for Thieves and Outlaws; and if the Progress of our Pyrates had been equal to their Beginning; had they all united, and settled in some of those Islands, they might, by this Time, have been honoured with the Name of a Commonwealth, and no Power in those Parts of the World could have been able to dispute it with them.*

If we have seem'd to glance, with some Freedom, at the Behaviour of some Governors of Provinces abroad, it has been with Caution; and, perhaps, we have, not declar'd as much as we knew: However, we hope those Gentlemen in the same Station, who have never given Occasion for the like Censure, will take no Offence, tho' the Word Governor is sometimes made use of.

P. S. *It will be necessary to add a Word or two to this Preface, in order to inform the Reader, that there are several material Additions made to this second Impression, which swelling the Book in Bulk, must of Consequence add a small Matter to its Price.*

The first Impression having been received with so much Success by the Publick, occasioned a very earnest Demand for a second: In the mean Time, several Persons who had been taken by the Pyrates, as well as others who had been concerned in taking of them, have been so kind to communicate several Facts and Circumstances to us, which had escaped us in the first Impression. This occasioned some Delay, therefore if we have not brought it out, as soon as wish'd, it was to render it the more compleat.

We shall not enter into a Detail of all the new Matter inserted here, but the Description of the Islands St. Thome,

&c.

&c. and that of Brasil are not to be passed by, without a little Notice. It must be observed, that our speculative Mathematicians and Geographers, who are, no doubt, Men of the greatest Learning, seldom travel farther than their Closets for their Knowledge, &c. are therefore unqualified to give us a good Description of Countries: It is for this Reason that all our Maps and Atlasses are so monstrously faulty, for these Gentlemen are obliged to take their Accounts from the Reports of illiterate Men.

It must be noted also, that when the Masters of Ships make Discoveries this Way, they are not fond of communicating them; a Man's knowing this or that Coast, better than others, recommends him in his Business, and makes him more useful, and he'll no more discover it than a Tradesman will the Mystery of his Trade.

The Gentleman who has taken the Pains to make these Observations, is Mr. Atkins, a Surgeon, an ingenious Man in his own Profession, and one who is not ty'd down by any narrow Considerations from doing a Service to the Publick, and has been pleased generously to communicate them for the good of others. I don't doubt, but his Observations will be found curious and very serviceable to such as Trade to those Parts, besides a Method of Trade is here laid down with the Portuguese, which may prove of great Profit to some of our Countrymen, if followed according to his Plan.

It is hoped these Things will satisfy the Publick, that the Author of the following Sheets considered nothing so much as making the Book useful;—— tho' he has been informed, that some Gentlemen have rais'd an Objection against the Truth of its Contents, viz. that it seems calculated to entertain and divert.—— If the Facts are related with some Agreeableness and Life, we hope it will not be imputed as a Fault; but as to its Credit, we can assure them that the Sea-faring Men, that is all that know the Nature of these Things, have not been able to make the least Objection to its Credit:—— And he will be bold to affirm,

that

that there is not a Fact or Circumstance in the whole Book, but he is able to prove by credible Witnesses.

There have been some other Pyrates, besides those whose History are here related, such as are hereafter named, and their Adventures are as extravagant and full of Mischief, as those who are the Subject of this Book.——The Author has already begun to digest them into Method, and as soon as he receives some Materials to make them compleat, (which he shortly expects from the West-Indies*) If the Publick gives him Encouragement he intends to venture upon a second Volume.*



THE

THE CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE *Danger of Commonwealths from an Increaſe of Pyrates*, 17. *Pyrates in the Times of* Marius *and* Sylla, 18. *Takes* Julius Cæſar, 19. *The Barbarity of theſe Pyrates*, ib. *They ſpare* Cæſar, *and why*, ib. *His Behaviour amongſt them*, ib. Cæſar *obtains his Liberty for a Ranſom*, ib. *Attacks and takes the Pyrates*, 20. *Hangs them at* Troy, ib. *They increaſe again to a prodigious Strength*, ib. *Plunder at the Gates of* Rome, 21. *The mock Homage they paid the* Romans, ib. Pompey *the Great, appointed General againſt them*, 22. *A prodigious Fleet and Army aſſign'd him*, ib. *His Conduct and good Fortune*, ib, *The Gallantry of thoſe Pyraies*, 23. *Receive an Overthrow*, ib. Barbarouſe, *a Pyrate, his Beginning*, ib. *His great Strength*, 24. Selim Eutemi, *King of* Algiers, *courts his Friendſhip*, ib. *Makes himſelf King, and how*, ib. *The King of* Tunis *overthrown by him*, ib. *Leaves the Inheritance to his Brother*, ib. *The* Weſt-Indies *commodious for Pyrates, and why*, 24, 25. *The Explanation of the Word* Keys, 25. *The Pyrates conceal their Booty on them*, ib. *The Pyrates Security in thoſe Parts*, 26. *The Riſe of Pyrates ſince the Peace of* Utrecht *accounted for*, 26, 27. *An Expedition from* Jamaica, *to plunder the* Spaniards, 28. *The* Spaniards *ſue for Juſtice to the Government of* Jamaica, ib. *The Plunderers turn Pyrates*, 29. *The* Spaniards *make Repriſals*, ib. *The Names of Ships taken by them*, ib. *The plunder'd Seamen join the Pyrates*, ib. Providence *fixed on as a Place of Retreat by them*, 30. *That Iſland deſcribed*, ib. *The Lords Addreſs to her late Majeſty for ſecuring* Providence, ib. *An Order of Council in this Reign to the ſame Purpoſe*, 31. *A Liſt of Men of War employ'd for the Defence of the*

the Plantations, 32. *Captain* Woods Rogers *made Governor of* Providence, ib. *The King's Proclamation for suppressing Pyrates*, 33, 34. *How the Pyrates used the Proclamation*, 34. *Great Divisions amongst them*, 35. *How made quiet*, ib. *Several of the Pyrates surrender to the Governor of* Bermudas, ib. *The Fate of the rest*, ib. Woods Rogers *his Arrival at* Providence, ib. Vane's *Behaviour*, 36. Woods Rogers *employs the pardon'd Pyrates*, ib. *Their Conduct*, ib. *Some of them hang'd for new Pyracies*, 37. *Their strange Behaviour at the Place of Execution*, ib. *Some Proceedings betwixt the* English *and* Spaniards, 38. *The* Spaniards *surprize the* Greyhound *Man of War, and how*, ib. *Quit her*, 39. *The Crew of a* Spanish Guarda del Costa *hang'd at* Jamaica, *and why*, ib. *Sir* Nicholas Laws *his Letter to the* Alcaldes *of* Trinidado, 39, 40. *Mr.* Joseph Laws, *Lieutenant of the* Happy Snow *his Letter to the* Alcaldes *of* Trinidado, 41. *The* Alcaldes *Answer to the Lieutenant's Letter*, 41, 42. *The Lieutenant's Reply to the* Alcaldes *Answer*, 42, 43. *The* Alcaldes *Answer again*, 43. *Some Account of* Richard Holland, ib. *Prizes taken by him*, 44.

CHAP. I.

Of Captain AVERY, and his CREW.

Romantick Reports of his Greatness, 45, 46. *His Birth*, 46. *Is Mate of a* Bristol *Man*, 47, *For what Voyage design'd*, ib. *Tampers with the Seamen*, ib. *Forms a Plot for carrying off the Ship*, 47, 48. *Executes it, and how*, ib. *The Pyrates take a rich Ship belonging to the* Great Mogul, 50. *The* Great Mogul *threaten the* English *Settlements*, 51. *The Pyrates steer their Course back for* Madagascar, 52. *Call a Council. Put all the Treasure on Board of* Avery's *Ship*, ib. Avery *and his Crew treacherously leaves his Confederates; go to the Isle of* Providence *in the* West-Indies, 53. *Sell the Ship, go to* North-America *in a Sloop*, 54. *They disperse*, Avery *goes to* New-England, ib. *From thence to* Ireland, ib. Avery *afraid to expose his Diamonds to sale. Goes over to* England, ib. *Puts his Wealth into Merchants Hands, of* Bristol, 55. *Changes his Name. Lives at* Biddiford, ib. *The Merchants send him no Supplies*, ib. *Importunes them. Goes privately to* Bristol, *they threaten to discover him*, ib. *Goes over to* Ireland, *sollicites them from thence*, 56. *Is very poor, works his Passage over to* Plymouth, *walks to* Biddiford. *Dies a Beggar*, ib. *An Account of* Avery's *Confederates*, ib. *Their Settlement at* Madagascar, 57. *They meet other Pyrates; an Account of them*, ib. *The*

Pyrates

Pyrates arrive to great Power. The Inhabitants described, 58. *Their Policy, Government*, &c. *Places describ'd*, 59. *The Arrival of Captain* Woods Rogers *at that Part of the Island*, 61. *Their Design of surprizing his Ship*, 62. *One of these Princes formerly a Waterman on the* Thames, 63. *Their Secretaries, Men of no Learning. Could neither write nor read*, ib.

CHAP. II.

Of Captain MARTEL, and his CREW.

WAY *to suppress Pyrates*, 64. *The Increase of Pyrates accounted for*, 65. *Where* Martel *learned his Trade*, ib. *The Names of several Prizes taken, by him*, 65, 66, 67. *His Strength at* Sancta Cruz, 67. *His Manner of fortifying himself there*, ib. *Is attack'd by the* Scarborough *Man of War*, 68. *His defence by Land and Sea*, ib. *His desperate Escape*, 69. *His miserable End*, ib.

CHAP. III.

Of Captain TEACH, alias BLACK-BEARD.

HIS *Beginning*, 70. *His Confederacy with* Hornygold, ib. *The Confederacy broke*, 71. *Takes a large* Guiney *Man*, ib. *Engages the* Scarborough *Man of War*, ib. *His Alliance with Major* Stede Bonnet, ib. *Depose his new Ally*, ib. *His Advice to the Major*, ib. *His Progress and Success*, 72. *Takes Prizes in Sight of* Charles-Town, 73. *Sends Ambassadors to the Governor of* Carolina, *upon an impudent Demand*, ib. *Runs his Ship aground designedly*, 74. *His Cruelty to some of his own Companions. Surrenders to the King's Proclamation*, 75. *The Governor of* North-Carolina's *exceeding Generosity to him*, ib. *He marries*, ib. *The Number of his Wives then living*, ib. *His conjugal Virtues*, 75, 76. *Makes a second Excursion in the Way of pyrating*, 76. *Some State Legerdemain betwixt him and the Governor*, ib. *His modest Behaviour in the River*, 77. *His Frolicks on Shore*, ib. *The Merchants apply for a Force against him, and where*, 78. *A Proclamation with a Reward for taking or killing of Pyrates*, 79, 80. *Lieutenant* Maynard *sent in pursuit of him*, 80. Black-beard's *good Intelligence*, 81. *The Lieutenant engages* Black-beard, ib. *A most execrable Health drank by* Black-beard 82. *The Fight bloody; the Particulars of it*, 82, 83, 84. Black-beard *kill'd*, 84. *His Sloop taken*, ib. *The Lieutenant's Conduct*, 84, 85. *A Reflection on the Humours of Seamen*, 85. Black-beard's *Correspondents discover'd*

cover'd by his Papers, ib. Black-beard's *desperate Resolution before the Fight*, ib. *The Lieutenant and Governor no very good Friends*, 86. *The Prisoners hang'd*, ib. Samuel Odel *saved, and why*, ib. *The good Luck of* Israel Hands, 87. Black-beard's *mischievous Frolicks*, ib. *His* Beard *described*, ib. *Several Instances of his Wickedness*, 88, 89. *Some Memorandums taken from his Journal*, 89. *The Names of the Pyrates kill'd in the Engagement*, 90. *Of those executed*, ib. *The Value of the Prize*, ib.

CHAP. IV.

Of Major STEDE BONNET, and his CREW.

BRED *a Gentleman*, 91. *Supposed to be disorder'd in his Senses*, ib. *His Beginning as a Pyrate*, ib. *Takes Prizes*, 92. *Divisions in his Crew*, ib. *Meets* Black-beard, ib. *Is deposed from his Command*, 93. *His melancholy Reflections*, ib. *Surrenders to the King's Proclamation*, ib. *His new Project*, ib. *Saves some Pyrates marroon'd*, 94. *Begins the old Trade again*, 95. *An Account of Prizes taken by him*, 95, 96. *Colonel* Rhet *goes in Quest of Pyrates*, 97. Yates *the Pyrate surrenders*, 98. *An Engagement betwixt Colonel* Rhet *and Major* Bonnet, 100. *An Account of the kill'd and wounded*, ib. *The Prisoners carried to* Charles-Town, ib. *The Major and the Master Escape*, ib. *Taken again by Colonel* Rhet, 101. *A Court of Vice-Admiralty held*, ib. *The Names of those arraign'd*, 102, 103. *The Form of their Indictment*, 104. *Their Defence*, 105. *The Names of those who received Sentence*, 106. *An excellent Speech made by the Lord Chief Justice on pronouncing Sentence on the Major*, 107 *to* 112.

CHAP. V.

Of Capt. EDW. ENGLAND, and his CREW.

HIS *Beginning and Character*, 113, 114. *A most barbarous Action of his Crew*, 114, 115. *The Names of Prizes taken by him*, 115, 116. *The Misfortunes of his Confederates*, 116, 117. England's *Progress half round the Globe*, 117, 118. *A short Description of the Coast of* Malabar, ib. *What they did at* Madagascar, 118. *Takes an* East-India *Man*, ib. *The Particulars of the Action in Captain* Mackra's *Letter*, 119 *to* 122. *Captain* Mackra *ventures on Board the Pyrate*, 122. *Is in Danger of being murder'd*, 123. *Preserv'd by a pleasant Incident*, ib. *The Pyrates Generosity to him*, ib. *Captain* England *deposed*,

deposed, and why, 124. *Maroon'd on the Island* Mauritius, ib. *Some Account of that Island*, ib. *The Adventures of the Company continued*, 124 *to* 126. Angria, *an* Indian *Pyrate*, 127. *his Strength by Land and Sea*, ib. *The* East-India *Company's Wars with him*, 127, 128. *The Pyrates go to the Island of* Melinda, 129. *Their barbarous Behaviour there*, ib. *Hear of Captain* Mackra's *Designs against them*, ib. *Their Reflections thereupon*, 130. *Sail for* Cochin, *a* Dutch *Settlement*, ib. *The Pyrates and the* Dutch *very good Friends*, 131. *Mutual Presents made betwixt the Pyrates and the Governor*, ib. *The Pyrates in a Fright*, 133. *Almost starv'd*, ib. *Take a Prize of an immense Value*, 134. *Take an* Ostend East-India *Man*, ib. *A short Description of* Madagascar, 135, 136. *A prodigious Dividend made by the Pyrates*, 136. *A Fellow's Way of increasing his Diamonds*, ib. *Some of the Pyrates quit, and join th Remains of* Avery, ib. *The Proceedings of the Men of War in those Parts*, 137, 138. *Some* Dutch *Men petition to be among the Pyrates*, 138. *The Pyrates divided in their Measures*, 139. *Break up*, ib. *What became of them*, 139, 140.

CHAP. VI.

Of Capt. CHALES VANE, and his CREW.

VANE's *Behaviour at* Providence, 141. *The Names of Prizes taken by him*, 141, 142. *Is deserted by his Consort* Yates, 143. Yates *surrenders at* Charles-Town, ib. *A Stratagem of* Vane's, 144. Black-beard *and* Vane *meet*, 145. *They salute after the Pyrates Manner*, ib. Vane *deposed from his Command, and why*, 146. 15 *Hands degraded, and turned out with him*, ib. *A Sloop given them*, 147. *They sail in Quest of Adventures, and take Prizes*, ib. Vane *cast away upon an uninhabited Island*, ib. *Meets with an old Acquaintance*, 148. Vane *seiz'd with a Qualm of Honour*, ib. *Ships himself on Board a Vessel, passing for another Man*, ib. *Is discover'd, with the Manner how*, 149. *Carried to* Jamaica, *and hang'd*, ib.

CHAP. VII.

Of Capt. RACKAM, and his CREW.

RACK'AM's *beginning as a Pyrate*, 150, 151. *An Account of Prizes taken by him*, 151. *Is attack'd by a* Spanish *Guard Ship*, ib. *His Stratagem to escape*, 152. *More Prizes taken by him*, 153. *Is taken, and how*, 154. *Tried, condemned,*

ned, and exec. ted at Jamaica, ib. *The Names of his Crew condemn'd with him*, 154. *An extraordinary Case of nine taken with him*, ib. *Some Account of the Proceedings against them*, 154, 155.

The LIFE of MARY READ.

MARY Read's *Birth*, 157. *Reasons for dressing her in Breeches*, 158. *Waits upon a Lady; goes into the Army*, 159. *Her Behaviour in several Engagements*, ib. *She falls in Love with her Comrade*, ib. *Her Sex discovered; the two Troopers married*, 160. *Settles at* Breda, ib. *Her Husband dies, she reassumes the Breeches*, ib. *Goes to* Holland. *To the* West-Indies, 161. *Turns Pyrate.* Anne Bonny, *another Pyrate, falls in Love with her*, 162. *Her Adventures to* 165.

The LIFE of ANNE BONNY.

ANNE Bonny *born a Bastard*, 166. *Her Mother's Intrigues strangely discover'd*, 167. *Her Father lies with his own Wife, by mistake*, 169. *She proves with Child; the Husband jealous*, 170. *He separates from his Wife; lives with* Anne Bonny's *Mother*, 171. Anne Bonny *put into Breeches for a Disguise, how discovered*, ib. *The Father becomes poor. Goes to* Carolina, 172. *Improves his Fortune.* Anne Bonny *marries against his Consent. Her fierce Temper*, ib. *Goes to* Providence *with her Husband*, ib. *Enticed to Sea in Men's Cloaths, by* Rackam *the Pyrate*, 173. *Reproaches* Rackam *with Cowardice at his Execution*, ib.

CHAP. IX.

Of Capt. HOWEL DAVIS, and his CREW.

THE *Original of* Davis, 174. *Is taken by the Pyrate* England, ib. England's *Generosity to him*, 175. *Is cast into Prison at* Barbadoes, *and why*, ib. *Goes to* Providence, ib. *Employ'd in a trading Vessel, seizes the Ship*, 176. *An Instance of his great Courage and good Conduct*, 177, 178. *Goes to* Cape de Verd Islands, ib. *Take several Prizes*, ib. *Take the Fort of St.* Jago *by Storm*, 180. *A Council call'd*, ib. *Sail for* Gambia, 181. *Takes* Gambia *Castle by Stratagem*, 181 *to* 184. *Meets* La Bouche, *a* French *Pyrate*, 184. *His Adventures with* Cocklyn *the Pyrate, at* Sierraleone, 185. *The Fort attack'd and taken, by theee Confederate Pyrates*, 186. *The Pyrates quarrel and part*, ib. *The laconick Speech of* Davis *to them*, ib. *His fierce Engagement with a large* Dutch *Ship*, 187. *An Account of several Prizes taken by him*, ib. *A Description of the*

CHAP. XIV.

Of Capt. JOHN EVANS and his CREW.

BEGINS *with House-breaking*, 391. *Seizes a Sloop*, 392. *Robs a House the same Night*, ib. *Put to Sea, and take valuable Prizes*, 393. Evans *shot dead by his Boatswain*, 394, *His Death reveng'd*, ib. *The Company breaks up*, 395.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Capt. JOHN PHILLIPS, and his CREW.

PHILLIPS *his Original*, 396. *How he became a Pyrate*, ib. *His Return to* England *accounted for*, ib. *Ships again for* Newfoundland, ib. *Deserts his Ship in* Peter *Harbour*, 397. *He and four others seize a Vessel*, ib. *Sail out a pyrating*, ib. *Articles sworn to upon a Hatchet*, ib. *A Copy of the Articles*, 397, 398. *Ill Blood amongst them, and why*, 399. *Are almost starved*, ib, *Take Prizes*, ib. Phillips *proposes to clean at* Tobago, *and why*, ib. *Meets an old Acquaintance*, 400. *Frighten'd from the Island*, ib. *A Conspiracy to run away with the Prize*, ib. *A Skirmish*, ib. *The Carpenter's Dexterity in cutting off Legs*, ib. Fern *kill'd by* Phillips, *and why*, 401. *The Danger of attempting an Escape among the Pyrates*, ib. *Captain* Mortimer's *Bravery, and hard Fate*, 401, 402. *Captain* Mortimer's *Brother escapes, and how*, 402. Cheeseman's *Steps for overthrowing the Pyrates Government*, 403. *A Digression concerning* Newfoundland, *and its Trade*, 403, 404. *The Pyrates recruited with Men from thence*, 405. Phillips *his Conscience pricks him*, ib. Dependence Ellery, *a Saint, oblig'd to dance by the Pyrates*, 406. *A brave Action perform'd by* Cheesemen, 407. *Carries the Pyrate Ship into* Boston, 408. *The dying Declarations of* John Rose Archer, *and* William White, 408, 409.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Captain SPRIGGS, and his CREW.

SPRIGGS *his Beginning*, 411. *How he set up for himself*, ib. *Sweats his Prisoners for Diversion*, 412. *The Pyrates mistake in drinking Healths*, 413. *Take* Hawkins *a second time*, 414. *Burn his Ship, and why*, ib. *An odd Entertainment given him by the Pyrates*, ib. *Captain* Hawkins *how disposed of*, 414, 415. Spriggs *barbarous Usage of his Prisoners*, 415, 416. *Takes a Ship loaden with Horses*, 416. *An odd Frolick of the Pyrates*, ib. *Two particular Relations of Pyracy, from* 217 *to* 224,

THE

The CONTENTS.

CHAP. XII.

Of Capt. WORLEY, and his CREW.

HIS *mad Beginning*, 342. *His Succeſs*, 343, 344. *Bind themſelves by Oath to take no Quarters*, 344. *A falſe Alarm at* James-Town, 345. Worley *catches a* Tartar, ib. *The deſperate Reſolution of the Pyrates*, 346. Worley *hanged*, ib.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Capt. GEO. LOWTHER, and his CREW.

HIS *Beginning*, 347. *Plots with* Maſſey, 349. Maſſey's *Conduct*, 350, 351. Lowther's *Propoſal*, 351. *A Copy of Articles drawn up, and ſworn to*, 352. *The Pyrates going by the Ears*, 354. *How Rogues are made Friends*, ib. Lowther *and* Maſſey *part*, 355. *A Digreſſion concerning* Maſſey's *mad Conduct*, 355 *to* 357. Lowther *and* Low *meet*, 358. *An Alliance betwixt them*, ib. *A Liſt of Prizes taken by them*, 359. *An unlucky Adventure at* Cape Mayo, 359, 360. Lowther *and* Low *break the Alliance, and part*, 361. *The Bravery of Captain* Gwatkins, ib. *The Pyrates much reduced*, 362. *Winter in* North-Carolina, ib. *Put to Sea again*, ib. *Make for the Iſland of* Blanco, 363. *The Iſland deſcribed*, ib. *Are ſurpriſed and taken*, 364. Lowther *eſcapes*, ib. *The Names of the Priſoners, and Fate*, ib. Lowther's *Death*, 365.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Capt. LOW and his CREW.

LOW's *Original*, 366, 367. *The Virtues of his Family*, ib. *His bold Beginnings*, 368. *Declares War againſt the whole World*, ib. *His Succeſs*, 369, 370. *Like to periſh by a Storm*, 371, 372. *Sail for the Weſtern Iſland*, 373. *Treats with the Governor of St.* Michael *for Water*, ib. *Several Inſtances of their wanton Cruelty*, 374. Low's *Conſort taken, and how*, 376. *A horrid Maſſacre committed by* Low. 376, 377. *Takes a Multitude of Prizes*, 377. *Another barbarous Maſſacre*, 379. *More Cruelties*, 379, 380. Low *and his Conſort attack'd by the* Greyhound *Man of War*, 380, 381. Low *deſerts his Conſort*, 381. *The Conſort taken*, ib. *Carried to* Rhode Iſland, 382. *The Names, Age, and Places of Birth, of the Priſoners*, 382, 383. *A Compliment paid to Captain* Solgard, *by the Corporation of* New-York, 384. *The Reſolution of the Mayor and Common-Council*, ib. *The Preamble of the Captain's Freedom*, 385. *More Inſtances of* Low's *Cruelty*, 388, 389. *His Adventures continued to* 390.

CHAP.

Brabery of Skyrme, *a* Welch *Pyrate*, 268. *The surly Humour of some of the Prisoners*, 268, 269. *The* Swallow *comes up with* Roberts, 270. Roberts *his Dress described*, 271. *Is kill'd*, 272. *His Character*, ib. *His Ship taken*, 273. *The Behaviour of the Pyrates, when Prisoners*, 275. *A Conspiracy of theirs discovered*, 276, 277. *Reflections on the Manner of trying them*, 278, 279, 280. *The Form of the Commission for trying the Pyrates*, 281. *The Oath taken by the Commissioners*, 282. *The Names of those arraign'd taken in the Ship* Ranger, 282, 283, 284. *The Form of the Indictment*, 284, 285. *The Sum of the Evidence against them*, 285, 286. *Their Defence*, 287, 288. *The Names of the Prisoners of the* Royal Fortune, 288, 289, 290. *Proceedings against them*, 291 *to* 304. Harry Glasby *acquitted*, 304. *The particular Tryal of Captain* James Skyrme, 304, 305. *Of* John Walden, 305 *to* 308. *Of* Peter Scudamore, 308 *to* 311. *Of* Robert Johnson, 311, 312. *Of* George Wilson, 312 *to* 317. *Of* Benjamin Jeffries, 317, 318. *Of* John Mansfield, 318, 319. *Of* William Davis, 319 *to* 321. *The Names of those executed at* Cape Corso, 321, 322. *The Petition of some condemn'd*, 323. *The Courts Resolution*, ibid. *The Form of an Indenture of a pardon'd Pyrate*, 324. *The Names of those pardon'd upon Indenture to serve seven Years*, 325. *The Pyrates how disposed of*, 326. *The dying Behaviour of those executed*, 326 to 329.

CHAP. XII.

Of Capt. ANSTIS, and his CREW.

His Beginning as a Pyrate, 330. *A most brutish Action supposed to be committed by his Crew*, 331. *Civil Discords amongst them*, 332. *The Pyrates Term of* Round Robin *explain'd*, ib. *They land on an uninhabited Island*, ib. *A Petition for Pardon agreed on*, ib. *The Form of that Petition*, 333. *Their Diversions, and Manner of living on the Island*, 334, 335. *Their mock Tryal of one another*, 336 *to* 338. *They put to Sea again*, 338. *Their Petition not answer'd*, ib. *The* Morning Star *wreck'd*, ib. Anstis *narrowly escapes being taken*, 339. *A Plot discover'd*, ib. *The Crew gathers Strength again*, 240. *Surprised by the* Winchelsea *Man of War at* Tobago, ib. *Fire one of their Ships*, ib. Anstis *escapes*, ib. *Is killed by a Conspiracy of his own Men*, 341. *The Ship surrender'd at* Curaco, ib. *Several hang'd there*, ib. Fen *hanged at* Antegoa, ib. *The good Luck of those who fled to the Woods*, ib.

the Island of St. Thome, Del Principe, *and* Annobono, *from* 188 *to* 204. *The* Dutch *Governor of* Acra *taken by* Davis, 205. Davis *well received by the Governor of* Princes, ib. *His Stratagem to come at the Wealth of the Island*, 206. *Is counterplotted and kill'd, by an Ambuscade*, 207.

CHAP. XI.

Of Capt. BAR. ROBERTS, and his CREW.

HIS *Beginning*, 208. *Elected Captain in the Room of* Davis, 209. *The Speech of Lord* Dennis *at the Election*, ib. *Lord* Sympson *objects against a Papist*, ib. *The Death of* Davis *reveng'd*, 210. Roberts *sails Southward, in Quest of Adventures*, 211. *The Names of the Prizes taken by them*, ib. Brasil *describ'd, from* 211 *to* 221. Roberts *falls into a Fleet of* Portuguese, 221. *Boards and takes the richest Ship amongst them*, 222. *Make the* Devil's *Islands*, 223. *An unfortunate Adventure of* Roberts, 224. Kennedy's *Treachery*, 225. Irishmen *excluded by* Roberts *and his Crew*, 230. *Articles sworn to by them*, ib. *A Copy of them from*, 230 *to* 233. *Some Account of the Laws and Customs of the Pyrates*, 233, 234. *An Instance of* Roberts *his Cunning*, 234. *He proceeds again upon Business, and takes Prizes*, 235. *Narrowly escapes being taken*, 236. *Sails for the Island* Dominico, ib. *Another Escape*, 237. *Sails for* Newfoundland, ib. *Plunders, sinks and burns* 22 *Sail in the Harbour of* Trepassi, ib. *Plunders ten Sail of* French *Men*, 238. *The mad Behaviour of the Crew*, 238, 239. *A Correspondence hinted at*, 240. *The Pyrates caress'd at the Island of St.* Bartholomew, ib. *In extream Distress*, 241, 242. *Sail for* Martinico, 243. *A Stratagem of* Roberts, ib. *The insolent Device in his Colours*, 244. *And odd Compliment paid to* Roberts, ib. *Three Men desert the Pyrates, and are taken by them*, 245. *Their Tryal*, 245, 246. *Two executed, and one saved*, 247. *The Brigantine deserts them*, 248. *Great Divisions in the Company*, 248, 249. *A Description of* Serraleone *River*, 250. *The Nams of* English *settled there, and Way of Life*, 251, 252, 253. *The* Onslow *belonging to the* African *Company taken*, 254. *The Pyrates Contempt of Soldiers*, ib. *They are for entertaining a Chaplain*, ib. *Their Skirmish with the* Calabar *Negroes*, 256. *The* King Solomon, *belonging to the* African *Company, taken*, 258. *The Frolicks of the Pyrates*, ib. *Take eleven Sail in* Whydah *Road*, 259. *A comical Receipt given by the Pyrates*, 260. *A cruel Action of* Roberts, 261. *Sails for* Anna Bona, 262. *The Progress of the* Swallow *Man of War, in Pursuit of* Roberts, *from* 262 *to* 267. Roberts *his Consort taken*, 267. *The*

THE HISTORY OF THE PYRATES.

INTRODUCTION.

AS the Pyrates in the *West-Indies* have been so formidable and numerous, that they have interrupted the Trade of *Europe* into those Parts; and our *English* Merchants, in particular, have suffered more by their Depredations, than by the united Force of *France* and *Spain*, in the late War: We do not doubt but the World will be curious to know the Original and Progress of these Desperadoes, who were the Terror of the trading Part of the World.

But before we enter upon their particular History, it will not be amiss, by way of Introduction, to shew, by some Examples drawn from History, the great Mischief and Danger which threaten Kingdoms and Commonwealths, from the Increase

of these sort of Robbers; when either by the Troubles of particular Times, or the Neglect of Governments, they are not crush'd before they gather Strength.

It has been the Case heretofore, that when a single Pyrate has been suffered to range the Seas, as not being worth the Notice of a Government, he has by Degrees grown so powerful, as to put them to the Expence of a great deal of Blood and Treasure, before he was suppress'd. We shall not examine how it came to pass, that our Pyrates in the *West-Indies* have continually increased till of late; this is an Enquiry which belongs to the Legislature, or Representatives of the People in Parliament, and to them we shall leave it.

Our Business shall be briefly to shew, what from Beginnings, as inconsiderable as these, other Nations have suffered.

In the Times of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Rome* was in her greatest Strength, yet she was so torn in Pieces by the Factions of those two great Men, that every Thing which concerned the publick Good was altogether neglected, when certain Pyrates broke out from *Cicilia*, a Country of *Asia Minor*, situate on the Coast of the *Mediteranean*, betwixt *Syria* on the East, from whence it is divided by Mount *Tauris*, and *Armenia Minor* on the West. This Beginning was mean and inconsiderable, having but two or three Ships, and a few Men, with which they cruised about the *Greek* Islands, taking such Ships as were very ill arm'd or weakly defended; however, by the taking of many Prizes, they soon increased in Wealth and Power: The first Action of their's which made a Noise, was the taking of *Julius Cæsar*, who was as yet a Youth, and who being obliged to fly from the Cruelties of *Sylla*, who sought his Life, went into *Bithinia*, and sojourned a while with *Nicomedes*, King of that Country; in his Return back

by

by Sea, he was met with, and taken, by ſome of theſe Pyrates, near the Iſland of *Pharmacuſa*: Theſe Pyrates had a barbarous Cuſtom of tying their Priſoners Back to Back and throwing them into the Sea; but, ſuppoſing *Cæſar* to be ſome Perſon of a high Rank, becauſe of his purple Robes, and the Number of his Attendants, they thought it would be more for their Profit to preſerve him, in hopes of receiving a great Sum for his Ranſom; therefore they told him he ſhould have his Liberty, provided he would pay them twenty Talents, which they judg'd to be a very high Demand, in our Money, about three thouſand ſix hundred Pounds Sterling; he ſmiled, and of his own Accord promiſed them fifty Talents; they were both pleaſed, and ſurpriz'd at his Anſwer, and conſented that ſeveral of his Attendants ſhould go by his Direction and raiſe the Money; and he was left among theſe Ruffians with no more than 3 Attendants. He paſs'd eight and thirty Days, and ſeemed ſo little concerned or afraid, that often when he went to ſleep, he uſed to charge them not to make a Noiſe, threatning, if they diſturbed him, to hang them all; he alſo play'd at Dice with them, and ſometimes wrote Verſes and Dialogues, which he uſed to repeat, and alſo cauſe them to repeat, and if they did not praiſe and admire them, he would call them Beaſts and Barbarians, telling them he would crucify them. They took all theſe as the Sallies of a juvenile Humour, and were rather diverted, than diſpleaſed at them.

At length his Attendants return'd with his Ranſom, which he paid, and was diſcharged; he ſail'd for the Port of *Miletum*, where, as ſoon as he was arriv'd, he uſed all his Art and Induſtry in fitting out a Squadron of Ships, which he equipp'd and arm'd at his own Charges; and ſailing in Queſt of the Pyrates, he ſurpriz'd them as they lay at An-

chor among the Islands, and took those who had taken him before, with some others; the Money he found upon them he made Prize of, to reimburse his Charges, and he carry'd the Men to *Pergamus* or *Troy*, and there secured them in Prison: In the mean Time, he apply'd himself to *Junius*, then Governor of *Asia*, to whom it belonged to judge and determine of the Punishment of these Men; but *Junius* finding there was no Money to be had, answered *Cæsar*, that he would think at his Leisure, what was to be done with those Prisoners; *Cæsar* took his Leave of him, returned back to *Pergamus*, and commanded that the Prisoners should be brought out and executed, according to Law in that Case provided; which is taken Notice of, in a Chapter at the End of this Book, concerning the Laws in Cases of Pyracy: And thus he gave them that Punishment in Earnest, which he had often threatned them with in Jest.

Cæsar went strait to *Rome*, where, being engaged in the Designs of his own private Ambition, as were almost all the leading Men in *Rome*, the Pyrates who were left, had Time to increase to a prodigious Strength; for while the civil Wars lasted, the Seas were left unguarded, so that *Plutarch* tells us, that they erected diverse Arsenals full of all manner of warlike Stores, made commodious Harbours, set up Watch-Towers and Beacons all along the Coasts of *Cilicia*; that they had a mighty Fleet, well equipp'd and furnish'd, with Galliots of Oars, mann'd, not only with Men of desperate Courage, but also with expert Pilots and Mariners; they had their Ships of Force, and light Pinnaces for cruising and making Discoveries, in all no less than a thousand Sail; so gloriously set out, that they were as much to be envied for their gallant Shew, as fear'd for their Force; having the Stern and Quarters all gilded with Gold and their Oars plated with

with Silver, as well as purple Sails; as if their greateſt Delight had been to glory in their Iniquity. Nor were they content with committing Pyracies and Inſolencies by Sea, they committed as great Depredations by Land, or rather made Conqueſts; for they took and ſack'd no leſs than four hundred Cities, laid ſeveral others under Contributions, plundered the Temples of the Gods, and inriched themſelves with the Offerings depoſited in them; they often landed Bodies of Men, who not only plundered the Villages along the Sea Coaſt, but ranſacked the fine Houſes of the Noblemen along the *Tiber*. A Body of them once took *Sextillius* and *Bellinus*, two *Roman* Prætors, in their purple Robes, going from *Rome* to their Governments, and carried them away with all their Sergeants, Officers and Vergers; they alſo took the Daughter of *Antonius* a conſular Perſon, and one who had obtained the Honour of a Triumph, as ſhe was going to the Country Houſe of her Father.

But what was moſt barbarous, was a Cuſtom they had when they took any Ship, of enquiring of the Perſon on Board, concerning their Names and Country; if any of them ſaid he was a *Roman*, they fell down upon their Knees, as if in a Fright at the Greatneſs of that Name, and begg'd Pardon for what they had done, and imploring his Mercy, they uſed to perform the Offices of Servants about his Perſon, and when they found they had deceived him into a Belief of their being ſincere, they hung out the Ladder of the Ship, and coming with a ſhew of Courteſy, told him, he had his Liberty, deſiring him to walk out of the Ship, and this in the Middle of the Sea, and when they obſerved him in Surprize, as was natural, they uſed to throw him overboard with mighty ſhouts of Laughter; ſo wanton they were in their Cruelty.

Thus, while *Rome* was Mistress of the World, she suffered Insults and Affronts, almost at her Gates, from these powerful Robbers; but what for a while made Faction cease, and roused the Genius of that People, never used to suffer Wrongs from a fair Enemy, was an excessive Scarcity of Provisions in *Rome*, occasioned by all the Ships loaden with Corn and Provisions from *Sicily*, *Corsica*, and other Places, being intercepted and taken by these Pyrates, insomuch that they were almost reduced to a Famine: Upon this, *Pompey* the *Great* was immediately appointed General to manage this War; five hundered Ships were immediately fitted out, he had fourteen Senators, Men of Experience in the War, for his Vice-Admirals; and so considerable an Enemy, were these Ruffians become, that no less than an Army of a hundred thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse was appointed to invade them by Land; but it happened very luckily for *Rome*, that *Pompey* sail'd out before the Pyrate had Intelligence of a Design against them, so that their Ships were scattered all over the *Mediterranean*, like Bees gone out from a Hive, some one Way, some another, to bring Home their Lading; *Pompey* divided his Fleet into thirteen Squadrons, to whom he appointed their several Stations, so that great Numbers of the Pyrates fell into their Hands, Ship by Ship, without any Loss; forty Days he passed in scouring the *Mediterranean*, some of the Fleet cruizing along the Coast of *Africk*, some about the Islands, and some upon the *Italian* Coasts, so that often those Pyrates who were flying from one Squadron, fell in with another; however, some of them escaped, and these making directly to *Cilicia*, and acquainting their Confederates on Shore with what had happened, they appointed a Rendezvous of all the Ships that had escaped at the Port of *Coracesium*, in the same Country. *Pompey* finding the *Mediterranean*

quite

quite clear, appointed a Meeting of all his Fleet at the Haven of *Brundusium*, and from thence sailing round into the *Adriatick*, he went directly to attack these Pyrates in their Hives; as soon as he came near the *Corcesium* in *Cilicia*, where the Remainder of the Pyrates now lay, they had the Hardiness to come and give him Battle, but the Genius of old *Rome* prevailed, and the Pyrates received an entire Overthrow, being all either taken or destroyed; but as they made many strong Fortresses upon the Sea Coast, and built Castles and strong Holds up the Country, about the Foot of Mount *Taurus*, he was obliged to besiege them with his Army; some Places he took by Storm, others surrendered to his Mercy, to whom he gave their Lives, and at length he made an entire Conquest.

But it is probable, that had these Pyrates receiv'd sufficient Notice of the *Roman* Preparation against them, so as they might have had Time to draw their scattered Strength into a Body, to have met *Pompey* by Sea, the Advantage appeared greatly on their Side, in Numbers of Shipping, and of Men; nor did they want Courage, as may be seen by their coming out of the Port of *Coracesium*, to give the *Romans* Battle, with a Force much inferior to their's; I say, had they overthrown *Pompey*, it is likely they would have made greater Attempts, and *Rome*, which had conquer'd the whole World, might have been subdued by a Parcel of Pyrates.

This is a Proof how dangerous it is to Governments to be negligent, and not take an early Care in suppressing these Sea Banditti, before they gather Strength.

The Truth of this Maxim may be better exemplified in the History of *Barbarousse*, a Native in the City of *Mitylene*, in the Island of *Lesbos*, in the *Egean* Sea; a Fellow of ordinary Birth, who being bred to the Sea, first set out from thence upon

the pyrating Account with only one ſmall Veſſel, but by the Prizes he took, he gain'd immenſe Riches, ſo that getting a great Number of large Ships, all the bold and diſſolute Fellows of thoſe Iſlands flock'd to him, and liſted in his Service, for the Hopes of Booty; ſo that his Strength was increaſed to a formidable Fleet: With theſe he perform'd ſuch bold and adventurous Actions, that he became the Terror of the Seas. About this Time it happened that *Selim Eutemi*, King of *Algiers*, having refuſed to pay the accuſtomed Tribute to the *Spaniards*, was apprehenſive of an Invaſion from thence; wherefore he treated with *Barbarouſe*, upon the Foot of an Ally, to come and aſſiſt him, and deliver him from paying this Tribute; *Barbarouſe* readily came into it, and ſailing to *Algiers* with a great Fleet, he put part of his Men on Shore, and having laid a Plot to ſurprize the City, he effected it with great Succeſs, and murder'd *Selim* in a Bath; ſoon after which, he was himſelf crowned King of *Algiers*; after this he made War upon *Abdilabde*, King of *Tunis*, and overthrew him in Battle; he extended his Conqueſts on all Sides; and thus from a Thief became a mighty King: and tho' he was at laſt kill'd in Battle, yet he had ſo well eſtabliſhed himſelf upon that Throne, that, dying without Iſſue, he left the Inheritance of the Kingdom to his Brother, another Pyrate.

I come now to ſpeak of the Pyrates infeſting the *Weſt-Indies*, where they are more numerous than in any other Parts of the World, on ſeveral Reaſons:

Firſt, Becauſe there are ſo many uninhabited little Iſlands and Keys, with Harbours convenient and ſecure for cleaning their Veſſels, and abounding with what they often want, Proviſion; I mean Water, Sea-Fowl, Turtle, Shell, and other Fiſh; where, if they carry in but ſtrong Liquor, they indulge

indulge a Time, and become ready for new Expeditions before any Intelligence can reach to hurt them.

It may here perhaps be no unneceſſary Digreſſion, to explain upon what they call Keys in the *Weſt-Indies*: Theſe are ſmall ſandy Iſlands, appearing a little above the Surf of the Water, with only a few Buſhes or Weeds upon them, but abound (thoſe moſt at any Diſtance from the Main) with Turtle, amphibious Animals, that always chuſe the quieteſt and moſt unfrequented Place, for laying their Eggs, which are to a vaſt Number in the Seaſons, and would ſeldom be ſeen, but for this, (except by Pyrates:) Then Veſſels from *Jamaica* and the other Governments make Voyages, called Turtling, for ſupplying the People, a common and approved Food with them. I am apt to think theſe *Keys*, eſpecially thoſe nigh Iſlands, to have been once contiguous with them, and ſeparated by Earthquakes (frequently there) or Inundations, becauſe ſome of them that have been within continual View, as thoſe nigh *Jamaica*, are obſerved within our Time, to be entirely waſted away and loſt, and others daily waſting. There are not only of the Uſe above taken Notice of to Pyrates; but it is commonly believed were always in buccaneering pyratical Times, the hiding Places for their Riches, and often Times a Shelter for themſelves, till their Friends on the Main, had found Means to obtain Indemnity for their Crimes; for you muſt underſtand, when Acts of Grace were more frequent, and the Laws leſs ſevere, theſe Men continually found Favours and Incouragers at *Jamaica*, and perhaps they are not all dead yet; I have been told many of them them ſtill living have been of the ſame Trade, and left it off only becauſe they can live as well honeſtly, and gain now at the hazard of others Necks.

Secondly

Secondly, another Reason why these Seas are chose by Pyrates, is the great Commerce thither by *French*, *Spaniards*, *Dutch*, and especially *English* Ships: They are sure in the Latitude of these trading Islands, to meet with Prizes, Booties of Provision, Cloathing, and Naval-Stores, and sometimes Money; there being great Sums remitted this Way to *England*; (the Returns of the Assiento, and private Slave-Trade, to the *Spanish West-Indies*:) And in short, by some one or other, all the Riches of *Potosi*.

A third Reason, is the Inconveniency and Difficulty of being pursued by the Men of War, the many small Inlets, Lagoons and Harbours, on these solitary Islands and Keys, is a natural Security.

'Tis generally here that the Pyrates begin their Enterprizes, setting out at first with a very small Force; and by infesting these Seas, and those of the Continent of *North-America*, in a Year's Time, if they have good luck on their Sides, they accumulate such Strength, as enables them to make foreign Expeditions: The first, is usually to *Guiney*, taking the *Azores* and *Cape de Verd* Islands in their Way, and then to *Brazil* and the *East-Indies*, where if they meet with prosperous Voyages, they set down at *Madagascar*, or the neighbouring Islands, and enjoy their ill gotten Wealth, among their elder Brethren, with Impunity. But that I may not give too much Encouragement to the Profession, I must inform my maritime Readers, that the far greater Part of these Rovers are cut short in the Pursuit, by a sudden Precipitation into the other World.

The Rise of these Rovers, since the Peace of *Utrecht*, or at least, the great Encrease of them, may justly be computed to the *Spanish* Settlements in the *West-Indies*; the Governors of which, being often some hungry Courtiers, sent thither to repair or

make

make a Fortune, generally Countenance all Proceedings that bring in Profit: They grant Commissions to great Numbers of Vessels of War, on Pretence of preventing an interloping Trade, with Orders to seize all Ships or Vessels whatsoever, within five Leagues of their Coasts, which our *English* Ships cannot well avoid coming, in their Voyage to *Jamaica*. But if the *Spanish* Captains chance to exceed this Commission, and rob and plunder at Discretion, the Sufferers are allowed to complain, and exhibit a Process in their Court, and after great Expence of Suit, Delay of Time, and other Inconveniencies, obtain a Decree in their Favour, but then when the Ship and Cargo comes to be claim'd, with Costs of Suit, they find, to their Sorrow, that it has been previously condemn'd, and the Plunder divided among the Crew; the Commander that made the Capture, who alone is responsible, is found to be a poor raskally Fellow, not worth a Groat, and, no doubt, is plac'd in that Station for the like Purposes.

The frequent Losses sustain'd by our Merchants abroad, by these Pyrates, was Provocation enough to attempt something by way of Reprisal; and a fair Opportunity offering it self in the Year 1716, the Traders of the *West-Indies*, took Care not to slip it over, but made the best Use of it their Circumstances would permit.

It was about two Years before, that the *Spanish* Galleons, or Plate Fleet, had been cast away in the Gulf of *Florida*; and several Vessels from the *Havana*, were at work, with diving Engines, to fish up the Silver that was on board the Galleons.

The *Spaniards* had recovered some Millions of Pieces of Eight, and had carried it all to the *Havana*; but they had at present about 350000 Pieces of Eight in Silver, then upon the Spot, and were daily

daily taking up more. In the mean time, two Ships, and three Sloops, fitted out from *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, *&c.* under Captain *Henry Jennings*, ſail'd to the Gulf, and found the *Spaniards* there upon the Wreck; the Money before ſpoken of, was left on Shore, depoſited in a Store-Houſe, under the Government of two Commiſſaries, and a Guard of about 60 Soldiers.

The Rovers came directly upon the Place, bringing their little Fleet to an Anchor, and, in a Word, landing 300 Men, they attack'd the Guard, who immediately ran away; and thus they ſeized the Treaſure, which they carried off, making the beſt of their Way to *Jamaica*.

In their Way they unhappily met with a *Spaniſh* Ship, bound from *Porto Bello* to the *Havana*, with a great many rich Goods, *viz.* Bales of Cochineal, Casks of Indico, and 60000 Pieces of Eight more, which their Hands being in, they took, and having rifled the Veſſel, let her go.

They went away to *Jamaica* with their Booty, and were followed in View of the Port, by the *Spaniards*, who having ſeen them thither, went back to the Governor of the *Havana*, with the Account of it, who immediately ſent a Veſſel to the Governor of *Jamaica* to complain of this Robbery, and to reclaim the Goods.

As it was in full Peace, and contrary to all Juſtice and Right, that this Fact was committed, they were ſoon made ſenſible that the Government at *Jamaica* would not ſuffer them to go unpuniſhed, much leſs protect them. Therefore they ſaw a Neceſſity of ſhifting for themſelves; ſo, to make bad worſe, they went to Sea again, tho' not without diſpoſing of their Cargo to good Advantage, and furniſhing themſelves with Ammunition, Proviſions, *&c.* and being thus made deſperate, they turn'd Pyrates,

Pyrates, robbing not the *Spaniards* only, but their own Countrymen, and any Nation they could lay their Hands on.

It happened about this Time, that the *Spaniards*, with three or four ſmall Men of War, fell upon our Logwood Cutters, in the Bay of *Campeachy*, and Bay of *Honduras*; and after they had made Prizes of the following Ships and Veſſels, they gave the Men belonging to them, three Sloops to carry them home, but theſe Men being made deſperate by their Misfortunes, and meeting with the Pyrates, they took on with them, and ſo encreas'd their Number.

The LIST of Ships and Veſſels taken by the Spaniſh *Men of War in the Year* 1716.

The *Stafford*, Captain *Knocks*, from *New-England*, bound for *London*.
Anne, —— *Gerniſh*, for ditto.
Dove —— *Grimſtone*, for *New-England*.
A Sloop, —— *Alden*, for ditto.
A Brigantine, —— *Moſſon*, for ditto.
A Brigantine, —— *Turfield*, for ditto.
A Brigantine, —— *Tennis*, for ditto.
A Ship, —— —— *Porter*, for ditto.
Indian Emperor, *Wentworth*, for *New-England*.
A Ship, —— *Rich*, Maſter.
Ditto, —— *Bay*.
Ditto, —— *Smith*.
Ditto, —— *Stockum*.
Ditto, —— *Satlely*.
A Sloop, —— —— *Richards*, belonging to *New-England*.
Two Sloops, —— —— belonging to *Jamaica*.
One Sloop —— —— of *Barbadoes*.
Two Ships —— —— from *Scotland*.
Two Ships —— —— from *Holland*.

The

The Rovers being now pretty ſtrong, they conſulted together about getting ſome Place of Retreat, where they might lodge their Wealth, clean and repair their Ships, and make themſelves a kind of Abode. They were not long in reſolving, but fixed upon the Iſland of *Providence*, the moſt conſiderable of the *Bahama* Iſlands, lying in the Latitude of about 24 Degrees North, and to the Eaſtward of the *Spaniſh Florida*.

This Iſland is about 28 Miles long, and eleven where broadeſt, and has a Harbour big enough to hold 500 Sail of Ships; before which lies a ſmall Iſland, which makes two Inlets to the Harbour; at either Way there is a Bar, over which no Ship of 500 Tun can paſs. The *Bahama* Iſlands were poſſeſs'd by the *Engliſh* till the Year 1700, when the *French* and *Spaniards* from *Petit Guavus*, invaded them, took the Fort and Governor in the Iſland of *Providence*, plunder'd and deſtroy'd the Settlements, *&c.* carried off half the Blacks, and the reſt of the People, who fled to the Woods, retired afterwards to *Carolina*.

In *March* 1705-6, the Houſe of Lords did in an Addreſs to her late Majeſty, ſet forth, 'That the 'French and *Spaniards* had twice, during the Time 'of the War, over run and plundered the *Bahama* 'Iſlands, that there was no Form of Government 'there: That the Harbour of the Iſle of *Providence*, 'might be eaſily put in a Poſture of Defence, and 'that it would be of dangerous Conſequence, ſhould 'thoſe Iſlands fall into the Hands of the Enemy; 'wherefore the Lords humbly beſought her Ma'jeſty to uſe ſuch Methods as ſhe ſhould think 'proper for taking the ſaid Iſland into her Hands, 'in order to ſecure the ſame to the Crown of this 'Kingdom, and to the Security and Advantage 'of the Trade thereof.

But,

But, however it happened, no Means were uſed in compliance to that Addreſs, for ſecuring the *Bahama* Iſlands, till the *Engliſh* Pyrates had made *Providence* their Retreat and general Receptacle; then 'twas found abſolutely neceſſary, in order to diſlodge that troubleſome Colony; and Information being made by the Merchants to the Government, of the Miſchief they did, and were likely to do, his Majeſty was pleaſed to grant the following Order.

Whitehall September 15, 1716.

'COmplaint having been made to his Majeſty, 'by great Number of Merchants, Maſters of 'Ships and others, as well as by ſeveral Gover-'nors of his Majeſty's Iſlands and Plantations in the '*Weſt-Indies*; that the Pyrates are grown ſo nume-'rous, that they infeſt not only the Seas near *Ja-'maica*, but even thoſe of the Northern Continent 'of *America*; and that, unleſs ſome effectual Means 'be uſed, the whole Trade from *Great Britain* to 'thoſe Parts, will not be only obſtructed, but in 'imminent Danger of being loſt: His Majeſty has, 'upon mature Deliberation in Council, been plea-'ſed, in the firſt Place, to order a proper Force 'to be employ'd for the ſuppreſſing the ſaid Py-'rates, which Force ſo to be employed, is as 'follows.

'A List of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed, and to be employed, at the *British* Governments and Plantations in the *West-Indies*.

Place where.	Rates,	Ships,	Guns.	
Jamaica,	5	*Adventure*,	40	Now there.
		Diamond,	40	Sail'd from hence thither 5th of last Month.
		Ludlow Castle,	40	To carry the Governor.
		Swift Sloop,		Now there.
	6	*Winchelsea*,	20	Surveying the Coast of the West-Indies, and then to return Home; but, during her being at Jamaica, is to join the others, for Security of the Trade, and intercepting Pyrates.
Barbadoes,	5	*Scarborough*,	30	Now there.
Leeward Islands,	6	*Seaford*,		Now there.
		Tryal Sloop,	6	
Virginia,	6	*Lime*,	20	Now there.
	5	*Shoreham*,	30	Order'd Home.
		Pearl,	40	Sailed thither from Home the 7th of last Month, and is to cruise about the Capes.
New-York,	6	*Phœnix*,	30	Now there.
New-England,		*Squirrel*,	20	
		Rose,	20	Order'd Home.

'Those at *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes* and the Leeward 'Islands, are to join upon Occasion, for annoying 'the Pyrates, and the Security of the Trade: And 'those at *New-England*, *Virginia* and *New-York*, are 'to do the like.

Besides these Frigots, two Men of War were ordered to attend Captain *Rogers*, late Commander of the two *Bristol* Ships, called the *Duke* and *Dutchess*, that took the rich *Acapulca* Ship, and made a Tour round the Globe. This Gentleman received a Commission from his Majesty, to be Governor of the Island of *Providence*, and was vested with Power to make Use of all possible Methods for reducing the

the Pyrates; and that nothing might be wanting, he carried with him, the King's Proclamation of Pardon, to those who should return to their Duty by a certain Time; the Proclamation is as follows;

By the KING,

A PROCLAMATION, for suppressing of PYRATES.

GEORGE R.

WHereas we have received Information, that several Persons, Subjects of Great Britain, have since the 24th Day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1715, committed divers Pyracies and Robberies upon the High-Seas, in the West-Indies, or adjoyning to our Plantations, which hath and may Occasion great Damage to the Merchants of Great Britain, and others trading into those Parts; and tho' we have appointed such a Force as we judge sufficient for suppressing the said Pyrates, yet the more effectually to put an End to the same, we have thought fit, by and with the Advice of our Privy Council, to Issue this our Royal Proclamation; and we do hereby promise, and declare, that in Case any of the said Pyrates, shall on or before the 5th of September, in the Year of our Lord 1718, surrender him or themselves, to one of our Principal Secretaries of State in Great Britain or Ireland, or to any Governor or Deputy Governor of any of our Plantations beyond the Seas; every such Pyrate and Pyrates so surrendering him, or themselves, as aforesaid, shall have our gracious Pardon, of and for such, his or their Pyracy, or Pyracies, by him or them committed before the fifth of January next ensuing. And we do hereby strictly charge and command all our Admirals, Captains, and other Officers at Sea, and all our Governors and Commanders of any Forts, Castles, or other Places in our Plantations, and all other our Officers Civil and Military, to seize and take

such of the Pyrates, who shall refuse or neglect to surrender themselves accordingly. And we do hereby further declare, that in Case any Person or Persons, on, or after, the 6th Day of September 1718, *shall discover or seize, or cause or procure to be discovered or seized, any one or more of the said Pyrates, so refusing or neglecting to surrender themselves as aforesaid, so as they may be brought to Justice, and convicted of the said Offence, such Person or Persons, so making such Discovery or Seizure, or causing or procuring such Discovery or Seizure to be made, shall have and receive as a Reward for the same,* viz. *for every Commander of any private Ship or Vessel, the Sum of* 100 *l. for every Lieutenant, Master, Boatswain, Carpenter, and Gunner, the Sum of* 40 *l; for every inferior Officer, the Sum of* 30 *l. and for every private Man, the Sum of* 20 *l. And if any Person or Persons, belonging to and being Part of the Crew of any such Pyrate Ship or Vessel, shall on or after the said sixth Day of* September 1718, *seize and deliver, or cause to be seized or delivered, any Commander or Commanders, of such Pyrate Ship or Vessel, so as that he or they be brought to Justice, and convicted of the said Offence, such Person or Persons, as a Reward for the same, shall receive for every such Commander, the Sum of* 200 *l. which said Sums, the Lord Treasurer, or the Commissioners of our Treasury for the Time being, are hereby required, and desired to pay accordingly.*

Given at our Court, at *Hampton-Court*, the fifth Day of *September*, 1717, in the fourth Year of our Regin.

God save the KING.

Before Governor *Rogers* went over, the Proclamation was sent to them, which they took as *Teague* took the Covenant, that is, they made Prize of the Ship and Proclamation too; however, they sent for those who were out a Cruising, and called a general Council, but there was so much Noise and Clamour, that nothing could be agreed on; some were

were for fortifying the Island, to stand upon their own Terms, and Treating with the Government upon the Foot of a Commonwealth; others were also for strengthening the Island for their own Security, but were not strenuous for these Punctillios, so that they might have a general Pardon, without being obliged to make any Restitution, and to retire, with all their Effects, to the neighbouring *British* Plantations.

But Captain *Jennings*, who was their Commadore, and who always bore a great Sway among them, being a Man of good Understanding, and a good Estate, before this Whim took him of going a Pyrating, resolved upon surrendering, without more ado, to the Terms of the Proclamation, which so disconcerted all their Measures, that the *Congress* broke up very abruptly without doing any Thing; and presently *Jennings*, and by his Example, about 150 more, came in to the Governor of *Bermudas*, and had their Certificates, tho' the greatest Part of them returned again, like the Dog to the Vomit. The Commanders who were then in the Island, besides Captain *Jennings* abovementioned, I think were these, *Benjamin Hornigold*, *Edward Teach*, *John Martel*, *James Fife*, *Christopher Winter*, *Nicholas Brown*, *Paul Williams*, *Charles Bellamy*, *Oliver la Bouche*, Major *Penner*, *Ed. England*, *T. Burgess* *Tho. Cocklyn*, *R. Sample*, *Charles Vane*, and two or three others: *Hornigold*, *Williams* *Burgess* and *la Bouche* were afterwards cast away; *Teach* and *Penner* killed, and their Crews taken; *James Fife* killed by his own Men; *Martel*'s Crew destroyed, and he forced on an uninhabited Island; *Cocklyn*, *Sample* and *Vane* hanged; *Winter* and *Brown* surrendered to the *Spaniards* at *Cuba*, and *England* lives now at *Madagascar*.

In the Month of *May* or *June* 1718, Captain *Rogers* arrived at his Government, with two of his Majesty's Ships, and found several of the abovesaid

Pyrates there, who upon the coming of the Men of War, all ſurrendered to the Pardon, except *Charles Vane* and his Crew, which happened after this Manner.

I have before deſcribed the Harbour to have two Inlets, by Means of a ſmall Iſland lying at the Mouth of it; at one of which, both the Men of War entered, and left the other open, ſo that *Vane* ſlip'd his Cable, ſet Fire to a large Prize they had there, and reſolutely put out, firing at the Man of War as he went off.

As ſoon as Captain *Rogers* had ſettled himſelf in his Government, he built a Fort for his Defence, and garriſoned it with the People he found upon the Iſland; the *quondam* Pyrates, to the Number of 400, he formed into Companies, appointed Officers of thoſe whom he moſt confided in, and then ſet about to ſettle a Trade with the *Spaniards*, in the Gulf of *Mexico*; in one of which Voyages, Captain *Burgeſs* abovementioned, died, and Captain *Hornigold*, another of the famous Pyrates, was caſt away upon Rocks, a great Way from Land, and periſhed, but five of his Men got into a Canoe and were ſaved.

Captain *Rogers* ſent out a Sloop to get Proviſions, and gave the Command to one *John Augur*, one of the Pyrates, who had accepted of the Act of Grace; in their Voyage they met with two Sloops, and *John* and his Comrades not yet forgetting their former Buſineſs, made Uſe of their old Freedom, and took out of them in Money and Goods, to the Value of about 500 l. after this they ſteered away for *Hiſpaniola*, not being ſatisfy'd whether the Governor would admit them to carry on two Trades at once, and ſo thought to have bidden Farewel to the *Bahama* Iſlands; but as ill Luck would have it, they met with a violent Turnado, wherein they loſt their Maſt, and were drove back to one of

the

the uninhabited *Bahama*'s, and loſt their Sloop; the Men got all aſhore, and lived up and down in the Wood, for a little Time, till Governor *Rogers* happening to hear of their Expedition, and where they had got to, ſent out an armed Sloop to the aforeſaid Iſland; the Maſter of which, with good Words and fair Promiſes, got them on Board, and brought them all to *Providence*, being a eleven Perſons, ten of which were try'd at a Court of Admiralty, convicted, and hanged by the other's Evidence, in the Sight of all their former Companions and fellow Thieves. The Criminals would fain have ſpirited up the pardoned Pyrates, to reſcue them out of the Hands of the Officers of Juſtice, telling them from the Gallows, that, *They never thought to have ſeen the Time, when ten ſuch Men as they ſhould be ty'd up and hanged like Dogs, and four hundered of their ſworn Friends and Companions quietly ſtanding by to behold the Spectacle.* One *Humphrey Morrice* urged the Matter further than the reſt, taxing them with Puſilanimity and Cowardice, as if it were a Breach of Honour in them not to riſe and ſave them from the ignominious Death they were going to ſuffer. But 'twas all in vain, they were now told, it was their Buſineſs to turn their Minds to another World, and ſincerely to repent of what Wickedneſs they had done in this. *Yes*, anſwered one of them, *I do heartily repent; I repent I had not done more Miſchief, and that we did not cut the Throats of them that took us, and I am extremely ſorry that you an't all hang'd as well as we. So do I*, ſays another: *And I*, ſays a third; and then they were all turned off, without making any other dying Speeches, except one *Dennis Macarty*, who told the People, *That ſome Friends of his had often ſaid he ſhould die in his Shoes, but that he would make them Lyars*, and ſo kicked them off. And thus ended the Lives, with their Adventures, of thoſe miſerable Wretches,

who may ſerve as ſad Examples of the little Effect Mercy has upon Men once abandoned to an evil Courſe of Life.

Leaſt I be thought ſevere in my Animadverſions upon the *Spaniſh* Proceedings in the *Weſt-Indies*, in reſpect to their Dealings with us; I ſhall mention an Inſtance or two, wherein I'll be as conciſe as poſſible, and then tranſcribe ſome original Letters from the Governor of *Jamaica*, and an Officer of a Man of War, to the *Alcaldees* of *Trinidado*, on the Iſland of *Cuba*, with their Anſwers, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and then proceed to the particular Hiſtories of the Pyrates and their Crews, that have made moſt Noiſe in the World in *our own Times*.

About *March* 1722, one of our Men of War trading upon the Coaſt, *viz.* the *Greyhound* Galley, Captain *Walron*, the ſaid Captain invited ſome of the Merchants to Dinner, who with their Attendants and Friends came on Board to the Number of 16 or 18 in all; and having concerted Meaſures, about ſix or eight dined in the Cabin, and the reſt were waiting on the Deck. While the Captain and his Gueſts were at Dinner, the Boatſwain Pipes for the Ship's Company to dine; accordingly the Men take their Platters, receive their Proviſions, and down they go between Decks, leaving only 4 or 5 Hands beſides the *Spaniards*, above, who were immediately diſpatched by them, and the Hatches laid on the reſt; thoſe in the Cabin were as ready as their Companions, for they pulled out their Piſtols and ſhot the Captain, Surgeon and another dead, and grievouſly wounded the Lieutenant; but he getting out of the Window upon a Side-Ladder, thereby ſaved his Life, and ſo they made themſelves Maſters of the Ship in an Inſtant: But by accidental good Fortune, ſhe was recovered before ſhe was carry'd off; for Captain *Walron* having mann'd a Sloop with 30 Hands out of his Ship's Company, had ſent her

her to Windward some Days before, also for Trade, which the *Spaniards* knew very well; and just as the Action was over they saw this Sloop coming down, before the Wind, towards their Ship; upon which the *Spaniards* took about 10000 *l.* in Specie, as I am informed, quitted the Ship, and went off in their Launch unmolested.

About the same Time, a *Guard le Coast*, of *Porto Rico*, commanded by one *Matthew Luke*, an *Italian*, took four *English* Vessels, and murthered all the Crews: He was taken by the *Lancester* Man of War, in *May* 1722, and brought to *Jamaica*, were they were all but seven deservedly hanged. It is likely the Man of War might not have meddled with her, but that she blindly laid the *Lancester* on Board, thinking she had been a Merchant Ship, who thereupon catched a Tartar. Afterwards in rummaging there was found a Cartridge of Powder made up with a Piece of an *English* Journal, belonging, I believe, to the *Cream* Snow; and upon Examination, at last, it was discovered that they had taken this Vessel and murthered the Crew; and one of the *Spaniards*, when he came to die, confessed that he had killed twenty *English* Men with his own Hands.

S. Jago de la Vega, Febr 20.

A Letter from his Excellency Sir Nicolas Laws, *our Governor, to the Alcaldes of* Trinidado *on* Cuba, *dated the 26th of* Jan. 1721-2.

Gentlemen,

'THE frequent Depredations, Robberies, and 'other Acts of Hostility, which have been 'committed on the King my Royal Master's Sub-'jects, by a Parcel of Banditti, who pretend to

have Commiſſions from you, and in Reality are ſheltered under your Government, is the Occaſion of my ſending the Bearer Captain *Chamberlain*, Commander of his Majeſty's Snow *Happy*, to demand Satisfaction of you for ſo many notorious Robberies which your People have lately committed on the King's Subjects of this Iſland; particularly by thoſe Traytors, *Nicolas Brown* and *Chriſtopher Winter*, to whom you have given Protection. Such Proceedings as theſe are not only a Breach of the Law of Nations, but muſt appear to the World of a very extraordinary Nature, when conſidered that the Subjects of a Prince in Amity and Friendſhip with another, ſhould give Countenance and encourage ſuch vile Practices. I confeſs I have had long Patience, and declined uſing any violent Meaſures to obtain Satisfaction, hoping the Ceſſation of Arms, ſo happily concluded upon between our reſpective Sovereigns, would have put an effectual Stop to thoſe Diſorders; but on the contrary, I now find the Port of *Trinidado* a Receptacle to Villains of all Nations. I do therefore think fit to acquaint you, and aſſure you in the King my Maſter's Name, that if I do meet with any of your Rogues for the future upon the Coaſt of this Iſland, I will order them to be hanged directly without Mercy; and I expect and demand of you to make ample Reſtitution to Captain *Chamberlain* of all the Negroes which the ſaid *Brown* and *Winter* have lately taken off from the North-Side of this Iſland, and alſo of ſuch Sloops and other Effects as they have been taken and robbed of, ſince the Ceſſation of Arms, and that you will deliver up to the Bearer ſuch *Engliſh* Men as are now detained, or otherwiſe remain at *Trinidado*; and alſo expect you will hereafter forbear granting any Commiſſions, or ſuffer any ſuch

noto-

'notorious Villains to be equipp'd and fitted out 'from your Port: otherwise you may depend upon 'it, those that I can meet with, shall be esteemed 'Pyrates, and treated as such; of which I thought 'proper to give you Notice, and am, *&c.*

A Letter from Mr. Joseph Laws, *Lieutenant of his Majesty's Ship,* Happy *Snow, to the Alcaldes of* Trinidado.

Genlemen,

'I Am sent by Commadore *Vernon*, Commander 'in Chief of all his Majesty's Ships in the '*West-Indies*, to demand in the King our Master's 'Name, all the Vessels, with their Effects, *&c.* 'and also the Negroes taken from *Jamaica* since the 'Cessation of Arms; likewise all *Englishmen* now 'detained, or otherwise remaining in your Port of '*Trinidado*, particularly *Nicholas Brown* and *Christo-*'*pher Winter*, both of them being Traytors, Py-'rates and common Enemies to all Nations: And 'the said Commadore hath ordered me to acquaint 'you, that he is surprized that the Subjects of a 'Prince in Amity and Friendship with another, 'should give Countenance to such notorious Vil-'lains. In Expectation of your immediate Compli-'ance, I am, Gentlemen,

Off the River *Trini-* Your humble Servant,
dado, Feb. 8. 1720. *Joseph Laws.*

The Answer of the Alcaldes of Trinidado, *to Mr.* Laws's *Letter.*

Capt. *Laws*,

'IN Answer to yours, this serves to acquaint 'you, that neither in this City, nor Port, are 'there any Negroes or Vessels which have been ta-

ken

'ken at your Iſland of *Jamaica*, nor on that Coaſt, 'ſince the Ceſſation of Arms; and what Veſſels 'have been taken ſince that Time, have been for 'trading in an unlawful Commerce on this Coaſt; 'and as for thoſe *Engliſh* Fugitives you mention, 'they are here as other Subjects of our Lord the 'King, being brought voluntarily to our holy Ca'tholick Faith, and have received the Water of 'Baptiſm; but if they ſhould prove Rogues, and 'ſhould not comply with their Duty, in which 'they are bound at preſent, then they ſhall be 'chaſtized according to the Ordinances of our 'King, whom God preſerve. And we beg you will 'weigh Anchor as ſoon as poſſible, and leave this 'Port and its Coaſts, becauſe upon no Account you 'ſhall be ſuffered to trade, or any Thing elſe; for 'we are reſolved not to admit thereof. God pre'ſerve you. We kiſs your Hand.

Trinidado, *Feb.* 8, 1722. Signed, *Hieronimo de Fuentes*, *Benette Alfonſo del Manzano.*

Mr. Laws's *Reply to the Alcaldes Letter.*

Gentlmen,

'YOUR refuſing to deliver up the Subjects of 'the King my Maſter, is ſomewhat ſurpri'zing, it being in a Time of Peace, and the detain'ing them conſequently againſt the Law of Na'tions. Notwithſtanding your trifling Pretence '(for which you have no Foundation but to forge an 'Excuſe) to prevent my making any Enquiry in'to the Truth of the Facts I have alledged in my 'former, I muſt tell you my Reſolutions are, to 'ſtay on the Coaſt till I have made Reprizals; and 'ſhould I meet any Veſſels belonging to your Port, 'I ſhall not treat them as the Subjects of the Crown

'of

'of *Spain*, but as Pyrates, finding it a Part of your 'Religion in this Place to protect such Villains.

Off the River *Trinidado*, *Feb.* 8. 1720. Your humble Servant, *Joseph Laws.*

The Answer of one of the Alcaldes to Mr. Laws's *Reply.*

Captain *Laws*,

'YOU may assure your self, I will never be 'wanting in the Duty of my Post. The 'Prisoners that are here are not in Prison, but 'only kept here to be sent to the Governor of the '*Havana*: If you (as you say) command at Sea, I 'command on Shoar: If you treat the *Spaniards*, 'you should happen to take, as Pyrates, I will do 'the same by every one of your People I can 'take up: I will not be wanting to good Manners, 'if you will do the same. I can likewise act the 'Soldier, if any Occasion should offer that way, 'for I have very good People here for that purpose. 'If you pretend any Thing else, you may execute 'it on this Coast. God preserve you. I kiss your 'Hand.

Trinidado, *Feb.* 20. 1720. Signed, *Bennette Alfonso del Menzano.*

The last Advices we have received from our Plantations in *America*, dated *June* 9th, 1724, gives us the following Account, *viz.* That Captain *Jones* in the Ship *John* and *Mary*, on the 5th of the said Month, met with, near the Capes of *Virginia*, a *Spanish Guard del Coast*, commanded by one *Don Benito*, said to be commissioned by the Governor of *Cuba*: She was manned with 60 *Spaniards*, 18 *French* Men and 18 *English*, and had an *English* Captain as well as *Spanish*, one *Richard Holland*, who formerly belonged to the *Suffolk* Man of War, which he

he deserted at *Naples*, and took Shelter in a Convent. He served on Board the *Spanish* Fleet under Admiral *Cammock*, in the War in the *Mediterranean*; and after the Cessation of Arms with *Spain*, settled with several of his Countrymen (*Irish*) in the *Spanish West-Indies*. This *Guard del Coast* made Prize of Captain *Jones*'s Ship, and kept Possession of her from 5th to the 8th, during which Time she took also the *Prudent Hannah* of *Boston*, *Thomas Mousell* Master, and the *Dolphin* of *Topsham*, *Theodore Bare* Master, both laden and bound for *Virginia*: The former they sent away together with three Men and the Mate, under the Command of a *Spanish* Officer and Crew, the same Day she was taken; the latter they carried off with them, putting the Master and all the Crew aboard Captain *Jones*'s Ship. They plundered Captain *Jones* of thirty six Men Slaves, some Gold-Dust, all his Cloaths, four great Guns and small Arms, and about four hundred Gallons of Rum, besides his Provisions and Stores, computed in all to 1500 *l.* Sterling.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

OF

Captain *AVERY*,

And his CREW.

NONE of these bold Adventurers were ever so much talked of, for a while, as *Avery*; he made as great a Noise in the World as *Meriveis* does now, and was looked upon to be a Person of as great Consequence; he was represented in *Europe*, as one that had raised himself to the Dignity of a King, and was likely to be the Founder of a new Monarchy; having, as it was said, taken immense Riches, and married the *Great Mogul*'s Daughter, who was taken in an *Indian* Ship, which fell into his Hands; and that he had by her many Children, living in great Royalty and State; that he had built Forts, erected Magazines, and was Master of a stout Squadron of Ships, mann'd with able and desperate Fellows of all Nations; that he gave Commissions out in his own Name to the Captains of his Ships, and to the Commanders of his Forts, and was acknowledged by them as their Prince. A Play was writ upon him, called, the *Successful Pyrate*; and, these Accounts obtained such Belief, that several Schemes were offered to the Council for fitting out a Squadron to take him; while others were for offering him and his Companions an Act of Grace, and inviting them to *England*, with all their Treasure, least his growing Greatness

Greatneſs might hinder the Trade of *Europe* to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Yet all theſe were no more than falſe Rumours, improved by the Credulity of ſome, and the Humour of others who love to tell ſtrange Things; for, while it was ſaid, he was aſpiring at a Crown, he wanted a Shilling; and at the ſame Time it was given out he was in Poſſeſſion of ſuch prodigious Wealth in *Madagaſcar*, he was ſtarving in *England*.

No doubt, but the Reader will have a Curioſity of knowing what became of this Man, and what were the true Grounds of ſo many falſe Reports concerning him; therefore, I ſhall, in as brief a Manner as I can, give his Hiſtory.

He was born in the Weſt of *England* near *Plymouth* in *Devonſhire*, being bred to the Sea, he ſerved as a Mate of a Merchant-Man, in ſeveral trading Voyages: It happened before the Peace of *Ryſwick*, when there was an Alliance betwixt *Spain*, *England*, *Holland*, *&c.* againſt *France*, that the *French* in *Martinico*, carried on a ſmugling Trade with the *Spaniards* on the Continent of *Peru*, which by the Laws of *Spain*, is not allowed to Friends in Time of Peace, for none but native *Spaniards* are permitted to Traffick in thoſe Parts, or ſet their Feet on Shore, unleſs at any Time they are brought as Priſoners; wherefore they conſtantly keep certain Ships cruiſing along the Coaſt, whom they call *Guarda del Coſta*, who have the Orders to make Prizes of all Ships they can light of within five Leagues of Land. Now the *French* growing very bold in Trade, and the *Spaniards* being poorly provided with Ships, and thoſe they had being of no Force, it often fell out, that when they light of the *French* Smuglers, they were not ſtrong enough to attack them, therefore it was reſolv'd in *Spain*, to hire two or three ſtout foreign Ships for their Service, which being known at *Briſtol*, ſome Merchants of that City, fitted

fitted out two Ships of thirty odd Guns, and 120 Hands each, well furnished with Provision and Ammunition, and all other Stores; and the Hire being agreed for, by some Agents for *Spain*, they were commanded to sail for *Corunna* or the *Groine*, there to receive their Orders, and to take on Board some *Spanish* Gentlemen, who were to go Passengers to *New-Spain*.

Of one of these Ships, which I take to be call'd the *Duke*, Capt. *Gibson* Commander, *Avery* was first Mate, and being a Fellow of more Cunning than Courage, he insinuated himself into the good Will of several of the boldest Fellows on Board the other Ship, as well as that which he was on Board of; having sounded their Inclinations before he opened himself, and finding them ripe for his Design, he, at length, proposed to them, to run away with the Ship, telling them what great Wealth was to be had upon the Coasts of *India*: It was no sooner said than agreed to, and they resolved to execute their Plot at Ten a Clock the Night following.

It must be observ'd, the Captain was one of those who are mightily addicted to Punch, so that he passed most of his Time on Shore, in some little drinking Ordinary; but this Day he did not go on Shore as usual; however, this did not spoil the Design, for he took his usual Dose on Board, and so got to Bed before the Hour appointed for the Business: The Men also who were not privy to the Design, turn'd into their Hammocks, leaving none upon Deck but the Conspirators, who, indeed, were the greatest Part of the Ship's Crew. At the Time agreed on, the *Dutchess*'s Long-Boat appear'd, which *Avery* hailing in the usual Manner, was answered by the Men in her, *Is your drunken Boatswain on Board?* Which was the Watch-Word agreed between them, and *Avery* replying in the Affirmative, the Boat came

came aboard with fixteen ſtout Fellows, and joined the Company.

When our Gentry ſaw that all was clear, they ſecured the Hatches, ſo went to work; they did not ſlip the Anchor, but weigh'd it leiſurely, and ſo put to Sea without any Diſorder or Confuſion, tho' there were ſeveral Ships then lying in the Bay, and among them a *Dutch* Frigate of forty Guns, the Captain of which was offered a great Reward to go out after her; but *Mynheer*, who perhaps would not have been willing to have been ſerved ſo himſelf, could not be prevail'd upon to give ſuch Uſage to another, and ſo let Mr. *Avery* purſue his Voyage, whither he had a Mind to.

The Captain, who by this Time, was awaked, either by the Motion of the Ship, or the Noiſe of working the Tackles, rung the Bell; *Avery* and two others went into the Cabin; the Captain, half aſleep, and in a kind of Fright, ask'd, *What was the Matter? Avery* anſwered cooly, *Nothing*; the Captain replied, *ſomething's the Matter with the Ship, Does ſhe drive? What Weather is it?* Thinking nothing leſs then that it had been a Storm, and that the Ship was driven from her Anchors: *No, no*, anſwered *Avery*, *we're at Sea, with a fair Wind and good Weather. At Sea!* ſays the Captain, *How can that be? Come*, ſays *Avery*, *don't be in a Fright, but put on your Cloaths, and I'll let you into a Secret*: —— *You muſt know, that I am Captain of this Ship now, and this is my Cabin, therefore you muſt walk out*; *I am bound to* Madagaſcar, *with a Deſign of making my own Fortune, and that of all the brave Fellows joined with me.*

The Captain having a little recovered his Senſes, began to apprehend the meaning; however, his Fright was as great as before, which *Avery* perceiving, bad him fear nothing, for, ſays he, if you have

have a Mind to make one of us, we will receive you, and if you'll turn ſober, and mind your Buſineſs, perhaps in Time I may make you one of my Lieutenants, if not, here's a Boat a-long-ſide, and you ſhall be ſet aſhore.

The Captain was glad to hear this, and therefore accepted of his Offer, and the whole Crew being called up, to know who was willing to go on Shore with the Captain, and who to ſeek their Fortunes with the reſt; there were not above five or ſix who were willing to quit this Enterprize; wherefore they were put into the Boat with the Captain that Minute, and made their Way to the Shore as well as they could.

They proceeded on their Voyage to *Madagaſcar*, but I do not find they took any Ships in their Way; when they arrived at the N. E. Part of that Iſland, they found two Sloops at Anchor, who, upon ſeeing them, ſlip'd their Cables and run themſelves aſhore, the Men all landing, and running into the Woods; theſe were two Sloops which the Men had run away with from the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſeeing *Avery*, they ſuppoſed him to be ſome Frigate ſent to take them, and therefore not being of Force to engage him, they did what they could to ſave themſelves.

He gueſſed where they were, and ſent ſome of his Men on Shore to let them know they were Friends, and to offer they might join together for their common Safety; the Sloops Men were well arm'd, and had poſted themſelves in a Wood, with Centinels juſt on the out-ſide, to obſerve whether the Ship landed her Men to purſue them, and they obſerving only two or three Men to come towards them without Arms, did not oppoſe them, but having challenged them, and they anſwering they were Friends, they lead them to their Body, where they delivered their Meſſage; at firſt, they apprehended it was a Stratagem to decoy them on Board,

but when the Ambaſſadors offered that the Captain himſelf, and as many of the Crew as they ſhould name, would meet them on Shore without Arms, they believed them to be in Earneſt, and they ſoon entered into a Confidence with one another; thoſe on Board going on Shore, and ſome of thoſe on Shore going on Board.

The Sloops Men were rejoiced at the new Ally, for their Veſſels were ſo ſmall, that they could not attack a Ship of any Force, ſo that hitherto they had not taken any conſiderable Prize, but now they hop'd to fly at high Game; and *Avery* was as well pleaſed at this Reinforcement, to ſtrengthen them for any brave Enterprize, and tho' the Booty muſt be leſſened to each, by being divided into ſo many Shares, yet he found out an Expedient not to ſuffer by it himſelf, as ſhall be ſhewn in its Place.

Having conſulted what was to be done, they reſolved to ſail out together upon a Cruize, the Galley and two Sloops; they therefore fell to work to get the Sloops off, which they ſoon effected, and ſteered towards the *Arabian* Coaſt; near the River *Indus*, the Man at the Maſt-Head ſpied a Sail, upon which they gave Chace, and as they came nearer to her, they perceived her to be a tall Ship, and fancied ſhe might be a *Dutch Eaſt-India* Man homeward bound; but ſhe proved a better Prize; when they fired at her to bring too, ſhe hoiſted *Mogul*'s Colours, and ſeemed to ſtand upon her Defence; *Avery* only canonaded at a Diſtance, and ſome of his Men began to ſuſpect that he was not the Hero they took him for: However, the Sloops made Uſe of their Time, and coming one on the Bow, and the other on the Quarter, of the Ship, clapt her on Board, and enter'd her, upon which ſhe immediately ſtruck her Colours and yielded; ſhe was one of the *Great Mogul*'s own Ships, and there were in her ſeveral of the greateſt Perſons of his Court, among whom it

was

was ſaid was one of his Daughters, who were going on a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, the *Mahometans* thinking themſelves obliged once in their Lives to viſit that Place, and they were carrying with them rich Offerings to preſent at the Shrine of *Mahomet*. It is known that the Eaſtern People travel with the utmoſt Magnificence, ſo that they had with them all their Slaves and Attendants, their rich Habits and Jewels, with Veſſels of Gold and Silver, and great Sums of Money to defray the Charges of their Journey by Land; wherefore the Plunder got by this Prize, is not eaſily computed.

Having taken all the Treaſure on Board their own Ships, and plundered their Prize of every Thing elſe they either wanted or liked, they let her go; ſhe not being able to continue her Voyage, returned back: As ſoon as the News came to the *Mogul*, and he knew that they were *Engliſh* who had robbed them, he threatened loud, and talked of ſending a mighty Army with Fire and Sword, to extirpate the *Engliſh* from all their Settlements on the *Indian* Coaſt. The *Eaſt-India* Company in *England*, were very much alarmed at it; however, by Degrees, they found Means to pacify him, by promiſing to do their Endeavours to take the Robbers, and deliver them into his Hands; however, the great Noiſe this Thing made in *Europe*, as well as *India*, was the Occaſion of all theſe romantick Stories which were formed of *Avery*'s Greatneſs.

In the mean Time our ſucceſsful Plunderers agreed to make the beſt of their Way back to *Madagaſcar*, intending to make that Place their Magazine or Repoſitory for all their Treaſure, and to build a ſmall Fortification there, and leave a few Hands always aſhore to look after it, and defend it from any Attempts of the Natives; but *Avery* put an End to this Project, and made it altogether unneceſſary.

As they were Steering their Course, as has been said, he sends a Boat on Board of each of the Sloops, desiring the Chief of them to come on Board of him, in order to hold a Council; they did so, and he told them he had something to propose to them for the common Good, which was to provide against Accidents; he bad them consider the Treasure they were possess'd of, would be sufficient for them all if they could secure it in some Place on Shore; therefore all they had to fear, was some Misfortune in the Voyage; he bad them consider the Consequences of being separated by bad Weather, in which Case, the Sloops, if either of them should fall in with any Ships of Force, must be either taken or sunk, and the Treasure on Board her lost to the rest, besides the common Accidents of the Sea; as for his Part he was so strong, he was able to make his Party good with any Ship they were like to meet in those Seas; that if he met with any Ship of such Strength, that he could not take her, he was safe from being taken, being so well mann'd; besides his Ship was a quick Sailor, and could carry Sail, when the Sloops could not, wherefore, he proposed to them, to put the Treasure on Board his Ship, to seal up each Chest with 3 Seals, whereof each was to keep one, and to appoint a Rendezvous, in Case of Separation.

Upon considering this Proposal, it appeared so seasonable to them, that they readily came into it, for they argued to themselves, that an Accident might happen to one of the Sloops and the other escape, wherefore it was for the common Good. The Thing was done as agreed to, the Treasure put on Board of *Avery*, and the Chests seal'd; they kept Company that Day and the next, the Weather being fair, in which Time *Avery* tampered with his Men, telling them they now had sufficient to make them all easy, and what should hinder them

them from going to ſome Country, where they were not known, and living on Shore all the reſt of their Days in Plenty; they underſtood what he meant: And in ſhort, they all agreed to bilk their new Allies, the Sloop's Men, nor do I find that any of them felt any Qualms of Honour riſing in his Stomach, to hinder them from conſenting to this Piece of Treachery. In fine, they took Advantage of the Darkneſs that Night, ſteer'd another Courſe, and, by Morning, loſt Sight of them.

I leave the Reader to judge, what Swearing and Confuſion there was among the Sloop's Men, in the Morning, when they ſaw that *Avery* had given them the Slip; for they knew by the Fairneſs of the Weather, and the Courſe they had agreed to ſteer, that it muſt have been done on purpoſe: But we leave them at preſent to follow Mr. *Avery*.

Avery, and his Men, having conſulted what to do with themſelves, came to a Reſolution, to make the beſt of their Way towards *America*; and none of them being known in thoſe Parts, they intended to divide the Treaſure, to change their Names, to go aſhore, ſome in one Place, ſome in other, to purchaſe ſome Settlements, and live at Eaſe. The firſt Land they made, was the Iſland of *Providence*, then newly ſettled; here they ſtaid ſome Time, and having conſidered that when they ſhould go to *New-England*, the Greatneſs of their Ship, would cauſe much Enquiry about them; and poſſibly ſome People from *England*, who had heard the Story of a Ship's being run away with from the *Groine*, might ſuſpect them to be the People; they therefore took a Reſolution of diſpoſing of their Ship at *Providence*: Upon which, *Avery* pretending that the Ship being fitted out upon the privateering Account, and having had no Succeſs, he had received Orders from the Owners, to diſpoſe of her to the beſt Advan-

tage, he ſoon met with a Purchaſer, and immediately bought a Sloop.

In this Sloop, he and his Companions embarq'd, they touch'd at ſeveral Parts of *America*, where no Perſon ſuſpected them; and ſome of them went on Shore, and diſperſed themſelves about the Country, having received ſuch Dividends as *Avery* would give them; for he concealed the greateſt Part of the Diamonds from them, which in the firſt Hurry of plundering the Ship, they did not much regard, as not knowing their Value.

At length he came to *Boſton*, in *New-England*, and ſeem'd to have a Deſire of ſettling in thoſe Parts, and ſome of his Companions went on Shore there alſo, but he changed his Reſolution, and propoſed to the few of his Companions who were left, to ſail for *Ireland*, which they conſented to: He found out that *New-England* was not a proper Place for him, becauſe a great deal of his Wealth lay in Diamonds; and ſhould he have produced them there, he would have certainly been ſeiz'd on Suſpicion of Pyracy.

In their Voyage to *Ireland*, they avoided St. *George*'s Channel, and ſailing North about, they put into one of the Northern Ports of that Kingdom; there they diſpoſed of their Sloop, and coming on Shore they ſeparated themſelves, ſome going to *Cork*, and ſome to *Dublin*, 18 of whom obtain'd their Pardons afterwards of K. *William*. When *Avery* had remain'd ſome Time in this Kingdom, he was afraid to offer his Diamonds to ſale, leaſt an Enquiry into his Manner of coming by them ſhould occaſion a Diſcovery; therefore conſidering with himſelf what was beſt to be done, he fancied there were ſome Perſons at *Briſtol*, whom he might venture to truſt; upon which, he reſolved to paſs over into *England*; he did ſo, and going into *Devonſhire*, he ſent to one of theſe Friends to meet him at a Town called *Biddi-*

ford;

ford; when he had communicated himſelf to his Friends, and conſulted with him about the Means of his Effects, they agreed, that the ſafeſt Method would be, to put them in the Hands of ſome Merchants, who being Men of Wealth and Credit in the World, no Enquiry would be made how they came by them; this Friend telling him he was very intimate with ſome who were very fit for the Purpoſe, and if he would but allow them a good Commiſſion would do the Buſineſs very faithfully. *Avery* liked the Propoſal, for he found no other Way of managing his Affairs, ſince he could not appear in them himſelf; therefore his Friend going back to *Briſtol*, and opening the Matter to the Merchants, they made *Avery* a Viſit at *Biddiford*, where, after ſome Proteſtations of Honour and Integrity, he delivered them his Effects, conſiſting of Diamonds and ſome Veſſels of Gold; they gave him a little Money for his preſent Subſiſtance, and ſo they parted.

He changed his Name and lived at *Biddiford*, without making any Figure, and therefore there was no great Notice taken of him; yet let one or two of his Relations know where he was, who came to ſee him. In ſome Time his little Money was ſpent, yet he heard nothing from his Merchants; he writ to them often, and after much Importunity they ſent him a ſmall Supply, but ſcarce ſufficient to pay his Debts: In fine, the Supplies they ſent him from Time to Time, were ſo ſmall, that they were not ſufficient to give him Bread, nor could he get that little, without a great deal of Trouble and Importunity, wherefore being weary of his Life, he went privately to *Briſtol*, to ſpeak to the Merchants himſelf, where inſtead of Money he met a moſt ſhocking Repulſe, for when he deſired them to come to an Account with him, they ſilenced him by threatening to diſcover him,

ſo that our Merchants were as good Pyrates at Land as he was at Sea.

Whether he was frightened by theſe Menaces, or had ſeen ſome Body elſe he thought knew him, is not known; but he went immediately over to *Ireland*, and from thence ſollicited his Merchants very hard for a Supply, but to no Purpoſe, for he was even reduced to beggary: In this Extremity he was reſolved to return and caſt himſelf upon them, let the Conſequence be what it would. He put himſelf on Board a trading Veſſel, and work'd his Paſſage over to *Plymouth*, from whence he travelled on Foot to *Biddiford*, where he had been but a few Days before he fell ſick and died; not being worth as much as would buy him a Coffin.

Thus have I given all that could be collected of any Certainty concerning this Man; rejecting the idle Stories which were made of his fantaſtick Greatneſs, by which it appears, that his Actions were more inconſiderable than thoſe of other Pyrates, ſince him, though he made more Noiſe in the World.

Now we ſhall turn back and give our Readers ſome Account of what became of the two Sloops.

We took Notice of the Rage and Confuſion, which muſt have ſeized them, upon their miſſing of *Avery*; however, they continued their Courſe, ſome of them ſtill flattering themſelves that he had only out ſailed them in the Night, and that they ſhould find him at the Place of Rendezvous: But when they came there, and could hear no Tydings of him, there was an End of Hope. It was Time to conſider what they ſhould do with themſelves, their Stock of Sea Proviſion was almoſt ſpent, and tho' there was Rice and Fiſh, and Fowl to be had aſhore, yet theſe would not keep for Sea, without being properly cured with Salt, which they had no Conveniency of doing; therefore,

ſince

ſince they could not go a Cruizing any more, it was Time to think of eſtabliſhing themſelves at Land; to which Purpoſe they took all Things out of the Sloops, made Tents of the Sails, and encamped themſelves, having a large Quantity of Ammunition, and abundance of ſmall Arms.

Here they met with ſeveral of their Countrymen, the Crew of a Privateer Sloop which was commanded by Captain *Thomas Tew*; and ſince it will be but a ſhort Digreſſion, we will give an Account how they came here.

Captain *George Dew* and Captain *Thomas Tew*, having received Commiſſions from the then Governor of *Bermudas*, to ſail directly for the River *Gambia* in *Africa*; there, with the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the Agents of the Royal *African* Company, to attempt the taking the *French* Factory at *Goorie*, lying upon that Coaſt. In a few Days after they ſailed out, *Dew* in a violent Storm, not only ſprung his Maſt, but loſt Sight of his Conſort; *Dew* therefore returned back to refit, and *Tew* inſtead of proceeding on his Voyage, made for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and doubling the ſaid Cape, ſhaped his Courſe for the Straits of *Babel Mandel*, being the Entrance into the *Red Sea*. Here he came up with a large Ship, richly laden, bound from the *Indies* to *Arabia*, with three hundred Soldiers on Board, beſides Seamen; yet *Tew* had the Hardineſs to board her, and ſoon carried her; and, 'tis ſaid, by this Prize, his Men ſhared near three thouſand Pounds a Piece: They had Intelligence from the Priſoners, of five other rich Ships to paſs that Way, which *Tew* would have attacked, tho' they were very ſtrong, if he had not been over-ruled by the Quarter-Maſter and others. —— This differing in Opinion created ſome ill Blood amongſt them, ſo that they reſolved to break up pyrating, and no Place was ſo fit to receive them as *Madagaſcar*; hither they ſteered

steered, resolving to live on Shore and enjoy what they got.

As for *Tew* himself, he with a few others in a short Time went off to *Rhode Island*, from whence he made his Peace.

Thus have we accounted for the Company our Pyrates met with here.

It must be observed that the Natives of *Madagascar* are a kind of Negroes, they differ from those of *Guiney* in their Hair, which is long, and their Complexion is not so good a Jet; they have innumerable little Princes among them, who are continually making War upon one another; their Prisoners are their Slaves, and they either sell them, or put them to death, as they please: When our Pyrates first settled amongst them, their Alliance was much courted by these Princes, so they sometimes joined one, sometimes another, but wheresoever they sided, they were sure to be Victorious; for the Negroes here had no Fire-Arms, nor did they understand their Use; so that at length these Pyrates became so terrible to the Negroes, that if two or or three of them were only seen on one Side, when they were going to engage, the opposite Side would fly without striking a Blow.

By these Means they not only became feared, but powerful; all the Prisoners of War, they took to be their Slaves; they married the most beautiful of the Negroe Women; not one or two, but as many as they liked; so that every one of them had as great a Seraglio as the Grand Seignior at *Constantinople*: Their Slaves they employed in planting Rice, in Fishing Hunting, *&c.* besides which, they had abundance of others, who lived, as it were, under their Protection, and to be secure from the Disturbances or Attacks of their powerful Neighbours; these seemed to pay them a willing Homage. Now they began to divide from one another, each living with

with his own Wives, Slaves and Dependants, like a ſeparate Prince; and as Power and Plenty naturally beget Contention, they ſometimes quarrelled with one another, and attacked each other at the Head of their ſeveral Armies; and in theſe civil Wars, many of them were killed; but an Accident happened, which obliged them to unite again for their common Safety.

It muſt be obſerved that theſe ſudden great Men, had uſed their Power like Tyrants, for they grew wanton in Cruelty, and nothing was more common, than upon the ſlighteſt Diſpleaſure, to cauſe one of their Dependants to be tied to a Tree and ſhot thro' the Heart, let the Crime be what it would, whether little or great, this was always the Puniſhment; wherefore the Negroes conſpired together, to rid themſelves of theſe Deſtroyers, all in one Night; and as they now lived ſeparate, the Thing might eaſily have been done, had not a Woman, who had been Wife or Concubine to one of them, run near twenty Miles in three Hours, to diſcover the Matter to them: Immediately upon the Alarm they ran together as faſt as they could, ſo that when the Negroes approached them, they found them all up in Arms; wherefore they retired without making any Attempt.

This Eſcape made them very cautious from that Time, and it will be worth while to deſcribe the Policy of theſe brutiſh Fellows, and to ſhew what Meaſures they took to ſecure themſelves.

They found that the Fear of their Power could not ſecure them againſt a Surprize, and the braveſt Man may be kill'd when he is aſleep, by one much his inferior in Courage and Strength, therefore, as their firſt Security, they did all they could to foment War betwixt the neighbouring Negroes, remaining Neuter themſelves, by which Means, thoſe who were overcome conſtantly fled to them for Protection,

tection, otherwiſe they muſt be either killed or made Slaves. They ſtrengthened their Party, and tied ſome to them by Intereſt; when there was no War, they contrived to ſpirit up private Quarrels among them, and upon every little Diſpute or Miſunderſtanding, puſh on one Side or other to Revenge; Inſtruct them how to attack or ſurprize their Adverſaries, and lend them loaded Piſtols or Firelocks to diſpatch them with; the Conſequence of which was, that the Murderer was forced to fly to them for the ſafety of his Life, with his Wives, Children and Kindred.

Such as theſe were faſt Friends, as their Lives depended upon the ſafety of his Protectors; for as we obſerved before, our Pyrates were grown ſo terrible, that none of their Neighbours had Reſolution enough to attack them in an open War.

By ſuch Arts as theſe, in the Space of a few Years, their Body was greatly increaſed, they then began to ſeparate themſelves, and remove at a greater Diſtance from one another, for the Convenience of more Ground, and were divided like Jews, into Tribes, each carrying with him his Wives and Children, (of which, by this Time they had a large Family,) as alſo their Quota of Dependants and Followers; and if Power and Command be the Thing which diſtinguiſh a Prince, theſe Ruffians had all the Marks of Royalty about them, nay more, they had the very Fears which commonly diſturb Tyrants, as may be ſeen by the extream Caution they took in fortifying the Places where they dwelt.

In this Plan of Fortification they imitated one another, their Dwellings were rather Citadels than Houſes; they made Choice of a Place overgrown with Wood, and ſcituate near a Water; they raiſed a Rampart or high Ditch round it, ſo ſtrait and high, that it was impoſſible to climb it, and eſpecially

cially by those who had not the Use of scaling Ladders: Over this Ditch there was one Passage into the Wood; the Dwelling, which was a Hut, was built in that Part of the Wood which the Prince, who inhabited it, thought fit, but so covered that it could not be seen till you came at it; but the greatest Cunning lay in the Passage which lead to the Hut, which was so narrow, that no more than one Person could go a Breast, and contrived in so intricate a Manner, that it was a perfect Maze or Labyrinth, it being round and round, with several little cross Ways, so that a Person that was not well acquainted with the Way, might walk several Hours round and cross these Ways without being able to find the Hut; moreover all along the Sides of these narrow Paths, certain large Thorns which grew upon a Tree in that Country, were struck into the Ground with their Points uppermost, and the Path it self being made crooked and serpentine, if a Man should attempt to come near the Hut at Night, he would certainly have struck upon these Thorns, tho' he had been provided with that Clue which *Ariadne* gave to *Theseus* when he entered the Cave of the *Minataur*.

Thus Tyrant like they lived, fearing and feared by all; and in this Scituation they were found by Captain *Woods Rogers*, when he went to *Madagascar*, in the *Delicia*, a Ship of forty Guns, with a Design of buying Slaves in order to sell to the *Dutch* at *Batavia* or *New-Holland*: He happened to touch upon a Part of the Island, where no Ship had been seen for seven or eight Years before, where he met with some of the Pyrates, at which Time, they had been upon the Island above 25 Years, having a large motly Generation of Children and Grand-Children descended from them, there being about that Time, eleven of them remaining alive.

Upon

Upon their firſt ſeeing a Ship of this Force and Burthen, they ſuppoſed it to be a Man of War ſent to take them; they therefore lurked within their Faſtneſſes, but when ſome from the Ship came on Shore, without any ſhew of Hoſtility, and offering to trade with the Negroes, they ventured to come out of their Holes, attended like Princes; and ſince they actually are Kings *De Facto*, which is a kind of a Right, we ought to ſpeak of them as ſuch.

Having been ſo many Years upon this Iſland, it may be imagined, their Cloaths had long been worn out, ſo that their Majeſties were extreamly out at the Elbows; I cannot ſay they were ragged, ſince they had no Cloaths, they had nothing to cover them but the Skins of Beaſts without any tanning, but with all the Hair on, nor a Shoe nor Stocking, ſo they looked like the Pictures of *Hercules* in the Lion's Skin; and being overgrown with Beard, and Hair upon their Bodies, they appeared the moſt ſavage Figures that a Man's Imagination can frame.

However, they ſoon got rigg'd, for they ſold great Numbers of thoſe poor People under them, for Cloaths, Knives, Saws, Powder and Ball, and many other Things, and became ſo familiar that they went aboard the *Delicia*, and were obſerved to be very curious, examining the inſide of the Ship, and very familiar with the Men, inviting them aſhore. Their Deſign in doing this, as they afterwards confeſſed, was to try if it was not practicable to ſurprize the Ship in the Night, which they judged very eaſy, in caſe there was but a ſlender Watch kept on Board, they having Boats and Men enough at Command, but it ſeems the Captain was aware of them, and kept ſo ſtrong a Watch upon Deck, that they found it was in vain to make any Attempt; wherefore, when ſome of the

the Men went ashore, they were for inveigling them, and drawing them into a Plot, for seizing the Captain and securing the rest of the Men under Hatches, when they should have the Night-Watch, promising a Signal to come on Board to join them; proposing, if they succeeded, to go a Pyrating together, not doubting but with that Ship they should be able to take any Thing they met on the Sea: But the Captain observing an Intimacy growing betwixt them and some of his Men, thought it could be for no good, he therefore broke it off in Time, not suffering them so much as to talk together; and when he sent a Boat on Shore with an Officer to treat with them about the Sale of Slaves, the Crew remained on Board the Boat, and no Man was suffered to talk with them, but the Person deputed by him for that Purpose.

Before he sailed away, and they found that nothing was to be done, they confessed all the Designs they had formed against him. Thus he left them as he found them, in a great deal of dirty State and Royalty, but with fewer Subjects than they had, having, as we observed, sold many of them; and if Ambition be the darling Passion of Men, no doubt they were happy. One of these great Princes had formerly been a Waterman upon the *Thames*, where having committed a Murder, he fled to the *West-Indies*, and was of the Number of those who run away with the Sloops; the rest had been all foremast Men, nor was there a Man amongst them, who could either read or write, and yet their Secretaries of State had no more Learning than themselves. This is all the Account we can give of these Kings of *Madagascar*, some of whom it is probable are reigning to this Day.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

OF

Captain *MARTEL*, And his CREW.

I Come now to the Pyrates that have roſe ſince the Peace of *Utrecht*; in War Time there is no room for any, becauſe all thoſe of a roving advent'rous Diſpoſition find Employment in Privateers, ſo there is no Opportunity for Pyrates; like our Mobs in *London*, when they come to any Height, our Superiors order out the Train Bands, and when once they are raiſed, the others are ſuppreſſed of Courſe; I take the Reaſon of it to be, that the Mob go into the tame Army, and immediately from notorious Breakers of the Peace, become, by being put into order, ſolemn Preſervers of it. And ſhould our Legiſlators put ſome of the Pyrates into Authority, it would not only leſſen their Number, but, I imagine, ſet them upon the reſt, and they would be the likelieſt People to find them out, according to the Proverb, *ſet a Thief to catch a Thief.*

To bring this about, there needs no other Encouragement, but to give all the Effects taken aboard a Pyrate Veſſel to the Captors; for in Caſe of Plunder and Gain, they like it as well from Friends, as Enemies, but are not fond, as Things are carry'd, *of ruining poor Fellowes*, ſay the *Creoleans, with no Advantage to themſelves.*

The

The Multitude of Men and Veſſels, employ'd this Way, in Time of War, in the *Weſt-Indies*, is another Reaſon, for the Number of Pyrates in a Time of Peace: This cannot be ſuppoſed to be a Reflection on any of our *American* Governments, much leſs on the King himſelf, by whoſe Authority ſuch Commiſſions are granted, becauſe of the Reaſonableneſs, and abſolute Neceſſity, there is for the doing of it; yet the Obſervation is juſt, for ſo many idle People employing themſelves in Privateers, for the ſake of Plunder and Riches, which they always ſpend as faſt as they get, that when the War is over, and they can have no farther Buſineſs in the Way of Life they have been uſed to, they too readily engage in Acts of Pyracy, which being but the ſame Practice without a Commiſſion, they make very little Diſtinction betwixt the Lawfulneſs of one, and the Unlawfulneſs of the other.

I have not enquired ſo far back, as to know the Original of this Rover, but I believe he and his Gang, were ſome Privateer's Men belonging to the Iſland of *Jamaica*, in the preceeding War; his Story is but ſhort, for his Reign was ſo; an End having been put to his Adventures in good Time, when he was growing ſtrong and formidable. We find him Commander of a Pyrate Sloop of eight Guns, and 80 Men, in the Month of *September*, 1716, cruiſing off *Jamaica*, *Cuba*, *&c.* about which Time he took the *Berkley* Galley, Captain *Saunders*, and plundered him of 1000 l. in Money, and afterwards met with a Sloop call'd the *King Solomon*, from whom he took ſome Money, and Proviſions, beſides Goods, to a good Value.

They proceeded after this to the Port of *Cavena*, at the Iſland of *Cuba*, and in their Way took two Sloops, which they plundered, and let go; and off the Port fell in with a fine Galley, with 20 Guns,

call'd the *John* and *Martha*, Captain *Wilson*, which they attacked under the pyratical Black-Flag, and made themselves Masters of her. They put some of the Men ashore, and others they detain'd, as they had done several Times, to encrease their Company; but Captain *Martel*, charged Captain *Wilson*, to advise his Owners, that their Ship would answer his Purpose exactly, by taking one Deck down, and as for the Cargo, which consisted chiefly of Logwood and Sugar, he would take Care it should be carry'd to a good Market.

Having fitted up the aforesaid Ship, as they design'd, they mounted her with 22 Guns, 100 Men, and left 25 Hands in the Sloop, and so proceeded to Cruize off the Leeward Islands, where they met with but too much Success. After the taking of a Sloop and a Brigantine, they gave Chase to a stout Ship, which they came up with, and, at Sight of the Pyrate's Flag, she struck to the Robbers, being a Ship of 20 Guns, call'd the *Dolphin*, bound for *Newfoundland*. Captain *Martel* made the Men Prisoners, and carry'd the Ship with him.

The middle of *December* the Pyrates took another Galley in her Voyage home from *Jamaica*, call'd the *Kent*, Captain *Lawton*, and shifted her Provisions aboard their own Ship, and let her go, which obliged her to Sail back to *Jamaica* for a Supply for her Voyage. After this they met with a small Ship and a Sloop, belonging to *Barbadoes*, out of both they took Provisions, and then parted with them, having first taken out some of their Hands, who were willing to be forced to go along with them. The *Greyhound* Galley of *London*, Captain *Evans*, from *Guiney* to *Jamaica*, was the next that had the Misfortune to fall in their Way, which they did not detain long, for as soon as they could get out all her Gold Dust, Elephant's Teeth, and 40 Slaves, they sent her onwards upon her Voyage.

They

They concluded now, that 'twas high Time to get into Harbour and refit, as well as to get Refreſhments themſelves, and wait an Opportunity to diſpoſe of their Cargo; therefore 'twas reſolved to make the beſt of their Way to *Santa Crux*, a ſmall Iſland in the Lattitude of 18, 30, N. ten Mile long, and two broad, lying South-Eaſt of *Porto Rico*, belonging to the *French* Settlements. Here they thought they might lye privately enough for ſome Time, and fit themſelves for further Miſchief. They met with a Sloop by the Way, which they took along with them, and in the Beginning of the Year 1716-17, they arrived at their Port, having a Ship of 20 Guns, a Sloop of eight, and three Prizes, *viz.* another Ship of 20 Guns, a Sloop of four Guns, and another Sloop laſt taken; with this little Fleet, they got into a ſmall Harbour, or Road, the N. W. Part of the Iſland, and warp'd up two Creeks, which were made by a little Iſland lying within the Bay; (I am the more particular now, becauſe I ſhall take Leave of the Gentlemen, at this Place.) They had here bare 16 Foot Water, at the deepeſt, and but 13 or 14, at the ſhalloweſt, and nothing but Rocks and Sands without, which ſecured them from Wind and Sea, and likewiſe from any conſiderable Force coming againſt them.

When they had all got in, the firſt Thing they had to do, was to Guard themſelves in the beſt Manner they could; they made a Battery of four Guns upon the Iſland, and another Battery of two Guns on the North Point of the Road, and warp'd in one of the Sloops with eight Guns, at the Mouth of the Channel, to hinder any Veſſels from coming in; when this was done they went to Work on their Ship, unrigging, and unloading, in order to Clean, where I ſhall leave them a while, till I bring other Company to 'em.

In the Month of *November*, 1716, General *Hamilton*, Commander in chief of all the *Leeward Caribee Islands*, sent a Sloop Express to Captain *Hume*, at *Barbadoes*, Commander of his Majesty's Ship, *Scarborough*, of 30 Guns, and 140 Men, to acquaint him, that two Pyrate Sloops of 12 Guns each, molested the Colonies, having plundered several Vessels. The *Scarborough* had bury'd twenty Men, and had near forty Sick, and therefore was but in ill State to go to Sea: However, Captain *Hume* left his sick Men behind, and sailed to the other Islands, for a supply of Men, taking 20 Soldiers from *Antegoa*; at *Nevis*, he took 10, and 10 at St. *Christophers*, and then sailed to the Island of *Anguilla*, where he learned, that some Time before, 2 such Sloops had been at *Spanish-Town*, otherwise called, one of the *Virgin* Islands: Accordingly, the next Day, the *Scarborough* came to *Spanish-Town*, but could hear no News of the Sloops, only, that they had been there about *Christmas*, (it being then the 15th of *January*.)

Captain *Hume*, finding no Account could be had of these Pyrates, designed to go back, the next Day, to *Barbadoes*; but, it happened, that Night, that a Boat anchor'd there from *Santa Crux*, and informed him, that he saw a Pyrate Ship of 22 or 24 Guns, with other Vessels, going in to the North West Part of the Island aforesaid. The *Scarborough* weigh'd immediately, and the next Morning came in Sight of the Rovers, and their Prizes, and stood to them, but the Pilot refused to venture in with the Ship; all the while the Pyrates fir'd red hot Bullets from the Shore. At length, the Ship came to an Anchor, along Side the Reef, near the Channel, and cannonaded for several Hours, both the Vessels and Batteries: About four in the Afternoon, the Sloop that guarded the Channel, was sunk by the Shot of the Man of War; then she canno-

cannonaded the Pyrate Ship of 22 Guns, that lay behind the Iſland. The next Night, *viz.* the 18th, it falling Calm, Captain *Hume* weigh'd, fearing he might fall on the Reef, and ſo ſtood off and on for a Day or two, to block them up. On the 20th, in the Evening, they obſerved the Man of War to ſtand off to Sea, and took the Opportunity to warp out, in order to ſlip away from the Iſland; but at Twelve o'Clock they run a-ground, and then ſeeing the *Scarborough* about, ſtanding in again, as their Caſe was deſperate, ſo they were put into the utmoſt Confuſion; they quitted their Ship, and ſet her on Fire, with 20 Negroes in her, who were all burnt; 19 of the Pyrates made their Eſcape in a ſmall Sloop, but the Captain and the reſt, with 20 Negroes, betook to the Woods, where 'twas probable they might ſtarve, for we never heard what became of 'em afterwards: Captain *Hume* releaſed the Priſoners, with the Ship and Sloop that remained, and then went after the two Pyrate Sloops firſt mentioned.

CHAP. III.

OF

Captain *TEACH*,

alias BLACK-BEARD.

Edward Teach was a *Briſtol* Man born, but had ſailed ſome Time out of *Jamaica* in Privateers, in the late *French* War; yet tho' he had often diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his uncommon Boldneſs and perſonal Courage, he was never raiſed to any Command, till he went a-pyrating, which I think was at the latter End of the Year 1716, when Captain *Benjamin Hornigold* put him into a Sloop that he had made Prize of, and with whom he continued in Conſortſhip till a little while before *Hornigold* ſurrendered.

In the Spring of the Year 1717, *Teach* and *Hornigold* ſailed from *Providence*, for the Main of *America*, and took in their Way a Billop from the *Havana*, with 120 Barrels of Flower, as alſo a Sloop from *Bermuda*, *Thurbar* Maſter, from whom they took only ſome Gallons of Wine, and then let him go; and a Ship from *Madera* to *South-Carolina*, out of which they got Plunder to a conſiderable Value.

After cleaning on the Coaſt of *Virginia*, they returned to the *Weſt-Indies*, and in the Latitude of 24, made Prize of a large *French Guiney* Man, bound



B. Cole sculp.

Blackbeard the Pirate.



bound to *Martinico*, which by *Hornigold*'s Consent, *Teach* went aboard of as Captain, and took a Cruize in her; *Hornigold* returned with his Sloop to *Providence*, where, at the Arrival of Captain *Rogers*, the Governor, he surrendered to Mercy, pursuant to the King's Proclamation.

Aboard of this *Guiney* Man *Teach* mounted 40 Guns, and named her the *Queen Ann's Revenge*; and cruising near the Island of St. *Vincent*, took a large Ship, called the *Great Allen*, *Christopher Taylor* Commander; the Pyrates plundered her of what they though fit, put all the Men ashore upon the Island above mentioned, and then set Fire to the Ship.

A few Days after, *Teach* fell in with the *Scarborough* Man of War, of 30 Guns, who engaged him for some Hours; but she finding the Pyrate well mann'd, and having tried her strength, gave over the Engagement, and returned to *Barbadoes*, the Place of her Station; and *Teach* sailed towards the *Spanish America*.

In his Way he met with a Pyrate Sloop of ten Guns, commanded by one Major *Bonnet*, lately a Gentleman of good Reputation and Estate in the Island of *Barbadoes*, whom he joyned; but in a few Days after, *Teach*, finding that *Bonnet* knew nothing of a maritime Life, with the Consent of his own Men, put in another Captain, one *Richards*, to Command *Bonnet*'s Sloop, and took the Major on aboard his own Ship, telling him, *that as he had not been used to the Fatigues and Care of such a Post, it would be better for him to decline it, and live easy and at his Pleasure, in such a Ship as his, where he should not be obliged to perform Duty, but follow his own Inclinations.*

At *Turniff*, ten Leagues short of the Bay of *Honduras*, the Pyrates took in fresh Water; and while they were at an Anchor there, they saw a Sloop coming in, whereupon, *Richards* in the Sloop called the *Revenge*, slipped his Cable, and run out to meet

her; who upon seeing the black Flag hoisted, struck his Sail and came to, under the Stern of *Teach* the Commadore. She was called the *Adventure*, from *Jamaica*, *David Harriot* Master. They took him and his Men aboard the great Ship, and sent a Number of other Hands with *Israel Hands*, Master of *Teach*'s Ship, to Man the Sloop for the pyratical Account.

The 9th of *April*, they weighed from *Turniff*, having lain there about a Week, and sailed to the Bay, where they found a Ship and four Sloops, three of the latter belonged to *Jonathan Bernard*, of *Jamaica*, and the other to Captain *James*; the Ship was of *Boston*, called the *Protestant Cæsar*, Captain *Wyar* Commander. *Teach* hoisted his Black Colours, and fired a Gun, upon which Captain *Wyar* and all his Men, left their Ship, and got ashore in their Boat. *Teach*'s Quarter-Master, and eight of his Crew, took Possession of *Wyar*'s Ship, and *Richards* secured all the Sloops, one of which they burnt out of spight to the Owner; the *Protestant Cæsar* they also burnt, after they had plundered her, because she belonged to *Boston*, where some Men had been hanged for Pyracy; and the three Sloops belonging to *Bernard* they let go.

From hence the Rovers sailed to *Turkill*, and then to the *Grand Caimanes*, a small Island about thirty Leagues to the Westward of *Jamaica*, where they took a small Turtler, and so to the *Havana*, and from thence to the *Bahama* Wrecks, and from the *Bahama* Wrecks, they sailed to *Carolina*, taking a Brigantine and two Sloops in their Way, where they lay off the Bar of *Charles-Town* for five or six Days. They took here a Ship as she was coming out, bound for *London*, commanded by *Robert Clark*, with some Passengers on Board for *England*; the next Day they took another Vessel coming out of *Charles-Town*, and also two Pinks coming into *Charles-Town*;

Town; likewiſe a Brigantine with 14 Negroes aboard; all which being done in the Face of the Town, ſtruck a great Terror to the whole Province of *Carolina*, having juſt before been viſited by *Vane*, another notorious Pyrate, that they abandoned themſelves to Diſpair, being in no Condition to reſiſt their Force. They were eight Sail in the Harbour, ready for the Sea, but none dared to venture out, it being almoſt impoſſible to eſcape their Hands. The inward bound Veſſels were under the ſame unhappy Dilemma, ſo that the Trade of this Place was totally interrupted: What made theſe Misfortunes heavier to them, was a long expenſive War, the Colony had had with the Natives, which was but juſt ended when theſe Robbers infeſted them.

Teach detained all the Ships and Priſoners, and, being in want of Medicines, reſolves to demand a Cheſt from the Government of the Province; accordingly *Richards*, the Captain of the *Revenge* Sloop, with two or three more Pyrates, were ſent up along with Mr. *Marks*, one of the Priſoners, whom they had taken in *Clark*'s Ship, and very inſolently made their Demands, threatning, that if they did not ſend immediately the Cheſt of Medicines, and let the Pyrate-Ambaſſadors return, without offering any Violence to their Perſons, they would murder all their Priſoners, ſend up their Heads to the Governor, and ſet the Ships they had taken on Fire.

Whilſt Mr. *Marks* was making Application to the Council, *Richards*, and the reſt of the Pyrates, walk'd the Streets publickly, in the Sight of all People, who were fired with the utmoſt Indignation, looking upon them as Robbers and Murtherers, and particularly the Authors of their Wrongs and Oppreſſions, but durſt not ſo much as think of executing their Revenge, for fear

of

of bringing more Calamities upon themſelves, and ſo they were forced to let the Villains paſs with Impunity. The Government were not long in deliberating upon the Meſſage, tho' 'twas the greateſt Affront that could have been put upon them; yet for the ſaving ſo many Mens Lives, (among them, Mr. *Samuel Wragg*, one of the Council;) they comply'd with the Neceſſity, and ſent aboard a Cheſt, valued at between 3 and 400 *l.* and the Pyrates went back ſafe to their Ships.

Blackbeard, (for ſo *Teach* was generally called, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew) as ſoon as he had received the Medicines and his Brother Rogues, let go the Ships and the Priſoners; having firſt taken out of them in Gold and Silver, about 1500 *l.* Sterling, beſides Proviſions and other Matters.

From the Bar of *Charles-Town*, they ſailed to *North-Carolina*; Captain *Teach* in the Ship, which they called the Man of War, Captain *Richards* and Captain *Hands* in the Sloops, which they termed Privateers, and another Sloop ſerving them as a Tender. *Teach* began now to think of breaking up the Company, and ſecuring the Money and the beſt of the Effects for himſelf, and ſome others of his Companions he had moſt Friendſhip for, and to cheat the reſt: Accordingly, on Pretence of running into *Topſail* Inlet to clean, he grounded his Ship, and then, as if it had been done undeſignedly, and by Accident; he orders *Hands*'s Sloop to come to his Aſſiſtance, and get him off again, which he endeavouring to do, ran the Sloop on Shore near the other, and ſo were both loſt. This done, *Teach* goes into the Tender Sloop, with forty Hands, and leaves the *Revenge* there; then takes ſeventeen others and Marroons them upon a ſmall ſandy Iſland, about a League from the Main, where there was neither Bird, Beaſt

or

or Herb for their Subſiſtance, and where they muſt have periſhed if Major *Bonnet* had not two Days after taken them off.

Teach goes up to the Governor of *North-Carolina*, with about twenty of his Men, ſurrender to his Majeſty's Proclamation, and receive Certificates thereof, from his Excellency; but it did not appear that their ſubmitting to this Pardon was from any Reformation of Manners, but only to wait a more favourable Opportunity to play the ſame Game over again; which he ſoon after effected, with greater Security to himſelf, and with much better Proſpect of Succeſs, having in this Time cultivated a very good underſtanding with *Charles Eden*, Eſq; the Governor above mentioned.

The firſt Piece of Service this kind Governor did to *Black-Beard*, was, to give him a Right to the Veſſel which he had taken, when he was a pyrating in the great Ship called the *Queen Ann*'s *Revenge*; for which purpoſe, a Court of Vice-Admiralty was held at *Bath-Town*; and, tho' *Teach* had never any Commiſſion in his Life, and the Sloop belonging to the *Engliſh* Merchants, and taken in Time of Peace; yet was ſhe condemned as a Prize taken from the *Spaniards*, by the ſaid *Teach*. Theſe Proceedings ſhew that Governors are but Men.

Before he ſailed upon his Adventures, he marry'd a young Creature of about ſixteen Years of Age, the Governor performing the Ceremony. As it is a Cuſtom to marry here by a Prieſt, ſo it is there by a Magiſtrate; and this, I have been informed, made *Teach*'s fourteenth Wife, whereof, about a dozen might be ſtill living. His Behaviour in this State, was ſomething extraordinary; for while his Sloop lay in *Okerecock* Inlet, and he aſhore at a Plantation, where his Wife lived, with whom after he had lain all Night, it was his Cuſtom to invite five or ſix of his brutal Companions

ons to come aſhore, and he would force her to proſtitute her ſelf to them all, one after another, before his Face.

In *June* 1718, he went to Sea, upon another Expedition, and ſteered his Courſe towards *Bermudas*; he met with two or three *Engliſh* Veſſels in his Way, but robbed them only of Proviſions, Stores and other Neceſſaries, for his preſent Expence; but near the Iſland aforementioned, he fell in with two *French* Ships, one of them was loaden with Sugar and Cocoa, and the other light, both bound to *Martinico*; the Ship that had no Lading he let go, and putting all the Men of the loaded Ship aboard her, he brought home the other with her Cargo to *North-Carolina*, where the Governor and the Pyrates ſhared the Plunder.

When *Teach* and his Prize arrived, he and four of his Crew went to his Excellency, and made Affidavit, that they found the *French* Ship at Sea, without a Soul on Board her; and then a Court was called, and the Ship condemned: The Governor had ſixty Hogſheads of Sugar for his Dividend, and one Mr. *Knight*, who was his Secretary, and Collector for the Province, twenty, and the reſt was ſhared among the other Pyrates.

The Buſineſs was not yet done, the Ship remained, and it was poſſible one or other might come into the River, that might be acquainted with her, and ſo diſcover the Roguery; but *Teach* thought of a Contrivance to prevent this, for, upon a Pretence that ſhe was leaky, and that ſhe might ſink, and ſo ſtop up the Mouth of the Inlet or Cove where ſhe lay, he obtained an Order from the Governor, to bring her out into the River, and ſet her on Fire, which was accordingly executed, and ſhe was burnt down to the Water's Edge, her Bottom ſunk, and with it, their

their Fears of her ever riſing in Judgment againſt them.

Captain *Teach*, alias *Black-beard*, paſſed three or four Months in the River, ſometimes lying at Anchor in the Coves, at other Times ſailing from one Inlet to another, trading with ſuch Sloops as he met, for the Plunder he had taken, and would often give them Preſents for Stores and Proviſions took from them; that is, when he happened to be in a giving Humour; at other Times he made bold with them, and took what he liked, without ſaying, *by your Leave*, knowing well, they dared not ſend him a Bill for the Payment. He often diverted himſelf with going aſhore among the Planters, where he revelled Night and Day: By theſe he was well received, but whether out of Love or Fear, I cannot ſay; ſometimes he uſed them courteouſly enough, and made them Preſents of Rum and Sugar, in Recompence of what he took from them; but, as for Liberties (which 'tis ſaid) he and his Companions often took with the Wives and Daughters of the Planters, I cannot take upon me to ſay, whether he paid them *ad Valorem*, or no. At other Times he carried it in a lordly Manner towards them, and would lay ſome of them under Contribution; nay, he often proceeded to bully the Governor, not, that I can diſcover the leaſt Cauſe of Quarrel betwixt them, but it ſeemed only to be done, to ſhew he dared do it.

The Sloops trading up and down this River, being ſo frequently pillaged by *Black-beard*, conſulted with the Traders, and ſome of the beſt of the Planters, what Courſe to take; they ſaw plainly it would be in vain to make any Application to the Governor of *North-Carolina*, to whom it properly belonged to find ſome Redreſs; ſo that if they could not be relieved from ſome other Quarter

ter, *Black-beard* would be like to reign with Impunity, therefore, with as much Secrecy as poſſible, they ſent a Deputation to *Virginia*, to lay the Affair before the Governor of that Colony, and to ſolicit an armed Force from the Men of War lying there, to take or deſtroy this Pyrate.

This Governor conſulted with the Captains of the two Men of War, *viz.* the *Pearl* and *Lime*, who had lain in St. *James*'s River, about ten Months. It was agreed that the Governor ſhould hire a couple of ſmall Sloops, and the Men of War ſhould Man them; this was accordingly done, and the Command of them given to Mr. *Robert Maynard*, firſt Lieutenant of the *Pearl*, an experienced Officer, and a Gentleman of great Bravery and Reſolution, as will appear by his gallant Behaviour in this Expedition. The Sloops were well mann'd and furniſhed with Ammunition and ſmall Arms, but had no Guns mounted.

About the Time of their going out, the Governor called an Aſſembly, in which it was reſolved to publiſh a Proclamation, offering certain Rewards to any Perſon or Perſons, who, within a Year after that Time, ſhould take or deſtroy any Pyrate: The original Proclamation being in our Hands, is as follows:

By

By his Majesty's Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief, of the Colony and Dominion of *Virginia*,

A PROCLAMATION,

Publishing the Rewards given for apprehending, or killing, Pyrates.

WHereas, *by an Act of Assembly, made at a Session of Assembly, begun at the Capital in* Williamsburgh, *the eleventh Day of* November, *in the fifth Year of his Majesty's Reign, entituled,* An Act to encourage the apprehending and destroying of Pyrates: *It is, amongst other Things enacted, that all and every Person, or Persons, who, from and after the fourteenth Day of* November, *in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighteen, and before the fourteenth Day of* November, *which shall be in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and nineteen, shall take any Pyrate, or Pyrates, on the Sea or Land, or in Case of Resistance, shall kill any such Pyrate, or Pyrates, between the Degrees of thirty four, and thirty nine, of Northern Latitude, and within one hundred Leagues of the Continent of* Virginia, *or within the Provinces of* Virginia, *or* North-Carolina, *upon the Conviction, or making due Proof of the killing of all, and every such Pyrate, and Pyrates, before the Governor and Council, shall be entitled to have, and receive out of the publick Money, in the Hands of the Treasurer of this Colony, the several Rewards following; that is to say, for* Edward Teach, *commonly call'd Captain* Teach, *or* Black-Beard, *one hundred Pounds, for every other Commander of a Pyrate Ship, Sloop, or Vessel, forty Pounds; for every Lieutenant, Master, or Quarter-Master, Boatswain, or Carpenter, twenty Pounds; for every other inferior Officer, fifteen Pounds, and for every private Man taken on Board such Ship, Sloop,*

Sloop, or Veſſel, ten Pounds; and, that for every Pyrate, which ſhall be taken by any Ship, Sloop or Veſſel, belonging to this Colony, or North-Carolina, *within the Time aforeſaid, in any Place whatſoever, the like Rewards ſhall be paid according to the Quality and Condition of ſuch Pyrates. Wherefore, for the Encouragement of all ſuch Perſons as ſhall be willing to ſerve his Majeſty, and their Country, in ſo juſt and honourable an Undertaking, as the ſuppreſſing a Sort of People, who may be truly called Enemies to Mankind: I have thought fit, with the Advice and Conſent of his Majeſty's Council, to iſſue this Proclamation, hereby declaring, the ſaid Rewards ſhall be punctually and juſtly paid, in current Money of* Virginia, *according to the Directions of the ſaid Act. And, I do order and appoint this Proclamation, to be publiſhed by the Sheriffs, at their reſpective County-Houſes, and by all Miniſters and Readers, in the ſeveral Churches and Chappels, throughout this Colony.*

Given at our Council-Chamber at *Williamsburgh*, this 24th Day of *November*, 1718, in the fifth Year of his Majeſty's Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A. SPOTSWOOD.

The 17th of *November*, 1718, the Lieutenant ſail'd from *Kicquetan*, in *James* River in *Virginia*, and, the 21ſt in the Evening, came to the Mouth of *Okerecock* Inlet, where he got Sight of the Pyrate. This Expedition was made with all imaginable Secrecy, and the Officer manag'd with all the Prudence that was neceſſary, ſtopping all Boats and Veſſels he met with, in the River, from going up, and thereby preventing any Intelligence from reaching *Black-Beard*, and receiving at the ſame time an Account from them all, of the Place where the Pyrate was lurking; but notwithſtanding this Caution,

Black-

Black-beard had Information of the Design, from his Excellency of the Province; and his Secretary, Mr. *Knight*, wrote him a Letter, particularly concerning it, intimating, *That he had sent him four of his Men, which were all he could meet with, in or about Town, and so bid him be upon his Guard.* These Men belonged to *Black-beard*, and were sent from *Bath-Town* to *Okercock* Inlet, where the Sloop lay, which is about 20 Leagues.

Black-beard had heard several Reports, which happened not to be true, and so gave the less Credit to this, nor was he convinced till he saw the Sloops: Whereupon he put his Vessel in a Posture of Defence; he had no more than twenty five Men on Board, tho' he gave out to all the Vessels he spoke with, that he had 40. When he had prepared for Battle, he set down and spent the Night in drinking with the Master of a trading Sloop, who, 'twas thought, had more Business with *Teach*, than he should have had.

Lieutenant *Maynard* came to an Anchor, for the Place being shoal, and the Channel intricate, there was no getting in, where *Teach* lay, that Night; but in the Morning he weighed, and sent his Boat a-head of the Sloops to sound; and coming within Gun-Shot of the Pyrate, received his Fire; whereupon *Maynard* hoisted the King's Colours, and stood directly towards him, with the best Way that his Sails and Oars could made. *Black-beard* cut his Cable, and endeavoured to make a running Fight, keeping a continual Fire at his Enemies, with his Guns; Mr. *Maynard* not having any, kept a constant Fire with small Arms, while some of his Men laboured at their Oars. In a little Time *Teach*'s Sloop ran a-ground, and Mr. *Maynard*'s drawing more Water than that of the Pyrate, he could not come near him; so he anchored within half Gun-Shot of the Enemy, and, in order to

lighten his Veſſel, that he might run him aboard, the Lieutenant orde ed all his Ballaſt to be thrown over-board, and all the Water to be ſtaved, and then weigh'd and ſtood for him; upon which *Black-beard* hail'd him in this rude Manner: *Damn you for Villains, who are you? And, from whence came you?* The Lieutenant made him Anſwer, *You may ſee by our Colours we are no Pyrates.* *Black-beard* bid him ſend his Boat on Board, that he might ſee who he was; but Mr. *Maynard* reply'd thus; *I cannot ſpare my Boat, but I will come aboard of you as ſoon as I can, with my Sloop.* Upon this, *Black-beard* took a Glaſs of Liquor, and drank to him with theſe Words: *Damnation ſeize my Soul if I give you Quarters, or take any from you.* In Anſwer to which, Mr. *Maynard* told him, *That he expected no Quarters from him, nor ſhould he give him any.*

By this time *Black-beard*'s Sloop fleeted, as Mr. *Maynard*'s Sloops were rowing towards him, which being not above a Foot high in the Waſte, and conſequently the Men all expoſed, as they came near together, (there being hitherto little or no Execution done, on either Side,) the Pyrate fired a Broadſide, charged with all Manner of ſmall Shot. ——A fatal Stroke to them! The Sloop the Lieutenant was in, having twenty Men killed and wounded, and the other Sloop nine: This could not be help'd, for there being no Wind, they were oblig'd to keep to their Oars, otherwiſe the Pyrate would have got away from him, which, it ſeems, the Lieutenant was reſolute to prevent.

After this unlucky Blow, *Black-beard*'s Sloop fell Broadſide to the Shore; Mr. *Maynard*'s other Sloop, which was called the *Ranger*, fell a-ſtern, being, for the preſent, diſabled; ſo the Lieutenant finding his own Sloop had Way, and would ſoon be on Board of *Teach*, he ordered all his Men down,

down, for fear of another Broadside, which must have been their Destruction, and the loss of their Expedition. Mr. *Maynard* was the only Person that kept the Deck, except the Man at the Helm, whom he directed to lye down snug, and the Men in the Hold were ordered to get their Pistols and their Swords ready for close fighting, and to come up at his Command; in order to which, two Ladders were placed in the Hatch-Way for the more Expedition. When the Lieutenant's Sloop boarded the other, Captain *Teach*'s Men threw in several new fashioned sort of Grenadoes, *viz.* Case Bottles fill'd with Powder, and small Shot, Slugs, and Pieces of Lead or Iron, with a quick Match in the Mouth of it, which being lighted without Side, presently runs into the Bottle to the Powder, and as it is instantly thrown on Board, generally does great Execution, besides putting all the Crew into a Confusion; but by good Providence, they had not that Effect here; the Men being in the Hold, and *Black-beard* seeing few or no Hands aboard, told his Men, *That they were all knock'd on the Head, except three or four; and therefore,* says he, *let's jump on Board, and cut them to Pieces.*

Whereupon, under the Smoak of one of the Bottles just mentioned, *Black-beard* enters with fourteen Men, over the Bows of *Maynard*'s Sloop, and were not seen by him till the Air cleared; however, he just then gave a Signal to his Men, who all rose in an Instant, and attack'd the Pyrates with as much Bravery as ever was done upon such an Occasion: *Black-beard* and the Lieutenant fired the first Pistol at each other, by which the Pyrate received a Wound, and then engaged with Swords, till the Lieutenant's unluckily broke, and stepping back to cock a Pistol, *Black-beard*, with his Cutlash, was striking at that Instant, that one of *May-*

nard's Men gave him a terrible Wound in the Neck and Throat, by which the Lieutenant came off with a ſmall Cut over his Fingers.

They were now cloſely and warmly engaged, the Lieutenant and twelve Men, againſt *Black-beard* and fourteen, till the Sea was tinctur'd with Blood round the Veſſel; *Black-beard* received a Shot into his Body from the Piſtol that Lieutenant *Maynard* diſcharg'd, yet he ſtood his Ground, and fought with great Fury, till he received five and twenty Wounds, and five of them by Shot. At length, as he was cocking another Piſtol, having fired ſeveral before, he fell down dead; by which Time eight more out of the fourteen dropp'd, and all the reſt, much wounded, jump'd over-board, and call'd out for Quarters, which was granted, tho' it was only prolonging their Lives for a few Days. The Sloop *Ranger* came up, and attack'd the Men that remain'd in *Black-beard's* Sloop, with equal Bravery, till they likewiſe cry'd for Quarters.

Here was an End of that couragious Brute, who might have paſs'd in the World for a Heroe, had he been employ'd in a good Cauſe; his Deſtruction, which was of ſuch Conſequence to the Plantations, was entirely owing to the Conduct and Bravery of Lieutenant *Maynard* and his Men, who might have deſtroy'd him with much leſs Loſs, had they had a Veſſel with great Guns; but they were obliged to uſe ſmall Veſſels, becauſe the Holes and Places he lurk'd in, would not admit of others of greater Draught; and it was no ſmall Difficulty for this Gentleman to get to him, having grounded his Veſſel, at leaſt, a hundred times, in getting up the River, beſides other Diſcouragements, enough to have turn'd back any Gentleman without Diſhonour, who was leſs reſolute and bold than this Lieutenant. The Broadſide that did ſo much Miſchief before they boarded, in all Probabiliy ſa-

ved

ved the reſt from Deſtruction; for before that *Teach* had little or no Hopes of eſcaping, and therefore had poſted a reſolute Fellow, a Negroe, whom he had bred up, with a lighted Match, in the Powder-Room, with Commands to blow up, when he ſhould give him Orders, which was as ſoon as the Lieutenant and his Men could have entered, that ſo he might have deſtroy'd his Conquerors: and when the Negro found how it went with *Black-beard*, he could hardly be perſwaded from the raſh Action, by two Priſoners that were then in the Hold of the Sloop.

What ſeems a little odd, is, that ſome of theſe Men, who behaved ſo bravely againſt *Black-beard*, went afterwards a pyrating themſelves, and one of them was taken along with *Roberts*; but I do not find that any of them were provided for, except one that was hanged; but this is a Digreſſion.

The Lieutenant cauſed *Black-beard*'s Head to be ſevered from his Body, and hung up at the Boltſprit End, then he ſailed to *Bath-Town*, to get Relief for his wounded Men.

It muſt be obſerved, that in rummaging the Pyrate's Sloop, they found ſeveral Letters and written Papers, which diſcovered the Correſpondence betwixt Governor *Eden*, the Secretary and Collector, and alſo ſome Traders at *New-York*, and *Black-beard*. It is likely he had Regard enough for his Friends, to have deſtroyed theſe Papers before the Action, in order to hinder them from falling into ſuch Hands, where the Diſcovery would be of no Uſe, either to the Intereſt or Reputation of theſe fine Gentlemen, if it had not been his fixed Reſolution to have blown up together, when he found no poſſibility of eſcaping.

When the Lieutenant came to *Bath-Town*, he made bold to ſeize in the Governor's Store-Houſe, the

ſixty Hogſheads of Sugar, and from honeſt Mr. *Knight*, twenty; which it ſeems was their Dividend of the Plunder taken in the *French* Ship; the latter did not long ſurvive this ſhameful Diſcovery, for being apprehenſive that he might be called to an Account for theſe Trifles, fell ſick with the Fright, and died in a few Days.

After the wounded Men were pretty well recover'd, the Lieutenant ſailed back to the Men of War in *James River*, in *Virginia*, with *Black-beard*'s Head ſtill hanging at the Bolt-ſprit End, and fiveteen Priſoners, thirteen of whom were hanged. It appearing upon Tryal, that one of them, *viz. Samuel Odell*, was taken out of the trading Sloop, but the Night before the Engagement. This poor Fellow was a little unlucky at his firſt entering upon his new Trade, there appearing no leſs than 70 Wounds upon him after the Action, notwithſtanding which, he lived, and was cured of them all. The other Perſon that eſcaped the Gallows, was one *Iſrael Hands*, the Maſter of *Black-beard*'s Sloop, and formerly Captain of the ſame, before the *Queen Ann's Revenge* was loſt in *Topſail* Inlet.

The aforeſaid *Hands* happened not to be in the Fight, but was taken afterwards aſhore at *Bath-Town*, having been ſometime before diſabled by *Black-beard*, in one of his ſavage Humours, after the following Manner. —— One Night drinking in his Cabin with *Hands*, the Pilot, and another Man; *Black-beard* without any Provocation privately draws out a ſmall Pair of Piſtols, and cocks them under the Table, which being perceived by the Man, he withdrew and went upon Deck, leaving *Hands*, the Pilot, and the Captain together. When the Piſtols were ready, he blew out the Candle, and croſſing his Hands, diſcharged them at his Company; *Hands*, the Maſter, was ſhot thro' the Knee, and lam'd for Life; the other Piſtol did no Execution

tion. —— Being asked the meaning of this, he only answered, by damning them, that *if he did not now and then kill one of them, they would forget who he was.*

Hands being taken, was try'd and condemned, but just as he was about to be executed, a Ship arrives at *Virginia* with a Proclamation for prolonging the Time of his Majesty's Pardon, to such of the Pyrates as should surrender by a limited Time therein expressed: Notwithstanding the Sentence, *Hands* pleaded the Pardon, and was allowed the Benefit of it, and is alive at this Time in *London*, begging his Bread.

Now that we have given some Account of *Teach*'s Life and Actions, it will not be amiss, that we speak of his Beard, since it did not a little contribute towards making his Name so terrible in those Parts.

Plutarch, and other grave Historians have taken Notice, that several great Men amongst the *Romans*, took their Sir-Names from certain odd Marks in their Countenances; as *Cicero*, from a Mark or Vetch on his Nose; so our Heroe, Captain *Teach*, assumed the Cognomen of *Black-beard*, from that large Quantity of Hair, which, like a frightful Meteor, covered his whole Face, and frightened *America* more than any Comet that has appeared there a long Time.

This Beard was black, which he suffered to grow of an extravagant Length; as to Breadth, it came up to his Eyes; he was accustomed to twist it with Ribbons, in small Tails, after the Manner of our Ramilies Wiggs, and turn them about his Ears: In Time of Action, he wore a Sling over his Shoulders, with three brace of Pistols, hanging in Holsters like Bandaliers; and stuck lighted Matches under his Hat, which appearing on each Side of his Face, his Eyes naturally looking fierce and

wild, made him altogether such a Figure, that Imagination cannot form an Idea of a Fury, from Hell, to look more frightful.

If he had the look of a Fury, his Humours and Passions were suitable to it; we shall relate two or three more of his Extravagancies, which we omitted in the Body of his History, by which it will appear, to what a Pitch of Wickedness, human Nature may arrive, if it's Passions are not checked.

In the Commonwealth of Pyrates, he who goes the greatest Length of Wickedness, is looked upon with a kind of Envy amongst them, as a Person of a more extraordinary Gallantry, and is thereby entitled to be distinguished by some Post, and if such a one has but Courage, he must certainly be a great Man. The Hero of whom we are writing, was thoroughly accomplished this Way, and some of his Frolicks of Wickedness, were so extravagant, as if he aimed at making his Men believe he was a Devil incarnate; for being one Day at Sea, and a little flushed with drink: —— *Come*, says he, *let us make a Hell of our own, and try how long we can bear it*; accordingly he, with two or three others, went down into the Hold, and closing up all the Hatches, filled several Pots full of Brimstone, and other combustible Matter, and set it on Fire, and so continued till they were almost suffocated, when some of the Men cried out for Air; at length he opened the Hatches, not a little pleased that he held out the longest.

The Night before he was killed, he set up and drank till the Morning, with some of his own Men, and the Master of a Merchant-Man, and having had Intelligence of the two Sloops coming to attack him, as has been before observed; one of his Men asked him, in Case any thing should happen to him in the Engagement with the Sloops,

whether

whether his Wife knew where he had buried his Money? He answered, *That no Body but himself and the Devil, knew where it was, and the longest Liver should take all.*

Those of his Crew who were taken alive, told a Story which may appear a little incredible; however, we think it will not be fair to omit it, since we had it from their own Mouths. That once upon a Cruize, they found out that they had a Man on Board more than their Crew; such a one was seen several Days amongst them, sometimes below, and sometimes upon Deck, yet no Man in the Ship could give an Account who he was, or from whence he came; but that he disappeared a little before they were cast away in their great Ship, but, it seems, they verily believed it was the Devil.

One would think these Things should induce them to reform their Lives, but so many Reprobates together, encouraged and spirited one another up in their Wickedness, to which a continual Course of drinking did not a little contribute; for in *Black-beard*'s Journal, which was taken, there were several Memorandums of the following Nature, found writ with his own Hand.—— *Such a Day, Rum all out:* —— *Our Company somewhat sober:* —— *A damn'd Confusion amongst us!* —— *Rogues a plotting;* —— *great Talk of Separation.* —— *So I look'd sharp for a Prize;* —— *such a Day took one, with a great deal of Liquor on Board, so kept the Company hot, damned hot, then all Things went well again.*

Thus it was these Wretches passed their Lives, with very little Pleasure or Satisfaction, in the Possession of what they violently take away from others, and sure to pay for it at last, by an ignominious Death.

The

The Names of the Pyrates killed in the Engagement, are as follow.

Edward Teach, Commander.
Philip Morton, Gunner.
Garrat Gibbens, Boatſwain.
Owen Roberts, Carpenter.
Thomas Miller, Quarter-Maſter.
John Husk,
Joſeph Curtice,
Joſeph Brooks, (1)
Nath. Jackſon.

All the reſt, except the two laſt, were wounded and afterwards hanged in *Virginia*.

John Carnes,
Joſeph Brooks, (2)
James Blake,
John Gills,
Thomas Gates,
James White,
Richard Stiles,
Cæſar,
Joſeph Philips,
James Robbins,
John Martin,
Edward Salter,
Stephen Daniel,
Richard Greenſail.
Iſrael Hands, pardoned.
Samuel Odel, acquited.

There were in the Pyrate Sloops, and aſhore in a Tent, near where the Sloops lay, 25 Hogſheads of Sugar, 11 Teirces, and 145 Bags of Cocoa, a Barrel of Indigo, and a Bale of Cotton; which, with what was taken from the Governor and Secretary, and the Sale of the Sloop, came to 2500 l. beſides the Rewards paid by the Governor of *Virginia*, purſuant to his Proclamation; all which was divided among the Companies of the two Ships, *Lime* and *Pearl*, that lay in *James* River; the brave Fellows that took them coming in for no more than their Dividend amongſt the reſt, and was paid it within theſe three Months.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

OF

Major *Stede Bonnet*,

And his CREW.

THE Major was a Gentleman of good Reputation in the Iſland of *Barbadoes*, was Maſter of a plentiful Fortune, and had the Advantage of a liberal Education. He had the leaſt Temptation of any Man to follow ſuch a Courſe of Life, from the Condition of his Circumſtances. It was very ſurprizing to every one, to hear of the Major's Enterprize, in the Iſland were he liv'd; and as he was generally eſteem'd and honoured, before he broke out into open Acts of Pyracy, ſo he was afterwards rather pitty'd than condemned, by thoſe that were acquainted with him, believing that this Humour of going a pyrating, proceeded from a Diſorder in his Mind, which had been but too viſible in him, ſome Time before this wicked Undertaking; and which is ſaid to have been occaſioned by ſome Diſcomforts he found in a married State; be that as it will, the Major was but ill qualify'd for the Buſineſs, as not underſtanding maritime Affairs.

However, he fitted out a Sloop with ten Guns and 70 Men, entirely at his own Expence, and in the Night-Time ſailed from *Barbadoes*. He called his Sloop the *Revenge*; his firſt Cruize was off the Capes of *Virginia*, where he took ſeveral Ships, and plundered them of their Proviſions, Cloaths, Money,

Money, Ammunition, *&c.* in particular the *Anne*, Captain *Montgomery*, from *Glaſcow*; the *Turbet* from *Barbadoes*, which for Country ſake, after they had taken out the principal Part of the Lading, the Pyrate Crew ſet her on Fire; the *Endeavour*, Captain *Scot*, from *Briſtol*, and the *Young* from *Leith*. From hence they went to *New-York*, and off the Eaſt End of *Long-Iſland*, took a Sloop bound for the *Weſt-Indies*, after which they ſtood in and landed ſome Men at *Gardner's Iſland*, but in a peaceable Manner, and bought Proviſions for the Company's Uſe, which they paid for, and ſo went off again without Moleſtation.

Some Time after, which was in *Auguſt* 1717, *Bonnet* came off the Bar of *South-Carolina*, and took a Sloop and a Brigantine bound in; the Sloop belonged to *Barbadoes*, *Joſeph Palmer* Maſter, laden with Rum, Sugar and Negroes; and the Brigantine came from *New-England*, *Thomas Porter* Maſter, whom they plundered, and then diſmiſs'd; but they ſailed away with the Sloop, and at an Inlet in *North-Carolina* careened by her, and then ſet her on Fire.

After the Sloop had cleaned, they put to Sea, but came to no Reſolution what Courſe to take; the Crew were divided in their Opinions, ſome being for one Thing, and ſome another, ſo that nothing but Confuſion ſeem'd to attend all their Schemes.

The Major was no Sailor as was ſaid before, and therefore had been obliged to yield to many Things that were impoſed on him, during their Undertaking, for want of a competent Knowledge in maritime Affairs; at length happening to fall in Company with another Pyrate, one *Edward Teach*, (who for his remarkable black ugly Beard, was more commonly called *Black-Beard*:) This Fellow was a good Sailor, but a moſt cruel hardened Villain, bold and daring to the laſt Degree, and would not ſtick at the perpetrating the moſt abominable Wickedneſs imaginable

ginable; for which he was made Chief of that execrable Gang, that it might be ſaid that his Poſt was not unduly filled, *Black-beard* being truly the Superior in Roguery, of all the Company, as has been already related.

To him *Bonnet*'s Crew joined in Conſortſhip, and *Bonnet* himſelf was laid aſide, notwithſtanding the Sloop was his own; he went aboard *Black-beard*'s Ship, not concerning himſelf with any of their Affairs, where he continued till ſhe was loſt in *Topſail* Inlet, and one *Richards* was appointed Captain in his Room. The Major now ſaw his Folly, but could not help himſelf, which made him Melancholy; he reflected upon his paſt Courſe of Life, and was confounded with Shame, when he thought upon what he had done: His Behaviour was taken Notice of by the other Pyrates, who liked him never the better for it; and he often declared to ſome of them, that he would gladly leave off that Way of Living, being fully tired of it; but he ſhould be aſhamed to ſee the Face of any *Engliſh* Man again; therefore if he could get to *Spain* or *Portugal*, where he might be undiſcovered, he would ſpend the Remainder of his Days in either of thoſe Countries, otherwiſe he muſt continue with them as long as he lived.

When *Black-beard* loſt his Ship at *Topſail* Inlet, and ſurrendered to the King's Proclamation, *Bonnet* reaſſumed the Command of his own Sloop, *Revenge*, goes directly away to *Bath-Town* in *North-Carolina*, ſurrenders likewiſe to the King's Pardon, and receives a Certificate. The War was now broke out between the *Tripple* Allies and *Spain*; ſo Major *Bonnet* gets a Clearence for his Sloop at *North-Carolina*, to go to the Iſland of St. *Thomas*, with a Deſign (at leaſt it was pretended ſo) to get the Emperor's Commiſſion, to go a Privateering upon the *Spaniards*. When *Bonnet* came back to *Topſail* Inlet, he found that *Teach* and his Gang were gone, and that they

had taken all the Money, ſmall Arms and Effects of Value out of the great Ship, and ſet aſhore on a ſmall ſandy Iſland above a League from the Main, ſeventeen Men, no doubt with a Deſign they ſhould periſh, there being no Inhabitant, or Proviſions to ſubſiſt withal, nor any Boat or Materials to build or make any kind of Launch or Veſſel, to eſcape from that deſolate Place: They remained there two Nights and one Day, without Subſiſtance, or the leaſt Proſpect of any, expecting nothing elſe but a lingering Death; when to their inexpreſſable Comfort, they ſaw Redemption at Hand; for Major *Bonnet* happening to get Intelligence of their being there, by two of the Pyrates who had eſcaped *Teach*'s Cruelty, and had got to a poor little Village at the upper End of the Harbour, ſent his Boat to make Diſcovery of the Truth of the Matter, which the poor Wretches ſeeing, made a ſignal to them, and they were all brought on Board *Bonnet*'s Sloop.

Major *Bonnet* told all his Company, that he would take a Commiſſion to go againſt the *Spaniards*, and to that End, was going to St. *Thomas*'s therefore if they would go with him, they ſhould be welcome; whereupon they all conſented, but as the Sloop was preparing to ſail, a Bom-Boat, that brought Apples and Sider to ſell to the Sloop's Men, informed them, that Captain *Teach* lay at *Ocricock* Inlet, with only 18 or 20 Hands. *Bonnet*, who bore him a mortal Hatred for ſome Inſults offered him, went immediately in purſuit of *Blackbeard*, but it happened too late, for he miſſed of him there, and after four Days Cruize, hearing no farther News of him, they ſteered their Courſe towards *Virginia*.

In the Month of *July*, theſe Adventurers came off the Capes, and meeting with a Pink with a Stock of Proviſions on Board, which they happened to be

be in Want of, they took out of her ten or twelve Barrels of Pork, and about 400 Weight of Bread; but becauſe they would not have this ſet down to the Account of Pyracy, they gave them eight or ten Casks of Rice, and an old Cable, in lieu thereof.

Two Days afterwards they chaſed a Sloop of ſixty Ton, and took her two Leagues off of Cape *Henry*; they were ſo happy here as to get a Supply of Liquor to their Victuals, for they brought from her two Hogſheads of Rum, and as many of Moloſſes, which, it ſeems, they had need of, tho' they had not ready Money to purchaſe them: What Security they intended to give, I can't tell, but *Bonnet* ſent eight Men to take Care of the Prize Sloop, who, perhaps, not caring to make Uſe of thoſe accuſtom'd Freedoms, took the firſt Opportunity to go off with her, and *Bonnet* (who was pleaſed to have himſelf called Captain *Thomas*,) ſaw them no more.

After this, the Major threw off all Reſtraint, and though he had juſt before received his Majeſty's Mercy, in the Name of *Stede Bonnet*, he relaps'd in good Earneſt into his old Vocation, by the Name of Captain *Thomas*, and recommenced a down-right Pyrate, by taking and plundering all the Veſſels he met with: He took off Cape *Henry*, two Ships from *Virginia*, bound to *Glaſcow*, out of which they had very little beſides an hundred Weight of Tobacco. The next Day they took a ſmall Sloop bound from *Virginia* to *Bermudas*, which ſupply'd them with twenty Barrels of Pork, ſome Bacon, and they gave her in return, two Barrels of Rice, and a Hogſhead of Moloſſus; out of this Sloop two Men enter'd voluntarily. The next they took was another *Virginia* Man, bound to *Glaſcow*, out of which they had nothing of Value, ſave only a few Combs, Pins and Needles, and

gave

gave her instead thereof, a Barrel of Pork, and two Barrels of Bread.

From *Virginia* they sailed to *Philadelphia*, and in the Latitude of 38 North, they took a Scooner, coming from *North-Carolina*, bound to *Boston*, they had out of her only two Dozen of Calf-Skins, to make Covers for Guns, and two of their Hands, and detained her some Days. All this was but small Game, and seem'd as if they design'd only to make Provision for their Sloop against they arrived at St. *Thomas*'s; for they hitherto had dealt favourably with all that were so unhappy as so fall into their Hands; but those that came after, fared not so well, for in the Latitude of 32, off of *Delaware* River, near *Philadelphia*, they took two Snows bound to *Bristol*, out of whom they got some Money, besides Goods, perhaps to the Value of 150 Pounds; at the same Time they took a Sloop of sixty Tons bound from *Philadelphia* to *Barbadoes*, which after taking some Goods out, they dismissed along with the Snows.

The 29th Day of *July*, Captain *Thomas* took a Sloop of 50 Tons, six or seven Leagues off *Delaware* Bay, bound from *Philadelphia* to *Barbadoes*, *Thomas Read* Master, loaden with Provisions, which they kept, and put four or five of their Hands on Board her. The last Day of *July*, they took another Sloop of 60 Tons, commanded by *Peter Manwaring*, bound from *Antegoa* to *Philadelphia*, which they likewise kept with all the Cargo, consisting chiefly of Rum, Molosses, Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, and about 25 Pound in Money, valued in all to 500 Pound.

The last Day of *July*, our Rovers with the Vessels last taken, left *Delaware* Bay, and sailed to Cape *Fear* River, where they staid too long for their Safety, for the Pyrate Sloop which they now new named the *Royal James*, proved very leaky, so that they

they were obliged to remain here almoſt two Months, to refit and repair their Veſſel: They took in this River a ſmall Shallop, which they ripped up to mend the Sloop, and retarded the further Proſecution of their Voyage, as before mentioned, till the News came to *Carolina*, of a Pyrate Sloop's being there to carreen with her Prizes.

Upon this Information, the Council of *South-Carolina* was alarmed, and apprehended they ſhould receive another Viſit from them ſpeedily; to prevent which, Colonel *William Rhet*, of the ſame Province, waited on the Governor, and generouſly offered himſelf to go with two Sloops to attack this Pyrate; which the Governor readily accepted, and accordingly gave the Colonel a Commiſſion and full Power, to fit ſuch Veſſels as he thought proper for the Deſign.

In a few Days two Sloops were equipped and manned: The *Henry* with 8 Guns and 70 Men, commanded by Captain *John Maſters*, and the *Sea Nymph*, with 8 Guns and 60 Men, commanded by Captain *Fayrer Hall*, both under the entire Direction and Command of the aforeſaid Colonel *Rhet*, who, on the 14th of *September*, went on Board the *Henry*, and, with the other Sloop, ſailed from *Charles-Town* to *Swillivants* Iſland, to put themſelves in order for the Cruize. Juſt then arrived a ſmall Ship from *Antigoa*, one *Cock* Maſter, with an Account, that in Sight of the Bar he was taken and plundered by one *Charles Vane*, a Pyrate, in a Brigantine of 12 Guns and 90 Men; and who had alſo taken two other Veſſels bound in there, one a ſmall Sloop, Captain *Dill* Maſter, from *Barbadoes*; the other a Brigantine, Captain *Thompſon* Maſter, from *Guiney*, with ninety odd Negroes, which they took out of the Veſſel, and put on Board another Sloop then under the Command of one *Yeats*, his Conſort, with 25 Men. This prov'd

fortunate to the Owners of the *Guiney* Man, for *Yeats* having often attempted to quit this Courſe of Life, took an Opportunity in the Night, to leave *Vane* and to run into *North-Ediſto* River, to the Southward of *Charles-Town*, and ſurrendered to his Majeſty's Pardon. The Owners got their Negroes, and *Yeats* and his Men had Certificates given them from the Government.

Vane cruiſed ſome Time off the Bar, in hopes to catch *Yeats*, and unfortunately for them, took two Ships coming out, bound to *London*, and while the Priſoners were aboard, ſome of the Pyrates gave out, that they deſigned to go into one of the Rivers to the Southward. Colonel *Rhet*, upon hearing this, ſailed over the Bar the 15th of *September*, with the two Sloops before mentioned; and having the Wind Northerly, went after the Pyrate *Vane*, and ſcoured the Rivers and Inlets to the Southward; but not meeting with him, tacked and ſtood for Cape *Fear* River, in Proſecution of his firſt Deſign. On the 26th following, in the Evening, the Colonel with his ſmall Squadron, entered the River, and ſaw, over a Point of Land, three Sloops at an Anchor, which were Major *Bonnet* and his Prizes; but it happened that in going up the River, the Pilot run the Colonel's Sloops aground, and it was dark before they were on Float, which hindered their getting up that Night. The Pyrates ſoon diſcovered the Sloops, but not knowing who they were, or upon what Deſign they came into that River, they manned three Canoes, and ſent them down to take them, but they quickly found their Miſtake, and returned to the Sloop, with the unwelcome News. Major *Bonnet* made Preparations that Night for engaging, and took all the Men out of the Prizes. He ſhewed Captain *Manwaring*, one of his Priſoners, a Letter, he had juſt wrote, which he declared he would ſend to the Governor

of

of *Carolina*; the Letter was to this Effect, *viz. That if the Sloops, which then appeared, were sent out against him, by the said Governor, and he should get clear off, that he would burn and destroy all Ships or Vessels going in or coming out of* South-Carolina. The next Morning they got under Sail, and came down the River, designing only a running Fight. Colonel *Rhet*'s Sloops got likewise under Sail, and stood for him, getting upon each Quarter of the Pyrate, with Intent to board him; which he perceiving, edged in towards the Shore, and being warmly engaged, their Sloop ran a-ground: The *Carolina* Sloops being in the same shoal Water, were in the same Circumstances; the *Henry*, in which Colonel *Rhet* was, grounded within Pistol shot of the Pyrate, and on his Bow; the other Sloop grounded right a-head of him, and almost out of Gun-Shot, which made her of little Service to the Colonel, while they lay a-ground.

At this Time the Pyrate had a considerable Advantage; for their Sloop, after she was a-ground, lifted from Colonel *Rhet*'s, by which Means they were all covered, and the Colonel's Sloop lifting the same Way, his Men were much exposed; notwithstanding which, they kept a brisk Fire the whole Time they lay thus a-ground, which was near five Hours. The Pyrates made a Wiff in their bloody Flag, and beckoned several Times with their Hats in Derision to the Colonel's Men, to come on Board, which they answered with chearful Huzza's, and said, *that they would speak with them by and by*; which accordingly happened, for the Colonel's Sloop being first a float, he got into deeper Water, and after mending the Sloop's Rigging, which was much shattered in the Engagement, they stood for the Pyrate, to give the finishing Stroke, and designed to go directly on Board him; which he prevented, by sending a Flag of Truce, and

after ſome Time capitulating, they ſurrendered themſelves Priſoners. The Colonel took Poſſeſſion of the Sloop, and was extreamly pleaſed to find that Captain *Thomas*, who commanded her, was the individual Perſon of Major *Stede Bonnet*, who had done them the Honour ſeveral Times to viſit their own Coaſt of *Carolina*.

There were killed in this Action, on Board the *Henry*, ten Men, and fourteen wounded; on Board the *Sea Nymph*, two killed and four wounded. The Officers and Sailors in both Sloops behaved themſelves with the greateſt Bravery; and had not the Sloops ſo unluckily run a-ground, they had taken the Pyrate with much leſs loſs of Men; but as he deſigned to get by them, and ſo make a running Fight, the *Carolina* Sloops were obliged to keep near him, to prevent his getting away. Of the Pyrates there were ſeven killed and five wounded, two of which died ſoon after of their Wounds. Colonel *Rhet* weigh'd the 30th of *September*, from Cape *Fear* River, and arrived at *Charles-Town* the 3d of *October*, to the great Joy of the whole Province of *Carolina*.

Bonnet and his Crew, two Days after, were put aſhore, and there not being a publick Priſon, the Pyrates were kept at the Watch-Houſe, under a Guard of Militia; but Major *Bonnet* was committed into the Cuſtody of the Marſhal, at his Houſe; and in a few Days after, *David Hariot* the Maſter, and *Ignatius Pell* the Boatſwain, who were deſigned for Evidences againſt the other Pyrates, were removed from the reſt of the Crew, to the ſaid Marſhal's Houſe, and every Night two Centinals ſet about the ſaid Houſe; but whether thro' any Corruption, or want of Care in guarding the Priſoners, I can't ſay; but on the 24th of *October*, the Major and *Hariot* made their Eſcape, the Boatſwain refuſing to go along with them. This made a great

a great Noiſe in the Province, and People were open in their Reſentments, often reflecting on the Governor, and others in the Magiſtracy, as tho' they had been brib'd, for conniving at their Eſcape. Theſe Invectives aroſe from their Fears, that *Bonnet* would be capable of raiſing another Company, and proſecute his Revenge againſt this Country, for what he had lately, tho' juſtly, ſuffered: But they were in a ſhort Time made eaſy in thoſe Reſpects; for as ſoon as the Governor had the Account of *Bonnet*'s Eſcape, he immediately iſſued out a Proclamation, and promiſed a Reward of 700 Pounds to any that would take him, and ſent ſeveral Boats with armed Men, both to the Northward and Southward, in purſuit of him.

Bonnet ſtood to the Northward, in a ſmall Veſſel, but wanting Neceſſaries, and the Weather being bad, he was forced back, and ſo return'd with his Canoe, to *Swillivants* Iſland, near *Charles-Town*, to fetch Supplies; but there being ſome Information ſent to the Governor, he ſent for Colonel *Rhet*, and deſired him to go in purſuit of *Bonnet*; and accordingly gave him a Commiſſion for that Purpoſe: Wherefore the Colonel, with proper Craft, and ſome Men, went away that Night for *Swillivant*'s Iſland, and, after a very diligent Seach, diſcovered *Bonnet* and *Hariot* together; the Colonel's Men fired upon them, and killed *Hariot* upon the Spot, and wounded one Negro and an *Indian*. *Bonnet* ſubmitted, and ſurrender'd himſelf; and the next Morning, being *November* the 6th, was brought by Colonel *Rhet* to *Charles-Town*, and, by the Governor's Warrant, was committed into ſafe Cuſtody, in order for his being brought to his Tryal.

On the 28th of *October*, 1718, a Court of Vice-Admiralty was held at *Charles-Town*, in *South-Carolina*, and, by ſeveral Adjournments, continued to *Wedneſday*, the 12th of *November* following, for

the Tryal of the Pyrates taken in a Sloop formerly called *the Revenge*, but afterwards *the Royal James*, before *Nicholas Trot*, Esq; Judge of the Vice-Admiralty, and Chief Justice of the said Province of *South-Carolina*, and other Assistant Judges.

The King's Commission to Judge *Trot* was read, and a Grand Jury sworn, for the finding of the several Bills, and a learned Charge given them by the said Judge, wherein he 1st shewed, *That the Sea was given by God, for the Use of Men, and is Subject to Dominion and Property, as well as the Land.*

2dly, He particularly remark'd to them, *the Sovereignty of the King of* England *over the* British *Seas.*

3dly, He observed, *that as Commerce and Navigation could not be carried on without Laws; so there have been always particular Laws, for the better ordering and regulating marine Affairs*; with an historical Account of those Laws, and Origine.

4thly, He proceeded to shew, *that there have been particular Courts and Judges appointed; to whose Jurisdiction maritime Causes do belong, and that in Matters both Civil and Criminal.*

And then 5thly, He particularly shewed them, *the Constitution and Jurisdiction of that Court of Admiralty Sessions.*

And lastly, *the Crimes cognizable therein*; and particularly enlarged *upon the Crime of Pyracy*, which was then brought before them.

The Indictments being found, a petit Jury was sworn, and the following Persons arraigned and tried.

Stede Bonnet, alias *Edwards*, alias *Thomas*, late of *Barbadoes*, Mariner.

Robert Tucker, late of the Island of *Jamaica*, Mariner.

Edward

Edward Robinſon, late of *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*, Mariner.

Neal Paterſon, late of *Aberdeen*, Mariner.

William Scot, late of *Aberdeen*, Mariner.

William Eddy, alias *Neddy*, late of *Aberdeen*, Mariner.

Alexander Annand, late of *Jamaica*, Mariner.

George Roſe, late of *Glaſcow*, Mariner.

George Dunkin, late of *Glaſcow*, Mariner.

* *Thomas Nicholas*, late of *London*, Mariner.

John Ridge, late of *London*, Mariner.

Matthew King, late of *Jamaica*, Mariner.

Daniel Perry, late of *Guernſey*, Mariner.

Henry Virgin, late of *Briſtol*, Mariner.

James Robbins, alias *Rattle*, late of *London*, Mariner.

James Mullet, alias *Millet*, late of *London*, Mariner.

Thomas Price, late of *Briſtol*, Mariner.

James Wilſon, late of *Dublin*, Mariner.

John Lopez, late of *Oporto*, Mariner.

Zachariah Long, late of the Province of *Holland*, Mariner.

Job Bayly, late of *London*, Mariner.

John-William Smith, late of *Charles-Town*, *Carolina*, Mariner.

Thomas Carman, late of *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, Mariner.

John Thomas, late of *Jamaica*, Mariner.

William Morriſon, late of *Jamaica*, Mariner.

Samuel Booth, late of *Charles-Town*, Mariner.

William Hewet, late of *Jamaica*, Mariner.

John Levit, late of *North-Carolina*, Mariner.

William Livers, alias *Evis*.

John Brierly, alias *Timberhead*, late of *Bath-Town* in *North-Carolina*, Mariner.

Robert Boyd, late of *Bath-Town* aforeſaid, Mariner.

* *Rowland Sharp*, of *Bath-Town*, Mariner.

* *Jonathan Clarke*, late of *Charles-Town*, *South Carolina*, Mariner.

* *Thomas Gerrard*, late of *Antegoa*, Mariner.

And all, except the three laſt, and *Thomas Nicholas*, were found Guilty, and received Sentence of Death.

They were moſt of them try'd upon two Indictments, as follows.

THE *Jurors for our Sovereign Lord the King, do upon their Oath preſent, that* Stede Bonnet, *late of* Barbadoes, *Mariner*, Robert Tucker, &c. &c. *The* 2*d Day of* Auguſt, *in the fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord* George, &c. *By Force of Arms upon the High-Sea, in a certain Place called Cape* James, &c. *did pyratically, and felloniouſly ſet upon, break, board, and enter, a certain Merchant Sloop, called the* Frances, Peter Manwaring *Commander, by Force*, &c. *upon the High-Sea, in a certain Place, called Cape* James, alias *Cape* Inlopen, *about two Miles diſtant from the Shore, in the Lattitude of* 39, *or thereabouts; and within the Juriſdiction of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, of* South-Carolina, *being a Sloop of certain Perſons, (to the Jurors, unknown) and then, and there, pyratically, and felloniouſly did make an Aſſault, in, and upon the ſaid* Peter Manwaring, *and others his Mariners, (whoſe Names to the Jurors aforeſaid, are unknown,) in the ſame Sloop, againſt the Peace of God, and of our ſaid now Sovereign Lord the King, then, and there being, pyratically and felloniouſly, did put the aforeſaid* Peter Manwaring, *and others, his Mariners, of the ſame Sloop, in the Sloop aforeſaid, then being, in corporal Fear of their Lives, then and there, in the Sloop aforeſaid, upon the* High-Sea, *in the Place aforeſaid, called Cape* James, alias *Cape* Inlopen, *about two Miles from the Shore, in the Lattitude of* 39, *or thereabouts, as aforeſaid, and within the Juriſdiction aforeſaid; pyratically, and felloniouſly, did ſteal, take,*

take, and carry away the ſaid Merchant Sloop, called the Frances, *and alſo twenty ſix Hogſheads,* &c. &c. &c. *being found in the aforeſaid Sloop, in the Cuſtody and Poſſeſſion of the ſaid* Peter Manwaring, *and others, his Mariners of the ſaid Sloop, and from their Cuſtody and Poſſeſſion, then and there, upon the High-Sea aforeſaid, called Cape* James, alias *Cape* Inlopen, *as aforeſaid, and within the Juriſdiction aforeſaid, againſt the Peace of our now Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.*

This was the Form of the Indictments they were arraigned upon, and tho' they might have proved ſeveral more Facts upon the major Part of the Crew, the Court thought fit to proſecute but two; the other was for ſeizing in a pyratical and felonious Manner, the Sloop *Fortune*, *Thomas Read* Commander; which Indictment running in the ſame Form with the above-mentioned, it will be unneceſſary to ſay more of it.

All the Priſoners arraigned, pleaded Not Guilty, and put themſelves upon their Tryals, except *James Wilſon*, and *John Levit*, who pleaded Guilty to both Indictments, and *Daniel Perry*, to one only. The Major would have gone through both the Indictments at once, which the Court not admitting, he pleaded Not Guilty to both Indictments, but being convicted of one, he retracted his former Plea to the ſecond Indictment, and pleaded Guilty to it.

The Priſoners made little or no Defence, every one pretending only that they were taken off a Maroon Shore, and were ſhipped with Major *Bonnet* to go to St. *Thomas*'s; but being out at Sea, and wanting Proviſions, they were obliged to do what they did by others; and ſo did Major *Bonnet* himſelf, pretend that 'twas Force, not Inclination, that occaſioned what had happened. However,

ever, the Facts being plainly proved, and that they had all ſhared ten or eleven Pounds a Man, excepting the three laſt, and *Thomas Nichols*, they were all but they, found Guilty. The Judge made a very grave Speech to them, ſetting forth *the Enormity of their Crimes, the Condition they were now in, and the Nature and Neceſſity of an unfeigned Repentance*; and then recommended them to the Miniſters of the Province, for more ample Directions, to fit them for Eternity, *for* (concluded he) *the Prieſt's Lips ſhall keep Knowledge, and you ſhall ſeek the Law at their Mouths*; *for they are the Meſſengers of the Lord.* Mat. II. 57. *And the Ambaſſadors of Chriſt, and unto them is committed the Word* [or Doctrine] *of Reconciliation*, 2 Cor. V. 19. 20. And then pronounced Sentence of Death upon them.

On *Saturday November* the 8th, 1711. *Robert Tucker, Edward Robinſon, Neal Paterſon, William Scot, Job Bayley, John-William Smith, John Thomas, William Morriſon, Samuel Booth, William Hewit, William Eddy*, alias *Neddy, Alexander Annand, George Roſs, George Dunkin, Matthew King, Daniel Perry, Henry Virgin, James Robbins, James Mullet*, alias *Millet, Thomas Price, John Lopez*, and *Zachariah Long*, were executed at the *White-Point* near *Charles-Town*, purſuant to their Sentence.

As for the Captain, his Eſcape protracted his Fate, and ſpun out his Life a few Days longer, for he was try'd the 10th, and being found Guilty, received Sentence in like Manner as the former; before which Judge *Trot*, made a moſt excellent Speech to him, rather ſomewhat too long to be taken into our Hiſtory, yet I could not tell how to paſs by ſo good and uſeful a Piece of Inſtruction, not knowing whoſe Hands this Book may happen to fall into.

The

The Lord Chief Justices's SPEECH, *upon his pronouncing Sentence on Major* STEDE BONNET.

MAjor *Stede Bonnet*, you stand here convicted upon two Indictments of Pyracy; one by the Verdict of the Jury, and the other by your own Confession.

Altho' you were indicted but for *two* Facts, yet you know that at your Tryal it was fully proved even by an unwilling Witness, that you *pyratically* took and rifled no less than *thirteen* Vessels, since you sail'd from *North-Carolina*.

So that you might have been indicted, and convicted of *eleven* more Acts of *Pyracy*, since you took the Benefit of the King's *Act of Grace*, and pretended to leave that wicked Course of Life.

Not to mention the many *Acts* of *Pyracy* you committed before; for which if your Pardon from *Man* was never so authentick, yet you must expect to answer for them before God.

You know that the Crimes you have committed are *evil* in themselves, and contrary to the *Light* and *Law* of *Nature*, as well as the *Law* of God, by which you are commanded that *you shall not steal*, Exod. 20. 15. And the Apostle St. *Paul* expresly affirms, That *Thieves shall not inherit the Kingdom of God*, 1 Cor. 6. 10.

But to *Theft* you have added a greater Sin, which is *Murder*. How many you may have *killed* of those that resisted you in the committing your former *Pyracies*, I know not: But this we all know, That besides the Wounded, you kill'd no less than *eighteen* Persons out of those that were sent by lawful Au-

tho-

thority to ſuppreſs you, and put a Stop to thoſe Rapines that you daily acted.

And however you may fancy that that was killing Men fairly in open *Fight*, yet this know, that the Power of the *Sword* not being committed into your Hands by any lawful Authority, you were not impowered to uſe any *Force*, or *fight* any one; and therefore thoſe Perſons that fell in that Action, in doing their Duty to their King and Country, were *murdered*, and their *Blood* now cries out for *Vengeance* and *Juſtice* againſt you: For it is the *Voice of Nature*, confirmed by the *Law* of God, That *whoſoever ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed.* Gen. 9. 6.

And conſider that Death is not the only Puniſhment due to *Murderers*; for they are threatened to have *their Part in the Lake which burneth with Fire and Brimſtone, which is the ſecond Death*, Rev. 21. 8. See *Chap.* 22. 15. Words which carry that Terror with them, that conſidering your Circumſtances and your Guilt, ſurely the Sound of them muſt make you tremble; *For who can dwell with everlaſting Burnings?* Chap. 33. 14.

As the *Teſtimony* of your *Conſcience* muſt convince you of the great and many Evils you have committed, by which you have highly offended God, and provoked moſt juſtly his Wrath and Indignation againſt you, ſo I ſuppoſe I need not tell you that the only Way of obtaining Pardon and Remiſſion of your Sins from God, is by a true and unfeigned *Repentance* and *Faith* in Chriſt, by whoſe meritorious Death and Paſſion, you can only hope for Salvation.

You being a Gentleman that have had the Advantage of a *liberal Education*, and being generally eſteemed a Man of *Letters*, I believe it will be needleſs for me to explain to you the Nature of *Repentance*

tance and *Faith* in Chriſt, they being ſo fully and ſo often mentioned in the Scriptures, that you cannot but know them. And therefore, perhaps, for that Reaſon it might be thought by ſome improper for me to have ſaid ſo much to you, as I have already upon this Occaſion; neither ſhould I have done it, but that conſidering the Courſe of your Life and Actions, I have juſt Reaſon to fear, that the Principles of Religion that had been inſtilled into you by your *Education*, have been at leaſt corrupted, if not entirely defaced, by the *Scepticiſm* and *Infidelity* of this wicked Age; and that what Time you allowed for Study, was rather applied to the *Polite Literature*, and the vain *Philoſophy* of the Times, than a ſerious Search after the *Law* and *Will* of God, as revealed unto us in the Holy *Scriptures*: For *had your Delight been in the Law of the Lord, and that you had meditated therein Day and Night*, Pſal. 1. 2. you would then have found that God's *Word was a Lamp unto your Feet, and a Light to your Path*, Pſal. 119. 105. and that you would account all other Knowledge but *Loſs*, in Compariſon of *the Excellency of the Knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus*, Phil. 3. 8. *who to them that are called is the Power of God, and the Wiſdom of God*, 1 Cor. 1. 24. *even the hidden Wiſdom which God ordained before the World*, Chap. 2. 7.

You would then have eſteemed the *Scriptures* as the *Great Charter* of Heaven, and which delivered to us not only the moſt perfect *Laws* and *Rules* of Life, but alſo diſcovered to us the Acts of *Pardon* from God, wherein they have offended thoſe righteous Laws: For in them only is to be found the great *Myſtery* of fallen Man's *Redemption, which the Angels deſire to look into*, 1 Pet. 1. 12.

And they would have taught you that *Sin* is the debaſing of *Human Nature*, as being a *Derivation* from that *Purity*, *Rectitude*, and *Holineſs*, in which God created

created us, and that *Virtue* and *Religion*, and walking by the Laws of God, were altogether preferable to the Ways of *Sin* and *Satan*; for that the *Ways* of Virtue are *Ways of Pleasantness, and all their Paths are Peace*, Prov. 3. 17.

But what you could not learn from God's Word, by reason of your *carelessly*, or but *superficially* considering the same, I hope the Course of his *Providence*, and the present *Afflictions* that he hath laid upon you, hath now convinced you of the same: For however in your seeming Prosperity you might make a *Mock at your Sins* Prov. 3. 17. yet now that you see that God's Hand hath reached you, and brought you to publick Justice, I hope your present unhappy Circumstances hath made you seriously reflect upon your past Actions and Course of Life; and that you are now sensible of the Greatness of your Sins, and that you find the Burden of them is intolerable.

And that therefore being thus *labouring, and heavy laden with Sin*, Mat. 11. 28. you will esteem that as the most valuable *Knowledge*, that can shew you how you can be reconciled to that Supreme God that you have so highly offended; and that can reveal to you Him who is not only the powerful *Advocate with the Father for you*, 1 John 2. 1. but also who hath paid that Debt that is due for your Sins by his own Death upon the Cross for you; and thereby made full Satisfaction for the Justice of God. And this is to be found no where but in God's Word, which discovers to us that *Lamb of God which takes away the Sins of the World*, John 1. 29. which is *Christ* the Son of God: For this know, and be assured, *that there is none other Name under Heaven given among Men, whereby we must be saved*, Acts 4. 12. but only by the Name of the Lord *Jesus*.

But

But then consider how he invites all Sinners to come unto him, and, *that he will give them rest*, Matt. 11. 28. for he assures us, *that he came to seek and to save that which was lost*, Luke 19. 10, Mat. 18. 11. and hath promised, *that he that cometh unto him, he will in no wise cast out*, John 6. 37.

So that if now you will sincerely turn to him, tho' late, even at the *eleventh Hour*, Mat. 20. 6, 9. he will receive you.

But surely I need not tell you, that the *Terms* of his *Mercy* is *Faith* and *Repentance*.

And do not mistake the *Nature* of Repentance to be only a bare Sorrow for your Sins, arising from the Consideration of the *Evil* and *Punishment* they have now brought upon you; but your Sorrow must arise from the Consideration of your having offended a gracious and merciful God.

But I shall not pretend to give you any particular Directions as to the Nature of Repentance: I consider that I speak to a Person, whose Offences have proceeded not so much from his not *knowing*, as his *slighting* and *neglecting* his *Duty*: Neither is it proper for me to give Advice out of the Way of my own Profession.

You may have that better delivered to you by those who have made Divinity their particular Study; and who, by their Knowledge, as well as their Office, as being the *Ambassadors of Christ*, 2 Cor. 5. 20. are best qualified to give you Instructions therein.

I only heartily wish, that what, in Compassion to your Soul, I have now said to you upon this sad and solemn Occasion, by exhorting you in general to *Faith* and *Repentance*, may have that due Effect upon you, that thereby you may become a true *Penitent*.

And therefore having now discharged my Duty to you as a *Christian*, by giving you the best Counsel

ſel I can, with reſpect to the Salvation of your Soul, I muſt now do my Office as a *Judge*.

The *Sentence* that the Law hath appointed to paſs upon you for your Offences, and which this Court doth therefore award, is,

That you, the ſaid Stede Bonnet, *ſhall go from hence to the Place from whence you came, and from thence to the Place of Execution, where you ſhall be hanged by the Neck till you are dead.*

And the God of infinite Mercy be merciful to your Soul.



CHAP

CHAP. V.

OF

Capt. *Edward England*,

And his Crew.

Edward England went Mate of a Sloop that sail'd out of *Jamaica*, and was taken by Captain *Winter*, a Pyrate, just before their Settlement at *Providence*; from whence *England* had the Command of a Sloop in the same laudable Employment: It is surprizing that Men of good Understanding should engage in a Course of Life, that so much debases humane Nature, and sets them upon a Level with the wild Beasts of the Forest, who live and prey upon their weaker Fellow Creatures: A Crime so enormous! That it includes almost all others, as Murder, Rapine, Theft, Ingratitude, *&c.* and tho' they make these Vices familiar to them by their daily Practice, yet these Men are so inconsistent with themselves, that a Reflection made upon their Honour, their Justice, or their Courage, is look'd upon as an Offence that ought to be punished with the Life of him that commits it: *England* was one of these Men, who seem'd to have such a Share of Reason, as should have taught him better Things. He had a great deal of good Nature, and did not want for Cou-

rage; he was not avaritious, and always averſe to the ill Uſage Priſoners received: He would have been contented with moderate Plunder, and leſs miſchievous Pranks, could his Companions have been brought to the ſame Temper, but he was generally over-rul'd, and as he was engaged in that abominable Society, he was obliged to be a Partner in all their vile Actions.

Captain *England* ſail'd to the Coaſt of *Africa*, after the Iſland of *Providence* was ſettled by the *Engliſh* Government, and the Pyrates ſurrendered to his Majeſty's Proclamation; and took ſeveral Ships and Veſſels, particularly the *Cadogan* Snow belonging to *Briſtol*, at *Sierraleone*, one *Skinner* Maſter, who was inhumanly murthered by ſome of the Crew, that had lately been his own Men, and ſerved in the ſaid Veſſel. It ſeems ſome Quarrel had happened between them, ſo that *Skinner* thought fit to remove theſe Fellows on Board of a Man of War, and at the ſame Time refuſed them their Wages; not long after they found Means to deſert that Service, and ſhipping themſelves aboard a Sloop in the *Weſt-Indies*, was taken by a Pyrate, and brought to *Providence*, and ſailed upon the ſame Account along with Captain *England*.

Aſſoon as *Skinner* had ſtruck to the Pyrate, he was ordered to come on Board in his Boat, which he did, and the Perſon that he firſt caſt his Eye upon, proved to be his old Boatſwain, who ſtar'd him in the Face like his evil Genius, and accoſted him in this Manner. —— *Ah, Captain* Skinner! *Is it you? The only Man I wiſhed to ſee; I am much in your Debt, and now I ſhall pay you all in your own Coin.*

The poor Man trembled every Joint, when he found into what Company he had fallen, and dreaded the Event, as he had Reaſon enough ſo to do; for the Boatſwain immediately called to his Conſorts,

ſorts, laid hold of the Captain, and made him faſt to the Windleſs, and there pelted him with Glaſs Bottles, which cut him in a ſad Manner; after which they whipp'd him about the Deck, till they were weary, being deaf to all his Prayers and Intreaties, and at laſt, becauſe he had been a good Maſter to his Men, they ſaid, he ſhould have an eaſy Death, and ſo ſhot him thro' the Head. They took ſome few Things out of the Snow, but gave the Veſſel and all her Cargo to *Howel Davis* the Mate, and the reſt of the Crew, as will be hereafter mentioned in the Chapter of Captain *Davis*.

Captain *England* took a Ship called the *Pearl*, Captain *Tyzard* Commander, for which he exchanged his own Sloop, fitted her up for the pyratical Account, and new chriſten'd her, the *Royal James*, with which he took ſeveral Ships and Veſſels of different Nations at the *Azores* and *Cape de Verd Iſlands*.

In the Spring, 1719, the Rovers returned to *Africa*, and beginning at the River *Gambia*, ſailed all down the Coaſt; and between that and *Cape Corſo*, took the following Ships and Veſſels.

The *Eagle* Pink, Captain *Rickets* Commander belonging to *Cork*, taken the 25th of *March*, having 6 Guns and 17 Men on Board, ſeven of which turned Pyrates.

The *Charlotte*, Captain *Oldſon*, of *London*, taken *May* the 26th, having 8 Guns and 18 Men on Board, 13 of which turned Pyrates.

The *Sarah*, Captain *Strunt*, of *London*, taken the 27th of *May*, having 4 Guns and 18 Men on Board, 3 of which turned Pyrates.

The *Bentworth*, Captain *Gardener*, of *Briſtol*, taken the 27th of *May*, having 12 Guns and 30 Men on Board, 12 of which turned Pyrates.

The *Buck* Sloop, Captain *Sylveſter*, of *Gambia*, taken the 27th of *May*, having 2 Guns and 2 Men on Board, and both turned Pyrates.

The *Carteret*, Captain *Snow*, of *London*, taken the 28th of *May*, having 4 Guns and 18 Men on Board, 5 of which turned Pyrates.

The *Mercury*, Captain *Maggott*, of *London*, taken the 29th of *May*, having 4 Guns and 18 Men on Board, 5 of which turned Pyrates.

The *Coward* Galley, Captain *Creed*, of *London*, taken the 17th of *June*, having 2 Guns and 13 Men on Board, 4 of which turned Pyrates.

The *Elizabeth* and *Katherine*, Captain *Bridge* of *Barbadoes*, taken *June* the 27th, having 6 Guns and 14 Men on Board, 4 of which turned Pyrates.

The *Eagle* Pink being bound to *Jamaica*, the *Sarah* to *Virginia*, and the *Buck* to *Maryland*, they let them go, but the *Charlotte*, the *Bentworth*, the *Carteret*, and the *Coward* Galley, they burnt; and the *Mercury*, and the *Elizabeth* and *Katherine* were fitted up for Pyrate Ships, the former was new nam'd *Queen Ann*'s *Revenge*, and commanded by one *Lane*, and the other was call'd the *Flying King*, of which *Robert Sample* was appointed Captain. Theſe two left *England* upon the Coaſt, ſail'd to the *Weſt-Indies*, where they took ſome Prizes, clean'd, and ſail'd to *Braſil* in *November*; they took ſeveral *Portugueſe* Ships there, and did a great deal of Miſchief, but in the height of their Undertakings, a *Portugueſe* Man of War, which was an excellent Sailor, came a very unwelcome Gueſt to them, and gave them Chace; the Queen *Ann's Revenge* got off, but was loſt a little while after upon that Coaſt; and the *Flying King*, giving herſelf over for loſt, ran aſhore: There were then 70 Men on Board, 12 of which were kill'd, and the reſt taken Priſoners, of whom the *Portugueſe* hang'd 38, of which 32 were *Engliſh*, three

three *Dutch*, two *French*, and one of their own Nation.

England, in going down the Coaſt, took the *Peterborough* Galley of *Briſtol*, Captain *Owen*; and the *Victory*, Captain *Ridout*; the former they detained, but plundered the latter, and let her go. In *Cape Corſo* Road, they ſaw two Sail at Anchor, but before they could reach them, they ſlipp'd their Cables and got cloſe under *Cape Corſo Caſtle*, theſe were the *Whydah*, Captain *Prince*, and the *John*, Captain *Rider*: The Pyrates upon this made a fire Ship of a Veſſel they had lately taken, and attempted to burn them, as tho' they had been a common Enemy, which if effected, they could not have been one Farthing the better for it; but the Caſtle firing warmly upon them, they withdrew, and ſail'd down to *Whydah* Road, where they found another Pyrate, one Captain *la Bouche*, who getting thither before *England* arrived, had foreſtall'd the Market, and greatly diſappointed their Brethren.

Captain *England*, after this Baulk, went into a Harbour, clean'd his own Ship, and fitted up the *Peterborough*, which he call'd the *Victory*; they liv'd there very wantonly for ſeveral Weeks, making free with the Negroe Women, and committing ſuch outragious Acts, that they came to an open Rupture with the Natives, ſeveral of whom they kill'd, and one of their Towns they ſet on Fire.

When the Pyrates came out to Sea, they put it to a Vote what Voyage to take, and the Majority carrying it for the *Eaſt-Indies*, they ſhap'd their Courſe accordingly, and arrived at *Madagaſcar*, the Beginning of the Year 1720. They ſtaid not long there, but after taking in Water and Proviſions, ſail'd for the Coaſt of *Malabar*, which is a fine fruitful Country in the *Eaſt-Indies*, in the Empire of the *Mogul*, but immediately ſubject to its own Princes: It reaches from the Coaſt of *Canara* to *Cape*

Camorin, which is between 7° 30, and 12° North Lattitude, and in about 75° East Longitude, counting from the Meridian of *London*. The old Natives are Pagans, but there are a great Number of *Mahometans* inhabiting among them, who are Merchants, and generally rich. On the same Coast, but in a Province to the Northward lies *Goa*, *Surat*, *Bombay*, where the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese* have Settlements.

Hither our Pyrates came, having made a Tour of half the Globe, as the Psalmist says of the Devils, *Going about like roaring Lions, seeking whom they might devour.* They took several Country Ships, that is, *Indian* Vessels, and one European, a *Dutch* Ship, which they exchanged for one of their own, and then came back to *Madagascar*.

They sent several of their Hands on Shore with Tents, Powder, and Shot, to kill Hogs, Venison, and such other fresh Provision as the Island afforded, and a Whim came into their Heads to seek out for the Remains of *Avery*'s Crew, whom they knew to be settled somewhere in the Island. —— Accordingly some of them travell'd several Days Journey, without hearing any Intelligence of them, and so were forc'd to return with the Loss of their Labour, for these Men were settled on the other Side of the Island, as has been taken Notice of under the Chapter of *Avery*.

They stay'd not long here, after they had clean'd their Ships, but sailing to *Juanna*; they met two *English*, and one *Ostend India* Men, coming out of that Harbour, one of which, after a desperate Resistance, they took; the Particulars of which Action is at length related in the following Letter, wrote by the Captain from *Bombay*.

A Let-

A LETTER from Captain *Mackra*, dated at *Bombay*, *Nov.* 16, 1720.

WE *arrived the* 25*th of* July *last, in Company of the* Greenwich, *at* Juanna, (*an Island not far from* Madagascar) *putting in there to refresh our Men, we found fourteen Pyrates that came in their Canoes from the* Mayotta, *where the Pyrate Ship to which they belong'd*, viz. *the* Indian Queen, *two hundred and fifty Tons, twenty eight Guns, and ninety Men, commanded by Capt.* Oliver de la Bouche, *bound from the* Guinea *Coast to the* East-Indies, *had been bulged and lost. They said they left the Captain and* 40 *of their Men building a new Vessel to proceed on their wicked Design. Capt.* Kirby *and I concluding it might be of great Service to the* East-India *Company to destroy such a Nest of Rogues, were ready to sail for that Purpose the* 17*th of* August, *about Eight o' Clock in the Morning, when we discovered two Pyrate Ships standing into the Bay of* Juanna, *one of thirty four, and the other of thirty Guns. I immediately went on Board the* Greenwich, *where they seem'd very diligent in Preparations for an Engagement, and I left Capt.* Kirby *with mutual Promises of standing by each other. I then unmoor'd, got under Sail, and brought two Boats a-head to row me close to the* Greenwich; *but he being open to a Valley and a Breeze, made the best of his Way from me; which an* Offender *in our Company, of* 22 *Guns, seeing, did the same, though the Captain had promised heartily to engage with us, and I believe would have been as good as his Word, if Capt.* Kirby *had kept his. About half an Hour after Twelve, I called several times to the* Greenwich *to bear down to our Assistance, and fir'd Shot at him, but to no Purpose. For tho' we did not doubt but he would join us, because when he got about a League from us, he brought his Ship to, and look'd on, yet both he and the* Offender *basely deserted us, and left us engaged with barbarous and inhuman Enemies, with*

their black and bloody Flags hanging over us, without the least Appearance of escaping being cut to Pieces. But God, in his good Providence, determin'd otherwise; for notwithstanding their Superiority, we engaged 'em both about three Hours, during which, the biggest received some Shot betwixt Wind and Water, which made her keep off a little to stop her Leaks. The other endeavoured all she could to board us, by rowing with her Oars, being within half a Ship's Length of us above an Hour; but by good Fortune we shot all her Oars to Pieces, which prevented them, and by consequence saved our Lives.

About Four o' Clock, most of the Officers and Men posted on the Quarter-Deck being killed and wounded, the largest Ship making up to us with all Diligence, being still within a Cable's Length of us, often giving us a Broadside, and no hopes of Capt. Kirby's *coming to our Assistance, we endeavoured to run ashoar; and tho' we drew four Foot Water more than the Pyrate, it pleased God that he stuck fast on a higher Ground than we happily fell in with; so was disappointed a second time from boarding us. Here we had a more violent Engagement than before. All my Officers, and most of my Men, behaved with unexpected Courage; and as we had a considerable Advantage by having a Broadside to his Bow, we did him great Damage, so that had Capt.* Kirby *come in then, I believe we should have taken both, for we had one of them sure; but the other Pyrate (who was still firing at us) seeing the* Greenwich *did not offer to assist us, he supplied his Consort with three Boats full of fresh Men. About Five in the Evening the* Greenwich *stood clear away to Sea, leaving us struggling hard for Life in the very Jaws of Death; which the other Pyrate, that was afloat, seeing, got a-warp out, and was hauling under our Stern; by which time many of my Men being killed and wounded, and no Hopes left us from being all murdered by enraged barbarous Conquerors, I order'd all that could, to get into the Long-Boat under the Cover of the Smoak of our Guns; so that with what some did in Boats, and others by swimming, most of us that were able got a-*

shoar,

ſhoar by Seven o' Clock. When the Pyrates came aboard, they cut three of our wounded Men to Pieces. I, with a few of my People, made what haſte I could to the King's-Town, *twenty five Miles from us, where I arrived next Day, almoſt dead with Fatigue and Loſs of Blood, having been ſorely wounded in the Head by a Muſket Ball.*

At this Town I heard that the Pyrates had offered ten thouſand Dollars to the Country People to bring me in, which many of them would have accepted, only they knew the King and all his chief People were in my Intereſt. Mean time, I cauſed a Report to be ſpread, that I was dead of my Wounds, which much abated their Fury. About ten Days after, being pretty well recovered, and hoping the Malice of our Enemies was nigh over, I began to conſider the diſmal Condition we were reduced to, being in a Place where we had no Hopes of getting a Paſſage home, all of us in a manner naked, not having had Time to get another Shirt, or a Pair of Shoes.

Having obtained Leave to go on Board the Pyrates, and a Promiſe of Safety, ſeveral of the Chief of them knew me, and ſome of them had ſailed with me, which I found of great Advantage; becauſe, notwithſtanding their Promiſe, ſome of them would have cut me, and all that would not enter with them, to Pieces, had it not been for the chief Captain, Edward England, *and ſome others I knew. They talked of burning one of their Ships, which we had ſo entirely diſabled, as to be no farther uſeful to them, and to fit the* Caſſandra *in her room; but in the End I managed my Tack ſo well, that they made me a Preſent of the ſaid ſhattered Ship, which was* Dutch *built, called the* Fancy, *about three hundred Tons, and alſo a hundred and twenty nine Bales of the Company's Cloth, tho' they would not give me a Rag of my Cloathes.*

They ſailed the 3d of September; *and with Jury-Maſts, and ſuch old Sails as they left me, I made ſhift to do the like on the 8th, together with forty three of my Ship's Crew, including two Paſſengers and twelve Soldiers, having but five Tons of Water aboard; and after a Paſſage of forty*

forty eight Days, I arrived here October *26, almoſt naked and ſtarv'd, having been reduced to a Pint of Water a Day, and almoſt in deſpair of ever ſeeing Land, by Reaſon of the Calms we met with between the Coaſt of* Arabia *and* Malabar. ——*We had in all thirteen Men killed and twenty four wounded; and we were told, that we had deſtroyed about ninety or a hundred of the Pyrates. When they left us, they were about three hundred Whites and eighty Blacks in both Ships. I am perſuaded, had our Conſort the* Greenwich *done his Duty, we had deſtroyed both of them, and got two hundred thouſand Pounds for our Owners and ſelves; whereas to his deſerting us, the Loſs of the* Caſſandra *may juſtly be imputed. I have delivered all the Bales that were given me into the Company's Warehouſe, for which the Governor and Council have ordered me a Reward. Our Governor, Mr.* Boon, *who is extreme kind and civil to me, has ordered me home with this Pacquet; but Captain* Harvey, *who had a prior Promiſe, being come in with the Fleet, goes in my room. The Governor hath promis'd me a Country Voyage, to help make me up my Loſſes, and would have me ſtay to go home with him next Year.*

Captain *Mackra* certainly run a great Hazard, in going aboard the Pyrate, and began quickly to repent his Credulity; for though they had promiſed, that no Injury ſhould be done to his Perſon, he found their Words were not to be truſted; and it may be ſuppoſed, that nothing but the deſperate Circumſtances Captain *Mackra* imagined himſelf to be in, could have prevailed upon him to fling himſelf and Company into their Hands, perhaps not knowing how firmly the Natives of that Iſland were attach'd to the *Engliſh* Nation; for about 20 Years ago, Captain *Cornwall*, Commadore of an *Engliſh* Squadron, aſſiſted them againſt another Iſland called *Mohilla*, for which they have ever ſince communicated all the grateful Offices in their Power, inſomuch that it became a Proverb,

verb, *That an* Engliſhman, *and a* Juanna *Man were all one.*

England was inclined to favour Captain *Mackra*; but he was ſo free to let him know, that his Intereſt was declining amongſt them; and that the Pyrates were ſo provoked at the Reſiſtance he made againſt them, that he was afraid he ſhould hardly be able to protect him; he therefore adviſed him to ſooth up and manage the Temper of Captain *Taylor*, a Fellow of a moſt barbarous Nature, who was become a great Favourite amongſt them for no other Reaſon than becauſe he was a greater Brute than the reſt. *Mackra* did what he could to ſoften this Beaſt, and ply'd him with warm Punch; notwithſtanding which, they were in a Tumult whether they ſhould make an End of him, or no, when an Accident happen'd which turn'd to the Favour of the poor Captain; a Fellow with a terrible pair of Whiskers, and a wooden Leg, being ſtuck round with Piſtols, like the Man in the Almanack with Darts, comes ſwearing and vapouring upon the Quarter-Deck, and asks, in a damning Manner, which was Captain *Mackra*: The Captain expected no leſs than that this Fellow would be his Executioner;—— but when he came near him, he took him by the Hand, ſwearing, *Damn him he was glad to ſee him*; *and ſhew me the Man*, ſays he, *that offers to hurt Captain* Mackra, *for I'll ſtand by him*; and ſo with many Oaths told him, *he was an honeſt Fellow, and that he had formerly ſail'd with him.*

This put an End to the Diſpute, and Captain *Taylor* was ſo mellow'd with the Punch, that he conſented that the old Pyrate Ship, and ſo many Bales of Cloth ſhould be given to Captain *Mackra*, and ſo he fell aſleep. *England* adviſed Captain *Mackra* to get off with all Expedition, leaſt when the Beaſt ſhould awake, he might repent his Generoſity: Which Advice was followed by the Captain.

Captain

Captain *England* having ſided ſo much to Captain *Mackra*'s Intereſt, was a Means of making him many Enemies among the Crew; they thinking ſuch good Uſage inconſiſtent with their Polity, becauſe it looked like procuring Favour at the Aggravation of their Crimes; therefore upon Imagination or Report, that Captain *Mackra* was fitting out againſt them, with the Company's Force, he was ſoon *abdicated* or pulled out of his Government, and marooned with three more on the Iſland of *Mauritius*: An Iſland indeed, not to be complained of, had they accumulated any Wealth by their Villanies that would have afforded ſome future comfortable Proſpect, for it abounds with Fiſh, Deer, Hogs and other Fleſh. Sir *Thomas Herbert*, ſays, the Shores with Coral and Ambergreaſe; but I believe the *Dutch* had not deſerted it, had there been much of theſe Commodities to have been found. It was in 1722, reſettled by the *French*, who have a Fort at another neighbouring Iſland, called *Don Maſcarine*, and are touched at for Water, Wood, and Refreſhments, by *French* Ships bound to, or for *India*; as St. *Helena* and *Cape Bon Eſperance*, are by us and the *Dutch*. From this Place, Captain *England* and his Companions having made a little Boat of Staves and old Pieces of Deal left there, went over to *Madagaſcar*, where they ſubſiſt at preſent on the Charity of ſome of their Brethren, who had made better Proviſion for themſelves, than they had done.

The Pyrates detained ſome Officers and Men belonging to Captain *Mackra*, and having repaired the Damages received in their Rigging, they ſailed for *India*. The Day before they made Land, ſaw two Ships to the Eaſtward, who at firſt Sight, they took to be *Engliſh*, and ordered one of the Priſoners, who had been an Officer with Captain *Mackra*, to tell them the private Signals between the Company's

pany's Ships, the Captain swearing he would cut him in pound Pieces, if he did not do it immediately; but unable, was forced to bear their Scurility, till they came up with them, and found they were two *Moor* Ships from *Muscat*, with Horses; they brought the Captain of them, and Merchants, on Board, torturing them, and rifling the Ships, in order to discover Riches, as believing they came from *Mocha*; but being baulked in their Expectation, and next Morning seeing Land, and at the same Time a Fleet in Shore plying to Windward, they were puzzled how to dispose of them; to let them go, was to discover and ruin the Voyage, and it was cruel to sink the Men and Horses with the Ships, (as many of them were inclined to,) therefore, as a Medium, they brought them to an Anchor, threw all their Sails over-board, and cut one of the Ships Masts half through.

While they lay at an Anchor, and were all the next Day employed in taking out Water, one of the aforementioned Fleet bore towards them with *English* Colours, answered with a red Ensign from the Pyrates, but did not speak with one another. At Night they left the *Muscatt* Ships, weighed with the Sea Wind, and stood to the Northward after this Fleet: About four next Morning, just as they were getting under sail, with the Land Wind, the Pyrates came amongst them, made no stop, but fired their great and small Guns very briskly, till they got through; and as Day-Light cleared, were in a great Consternation in their Minds, having all along taken them for *Angria*'s Fleet; what to do was the Point, whether run or pursue? They were sensible of their Inferiority of Strength, having no more than 300 Men in both Ships, and 40 of them Negroes; besides, the *Victory* had then four Pumps at Work, and must inevitably been lost before, had it not been for some Hand-

Hand-Pumps, and several pair of Standards brought out of the *Cassandra*, to relieve and strengthen her; but observing the Indifferency of the Fleet, chose rather to chase than run; and thought the best Way to save themselves, was to play at Bullbeggar with the Enemy: So they came up with the Sea Wind, about Gun-Shot to Leeward, the great Ships of the Fleet a-head, and some others a-stern; which latter they took for Fire-Vessels: And these a-head gaining from them by cutting away their Boats, they could do nothing more than continue their Course all Night, which they did, and found them next Morning out of Sight, excepting a Ketch and some few Gallivats, (*small sort of Vessels something like the Feluccas of the* Mediterranean, *and hoists, like them, triangular Sails.*) They bore down, which the Ketch perceiving, transported her People on Board a Gallivat, and set fire to her; the other proved too nimble and made off. The same Day they chased another Gallivat and took her, being come from *Gogo*, bound for *Callicut* with Cotton. Of these Men they enquired concerning the Fleet, supposing they must have been in it; and altho' they protested they had not seen a Ship or Boat since they left *Gogo*, and pleaded very earnestly for Favour; yet they threw all their Cargo over-board, and squezed their Joints in a Vice, to extort Confession: But they entirely ignorant of who or what this Fleet should be, were obliged not only to sustain this Torment, but next Day a fresh easterly Wind having split the Gallivats Sails, they put her Company into the Boat, with nothing but a Trysail, no Provisions, and only four Gallons of Water, (half of it Salt,) and then out of Sight of Land, to shift for themselves.

For the better elucidating of this Story, it may be convenient to inform the Reader, who *Angria* is,

is, and what the Fleet were, that had ſo ſcurvily behaved themſelves.

Angria is a famous *Indian* Pyrate, of conſiderable Strength and Territories, that gives continual Diſturbance to the *European* (and eſpecially the *Engliſh*) Trade: His chief Hold is *Callaba*, not many Leagues from *Bombay*, and has one Iſland in Sight of that Port, whereby he gains frequent Opportunities of annoying the Company. It would not be ſo inſuperable a Difficulty to ſuppreſs him, if the Shallowneſs of the Water did not prevent Ships of War coming nigh: And a better Art he has, of bribing the *Mogul*'s Miniſters for Protection, when he finds an Enemy too powerful.

In the Year 1720, the *Bombay* Fleet conſiſting of four *Grabbs*, *(Ships built in* India *by the Company, and have three Maſts, a Prow like a Row-Galley, inſtead of a Boltſprit, about* 150 *Tons; are officered and armed like a Man of War, for Defence and Protection of the Trade,)* the *London*, *Chandois*, and two other Ships with Gallivats, who beſides their proper Compliments, carried down 1000 Men to bombard and batter *Gayra*, a Fort belonging to *Angria*, on the *Malabar* Coaſt, which they having performed ineffectually, were returning to *Bombay*, and, to make amends, fell in with the Pyrates, to the Purpoſe has been already related. Captain *Upton*, Commadore of that Fleet, prudently objecting to Mr. *Brown*, (who went General,) That the Ships were not to be hazarded, ſince they ſailed without their Governor *Boon*'s Orders to engage; and beſides, that they did not come out with ſuch a Deſign. This favourable Opportunity of deſtroying the Pyrates, angered the Governor, and he transferred the Command of the Fleet to Captain *Mackra*, who had Orders immediately to purſue and engage, where ever he met them.

The

The Vice-Roy of *Goa*, assisted by the *English* Company's Fleet from *Bombay*, did attempt the Reduction of *Callaba*, his principal Place, landed 8 or 10000 Men the next Year, the *English* Squadron of Men of War being then in those Seas; but having viewed the Fortification well, and expended some of their Army by Sickness and the Fatigues of a Camp, carefully withdrew again.

I return to the Pyrates, who, after they had sent away the Gallivats People, resolved to cruise to the Southward; and the next Day, between *Goa* and *Carwar*, heard several Guns, which brought them to an Anchor, and they sent their Boat on the Scent, who returned about two in the Morning, and brought Word of two Grabs lying at Anchor in the Road. They weighed and ran towards the Bay, till Day-Light gave the Grabs Sight of them, and was but just Time enough to get under *Indian Diva* Castle, out of their reach; this displeased the Pyrates the more, in that they wanted Water; and some were for making a Descent that Night and taking the Island, but it not being approved of by the Majority, they proceeded to the Southward, and took next in their Way, a small Ship out of *Onnore* Road, with only a *Dutch* Man and two *Portuguese* on Board. They sent one of these on Shore to the Captain, to acquaint him, if he would supply them with some Water, and fresh Provisions, he should have his Ship again; and the Master returned for answer, by his Mate *Frank Harmless*, that if they would deliver him Possession over the Bar, he would comply with their Request; the Proposal the Mate thought was colusive, and they rather jump'd into *Harmless*'s Opinion, (who very honestly entered with them,) and resolved to seek Water at the *Laccadeva* Islands; so having sent the other Persons on Shore, with threats, that he should be the last Man they would give Quarter to,

too, (by Reason of this uncivil Usage;) they put directly for the Islands, and arrived there in three Days: Where being informed by a Menchew they took (with the Governor of *Canwars* Pass,) of there being no Anchor-Ground among them, and *Melinda* being the next convenient Island, they sent their Boats on Shore, to see if there was any Water, and whether it was inhabited or not; who returned with an Answer to their Satisfaction, *viz.* that there was abundance of good Water, and many Houses, but deserted by the Men, who had fled to the neighbouring Islands on the Approach of Ships, and left only the Women and Children to guard one another. The Women they forced in a Barbarous Manner to their Lusts, and to requite them, destroyed their Cocoa Trees, and fired several of their Houses and *Churches*. (I suppose built by the *Portuguese*, who formerly used there, in their Voyages to *India*.)

While they were at this Island, they lost three or four Anchors, by the Rockyness of the Ground, Freshness of Winds, and at last were forced thence by a harder Gale than ordinary, leaving 70 People, Blacks and Whites, and most of their Water Casks: In ten Days they regained the Island again, filled their Water, and took the People on Board.

Provisions were very scarce, and they now resolved to visit their good Friends the *Dutch*, at *Cochin*, who, if you will believe these Rogues, never fail of supplying Gentlemen of their Profession. After three Days sail, they arrived off *Tellechery*, and took a small Vessel belonging to Governor *Adams*, *John Tawke* Master, whom they brought on Board very drunk, and he giving an Account of Captain *Mackra*'s fitting out, put them in a Tempest of Passion: *A Villain*, say they, *that we have treated so civilly, as to give him a Ship and other Presents, and now to be armed against us, he ought to be hanged*;

and ſince we cannot ſhow our Reſentment on him, let us hang the Dogs his People, who wiſh him well, and would do the ſame, if clear. If it be in my Power, ſays the Quarter-Maſter, *both Maſters and Officers of Ships ſhall be carried with us for the future, only to plague them.* —— *d*——*n* England.

Thence they proceeded to *Calicut*, where they endeavoured to take a large *Moor* Ship out of the Road, but was prevented by ſome Guns mounted on Shore, and diſcharged at them: Mr. *Laſinby*, who was one of Captain *Mackra*'s Officers, and detained, was under the Deck at this Time, and commanded both by the Captain and QuarterMaſter of the Pyrates, to tend the Braces on the Booms, in hopes, it was believed, a Shot would take him before they got clear, asking the Reaſon why he was not there before? And when he would have excuſed himſelf, threat'ned on the like Neglect to ſhoot him; at which the other beginning to expoſtulate farther, and claim their Promiſe of putting him aſhore, got an unmerciful beating from the Quarter-Maſter. Captain *Taylor*, who was now Succeſſor to *England*, and whoſe Priviledge it was to do ſo, being lame of his Hands, and unable.

The next Day in their Paſſage down, came up with a *Dutch* Galliot, bound for *Calicut* with Lime Stone, and aboard of her they put Captain *Tawke*, and ſent him away, and ſeveral of the People interceeded for *Laſinby* in vain, *For,* ſays *Taylor* and his Party, *if we let this Dog go, who has heard our Deſigns and Reſolutions, we overſet all our well adviſed Projections, and particularly this Supply we are now ſeeking for, at the Hands of the* Dutch.

It was but one Day more before they arrived off *Cochin*, where, by a Fiſhing-Canoe, they ſent a Letter on Shore; and in the Afternoon, with the Sea-breeze, ran into the Road and anchored, ſaluting the Fort with 11 Guns each Ship, and received the

Return

Return, in an equal Number; a good Omen of the welcome Reception they found; for at Night there came on Board a large Boat, deeply laden with freſh Proviſions and Liquors, and with it a Servant (of a favourite Inhabitant) called *John Trumpet*: He told them they muſt immediately weigh, and run farther to the Southward, where they ſhould be ſupplied with all Things they wanted, naval Stores or Proviſions.

They had not been long at Anchor again, before they had ſeveral Canoes on Board with both black and white Inhabitants, who continued, without Interruption, all good Offices, during their Stay; particularly *John Trumpet* brought a large Boat of Arrack, than which, nothing could be more pleaſing (about 90 Legers,) as alſo 60 Bales of Sugar; an Offering, its preſumed, from the Governor and his Daughter, who, in Return, had a fine Table-Clock ſent him, (the Plunder of Captain *Mackra*'s Ship,) and ſhe a large Gold Watch, Earneſts of the Pay they deſigned to make.

When they had all on Board, they paid Mr. *Trumpet* to his Satisfaction, it was computed, 6 or 7000 *l.* gave him three Cheers, 11 Guns each Ship, and throw'd Ducatoons into his Boat by handfuls, for the Boat-Men to ſcramble for.

That Night being little Wind, did not weigh, and *Trumpet*, in the Morning, waked them to the Sight of more Arrack, Cheſts of Piece-Goods, and ready made Clothes, bringing the Fiſcal of the Place alſo with him. At Noon, while thoſe were on Board, ſaw a Sail to the Southward, which they weighed, and chaced after; but ſhe having a good Offing, got to the Northward of them, and anchored a ſmall Diſtance from *Cochin* Fort; the aforementioned Gentlemen aſſuring them, that they would not be moleſted in taking her from under the Caſtle, ſollicited before hand for the buying her,

and adviſed them to ſtand in, which they did boldly, to board her; but when they came within a Cable's length or two of the Chace, now near Shore, the Fort fired two ſmall Guns, whoſe Shot falling nigh their Muzzels, they inſtantly bore out of the Road, made an eaſy Sail to the Southward, and anchored at Night in their former Birth, where *John Trumpet*, to engage their Stay a little longer, informed them, that in a few Days a very rich Ship was to paſs by, commanded by the General of *Bombay*'s Brother.

This Governor is an Emblem of foreign Power. What Inconvenience and Injury muſt the Maſter's Subjects ſuſtain under one who can truckle to ſuch treacherous and baſe Means, as correſponding and trading with Pyrates to enrich himſelf? Certainly ſuch a Man will ſtickle at no Injuſtice to repair or make a Fortune. He has the *Argumentum bacillum* always in his own Hands, and can convince, when he pleaſes, in half the Time of other Arguments, that Fraud and Oppreſſion is Law. That he imploys Inſtruments in ſuch dirty Work, expreſſes the Guilt and Shame, but no way mitigates the Crime. *John Trumpet* was the Tool; but, as the Dog ſaid in the Fable, on another Occaſion, *What is done by the Maſter's Orders, is the Maſter's Actions.*

I cannot but reflect, on this Occaſion, what a vile Government *Sancho Pancho* had of it; he had not only ſuch *Perquiſites* reſcinded, but was really almoſt ſtarved; the Victuals taken from him almoſt every Day, and only under a Pretence of preſerving his Excellency's Health: But Governments differ.

From *Cochin* ſome were for proceeding to *Madagaſcar* directly; others thought it proper to cruize till they got a Store-Ship, and theſe being the Majority, they ply'd to the Southward, and after ſome Days ſaw a Ship in Shore, which being to Windward of them, they could not get nigh, till the Sea

Sea Wind, and Night, favouring, they ſeparated, one to the Northward, the other to the Southward, thinking to encloſe her between: But to their Aſtoniſhment, and contrary to Expectation, when Day broke, inſtead of the Chace, found themſelves very near five Sail of tall Ships, who immediately making a Signal for the Pyrates to bear down, put them in the utmoſt Confuſion, particularly *Taylor*'s Ship, becauſe their Conſort was at a Diſtance from them, (at leaſt three Leagues to the Southward) they ſtood to one another, and joined, and then together made the beſt of their Way from the Fleet, whom they judged to be commanded by Captain *Mackra*; of whoſe Courage having Experience, they were glad to ſhun any farther Taſte of.

In three Hours Chace, none of the Fleet gaining upon them, excepting one Grab, their dejected Countenances cleared up again, the more, in that a Calm ſucceeded for the Remainder of that Day; and in the Night, with the Land Wind, they ran directly off Shore, and found next Day, to their great Conſolation, that they had loſt Sight of all the Fleet.

This Danger eſcaped, they propoſed to ſpend *Chriſtmas* (the *Chriſtmas* of 1720) in Carowzing and Forgetfulneſs, and kept it for three Days in a wanton and riotous Way, not only eating, but waſting their freſh Proviſions in ſo wretched and inconſiderable a Manner, that when they had agreed after this to proceed to *Mauritius*, they were in that Paſſage at an Allowance of a Bottle of Water *per Diem*, and not above two Pounds of Beef, and a ſmall Quantity of Rice, for ten Men for a Day; ſo that had it not been for the leaky Ship, (which once they were about to have quitted, and had done, but for a Quantity of Arrack and Sugar She had on Board,) they muſt moſt of them have periſhed.

In this Condition they arrived at the Island of *Mauritius*, about the Middle of *February*, sheathed and refitted the *Victory*, and on the 5th of *April* sailed again, leaving this terrible Inscription on one of the Walls. *Left this Place the 5th of* April, *to go to* Madagascar *for Limes*, and this, least (like Lawyers and Men of Business) any Visits should be paid in their Absence: However, they did not sail directly for *Madagascar*, but the Island *Mascarine*, and luckily as Rogues could wish, they found at their Arrival on the 8th, a *Portuguese* Ship at Anchor, of 70 Guns, but most of them thrown overboard, her Masts lost, and so much disabled by a violent Storm they had met with in the Latitude of 13° South, that she became a Prize to the Pyrates, with very little or no Resistance, and a glorious one indeed, having the *Conde de Ericeira*, Viceroy of *Goa*, who made that fruitless Expedition against *Angria*, the *Indian*, and several other Passengers on Board; who, as they could not be ignorant of the Treasure she had in, did assert, that in the single Article of Diamonds, there was to the Value of between three and four Millions of Dollars.

The Vice-Roy, who came on Board that Morning, in Expectation of the Ships being *English*, was made a Prisoner, and obliged to ransome; but in Consideration of his great Loss, (the Prize being Part his own,) they agreed after some Demurrings, to accept of 2000 Dollars, and set him and the other Prisoners ashore, with Promises to leave a Ship that they might Transport themselves, because the Island was not thought in a Condition to maintain so great a Number; and tho' they had learned from them, the Account of an *Ostender* being to Leeward of the Island, which they took on that Information, (being formerly the *Greyhound* Galley of *London*,) and could conveniently have comply'd with so reasonable a Request; yet they sent the

Ostender

Oſtender with ſome of their People to *Madagaſcar*, with News of their Succeſs, and to prepare Maſts for the Prize; and followed themſelves ſoon after, without regard to the Sufferers, carrying 200 *Mozambique* Negroes with them in the *Portugueſe* Ship.

Madagaſcar is an Iſland larger than *Great-Britain*, moſt of it within the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and lays Eaſt from the Eaſtern Side of *Africa*: It abounds with Proviſions of all Sorts, Oxen, Goats, Sheep, Poultry, Fiſh, Citrons, Oranges, Tamarinds, Dates, Coco-Nuts, Bananas, Wax, Honey, Rice; or in ſhort, Cotton, Indigo, or any other Thing they will take Pains to plant, and have Underſtanding to manage: They have likewiſe Ebony, a hard Wood like Braſil, of which they make their Lances; and Gum of ſeveral Sorts, Benzin, Dragon's Blood, Aloes, *&c.* What is moſt incommodious, are the numerous Swarms of Locuſts on the Land, and Crocodiles or Alligators in their Rivers. Hither, in St. *Auguſtin*'s Bay, the Ships ſometimes touch for Water, when they take the inner Paſſage for *India*, and do not deſign to ſtop at *Johanna*; and we may obſerve from the ſixth general Voyage ſet forth by the *Eaſt-India* Company, in Confirmation of what is hereafter ſaid in Relation to Currents in general; that this inner Paſſage or Channel, has its Northern and Southern Currents ſtrongeſt where the Channel is narroweſt, and is leſs, and varies on different Points of the Compaſs, as the Sea comes to ſpread again, in the Paſſage croſs the Line.

Since the Diſcovery of this Iſland by the *Portugueſe*, *A. D.* 1506, the *Europeans*, and particularly Pyrates, have increaſed a dark Mulatto Race there, tho' ſtill few in Compariſon with the Natives, who are Negroes, with curled ſhort Hair, Active, and formerly repreſented malicious and revengeful, now tractable and communicable, perhaps ow-

ing to the Favours and Generosity in Cloathing and Liquors, they from Time to Time have received from these Fellows, who live in all possible Friendship, and can, any single Man of them, command a Guard of 2 or 300 at a Minute's warning: This is farther the Native's Interest, to cultivate with them, because the Island being divided into petty Governments and Commands, the Pyrates, settled here, who are now a considerable Number, and have little Castles of their own, can preponderate where-ever they think fit to side.

When *Taylor* came with the *Portuguese* Prize here, they found the *Ostender* had played their Men a Trick, for they took Advantage of their Drink, rise upon them, and (as they heard afterwards) carried the Ship to *Mozambique*, whence the Governor ordered her for *Goa*.

Here the Pyrates came, cleaned the *Cassandra*, and divided their Plunder, sharing 42 small Diamonds a Man, or in less Proportion according to their Magnitude. An ignorant, or a merry Fellow, who had only one in this Division, as being judged equal in Value to 42 small, muttered very much at the Lot, and went and broke it in a Morter, swearing afterwards, he had a better Share than any of them, for he had beat it, he said, into 43 Sparks.

Those who were not for running the Hazard of their Necks, with 42 Diamonds, besides other Treasure, in their Pockets, knocked off, and stay'd with their old Acquaintance at *Madagascar*, on mutual Agreements, the longer Livers to take all. The Residue having therefore no Occasion for two Ships, the *Victory* being leaky, she was burnt, the Men (as many as would) coming into the *Cassandra*, under the Command of *Taylor*, who we must leave a Time, projecting either for *Cochin*, to dispose of their Diamonds among their old Friends

the

the *Dutch*, or elſe for the *Red* or *China* Seas, to avoid the Men of War, that continually clamoured in their Ears, a Noiſe of Danger, and give the *little* Account we are able, of that Squadron, who arrived in *India*, early in the Year 1721.

At *Cape Good Hope*, in *June*, the Commadore met with a Letter, which was left for him by the Governor of *Madras*, to whom it was wrote by the Governor of *Pandicherry*, a *French* Factory, on the *Coromondel* Coaſt, ſignifying, the Pyrates at the Writing of it, were then ſtrong in the *Indian* Seas, having 11 Sail and 1500 Men, but that many of them went away about that Time, for the Coaſt of *Brazil* and *Guinea*; others ſettled and fortified themſelves at *Madagaſcar*, *Mauritius*, *Johanna* and *Mohilla*: And that others under *Conden*, in a Ship called the *Dragon*, took a large *Moor*'s Veſſel, coming from *Iudda* and *Mocho*, with thirteen Lackies of Rupees on Board, (*i. e.* 1300000 half Crowns,) who having divided the Plunder, burnt their Ship and Prize, and ſat down quietly with their other Friends at *Madagaſcar*.

The Account contain'd ſeveral other Things which we have before related. —— Commadore *Matthews*, upon receiving this Intelligence, and being fond of the Service he came out for, haſtened to thoſe Iſlands, as the moſt hopeful Places of Succeſs; at St. *Mary*'s would have engaged *England* with Promiſes of Favour, if he would communicate what he knew, concerning the *Caſſandra*, and the reſt of the Pyrates, and aſſiſt in the Pilotage; but *England* was wary, and thought this was to *ſurrender at Diſcretion*, ſo they took up the *Judda* Ship's Guns that was burnt, and the Men of War diſperſed themſelves on ſeveral Voyages and Cruiſes afterwards, as was thought likelieſt to ſucceed, tho' to no Purpoſe: Then the Squadron

dron went down to *Bombay*, were ſaluted by the Fort, and came home.

The Pyrates, I mean thoſe of the *Caſſandra*, now Captain *Taylor*, fitted the *Portugueſe* Man of War, and reſolved upon another Voyage to the *Indies*, notwithſtanding the Riches they had heaped up; but as they were preparing to ſail, they heard of the four Men of War coming after them to thoſe Seas, therefore they altered their Minds, ſail'd for the Main of *Africa*, and put in at a little Place called *Delagoa*, near the River *de Spiritu Sancto*, on the Coaſt of *Monomotapa*, in 26° South Latitude. They believed this to be a Place of Security, in regard that the Squadron could not poſſibly get Intelligence of them, there being no Correſpondence over Land, nor any Trade carried on by Sea, between that and the Cape, where the Men of War were then ſuppoſed to be. The Pyrates came to in the Evening, and were ſurprized with a few Shot from the Shore, not knowing of any Fortification or *European* Settlement in that Part of the World; ſo they anchored at a Diſtance that Night, and perceiving, in the Morning, a ſmall Fort of ſix Guns, they run up to it, and battered it down.

This Fort was built and ſettled by the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, a few Months before, for what Purpoſe, I know not, and having left 150 Men upon the Place, they were then dwindled to a third Part by Sickneſs and Caſualties, and never after received any Relief or Neceſſaries; ſo that Sixteen of thoſe that were left, upon their humble Petition, were admitted on Board the Pyrates, and all the reſt would have had the ſame Favour (they ſaid) had they been any other than *Dutch*. I mention this, as an Inſtance of their Ingratitude, who had been ſo much obliged to their Countrymen for Support.

Here

Here they ſtaid above four Months, carreened both their Ships, and took their Diverſions with Security, till they had expended all their Proviſions, and then put to Sea, leaving conſiderable Quantities of Muſlins, Chintzes, and ſuch Goods behind, to the half ſtarved *Dutch* Men, which enabled them to make good Pennyworths to the next that came, to whom they bartered for Proviſions, at the Rate of three Farthings an *Engliſh* Yard.

They left *Delagoa* the latter End of *December* 1722, but not agreeing where, or how to proceed, they concluded to part, ſo thoſe who were for continuing that ſort of Life, went on Board the *Portugueſe* Prize, and ſteered for *Madagaſcar* to their Friends, with whom I hear they are now ſettled; and the reſt took the *Caſſandra* and ſailed for the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. The *Mermaid* Man of War happening then to be down on the Main with a Convoy, about 30 Leagues from theſe Pyrates, would have gone and attacked them; but on a Conſultation of the Maſters, whoſe Safety he was particularly to regard, they agreed their own Protection was of more Service than deſtroying the Pyrate, and ſo the Commander was unwillingly withheld. He diſpatched a Sloop to *Jamaica*, with the News, which brought down the *Lanceſton*, only a Day, or two, too late, they having juſt before he came, ſurrendered with all their Riches, to the Governor of *Porto Bello*.

Here they ſate down to ſpend the Fruits of their diſhoneſt Induſtry, dividing the Spoil and Plunder of Nations among themſelves, without the leaſt Remorſe or Compunction, ſatisfying their Conſcience with this Salvo, that other People would have done as much, had they the like Opportunitiess. I can't ſay, but that if they had known what was doing in *England*, at the ſame Time by the *South-Sea* Directors, and their Directors, they would

would certainly have had this Reflection for their Conſolation, *viz. That what ever Robberies they had committed, they might be pretty ſure they were not the greateſt Villains then living in the World.*

It is a difficult Matter to make a Computation of the Miſchief that was done by this Crew, in about five Years Time, which is much more than the Plunder they gained, for they often ſunk or burnt the Veſſel they took, as it ſuited their Humour or Circumſtances, ſometimes to prevent giving Intelligence, ſometimes becauſe they did not leave Men to navigate them, and at other Times out of Wantonneſs, or becauſe they were diſpleaſed at the Maſter's Behaviour; for any of theſe, it was but to give the Word, and down went Ships and Cargoes to the Bottom of the Sea.

Since their Surrender to the *Spaniards*, I am informed ſeveral of them have left the Place, and diſperſed themſelves elſewhere; eight of them were ſhipp'd about *November* laſt, in one of the *South-Sea* Company's Aſſiento Sloops, and paſſed for Ship-wreck'd Men, came to *Jamaica*, and there ſailed in other Veſſels; and I know one of them that came to *England* this Spring from that Iſland. 'Tis ſaid that Captain *Taylor* has taken a Commiſſion in the *Spaniſh* Service, and commanded the Man of War that lately attack'd the *Engliſh* Log-Wood Cutters, in the Bay of *Honduras*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

OF

Captain *Charles Vane*,

And his CREW.

Charles Vane was one of thoſe who ſtole away the Silver which the *Spaniards* had fiſhed up from the Wrecks of the Galleons, in the Gulph of *Florida*, and was at *Providence* (as has been before hinted) when Governor *Rogers* arrived there with two Men of War.

All the Pyrates who were found at this Colony of Rogues, ſubmitted, and received Certificates of their Pardon, except Captain *Vane* and his Crew; who, as ſoon as they ſaw the Men of War enter, ſlipp'd their Cable, ſet Fire to a Prize they had in the Harbour, and ſailed out with their pyratical Colours flying, firing at one of the Men of War as they went off.

Two Days after they went out, they met with a Sloop belonging to *Barbadoes*, which they made Prize of, and kept the Veſſel for their own Uſe, putting aboard five and twenty Hands, with one *Yeats* to command them. A Day or two afterwards they fell in with a ſmall interloping Trader, with a Quantity of *Spaniſh* Pieces of Eight aboard, bound into *Providence*, called the *John* and *Elizabeth*, which

which they alſo took along with them. With theſe two Sloops *Vane* went to a ſmall Iſland and cleaned; where they ſhared their Booty, and ſpent ſome Time in a riotous Manner of Living, as is the Cuſtom of Pyrates.

The latter End of *May* 1718, they ſail'd, and being in want of Proviſions, they beat up for the Windward Iſlands, and met with a *Spaniſh* Sloop bound from *Porto Rico* to the *Havana*, which they burnt, and ſtowed the *Spaniards* in a Boat, and left them to get to the Iſland, by the Light of their Veſſel. But ſteering between St. *Chriſtopher*'s and *Anguilla*, they fell in with a Brigantine and a Sloop, with the Cargo they wanted; from whom they got Proviſions for Sea-Store.

Sometime after this, ſtanding to the Northward, in the Track the *Old-England* Ships take, in their Voyage to the *American* Colonies, they took ſeveral Ships and Veſſels, which they plundered of what they thought fit, and let them paſs.

The latter End of *Auguſt*, *Vane*, with his Conſort *Yeats*, came off *South-Carolina*, and took a Ship belonging to *Ipſwich*, one *Coggerſhall* Commander, laden with Logwood, which was thought convenient enough for their own Buſineſs, and therefore ordered their Priſoners to work, and throw all the Lading over-board; but when they had more than half cleared the Ship, the Whim changed, and then they would not have her; ſo *Coggerſhall* had his Ship again, and he was ſuffered to purſue his Voyage home. In this Cruize the Rover took ſeveral other Ships and Veſſels, particularly a Sloop from *Barbadoes*, *Dill* Maſter; a ſmall Ship from *Antegoa*, *Cock* Maſter; a Sloop belonging to *Curacco*, *Richards* Maſter; and a large Brigantine, Captain *Thompſon*, from *Guiney*, with ninety odd Negroes aboard. The Pyrates plundered them all and let them go, putting the Negroes out of the Brigan-

Brigantine aboard of *Yeat*'s Veſſel, by which Means they came back again to the right Owners.

For Captain *Vane*, having always treated his Conſort with very little Reſpect, aſſuming a Superiority over *Yeats* and his ſmall Crew, and regarding the Veſſel but as a Tender to his own; gave them a Diſguſt, who thought themſelves as good Pyrates, and as great Rogues as the beſt of them; ſo they caball'd together, and reſolved to take the firſt Opportunity to leave the Company; and accept of his Majeſty's Pardon, or ſet up for themſelves, either of which they thought more honourable than to be Servants to the former; and the putting aboard ſo many Negroes, where they found ſo few Hands to take Care of them, ſtill aggravated the Matter, though they thought fit to conceal or ſtifle their Reſentments at that Time.

A Day or two afterwards, the Pyrates lying off at Anchor, *Yeats* in the Evening ſlipp'd his Cable, and put his Veſſel under Sail, ſtanding into the Shore; which, when *Vane* ſaw, he was highly provoked, and got his Sloop under Sail to chaſe his Conſort, who, he plainly perceived, had a Mind to have no further Affairs with him: *Vane*'s Brigantine ſailing beſt, he gained Ground of *Yeats*, and would certainly have come up with him, had he had a little longer Run for it; but juſt as he got over the Bar, when *Vane* came within Gun-ſhot of him, he fired a Broadſide at his old Friend, (which did him no Damage,) and ſo took his Leave.

Yeats came into *North Ediſto* River, about ten Leagues Southward of *Charles-Town*, and ſent an Expreſs to the Governor, to know if he and his Comrades might have the Benefit of his Majeſty's Pardon, and they would ſurrender themſelves to his Mercy, with the Sloops and Negroes; which being granted, they all came up and received Certificates;

tificates; and Captain *Thompſon*, from whom the Negroes were taken, had them reſtored to him, for the Uſe of his Owners.

Vane cruiſed ſome Time off the Bar, in hopes to catch *Yeats* at his coming out again, but therein he was diſappointed; however, he unfortunately for them, took two Ships from *Charles-Town*, bound home to *England*. It happen'd that juſt at this Time two Sloops well mann'd and arm'd, were equipp'd to go after a Pyrate, which the Governor of *South-Carolina* was informed, lay then in Cape *Fear* River, a cleaning: But Colonel *Rhet*, who commanded the Sloops, meeting with one of the Ships that *Vane* had plundered, going back over the Bar, for ſuch Neceſſaries as had been taken from her, and ſhe giving the Colonel an Account of her being taken by the Pyrate *Vane*, and alſo, that ſome of her Men, while they were Priſoners on Board of him, had heard the Pyrates ſay, they ſhould clean in one of the Rivers to the Southward; he altered his firſt Deſign, and inſtead of ſtanding to the Northward, in purſuit of the Pyrate in Cape *Fear* River, he turns to the Southward after *Vane*; who had ordered ſuch Reports to be given out, on purpoſe to ſend any Force that ſhould come after him, upon a wrong Scent; for in Reality he ſtood away to the Northward, ſo that the Purſuit proved to be the contrary Way.

Colonel *Rhet*'s ſpeaking with this Ship, was the moſt unlucky Thing that could have happened, becauſe it turned him out of the Road, which in all Probability, would have brought him into the Company of *Vane*, as well as of the Pyrate he went after; and ſo they might have been both deſtroy'd; whereas, by the Colonel's going a different Way, he not only loſt the Opportunity of meeting with one, but if the other had not been infatuated, to lye ſix Weeks together at Cape *Fear*, he would have

have miſſed of him likewiſe: However, the Collonel having ſearched the Rivers and Inlets, as directed, for ſeveral Days, without Succeſs, at length ſailed in Proſecution of his firſt Deſign, and met with the Pyrate accordingly, whom he fought and took, as has been before ſpoken of, in the Hiſtory of Major *Bonnet*.

Captain *Vane* went into an Inlet to the Northward, where he met with Captain *Thatch*, or *Teach*, otherwiſe call'd *Black-beard*, whom he ſaluted (when he found who he was) with his great Guns, loaded with Shot, (as is the Cuſtom among Pyrates when they meet) which are fired wide, or up into the Air: *Black-beard* anſwered the Salute in the ſame Manner, and mutual Civilities paſſed for ſome Days; when about the Beginning of *October*, *Vane* took Leave, and ſailed further to the Northward.

On the 23d of *October*, off of *Long Iſland*, he took a ſmall Brigantine, bound from *Jamaica* to *Salem* in *New-England*, *John Shattock* Maſter, and a little Sloop; they rifled the Brigantine, and ſent her away. From hence they reſolved on a Cruize between Cape *Meiſe* and Cape *Nicholas*, where they ſpent ſome Time, without ſeeing or ſpeaking with any Veſſel, till the latter End of *November*; then they fell upon a Ship, which 'twas expected would have ſtruck as ſoon as their black Colours were hoiſted; but inſtead of that, ſhe diſcharged a Broadſide upon the Pyrate, and hoiſted Colours, which ſhewed her to be a *French* Man of War. *Vane* deſired to have nothing further to ſay to her, but trimm'd his Sails, and ſtood away from the *French* Man; but *Monſieur* having a Mind to be better informed who he was, ſet all his Sails, and crowded after him. During this Chace, the Pyrates were divided in their Reſolutions what to do: *Vane*, the Captain, was for making off as faſt as he could, alledging

the Man of War was too ſtrong to cope with; but one *John Rackam*, who was an Officer, that had a kind of a Check upon the Captain, roſe up in Defence of a contrary Opinion, ſaying, *That tho' ſhe had more Guns, and a greater Weight of Mettal, they might board her, and then the beſt Boys would carry the Day.* *Rackam* was well ſeconded, and the Majority was for boarding; but *Vane* urged, *That it was too raſh and deſperate an Enterprize, the Man of War appearing to be twice their Force; and that their Brigantine might be ſunk by her before they could reach on board.* The Mate, one *Robert Deal*, was of *Vane*'s Opinion, as were about fifteen more, and all the reſt joined with *Rackam*, the Quarter-Maſter. At length the Captain made uſe of his Power to determine this Diſpute, which, in theſe Caſes, is abſolute and uncontroulable, by their own Laws, *viz.* in *fighting*, *chaſing*, or *being chaſed*; in all other Matters whatſoever, he is governed by a Majority; ſo the Brigantine having the Heels, as they term it, of the *French* Man, ſhe came clear off.

But the next Day, the Captain's Behaviour was obliged to ſtand the Teſt of a Vote, and a Reſolution paſſed againſt his Honour and Dignity, branding him with the Name of Coward, depoſing him from the Command, and turning him out of the Company, with Marks of Infamy; and, with him, went all thoſe who did not Vote for boarding the *French* Man of War. They had with them a ſmall Sloop that had been taken by them ſome Time before, which they gave to *Vane*, and the diſcarded Members; and, that they might be in a Condition to provide for themſelves, by their own honeſt Endeavours, they let them have a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſions and Ammunition along with them.

John

John Rackam was voted Captain of the Brigantine, in *Vane*'s Room, and proceeded towards the *Caribbee Islands*, where we must leave him, till we have finished our Story of *Charles Vane*.

The Sloop sailed for the Bay of *Honduras*, and *Vane* and his Crew put her into as good a Condition as they could by the Way, to follow the old Trade. They cruised two or three Days off the North-West Part of *Jamaica*, and took a Sloop and two Pettiagas, and all the Men entered with them; the Sloop they kept, and *Robert Deal* went Captain of her.

On the 16th of *December* the two Sloops came into the Bay, where they found only one at an Anchor, call'd the *Pearl*, of *Jamaica*, Captain *Charles Rowling* Master, who got under Sail at the Sight of them; but the Pyrate Sloops coming near *Rowling*, and shewing no Colours, he gave them a Gun or two; whereupon they hoisted the black Flag, and fired three Guns each, at the *Pearl*; she struck, and the Pyrates took Possession, and carried her away to a small Island called *Barnacko*, and there they cleaned, meeting in the Way with a Sloop from *Jamaica*, Captain *Wallden* Commander, going down to the Bay, which they also made Prize of.

In *February*, *Vane* sailed from *Barnacko*, in order for a Cruize; but some Days after he was out, a violent Turnado overtook him, which separated him from his Consort, and after two Days Distress, threw his Sloop upon a small uninhabited Island, near the Bay of *Honduras*, where she was staved to Pieces, and most of her Men drowned: *Vane* himself was saved, but reduced to great Streights, for want of Necessaries, having no Opportunity to get any Thing from the Wreck. He lived here some Weeks, and was subsisted chiefly by Fishermen, who frequented the Island with small Craft, from the Main, to catch Turtles, *&c.*

While *Vane* was upon this Island, a Ship put in from *Jamaica* for Water, the Captain of which, one *Holford*, an old Buccaneer, happened to be *Vane*'s Acquaintance; he thought this a good Opportunity to get off, and accordingly applied to his old Friend; but he absolutely refused him, saying to him, Charles, *I shan't trust you aboard my Ship, unless I carry you a Prisoner; for I shall have you caballing with my Men, knock me on the Head, and run away with my Ship a pyrating.* *Vane* made all the Protestations of Honour in the World to him; but, it seems, Captain *Holford* was too intimately acquainted with him, to repose any Confidence at all in his Words or Oaths. He told him, *He might easily find a Way to get off, if he had a Mind to it: I am now going down the Bay*, says he, *and shall return hither, in about a Month; and if I find you upon the Island when I come back, I'll carry you to* Jamaica, *and hang you. Which Way can I get away?* Answers *Vane*. *Are there not Fishermen's Dories upon the Beach? Can't you take one of them?* Replies *Holford*. *What*, says *Vane*, *would you have me steal a Dory then? Do you make it a Matter of Conscience?* Said *Holford*, *to steal a Dory, when you have been a common Robber and Pyrate, stealing Ships and Cargoes, and plundering all Mankind that fell in your Way? Stay there, and be d——n'd, if you are so Squeamish:* And so left him.

After Captain *Holford*'s Departure, another Ship put in to the same Island in her Way home for Water; none of whose Company knowing *Vane*, he easily passed upon them for another Man, and so was shipp'd for the Voyage. One would be apt to think that *Vane* was now pretty safe, and likely to escape the Fate which his Crimes had merited; but here a cross Accident happen'd that ruin'd all: *Holford*, returning from the Bay, was met with by this Ship; the Captains being very well acquainted together, *Holford* was invited to dine aboard

aboard of him, which he did; and as he paſſed along to the Cabin, he chanced to caſt his Eye down the Hold, and there ſaw *Charles Vane* at work; he immediately ſpoke to the Captain, ſaying, *Do you know who you have got aboard here? Why*, ſays he, *I have ſhipp'd a Man at ſuch an Iſland, who was caſt away in a trading Sloop, he ſeems to be a brisk Hand. I tell you*, ſays Captain *Holford*, *it is* Vane *the notorious Pyrate. If it be him*, replies the other, *I won't keep him: Why then*, ſays *Holford*, *I'll ſend and take him aboard, and ſurrender him at* Jamaica. Which being agreed to, Captain *Holford*, as ſoon as he returned to his Ship, ſent his Boat with his Mate armed, who coming to *Vane*, ſhewed him a Piſtol, and told him, *He was his Priſoner*; which none oppoſing, he was brought aboard, and put in Irons; and when Captain *Holford* arrived at *Jamaica*, he delivered his old Acquaintance into the Hands of Juſtice; at which Place he was try'd, convicted, and executed, as was, ſome Time before, *Vane*'s Conſort, *Robert Deal*, brought thither by one of the Men of War.

CHAP. VII.

OF

Captain *John Rackam*,

And his CREW.

THIS *John Rackam*, as has been mentioned in the laſt Chapter, was Quarter-Maſter to *Vane*'s Company, till they were divided, and *Vane* turned out for refuſing to board and fight the *French* Man of War; then *Rackam* was voted Captain of that Diviſion that remained in the Brigantine. The 24th of *November* 1718, was the firſt Day of his Command, and his firſt Cruize was among the *Caribbee Iſlands*, where he took and plunder'd ſeveral Veſſels.

We have already taken Notice, that when Captain *Woodes Rogers* went to the Iſland of *Providence*, with the King's Pardon to ſuch as ſhould ſurrender, this Brigantine, which *Rackam* now commanded, made its Eſcape, thro' another Paſſage, bidding Defiance to Mercy.

To Windward of *Jamaica*, a *Madera* Man fell into the Pyrates Way, which they detained two or three Days, till they had made their Market out of her, and then gave her back to the Maſter, and permitted one *Hoſea Tiſdell*, a Tavern-Keeper at *Jamaica*, who had been pick'd up in one of their Prizes,

Prizes, to depart in her, ſhe being then bound for that Iſland.

After this Cruize, they went into a ſmall Iſland and cleaned, and ſpent their *Chriſtmas* aſhore, drinking and carouſing as long as they had any Liquor left, and then went to Sea again for more, where they ſucceeded but too well, though they took no extraordinary Prize, for above two Months, except a Ship laden with Thieves from *Newgate*, bound for the Plantations, which, in a few Days, was retaken with all her Cargo, by an *Engliſh* Man of War.

Rackam ſtood off towards the Iſland of *Burmudas*, and took a Ship bound to *England* from *Carolina*, and a ſmall Pink from *New-England*, and brought them to the *Bahama* Iſlands, where with the Pitch, Tar, and Stores, they clean'd again, and refitted their own Veſſel; but ſtaying too long in that Neighbourhood, Captain *Rogers*, who was Governor of *Providence*, hearing of theſe Ships being taken, ſent out a Sloop well mann'd and arm'd, which retook both the Prizes, and in the mean while the Pyrate had the good Fortune to eſcape.

From hence they ſailed to the Back of *Cuba*, where *Rackam* kept a little kind of a Family, at which Place, they ſtaid a conſiderable Time, living aſhore with their Dalilahs, till their Money and Proviſion were expended, and then they concluded it Time to look out: They repaired to their Veſſel, and was making ready to put Sea, when a *Guarda del Coſta* came in with a ſmall *Engliſh* Sloop, which ſhe had taken as an Interloper on the Coaſt. The *Spaniſh* Guardſhip attack'd the Pyrate, but *Rackam* being cloſe in behind a little Iſland, ſhe could do but little Execution where ſhe lay, therefore the *Spaniard* warps into the Channel that Evening, in order to make ſure of her the next Mor-

ning. *Rackam* finding his Caſe deſperate, and hardly any Poſſibility of eſcaping, reſolved to attempt the following Enterprize: The *Spaniſh* Prize lying for better Security cloſe into the Land, between the little Iſland and the Main; *Rackam* takes his Crew into the Boat, with their Piſtols and Cutlaſhes, rounds the little Iſland, and falls aboard their Prize ſilently in the dead of the Night, without being diſcovered, telling the *Spaniards* that were aboard of her, that if they ſpoke a Word, or made the leaſt Noiſe, they were dead Men, and ſo became Maſter of her; when this was done, he ſlipt her Cable, and drove out to Sea: The *Spaniſh* Man of War, was ſo intent upon their expected Prize, that they minded nothing elſe, and aſſoon as Day broke, made a furious Fire upon the empty Sloop, but it was not long before they were rightly apprized of the Matter, and curſed themſelves for Fools, to be bit out of a good rich Prize, as ſhe prov'd to be, and to have nothing but an old crazy Hull in the room of her.

Rackam and his Crew had no Occaſion to be diſpleaſed at the Exchange, that enabled them to continue ſome Time longer in a Way of Life that ſuited their depraved Tempers: In *Auguſt* 1720, we find him at Sea again, ſcouring the Harbours and Inlets of the North and Weſt Parts of *Jamaica*, where he took ſeveral ſmall Craft, which proved no great Booty to the Rovers, but they had but few Men, and therefore they were obliged to run at low Game, till they could encreaſe their Company.

In the Beginning of *September*, they took ſeven or eight Fiſhing-Boats in *Harbour Iſland*, ſtole their Nets and other Tackle, and then went off the *French* Part of *Hiſpaniola*, and landed, and took Cattle away, with two or three *French* Men they found near the Water-Side, hunting of wild Hogs

in

in the Evening: The *French* Men came on Board, whether by Conſent or Compulſion, I can't ſay. They afterwards plundered two Sloops, and returned to *Jamaica*, on the North Coaſt of which Iſland, near *Porto Maria* Bay, they took a Scooner, *Thomas Spenlow* Maſter; it was then the 19th of *October*. The next Day, *Rackam* ſeeing a Sloop in *Dry Harbour* Bay, he ſtood in and fired a Gun; the Men all run aſhore, and he took the Sloop and Lading, but when thoſe aſhore found them to be Pyrates, they hailed the Sloop, and let them know they were all willing to come aboard of them.

Rackam's coaſting the Iſland in this Manner, proved fatal to him, for Intelligence came to the Governor, of his Expedition, by a Canoa which he had ſurprized aſhore, in *Ocho* Bay; upon which a Sloop was immediately fitted out, and ſent round the Iſland in queſt of him, commanded by Captain *Barnet*, with a good Number of Hands. *Rackam* rounding the Iſland, and drawing near the Weſtermoſt Point, called Point *Negril*, ſaw a ſmall Pettiauger, which at ſight of the Sloop, run aſhore and landed her Men; when one of them hailed her, Anſwer was made, *They were* Engliſh *Men*, and deſired the Pettiauger's Men to come on Board, and drink a Bowl of Punch, which they were prevailed upon to do; accordingly the Company came all aboard of the Pyrate, conſiſting of nine Perſons, in an ill Hour; they were armed with Muskets and Cutlaſhes, but, what was their real Deſign by ſo doing, I ſhall not take upon me to ſay; but they had no ſooner laid down their Arms, and taken up their Pipes, but *Barnet*'s Sloop, which was in Purſuit of *Rackam*'s, came in Sight.

The Pyrates finding ſhe ſtood directly towards her, fear'd the Event, and weighed their Anchor, which they but lately let go, and ſtood off: Captain *Barnet* gave them Chace, and having the Advantage

vantage of little Breezes of Wind, which blew off the Land, came up with her, and, after a very ſmall Diſpute, took her, and brought her into *Port Royal*, in *Jamaica*.

In about a Fortnight after the Priſoners were brought aſhore, *viz. November* 16, 1720, a Court of Admiralty was held at St. *Jago de la Vega*, before which the following Perſons were convicted, and Sentence of Death paſſed upon them, by the Preſident, Sir *Nicholas Laws*, *viz. John Rackam* Captain, *George Fetherſton* Maſter, *Richard Corner* Quarter-Maſter, *John Davis*, *John Howell*, *Patrick Carty*, *Thomas Earl*, *James Dobbin* and *Noah Harwood*. The five firſt were executed the next Day at *Gallows Point*, at the Town of *Port Royal*, and the reſt, the Day after, at *Kingſton*; *Rackam*, *Feverſton* and *Corner*, were afterwards taken down and hang'd up in Chains, one at *Plumb Point*, one at *Buſh Key*, and the other at *Gun Key*.

But what was very ſurprizing, was, the Conviction of the nine Men that came aboard the Sloop the ſame Day ſhe was taken. They were try'd at an Adjournment of the Court, on the 24th of *January*, waiting all that Time, it is ſuppoſed, for Evidence, to prove the pyratical Intention of going aboard the ſaid Sloop; for it ſeems there was no Act of Pyracy committed by them, after their coming on Board, as appeared by the Witneſſes againſt them, who were two *French* Men taken by *Rackam*, off from the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, and depoſed in the following Manner.

'That the Priſoners at the Bar, *viz. John Eaton*, 'Edward Warner, Thomas Baker, Thomas Quick, John 'Cole, Benjamin Palmer, Walter Rouſe, John Hanſon, 'and John Howard, came aboard the Pyrate's Sloop 'at *Negril Point*, *Rackam* ſending his Canoe aſhore 'for that Purpoſe: That they brought Guns and 'Cutlaſhes on Board with them: That when Captain

'tain *Barnet* chaſed them, ſome were drinking, 'and others walking the Deck: That there was a 'great Gun and a ſmall Arm fired by the Pyrate 'Sloop, at Captain *Barnet*'s Sloop, when he chaſed 'her; and that when Captain *Barnet*'s Sloop fired 'at *Rackam*'s Sloop, the Priſoners at the Bar went 'down under Deck. That during the Time Cap'tain *Barnet* chaſed them, ſome of the Priſoners 'at the Bar (but which of them he could not tell) 'helped to row the Sloop, in order to eſcape from '*Barnet*: That they all ſeemed to be conſorted to'gether.

This was the Subſtance of all that was evidenced againſt them, the Priſoners anſwered in their Defence, 'That they had no Witneſſes: That they 'had bought a Pettiauger in order to go a Turtle'ing; and being at *Negril Point*, and juſt got aſhore, 'they ſaw a Sloop with a white Pendant coming 'towards them, upon which they took their Arms, 'and hid themſelves in the Buſhes: That one of 'them hail'd the Sloop, who anſwer'd, *They were* 'Engliſh *Men*, and deſired them to come aboard 'and drink a Bowl of Punch; which they at firſt 'refuſed, but afterwards with much perſwaſion, 'they went on Board, in the Sloop's Canoe, and 'left their own Pettiauger at Anchor: That they 'had been but a ſhort Time on Board, when Cap'tain *Barnet*'s Sloop heaved in Sight: That *Rackam* 'ordered them to help to weigh the Sloop's An'chor immediately, which they all refuſed: That '*Rackam* uſed violent Means to oblige them; and 'that when Captain *Barnet* came up with them, 'they all readily and willingly ſubmitted.

When the Priſoners were taken from the Bar, and the Perſons preſent being withdrawn, the Court conſidered the Priſoners Caſes, and the Majority of the Commiſſioners being of Opinion, that they were all Guilty of the Pyracy and Felony

lonly they were charged with, which was, *the going over with a pyratical and felonious Intent to* John Rackam, &c. *then notorious Pyrates, and by them known to be so*, they all received Sentence of Death; which every Body must allow proved somewhat unlucky to the poor Fellows.

On the 17th of *February*, *John Eaton*, *Thomas Quick* and *Thomas Baker*, were executed at *Gallows Point*, at *Port Royal*, and the next Day *John Cole*, *John Howard* and *Benjamin Palmer*, were executed at *Kingston*; whether the other three were executed afterwards, or not, I never heard.

Two other Pyrates were try'd that belonged to *Rackam*'s Crew, and being convicted, were brought up, and asked if either of them had any Thing to say why Sentence of Death should not pass upon them, in like Manner as had been done to all the rest; and both of them pleaded their Bellies, being quick with Child, and pray'd that Execution might be stay'd, whereupon the Court passed Sentence, as in Cases of Pyracy, but ordered them back, till a proper Jury should be appointed to enquire into the Matter.



Ann Bonny *and* Mary Read *convicted of Piracy Nov.r 28.th 1720 at a Court of Vice Admiralty held at* S.t Jago de la Vega *in y.e Island of Jamaica.*

The LIFE *of* MARY READ,

NOW we are to begin a Hiſtory full of ſurprizing Turns and Adventures; I mean, that of *Mary Read* and *Anne Bonny*, alias *Bonn*, which were the true Names of theſe two Pyrates; the odd Incidents of their rambling Lives are ſuch, that ſome may be tempted to think the whole Story no better than a Novel or Romance; but ſince it is ſupported by many thouſand Witneſſes, I mean the People of *Jamaica*, who were preſent at their Tryals, and heard the Story of their Lives, upon the firſt diſcovery of their Sex; the Truth of it can be no more conteſted, than that there were ſuch Men in the World, as *Roberts* and *Black-beard*, who were Pyrates.

Mary Read was born in *England*, her Mother was married young, to a Man who uſed the Sea, who going a Voyage ſoon after their Marriage, left her with Child, which Child proved to be a Boy. As to the Husband, whether he was caſt away, or died in the Voyage, *Mary Read* could not tell; but however, he never returned more; nevertheleſs, the Mother, who was young and airy, met with an Accident, which has often happened to Women who are young, and do not take a great deal of Care; which was, ſhe ſoon proved with Child again, without a Husband to Father it, but how, or by whom, none but her ſelf could tell, for ſhe carried a pretty good Reputation among her Neighbours. Finding her Burthen grow, in order to conceal her Shame, ſhe takes a formal Leave of her Husband's Relations, giving out, that ſhe went to live with ſome Friends of her own, in the Country: Accordingly ſhe went away, and carried with her her young Son, at this Time, not a Year old: Soon after

after her Departure her Son died, but Providence in Return, was pleaſed to give her a Girl in his Room, of which ſhe was ſafely delivered, in her Retreat, and this was our *Mary Read.*

Here the Mother liv'd three or four Years, till what Money ſhe had was almoſt gone; then ſhe thought of returning to *London*, and conſidering that her Husband's Mother was in ſome Circumſtances, ſhe did not doubt but to prevail upon her, to provide for the Child, if ſhe could but paſs it upon her for the ſame, but the changing a Girl into a Boy, ſeem'd a difficult Piece of Work, and how to deceive an experienced old Woman, in ſuch a Point, was altogether as impoſſible; however, ſhe ventured to dreſs it up as a Boy, brought it to Town, and preſented it to her Mother in Law, as her Husband's Son; the old Woman would have taken it, to have bred it up, but the Mother pretended it would break her Heart, to part with it; ſo it was agreed betwixt them, that the Child ſhould live with the Mother, and the ſuppoſed Grandmother ſhould allow a Crown a Week for it's Maintainance.

Thus the Mother gained her Point, ſhe bred up her Daughter as a Boy, and when ſhe grew up to ſome Senſe, ſhe thought proper to let her into the Secret of her Birth, to induce her to conceal her Sex. It happen'd that the Grandmother died, by which Means the Subſiſtance that came from that Quarter, ceaſed, and they were more and more reduced in their Circumſtances; wherefore ſhe was obliged to put her Daughter out, to wait on a *French* Lady, as a Foot-boy, being now thirteen Years of Age: Here ſhe did not live long, for growing bold and ſtrong, and having alſo a roving Mind, ſhe entered her ſelf on Board a Man of War, where ſhe ſerved ſome Time, then quitted it, went over into *Flanders*, and carried Arms in a Regiment

giment of Foot, as a *Cadet*; and tho' upon all Actions, she behaved herself with a great deal of Bravery, yet she could not get a Commission, they being generally bought and sold; therefore she quitted the Service, and took on in a Regiment of Horse; she behaved so well in several Engagements, that she got the Esteem of all her Officers; but her Comrade who was a *Fleming*, happening to be a handsome young Fellow, she falls in Love with him, and from that Time, grew a little more negligent in her Duty, so that, it seems, *Mars* and *Venus* could not be served at the same Time; her Arms and Accoutrements which were always kept in the best Order, were quite neglected: 'tis true, when her Comrade was ordered out upon a Party, she used to go without being commanded, and frequently run herself into Danger, where she had no Business, only to be near him; the rest of the Troopers little suspecting the secret Cause which moved her to this Behaviour, fancied her to be mad, and her Comrade himself could not account for this strange Alteration in her, but Love is ingenious, and as they lay in the same Tent, and were constantly together, she found a Way of letting him discover her Sex, without appearing that it was done with Design.

He was much surprized at what he found out, and not a little pleased, taking it for granted, that he should have a Mistress solely to himself, which is an unusual Thing in a Camp, since there is scarce one of those Campaign Ladies, that is ever true to a Troop or Company; so that he thought of nothing but gratifying his Passions with very little Ceremony; but he found himself strangely mistaken, for she proved very reserved and modest, and resisted all his Temptations, and at the same Time was so obliging and insinuating in her Carriage, that she quite changed his Purpose, so far from

from thinking of making her his Miſtreſs, he now courted her for a Wife.

This was the utmoſt With of her Heart, in ſhort, they exchanged Promiſes, and when the Campaign was over, and the Regiment marched into Winter Quarters, they bought Woman's Apparel for her, with ſuch Money as they could make up betwixt them, and were publickly married.

The Story of two Troopers marrying each other, made a great Noiſe, ſo that ſeveral Officers were drawn by Curioſity to aſſiſt at the Ceremony, and they agreed among themſelves that every one of them ſhould make a ſmall Preſent to the Bride, towards Houſe-keeping, in Conſideration of her having been their fellow Soldier. Thus being ſet up, they ſeemed to have a Deſire of quitting the Service, and ſettling in the World; the Adventure of their Love and Marriage had gained them ſo much Favour, that they eaſily obtained their Diſcharge, and they immediately ſet up an Eating Houſe or Ordinary, which was the Sign of the *Three Horſe-Shoes*, near the Caſtle of *Breda*, where they ſoon run into a good Trade, a great many Officers eating with them conſtantly.

But this Happineſs laſted not long, for the Husband ſoon died, and the Peace of *Reſwick* being concluded, there was no Reſort of Officers to *Breda*, as uſual; ſo that the Widow having little or no Trade, was forced to give up Houſe-keeping, and her Subſtance being by Degrees quite ſpent, ſhe again aſſumes her Man's Apparel, and going into *Holland*, there takes on in a Regiment of Foot, quarter'd in one of the Frontier Towns: Here ſhe did not remain long, there was no likelihood of Preferment in Time of Peace, therefore ſhe took a Reſolution of ſeeking her Fortune another Way; and withdrawing from the Regiment, ſhips herſelf on Board of a Veſſel bound for the *Weſt-Indies*.

It

It happen'd this Ship was taken by *English* Pyrates, and *Mary Read* was the only *English* Person on Board, they kept her amongst them, and having plundered the Ship, let it go again; after following this Trade for some Time, the King's Proclamation came out, and was publish'd in all Parts of the *West-Indies*, for pardoning such Pyrates, who should voluntarily surrender themselves by a certain Day therein mentioned. The Crew of *Mary Read* took the Benefit of this Proclamation, and having surrender'd, liv'd quietly on Shore; but Money beginning to grow short, and hearing that Captain *Woods Rogers*, Governor of the Island of *Providence*, was fitting out some Privateers to cruise against the *Spaniards*, she with several others embark'd for that Island, in order to go upon the privateering Account, being resolved to make her Fortune one way or other.

These Privateers were no sooner sail'd out, but the Crews of some of them, who had been pardoned, rose against their Commanders, and turned themselves to their old Trade: In this Number was *Mary Read*. It is true, she often declared, that the Life of a Pyrate was what she always abhor'd, and went into it only upon Compulsion, both this Time, and before, intending to quit it, whenever a fair Opportunity should offer it self; yet some of the Evidence against her, upon her Tryal, who were forced Men, and had sailed with her, deposed upon Oath, that in Times of Action, no Person amongst them were more resolute, or ready to Board or undertake any Thing that was hazardous, as she and *Anne Bonny*; and particularly at the Time they were attack'd and taken, when they came to close Quarters, none kept the Deck except *Mary Read* and *Anne Bonny*, and one more; upon which, she, *Mary Read*, called to those under Deck, to come up and fight like Men, and finding

they did not ſtir, fired her Arms down the Hold amongſt them, killing one, and wounding others.

This was part of the Evidence againſt her, which ſhe denied; which, whether true or no, thus much is certain, that ſhe did not want Bravery, nor indeed was ſhe leſs remarkable for her Modeſty, according to her Notions of Virtue: Her Sex was not ſo much as ſuſpected by any Perſon on Board, till *Anne Bonny*, who was not altogether ſo reſerved in point of Chaſtity, took a particular liking to her; in ſhort, *Anne Bonny* took her for a handſome young Fellow, and for ſome Reaſons beſt known to herſelf, firſt diſcovered her Sex to *Mary Read*; *Mary Read* knowing what ſhe would be at, and being very ſenſible of her own Incapacity that Way, was forced to come to a right Underſtanding with her, and ſo to the great Diſappointment of *Anne Bonny*, ſhe let her know ſhe was a Woman alſo; but this Intimacy ſo diſturb'd Captain *Rackam*, who was the Lover and Gallant of *Anne Bonny*, that he grew furiouſly jealous, ſo that he told *Anne Bonny*, he would cut her new Lover's Throat, therefore, to quiet him, ſhe let him into the Secret alſo.

Captain *Rackam*, (as he was enjoined,) kept the Thing a Secret from all the Ship's Company, yet, notwithſtanding all her Cunning and Reſerve, Love found her out in this Diſguiſe, and hinder'd her from forgetting her Sex. In their Cruize they took a great Number of Ships belonging to *Jamaica*, and other Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, bound to and from *England*; and when ever they meet any good Artiſt, or other Perſon that might be of any great Uſe to their Company, if he was not willing to enter, it was their Cuſtom to keep him by Force. Among theſe was a young Fellow of a moſt engageing Behaviour, or, at leaſt, he was ſo in the Eyes of *Mary Read*, who became ſo ſmitten with his Perſon and Addreſs, that ſhe could neither reſt,

Night

Night or Day; but as there is nothing more ingenious than Love, it was no hard Matter for her, who had before been practiced in these Wiles, to find a Way to let him discover her Sex: She first insinuated her self into his liking, by talking against the Life of a Pyrate, which he was altogether averse to, so they became Mess-Mates and strict Companions: When she found he had a Friendship for her, as a Man, she suffered the Discovery to be made, by carelessly shewing her Breasts, which were very White.

The young Fellow, who was made of Flesh and Blood, had his Curiosity and Desire so rais'd by this Sight, that he never ceased importuning her, till she confessed what she was. Now begins the Scene of Love; as he had a Liking and Esteem for her, under her supposed Character, it was now turn'd into Fondness and Desire; her Passion was no less violent than his, and perhaps she express'd it, by one of the most generous Actions that ever Love inspired. It happened this young Fellow had a Quarrel with one of the Pyrates, and their Ship then lying at an Anchor, near one of the Islands, they had appointed to go ashore and fight, according to the Custom of the Pyrates: *Mary Read*, was to the last Degree uneasy and anxious, for the Fate of her Lover; she would not have had him refuse the Challenge, because, she could not bear the Thoughts of his being branded with Cowardise; on the other Side, she dreaded the Event, and apprehended the Fellow might be too hard for him: When Love once enters into the Breast of one who has any Sparks of Generosity, it stirs the Heart up to the most noble Actions; in this Dilemma, she shew'd, that she fear'd more for his Life than she did for her own; for she took a Resolution of quarreling with this Fellow her self, and having challenged him ashore, she appointed the

Time two Hours ſooner than that when he was to meet her Lover, where ſhe fought him at Sword and Piſtol, and killed him upon the Spot.

It is true, ſhe had fought before, when ſhe had been inſulted by ſome of thoſe Fellows, but now it was altogether in her Lover's Cauſe, ſhe ſtood as it were betwixt him and Death, as if ſhe could not live without him. If he had no regard for her before, this Action would have bound him to her for ever; but there was no Occaſion for Ties or Obligations, his Inclination towards her was ſufficient; in fine, they applied their Troth to each other, which *Mary Read* ſaid, ſhe look'd upon to be as good a Marriage, in Conſcience, as if it had been done by a Miniſter in Church; and to this was owing her great Belly, which ſhe pleaded to ſave her Life.

She declared ſhe had never committed Adultery or Fornication with any Man, ſhe commended the Juſtice of the Court, before which ſhe was tried, for diſtinguiſhing the Nature of their Crimes; her Husband, as ſhe call'd him, with ſeveral others, being acquitted; and being ask'd, who he was? ſhe would not tell, but, ſaid he was an honeſt Man, and had no Inclination to ſuch Practices, and that they had both reſolved to leave the Pyrates, the firſt Opportunity, and apply themſelves to ſome honeſt Livelyhood.

It is no doubt, but many had Compaſſion for her, yet the Court could not avoid finding her Guilty; for among other Things, one of the Evidences againſt her, depoſed, that being taken by *Rackam*, and detain'd ſome Time on Board, he fell accidentally into Diſcourſe with *Mary Read*, whom he taking for a young Man, ask'd her, what Pleaſure ſhe could have in being concerned in ſuch Enterprizes, where her Life was continually in Danger, by Fire or Sword; and not only ſo, but ſhe muſt be

ſure

ſure of dying an ignominious Death, if ſhe ſhould be taken alive? ——She anſwer'd, that as to hanging, ſhe thought it no great Hardſhip, for, were it not for that, every cowardly Fellow would turn Pyrate, and ſo infeſt the Seas, that Men of Courage muſt ſtarve: —— That if it was put to the Choice of the Pyrates, they would not have the puniſhment leſs than Death, the Fear of which, kept ſome daſtardly Rogues honeſt; that many of thoſe who are now cheating the Widows and Orphans, and oppreſſing their poor Neighbours, who have no Money to obtain Juſtice, would then rob at Sea, and the Ocean would be crowded with Rogues, like the Land, and no Merchant would venture out; ſo that the Trade, in a little Time, would not be worth following.

Being found quick with Child, as has been obſerved, her Execution was reſpited, and it is poſſible ſhe would have found Favour, but ſhe was ſeiz'd with a violent Fever, ſoon after her Tryal, of which ſhe died in Priſon.

The LIFE *of* ANNE BONNY.

AS we have been more particular in the Lives of theſe two Women, than thoſe of other Pyrates, it is incumbent on us, as a faithful Hiſtorian, to begin with their Birth. *Anne Bonny* was born at a Town near *Cork*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, her Father an Attorney at Law, but *Anne* was not one of his legitimate Iſſue, which ſeems to croſs an old Proverb, which ſays, *that Baſtards*

have the beſt Luck. Her Father was a Married Man, and his Wife having been brought to Bed, contracted an Illneſs in her lying in, and in order to recover her Health, ſhe was adviſed to remove for Change of Air; the Place ſhe choſe, was a few Miles diſtance from her Dwelling, where her Husband's Mother liv'd. Here ſhe ſojourn'd ſome Time, her Husband ſtaying at Home, to follow his Affairs. The Servant-Maid, whom ſhe left to look after the Houſe, and attend the Family, being a handſome young Woman, was courted by a young Man of the ſame Town, who was a *Tanner*; this *Tanner* uſed to take his Opportunities, when the Family was out of the Way, of coming to purſue his Courtſhip; and being with the Maid one Day as ſhe was employ'd in the Houſhold Buſineſs, not having the Fear of God before his Eyes, he takes his Opportunity, when her Back was turned, of whipping three Silver Spoons into his Pocket. The Maid ſoon miſs'd the Spoons, and knowing that no Body had been in the Room, but herſelf and the young Man, ſince ſhe ſaw them laſt, ſhe charged him with taking them; he very ſtifly denied it, upon which ſhe grew outragious, and threatned to go to a Conſtable, in order to carry him before a Juſtice of Peace: Theſe Menaces frighten'd him out of his Wits, well knowing he could not ſtand Search; wherefore he endeavoured to pacify her, by deſiring her to examine the Drawers and other Places, and perhaps ſhe might find them; in this Time he ſlips into another Room, where the Maid uſually lay, and puts the Spoons betwixt the Sheets, and then makes his Eſcape by a back Door, concluding ſhe muſt find them, when ſhe went to Bed, and ſo next Day he might pretend he did it only to frighten her, and the Thing might be laugh'd off for a Jeſt.

As

As ſoon as ſhe miſs'd him, ſhe gave over her Search, concluding he had carried them off, and went directly to the Conſtable, in order to have him apprehended: The young Man was informed, that a Conſtable had been in Search of him, but he regarded it but little, not doubting but all would be well next Day. Three or four Days paſſed, and ſtill he was told, the Conſtable was upon the Hunt for him, this made him lye concealed, he could not comprehend the Meaning of it, he imagined no leſs, than that the Maid had a Mind to convert the Spoons to her own Uſe, and put the Robbery upon him.

It happened, at this Time, that the Miſtreſs being perfectly recovered of her late Indiſpoſition, was return'd Home, in Company with her Mother-in-Law; the firſt News ſhe heard, was of the Loſs of the Spoons, with the Manner how; the Maid telling her, at the ſame Time, that the young Man was run away. The young Fellow had Intelligence of the Miſtreſs's Arrival, and conſidering with himſelf, that he could never appear again in his Buſineſs, unleſs this Matter was got over, and ſhe being a good natured Woman, he took a Reſolution of going directly to her, and of telling her the whole Story, only with this Difference, that he did it for a Jeſt.

The Miſtreſs could ſcarce believe it, however, ſhe went directly to the Maid's Room, and turning down the Bed Cloaths, there, to her great Surprize, found the three Spoons; upon this ſhe deſired the young Man to go Home and mind his Buſineſs, for he ſhould have no Trouble about it.

The Miſtreſs could not imagine the Meaning of this, ſhe never had found the Maid guilty of any pilfering, and therefore it could not enter her Head, that ſhe deſigned to ſteal the Spoons her

ſelf; upon the whole, ſhe concluded the Maid had not been in her Bed, from the Time the Spoons were miſs'd, ſhe grew immediately jealous upon it, and ſuſpected, that the Maid ſupplied her Place with her Husband, during her Abſence, and this was the Reaſon why the Spoons were no ſooner found.

She call'd to Mind ſeveral Actions of Kindneſs, her Husband had ſhewed the Maid, Things that paſs'd unheeded by, when they happened, but now ſhe had got that Tormentor, Jealouſy, in her Head, amounted to Proofs of their Intimacy; another Circumſtance which ſtrengthen'd the whole, was, that tho' her Husband knew ſhe was to come Home that Day, and had had no Communication with her in four Months, which was before her laſt Lying in, yet he took an Opportunity of going out of Town that Morning, upon ſome ſlight Pretence: ——All theſe Things put together, confirm'd her in her Jealouſy.

As Women ſeldom forgive Injuries of this Kind, ſhe thought of diſcharging her Revenge upon the Maid: In order to this, ſhe leaves the Spoons where ſhe found them, and orders the Maid to put clean Sheets upon the Bed, telling her, ſhe intended to lye there herſelf that Night, becauſe her Mother in Law was to lye in her Bed, and that ſhe (the Maid) muſt lye in another Part of the Houſe; the Maid in making the Bed, was ſurprized with the Sight of the Spoons, but there were very good Reaſons, why it was not proper for her to tell where ſhe found them, therefore ſhe takes them up, puts them in her Trunk, intending to leave them in ſome Place, where they might be found by chance.

The Miſtreſs, that every Thing might look to be done without Deſign, lies that Night in the Maid's Bed, little dreaming of what an Adventure

it

it would produce: After she had been a Bed some Time, thinking on what had pass'd, for Jealousy kept her awake, she heard some Body enter the Room; at first she apprehended it to be Thieves, and was so fright'ned, she had not Courage enough to call out; but when she heard these Words, Mary, *are you awake?* She knew it to be her Husband's Voice; then her Fright was over, yet she made no Answer, least he should find her out, if she spoke, therefore she resolved to counterfeit Sleep, and take what followed.

The Husband came to Bed, and that Night play'd the vigorous Lover; but one Thing spoil'd the Diversion on the Wife's Side, which was, the Reflection that it was not design'd for her; however she was very passive, and bore it like a Christian. Early before Day, she stole out of Bed, leaving him asleep, and went to her Mother in Law, telling her what had passed, not forgetting how he had used her, as taking her for the Maid; the Husband also stole out, not thinking it convenient to be catch'd in that Room; in the mean Time, the Revenge of the Mistress was strongly against the Maid, and without considering, that to her she ow'd the Diversion of the Night before, and that one good *Turn* should deserve another; she sent for a Constable, and charged her with stealing the Spoons: The Maid's Trunk was broke open, and the Spoons found, upon which she was carried before a Justice of Peace, and by him committed to Goal.

The Husband loiter'd about till twelve a Clock at Noon, then comes Home, pretended he was just come to Town; as soon as he heard what had passed, in Relation to the Maid, he fell into a great Passion with his Wife; this set the Thing into a greater Flame, the Mother takes the Wife's Part against her own Son, insomuch that the Quarrel increa-

increaſing, the Mother and Wife took Horſe immediately, and went back to the Mother's Houſe, and the Husband and Wife never bedded together after.

The Maid lay a long Time in the Priſon, it being near half a Year to the Aſſizes; but before it happened, it was diſcovered ſhe was with Child; when ſhe was arraign'd at the Bar, ſhe was diſcharged for want of Evidence; the Wife's Conſcience touch'd her, and as ſhe did not believe the Maid Guilty of any Theft, except that of Love, ſhe did not appear againſt her; ſoon after her Acquittal, ſhe was delivered of a Girl.

But what alarm'd the Husband moſt, was, that it was diſcovered the Wife was with Child alſo, he taking it for granted, he had had no Intimacy with her, ſince her laſt lying in, grew jealous of her, in his Turn, and made this a Handle to juſtify himſelf, for his Uſage of her, pretending now he had ſuſpected her long, but that here was Proof; ſhe was delivered of Twins, a Boy and a Girl.

The Mother fell ill, ſent to her Son to reconcile him to his Wife, but he would not hearken to it; therefore ſhe made a Will, leaving all ſhe had in the Hands of certain Truſtees, for the Uſe of the Wife and two Children lately born, and died a few Days after.

This was an ugly Turn upon him, his greateſt Dependance being upon his Mother; however, his Wife was kinder to him than he deſerved, for ſhe made him a yearly Allowance out of what was left, tho' they continued to live ſeparate: It laſted near five Years; at this Time having a great Affection for the Girl he had by his Maid, he had a Mind to take it Home, to live with him; but as all the Town knew it to be a Girl, the better to diſguiſe the Matter from them, as well as from his Wife,

Wife, he had it put into Breeches, as a Boy, pretending it was a Relation's Child he was to breed up to be his Clerk.

The Wife heard he had a little Boy at Home he was very fond of, but as ſhe did not know any Relation of his that had ſuch a Child, ſhe employ'd a Friend to enquire further into it; this Perſon by talking with the Child, found it to be a Girl, diſcovered that the Servant-Maid was its Mother, and that the Husband ſtill kept up his Correſpondence with her.

Upon this Intelligence, the Wife being unwilling that her Children's Money ſhould go towards the Maintenance of Baſtards, ſtopped the Allowance: The Husband enraged, in a kind of Revenge, takes the Maid home, and lives with her publickly, to the great Scandal of his Neighbours; but he ſoon found the bad Effect of it, for by Degrees loſt his Practice, ſo that he ſaw plainly he could not live there, therefore he thought of removing, and turning what Effects he had into ready Money; he goes to *Cork*, and there with his Maid and Daughter embarques for *Carolina*.

At firſt he followed the Practice of the Law in that Province, but afterwards fell into Merchandize, which proved more ſucceſsful to him, for he gained by it ſufficient to purchaſe a conſiderable Plantation: His Maid, who paſſed for his Wife, happened to dye, after which his Daughter, our *Anne Bonny*, now grown up, kept his Houſe.

She was of a fierce and couragious Temper, wherefore, when ſhe lay under Condemnation, ſeveral Stories were reported of her, much to her Diſadvantage, as that ſhe had kill'd an *Engliſh* Servant-Maid once in her Paſſion with a Caſe-Knife, while ſhe look'd after her Father's Houſe; but upon further Enquiry, I found this Story to be groundleſs: It was certain ſhe was ſo robuſt, that

once

once, when a young Fellow would have lain with her, againſt her Will, ſhe beat him ſo, that he lay ill of it a conſiderable Time.

While ſhe lived with her Father, ſhe was look'd upon as one that would be a good Fortune, wherefore it was thought her Father expected a good Match for her; but ſhe ſpoilt all, for without his Conſent, ſhe marries a young Fellow, who belonged to the Sea, and was not worth a Groat; which provoked her Father to ſuch a Degree, that he turned her out of Doors, upon which the young Fellow, who married her, finding himſelf diſappointed in his Expectation, ſhipped himſelf and Wife, for the Iſland of *Providence*, expecting Employment there.

Here ſhe became acquainted with *Rackam* the Pyrate, who making Courtſhip to her, ſoon found Means of withdrawing her Affections from her Husband, ſo that ſhe conſented to elope from him, and go to Sea with *Rackam* in Men's Cloaths: She was as good as her Word, and after ſhe had been at Sea ſome Time, ſhe proved with Child, and beginning to grow big, *Rackam* landed her on the Iſland of *Cuba*; and recommending her there to ſome Friends of his, they took Care of her, till ſhe was brought to Bed: When ſhe was up and well again, he ſent for her to bear him Company.

The King's Proclamation being out, for pardoning of Pyrates, he took the Benefit of it, and ſurrendered; afterwards being ſent upon the privateering Account, he returned to his old Trade, as has been already hinted in the Story of *Mary Read*. In all theſe Expeditions, *Anne Bonny* bore him Company, and when any Buſineſs was to be done in their Way, no Body was more forward or couragious than ſhe, and particularly when they were taken; ſhe and *Mary Read*, with one more, were all

all the Persons that durst keep the Deck, as has been before hinted.

Her Father was known to a great many Gentlemen, Planters of *Jamaica*, who had dealt with him, and among whom he had a good Reputation; and some of them, who had been in *Carolina*, remember'd to have seen her in his House; wherefore they were inclined to shew her Favour, but the Action of leaving her Husband was an ugly Circumstance against her. The Day that *Rackam* was executed, by special Favour, he was admitted to see her; but all the Comfort she gave him, was, *that she was sorry to see him there, but if he had fought like a Man, he need not have been hang'd like a Dog.*

She was continued in Prison, to the Time of her lying in, and afterwards reprieved from Time to Time; but what is become of her since, we cannot tell; only this we know, that she was not executed.



CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

OF

Captain *Howel Davis*,

And his CREW.

CAptain *Howel Davis* was born at *Milford*, in *Monmouthſhire*, and was from a Boy brought up to the Sea. The laſt Voyage he made from *England*, was in the *Cadogan* Snow of *Briſtol*, Captain *Skinner* Commander, bound for the Coaſt of *Guiney*, of which Snow *Davis* was chief Mate: They were no ſooner arrived at *Sierraleon* on the aforeſaid Coaſt, but they were taken by the Pyrate *England*, who plunder'd them, and *Skinner* was barbarouſly murdered, as has been related before in the Story of Captain *England*.

After the Death of Captain *Skinner*, *Davis* pretended that he was mightily ſollicited by *England* to engage with him; but that he reſolutely anſwered, he would ſooner be ſhot to Death than ſign the Pyrates Articles. Upon which, *England*, pleaſed with his Bravery, ſent him and the reſt of the Men again on Board the Snow, appointing him Captain of her, in the Room of *Skinner*, commanding him to purſue his Voyage. He alſo gave him a written Paper ſealed up, with Orders to open it when he ſhould come into a certain Latitude, and

and at the Peril of his Life follow the Orders therein set down. This was an Air of Grandeur like what Princes practice to their Admirals and Generals.—— It was punctually complied with by *Davis*, who read it to the Ship's Company; it contained no less than a generous Deed of Gift of the Ship and Cargoe, to *Davis* and the Crew, ordering him to go to *Brasil* and dispose of the Lading to the best Advantage, and to make a fair and equal Dividend with the rest.

Davis proposed to the Crew, whether they were willing to follow their Directions, but to his great Surprize, found the Majority of them altogether averse to it, wherefore in a Rage, he bad them be damn'd, and go where they would. They knew that Part of their Cargoe was consigned to certain Merchants at *Barbadoes*, wherefore they steered for that Island. When they arrived, they related to these Merchants the unfortunate Death of *Skinner*, and the Proposal which had been made to them by *Davis*; upon which *Davis* was seized and committed to Prison, where he was kept three Months; however, as he had been in no Act of Pyracy, he was discharged without being brought to any Tryal, yet he could not expect any Employment there; wherefore knowing that the Island of *Providence* was a kind of Rendevouz of Pyrates, he was resolved to make one amongst them, if possible, and to that Purpose, found Means of shipping himself for that Island; but he was again disappointed, for when he arrived there, the Pyrates had newly surrendered to Captain *Woods Rogers*, and accepted of the Act of Grace, which he had just brought from *England*.

However, *Davis* was not long out of Business, for Captain *Rogers* having fitted out two Sloops for Trade, one called the *Buck*, the other the *Mumvil Trader*; *Davis* found an Employment on Board of

of one of them; the Lading of these Sloops was of considerable Value, consisting of *European* Goods, in order to be exchanged with the *French* and *Spaniards*; and many of the Hands on Board of them, were the Pyrates lately come in upon the late Act of Grace. The first Place they touched at, was the Island of *Martinico*, belonging to the *French*, where *Davis* having conspired with some others, rise in the Night, secured the Master and seized the Sloop; as soon as this was done, they called to the other Sloop, which lay a little Way from them, among whom they knew there were a great many Hands ripe for Rebellion, and ordered them to come on Board of them; they did so, and the greatest Part of them agreed to join with *Davis*; those who were otherwise inclined, were sent back on Board the *Mumvil* Sloop, to go where they pleased, *Davis* having first taken out of her, every Thing which he thought might be of Use.

After this, a Counsel of War was called over a large Bowl of Punch, at which it was proposed to chuse a Commander; the Election was soon over, for it fell upon *Davis* by a great Majority of *legal Pollers*, there was no Scrutiny demanded, for all acquiesced in the Choice: As soon as he was possess'd of his Command, he drew up Articles, which were signed and sworn to by himself and the rest, then he made a short Speech, the sum of which, was, a Declaration of War against the whole World.

After this they consulted about a proper Place where they might clean their Sloop, a light Pair of Heels being of great Use either to take, or escape being taken; for this purpose they made Choice of *Coxon*'s *Hole*, at the East End of the Island of *Cuba*, a Place where they might secure themselves from Surprize, the Entrance being so narrow, that one Ship might keep out a hundred.

Here

Here they cleaned with much Difficulty, for they had no Carpenter in their Company, a Perſon of great Uſe upon ſuch Exigencies; from hence they put to Sea, making to the North-Side of the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*. The firſt Sail which fell in their Way, was a *French* Ship of twelve Guns; it muſt be obſerved, that *Davis* had but thirty five Hands, yet Proviſions began to grow ſhort with him; wherefore he attacked this Ship, ſhe ſoon ſtruck, and he ſent twelve of his Hands on Board of her, in order to plunder: This was no ſooner done, but a Sail was ſpied a great Way to Windward of them; they enquired of the *French* Man what ſhe might be, he anſwered, that he had ſpoke with a Ship, the Day before, of 24 Guns and 60 Men, and he took this to be the ſame.

Davis then propoſed to his Men to attack her, telling them, ſhe would be a rare Ship for their Uſe, but they looked upon it to be an extravagant Attempt, and diſcovered no Fondneſs for it, but he aſſured them he had a Stratagem in his Head would make all ſafe; wherefore he gave Chace, and ordered his Prize to do the ſame. The Prize being a ſlow Sailor, *Davis* firſt came up with the Enemy, and ſtanding along Side of them, ſhewed his pyratical Colours: They, much ſurpriz'd, called to *Davis*, telling him, they wondered at his Impudence in venturing to come ſo near them, and ordered him to ſtrike; but he anſwered, that he intended to keep them in Play, till his Conſort came up, who was able to deal with them, and that if they did not ſtrike to him, they ſhould have but bad Quarters; whereupon he gave them a Broad-Side, which they returned.

In the mean Time the Prize drew near, who obliged all the Priſoners to come upon Deck in white Shirts, to make a Shew of Force, as they had been directed by *Davis*; they alſo hoiſted a dirty

Tarpawlin, by Way of black Flag, they having no other, and fir'd a Gun: The *French* Men were so intimidated by this Appearance of Force, that they struck. *Davis* called out to the Captain to come on Board of him, with twenty of his Hands; he did so, and they were all for the greater Security clapt into Irons, the Captain excepted: Then he sent four of his own Men on Board the first Prize, and in order still to carry on the Cheat, spoke aloud, that they should give his Service to the Captain, and desire him to send some Hands on Board the Prize, to see what they had got; but at the same Time gave them a written Paper, with Instructions what to do. Here he ordered them to nail up the Guns in the little Prize, to take out all the small Arms and Powder, and to go every Man of them on Board the second Prize; when this was done, he ordered that more of the Prisoners should be removed out of the great Prize, into the little one, by which he secured himself from any Attempt which might be feared from their Numbers; for those on Board of him were fast in Irons, and those in the little Prize had neither Arms nor Ammunition.

Thus the three Ships kept Company for 2 Days, when finding the great Prize to be a very dull Sailor, he thought she would not be fit for his Purpose, wherefore he resolved to restore her to the Captain, with all his Hands; but first, he took Care to take out all her Ammunition, and every Thing else which he might possibly want. The *French* Captain was in such a Rage, at being so outwitted, that when he got on Board his own Ship, he was going to throw himself over-board, but was prevented by his Men.

Having let go both his Prizes, he steered Northward, in which Course he took a small *Spanish* Sloop; after this, he made towards the *Western* Islands, but

but met with no Booty thereabouts; then he ſteered for the *Cape de Verde* Iſlands, they caſt Anchor at St. *Nicholas*, hoiſting *Engliſh* Colours; the *Portugueſe* inhabiting there, took him for an *Engliſh* Privateer, and *Davis* going aſhore, they both treated him very civilly, and alſo traded with him. Here he remained five Weeks, in which Time, he and half his Crew, for their Pleaſure, took a Journey to the chief Town of the Iſland, which was 19 Miles up the Country: *Davis* making a good Appearance, was careſſed by the Governor and the Inhabitants, and no Diverſion was wanting which the *Portugueſe* could ſhew, or Money could purchaſe; after about a Week's Stay, he came back to the Ship, and the reſt of the Crew went to take their Pleaſure up to the Town, in their Turn.

At their Return they clean'd their Ship, and put to Sea, but not with their whole Company; for five of them, like *Hannibal*'s Men, were ſo charm'd with the Luxuries of the Place, and the free Converſation of ſome Women, that they ſtaid behind; and one of them, whoſe Name was *Charles Franklin*, a *Monmouthſhire* Man, married and ſettled himſelf, and lives there to this Day.

From hence they ſailed to *Boneviſta*, and looked into that Harbour, but finding nothing, they ſteer'd for the Iſle of *May*: When they arrived here, they met with a great many Ships and Veſſels in the Road, all which they plundered, taking out of them whatever they wanted; and alſo ſtrengthen'd themſelves with a great many freſh Hands, who moſt of them enter'd voluntarily. One of the Ships they took to their own Uſe, mounted her with twenty ſix Guns, and call'd her the *King James*. There being no freſh Water hereabouts, they made towards St. *Jago*, belonging to the *Portugueſe*, in order to lay in a Store; *Davis*, with a few Hands, going aſhore to find the moſt commodious Place to water at, the

Governor, with ſome Attendants, came himſelf and examined who they were, and whence they came? And not liking *Davis*'s Account of himſelf, the Governor was ſo plain to tell them, he ſuſpected them to be Pyrates. *Davis* ſeemed mightily affronted, ſtanding much upon his Honour, replying to the Governor, he ſcorn'd his Words; however, as ſoon as his Back was turn'd, for fear of Accidents, he got on Board again as faſt as he could. *Davis* related what had happened, and his Men ſeemed to reſent the Affront which had been offered him. *Davis*, upon this, told them, he was confident he could ſurprize the Fort in the Night; they agreed with him to attempt it, and accordingly, when it grew late, they went aſhore well arm'd; and the Guard which was kept, was ſo negligent, that they got within the Fort before any Alarm was given: When it was too late there was ſome little Reſiſtance made, and three Men killed on *Davis*'s Side. Thoſe in the Fort, in their Hurry, run into the Governor's Houſe to ſave themſelves, which they barricadoed ſo ſtrongly, that *Davis*'s Party could not enter it; however, they threw in Granadoe-Shells, which not only ruin'd all the Furniture, but kill'd ſeveral Men within.

When it was Day the whole Country was alarm'd, and came to attack the Pyrates; wherefore it not being their Buſineſs to ſtand a Siege, they made the beſt of their Way on Board their Ship again, after having diſmounted the Guns of the Fort. By this Enterprize they did a great Deal of Miſchief to the *Portugueſe*, and but very little Good to themſelves.

Having put to Sea they muſter'd their Hands, and found themſelves near ſeventy ſtrong; then it was propoſed what Courſe they ſhould ſteer, and differing in their Opinions, they divided, and by a Majority it was carried for *Gambia* on the Coaſt of *Guiney*; of this Opinion was *Davis*, he having been employ'd

employ'd in that Trade, was acquainted with the Coaſt: He told them, that there was a great deal of Money always kept in *Gambia* Caſtle, and that it would be worth their while to make an Attempt upon it. They ask'd him how it was poſſible, ſince it was garriſoned? He deſired they would leave the Management of it to him, and he would undertake to make them Maſters of it. They began now to conceive ſo high an Opinion of his Conduct, as well as Courage, that they thought nothing impoſſible to him, therefore they agreed to obey him, without enquiring further into his Deſign.

Having come within Sight of the Place, he ordered all his Men under Deck, except as many as were abſolutely neceſſary for working the Ship, that thoſe from the Fort ſeeing a Ship with ſo few Hands, might have no Suſpicion of her being any other than a trading Veſſel; then he ran cloſe under the Fort, and there caſt Anchor; and having ordered out the Boat, he commanded ſix Men in her, in old ordinary Jackets, while he himſelf, with the Maſter and Doctor, dreſſed themſelves like Gentlemen; his Deſign being, that the Men ſhould look like common Sailors, and they like Merchants. In rowing aſhore he gave his Men Inſtructions what to ſay in Caſe any Queſtions ſhould be asked them.

Being come to the landing Place, he was received by a File of Muſqueteers, and conducted into the Fort, where the Governor accoſting them civilly, ask'd them who they were, and whence they came? They anſwered they were of *Liverpool*, bound for the River of *Sinnegal*, to trade for Gum and Elephants Teeth, but that they were chaced on that Coaſt by two *French* Men of War, and narrowly eſcaped being taken, having a little the Heels of them; but now they were reſolved to make the beſt of a bad Market, and would Trade

here for Slaves; then the Governor ask'd them, what was the chief of their Cargo? They answered, Iron and Plate, which were good Things there; the Governor told them he would Slave them to the full Value of their Cargoe, and asked them, if they had any *European* Liquor on Board? they answered, a little for their own Use; however, a Hamper should be at his Service. The Governor then very civilly invited them all to stay and dine with him; *Davis* told him, that being Commander of the Ship, he must go on Board to see her well moored, and give some other Orders, but those two Gentlemen might stay, and that he himself would also return before Dinner, and bring the Hamper of Liquor with him.

While he was in the Fort, his Eyes were very busy in observing how Things lay; he took Notice there was a Centry at the Entrance, and a Guard-House just by it, where the Soldiers upon Duty commonly waited, their Arms standing in a Corner, in a Heap; he saw also a great many small Arms in the Governor's Hall; now when he came on Board, he assured his Men of Success, desiring them not to get drunk, and that as soon as they saw the Flag upon the Castle struck, they might conclude he was Master, and send twenty Hands immediately ashore; in the mean Time, there being a Sloop at Anchor near them, he sent some Hands in a Boat, to secure the Master and all the Men, and bring them on Board of him, least they observing any Bustle or arming in his Ship, might send ashore and give Intelligence.

These Precautions being taken, he ordered his Men, who were to go in the Boat with him, to put two Pair of Pistols each under their Cloaths, he doing the like himself, and gave them Directions to go into the Guard-Room, and to enter into Conversation with the Soldiers, and observe when he

he ſhould fire a Piſtol thro' the Governor's Window, to ſtart up at once and ſecure the Arms in the Guard-Room.

When *Davis* arrived, Dinner not being ready, the Governor propoſed that they ſhould paſs their Time in making a Bowl of Punch till Dinner-Time: It muſt be obſerved, that *Davis*'s Coxen waited upon them, who had an Opportunity of going about all Parts of the Houſe, to ſee what Strength they had, he whiſpered *Davis*, there being no Perſon then in the Room, but he, *(Davis)* the Maſter, the Doctor, the Coxen and Governor; *Davis* on a ſudden drew out a Piſtol, clapt it to the Governor's Breaſt, telling him, he muſt ſurrender the Fort and all the Riches in it, or he was a dead Man. The Governor being no Ways prepared for ſuch an Attack, promiſed to be very Paſſive, and do all they deſired, therefore they ſhut the Door, took down all the Arms that hung in the Hall, and loaded them. *Davis* fires his Piſtol thro' the Window, upon which his Men, without, executed their Part of the Scheme, like Heroes, in an Inſtant; getting betwixt the Soldiers and their Arms, all with their Piſtols cock'd in their Hands, while one of them carried the Arms out. When this was done, they locked the Soldiers into the Guard-Room, and kept Guard without.

In the mean Time one of them ſtruck the Union Flag on the Top of the Caſtle, at which Signal thoſe on Board ſent on Shore a Reinforcement of Hands, and they got Poſſeſſion of the Fort without the leaſt Hurry or Confuſion, or ſo much as a Man loſt of either Side.

Davis harangued the Soldiers, upon which a great many of them took on with him, thoſe who refuſed, he ſent on Board the little Sloop, and becauſe he would not be at the Trouble of a Guard for them, he ordered all the Sails and Cables

out of her, which might hinder them from attempting to get away.

This Day was ſpent in a kind of Rejoycing, the Caſtle firing her Guns to ſalute the Ship, and the Ship the Caſtle; but the next Day they minded their Buſineſs, that is, they fell to plundering, but they found Things fall vaſtly ſhort of their Expectation; for they diſcovered, that a great deal of Money had been lately ſent away; however, they met with the Value of about two thouſand Pounds Sterling in Bar Gold, and a great many other rich Effects: Every Thing they liked, which was portable, they brought aboard their Ship; ſome Things which they had no Uſe for, they were ſo generous to make a Preſent of, to the Maſter and Crew of the little Sloop, to whom they alſo returned his Veſſel again, and then they fell to work in diſmounting the Guns, and demoliſhing the Fortifications.

After they had done as much Miſchief as they could, and were weighing Anchor to be gone, they ſpy'd a Ship bearing down upon them in full Sail; they ſoon got their Anchor's up, and were in a Readineſs to receive her. This Ship prov'd to be a *French* Pyrate of fourteen Guns and ſixty four Hands, half *French*, half Negroes; the Captain's Name was *La Bouſe*; he expected no leſs than a rich Prize, which made him ſo eager in the Chace; but when he came near enough to ſee their Guns, and the Number of their Hands upon Deck, he began to think he ſhould catch a *Tartar*, and ſuppoſed her to be a ſmall *Engliſh* Man of War; however, ſince there was no eſcaping, he reſolved to do a bold and deſperate Action, which was to board *Davis*. As he was making towards her, for this Purpoſe, he fired a Gun, and hoiſted his black Colours; *Davis* returned the Salute, and hoiſted his black Colours alſo. The *French* Man was not a little pleaſed at this happy Miſtake; they both hoiſted out their Boats, and

and the Captains went to meet and congratulate one another with a Flag of Truce in their Sterns; a great many Civilities paſſed between them, and *La Bouſe* deſired *Davis*, that they might ſail down the Coaſt together, that he *(La Bouſe)* might get a better Ship: *Davis* agreed to it, and very courteouſly promiſed him the firſt Ship he took, fit for his Uſe, he would give him, as being willing to encourage a willing Brother.

The firſt Place they touch'd at, was *Sierraleon*, where at firſt going in, they ſpied a tall Ship at Anchor; *Davis* being the beſt Sailor firſt came up with her, and wondering that ſhe did not try to make off, ſuſpected her to be a Ship of Force. As ſoon as he came along Side of her, ſhe brought a Spring upon her Cable, and fired a whole Broadſide upon *Davis*, at the ſame Time hoiſted a black Flag; *Davis* hoiſted his black Flag in like Manner, and fired one Gun to Leeward.

In fine, ſhe proved to be a Pyrate Ship of twenty four Guns, commanded by one *Cocklyn*, who expecting theſe two would prove Prizes, let them come in, leaſt his getting under Sail might frighten them away.

This Satisfaction was great on all Sides, at this Junction of Confederates and Brethren in Iniquity; two Days they ſpent in improving their Acquaintance and Friendſhip, the third Day *Davis* and *Cocklyn*, agreed to go in *La Bouſe*'s Brigantine and attack the Fort; they contrived it ſo, as to get up thither by high Water; thoſe in the Fort ſuſpected them to be what they really were, and therefore ſtood upon their Defence; when the Brigantine came within Musket-Shot, the Fort fired all their Guns upon her, the Brigantine did the like upon the Fort, and ſo held each other in Play for ſeveral Hours, when the two confederate Ships were come up to the Aſſiſtance of the Brigantine; thoſe who defend-

defended the Fort, seeing such a Number of Hands on Board these Ships, had not the Courage to stand it any longer, but abandoning the Fort, left it to the Mercy of the Pyrates.

They took Possession of it, and continued there near seven Weeks, in which Time they all cleaned their Ships. We should have observed, that a Galley came into the Road while they were there, which *Davis* insisted should be yielded to *La Bouse*, according to his Word of Honour before given; *Cocklyn* did not oppose it, so *La Bouse* went into her, with his Crew, and cutting away her half Deck, mounted her with twenty four Guns.

Having called a Counsel of War, they agreed to sail down the Coast together, and for the greater Grandeur, appointed a Commadore, which was *Davis*; but they had not kept Company long, when drinking together on Board of *Davis*, they had like to have fallen together by the Ears, the strong Liquor stirring up a Spirit of Discord among them, and they quarrelled, but *Davis* put an End to it, by this short Speech: —— *Hearkye, you* Cocklin *and* La Bouse, *I find by strengthening you, I have put a Rod into your Hands to whip my self, but I'm still able to deal with you both; but since we met in Love, let us part in Love, for I find, that three of a Trade can never agree.* ——Upon which the other two went on Board their respective Ships, and immediately parted, each steering a different Course.

Davis held on his Way down the Coast, and making Cape *Appollonia*, he met with two *Scotch* and one *English* Vessel, which he plundered, and then let go. About five Days after he fell in with a *Dutch* Interloper of thirty Guns and ninety Men, (half being *English*,) off Cape *Three Points* Bay; *Davis* coming up along Side of her, the *Dutch* Man gave the first Fire, and pouring in a broad-Side upon *Davis*, killed nine of his Men, *Davis* returned it, and a very

very hot Engagement followed, which lasted from one a Clock at Noon, till nine next Morning, when the *Dutch* Man struck, and yielded her self their Prize.

Davis fitted up the *Dutch* Ship for his own Use, and called her the *Rover*, aboard of which he mounted thirty two Guns, and twenty seven Swivels, and proceeded with her and the *King James*, to *Anamaboe*; he entered the Bay betwixt the Hours of twelve and one at Noon, and found there three Ships lying at Anchor, who were trading for Negroes, Gold and Teeth. The Names of these Ships were the *Hink* Pink, Captain *Hall* Commander, the *Princess*, Captain *Plumb*, of which *Roberts*, who will make a considerable Figure in the sequel of this History, was second Mate, and the *Morrice* Sloop, Captain *Fin*; he takes these Ships without any Resistance, and having plundered them, he makes a Present of one of them, *viz.* the *Morrice* Sloop, to the *Dutch* Men, on Board of which alone were found a hundred and forty Negroes, besides dry Goods, and a considerable Quantity of Gold-Dust.

It happened there were several Canoes along Side of this last, when *Davis* came in, who saved themselves and got ashore; these gave Notice at the Fort, that these Ships were Pyrates, upon which the Fort fired upon them, but without any Execution, for their Mettle was not of Weight enough to reach them; *Davis* therefore, by Way of Defiance, hoisted his black Flag and returned their Compliment.

The same Day he sail'd with his three Ships, making his Way down the Coast towards *Princes*, a *Portuguese* Colony: But, before we proceed any farther in *Davis*'s Story, we shall give our Reader an Account of the *Portuguese* Settlements on this Coast, with other curious Remarks, as they were communicated to me by an ingenious Gentleman, lately arrived from those Parts. *A De-*

A Deſcription of the Iſlands of St. THOME, DEL PRINCIPE, *and* ANNOBONO.

AS the *Portugueſe* were the great Improvers of Navigation, and the firſt *Europeans* who traded too and ſettled on the Coaſts of *Africa*, even round to *India*, and made thoſe Diſcoveries, which now turn ſo much to the Advantage of other Nations, it may not be amiſs, previouſly to a Deſcription of thoſe Iſlands, to hint on that wonderful Property of the Loadſtone, that a little before had been found out, and enabled them to purſue ſuch new and daring Navigations.

The attractive Power of the Loadſtone, was univerſally known with the Ancients, as may be believed by its being a native Foſſil of the *Grecians*, (*Magnes a Magneſia*) but its directive, or polar Virtue, has only been known to us within this 350 Years, and ſaid to be found out by *John Goia* of *Malphi*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Prima dedit nautis uſum magnetis Amalphi*; tho' others think, and aſſure us, it was tranſported by *Paulus Venetus* from *China* to *Italy*, like the other famous Arts of modern Uſe with us, PRINTING and *the Uſe of* GUNS.

The other Properties or Improvements of the Magnet, *viz.* Variation, or its Deflection from an exact N. or S. Line, Variation of that Variation, and its Inclination, were the Inventions of *Sebaſtian Cabot*, Mr. *Gellibrand*, and Mr. *Norman*; the Inclination of the Needle, or that Property whereby it keeps an Elevation above the Horizon, in all Places but under the Equator, (where its Parallel) is as ſurprizing a Phænomenon as any, and was the Diſcovery of our Countrymen; and could it be found regular, I imagine would very much help towards the Diſcovery of Longitude, at leaſt would

point

point out better Methods than hitherto known, when Ships drew nigh Land, which would anſwer as uſeful an End.

Before the Verticity and Uſe of the Compaſs, the *Portugueſe* Navigations had extended no farther than Cape *Non*, (it was their *ne plus ultra*,) and therefore ſo called; diſtreſs of Weather, indeed, had drove ſome Coaſters to *Porto Santo*, and *Madera*, before any certain Method of ſteering was invented; but after the Needle was ſeen thus inſpired, Navigation every Year improved under the great Incouragements of *Henry*, *Alphonſus*, and *John* II. Kings of *Portugal*, in Part of the 14th and in the 15th Century.

King *Alphonſus* was not ſo much at leaſure as his Predeceſſor, to purſue theſe Diſcoveries, but having ſeen the Advantages accrued to *Portugal* by them, and that the Pope had confirmed the perpetual Donation of all they ſhould diſcover between Cape *Bajadore* and *India*, incluſively, he reſolved not to neglect the proper Aſſiſtance, and farmed the Profits that did or might enſue to one *Bernard Gomez*, a Citizen of *Lisbon*, who was every Voyage obliged to diſcover 100 Leagues, ſtill farther on: And about the Year 1470 made theſe Iſlands, the only Places (of all the conſiderable and large Colonies they had in *Africa*,) that do now remain to that Crown.

St. *Thome* is the principal of the three, whoſe Governour is ſtiled Captain General of the Iſlands, and from whom the other at *Princes* receives his Commiſſion, tho' nominated by the Court of *Portugal*: It is a Biſhoprick with a great many ſecular Clergy who appear to have neither Learning nor Devotion, as may be judged by ſeveral of them being Negroes: One of the Chief of them, invited us to hear Maſs, as a Diverſion to paſs Time away, where he, and his inferior Brethren acted ſuch affected

fected Gestures and Strains of Voice, as shewed to their Dishonour, they had no other Aim than pleasing us; and what I think was still worse, it was not without a View of Interest; for as these Clergy are the chief Traders, they stoop to pitiful and scandalous Methods for ingratiating themselves: They and the Government, on this trading Account, maintain as great Harmony, being ever jealous of each other, and practising little deceitful Arts to monopolize what Strangers have to offer for sale, whether Toys or Cloaths, which of all Sorts are ever Commodious with the *Portugueſe*, in all Parts of the World; an ordinary Suit of Black will sell for seven or eight Pound; a Turnstile Wig of four Shillings, for a Moidore; a Watch of forty Shillings, for six Pound, *&c.*

The Town is of mean Building, but large and populous, the Residence of the greater Part of the Natives, who, thro' the whole Island, are computed at 10000, the Militia at 3000, and are in general, a rascally thievish Generation, as an old grave Friend of mine can Witness; for he having carried a Bag of second hand Cloaths on Shore, to truck for Provisions, seated himself on the Sand for that Purpose, presently gathered a Crowd round him, to view them; one of which desired to know the Price of a black Suit, that unluckily lay uppermost, and was the best of them, agreeing to the Demand, with little Hesitation, provided it would but fit him; he put them on immediately, in as much hurry as possible, without any *co-licentia Seignor*; and when my Friend was about to commend the Goodness of the Suit, and Exactness they set with, not dreaming of the Impudence of running away from a Crowd, the Rascal took to his Heels, my Friend followed and bawled very much, and tho' there was 500 People about the Place, it served to no other End but making

making him a clear Stage, that the beſt Pair of Heels might carry it; ſo he loſt the Suit of Cloaths, and before he could return to his Bag, others of them had beat off his Servant, and ſhared the reſt.

Moſt of the Ships from *Guiney*, of their own Nation, and frequently thoſe of ours, call at one or other of theſe Iſlands, to recruit with freſh Proviſions, and take in Water, which on the Coaſt are not ſo good, nor ſo conveniently to come by: Their own Ships likewiſe, when they touch here, are obliged to leave the King his Cuſtom for their Slaves, which is always in Gold, at ſo much a Head, without any Deduction at *Braſil*, for the Mortality that may happen afterwards; this by being a conſtant Bank to pay off the civil and military Charges of the Government, prevents the Inconveniency of Remittances, and keeps both it and *Princes* Iſle rich enough to pay ready Money for every Thing they want of *Europeans*.

Their Beefs are ſmall and lean, (two hundred Weight or a little more,) but the Goats, Hogs and Fowls very good, their Sugar courſe and dirty, and Rum very ordinary; as theſe Refreſhments lay moſt with People who are in want of other Neceſſaries, they come to us in Way of bartering, very cheap: A good Hog for an old Cutlaſh; a fat Fowl for a Span of *Braſil* Tobacco, (no other Sort being valued, *&c.*) But with Money you give eight Dollars *per* Head for Cattle; three Dollars for a Goat; ſix Dollars for a grown Hog; a Teſtune and a Half for a Fowl; a Dollar *per* Gallon for Rum; two Dollars a Roove for Sugar; and half a Dollar for a Dozen of Paraquets: Here is Plenty likewiſe of Corn and Farine, of Limes, Citrons and Yamms.

The Iſland is reckoned nigh a Square, each Side 18 Leagues long, hilly, and lays under the *Æquinoctial*,

noctial, a wooden Bridge just without the Town, being said not to deviate the least Part of a Minute, either to the Southward or Northward; and notwithstanding this warm Scituation, and continual vertical Suns, the Islanders are very healthy, imputed by those who are disposed to be merry, in a great Measure to the Want of even so much as one Surgeon or Physician amongst them.

Isle *Del Principe*, the next in Magnitude, a pleasant and delightful Spot to the grave, and thoughtfull Disposition of the *Portuguese*, an Improvement of Country Retirement, in that, this may be a happy and uninterrupted Retreat from the whole World.

I shall divide what I have to say on this Island, into Observations made on our Approach to it, on the Seas round it, the Harbour, Produce of the Island and Seasons, Way of Living among the Inhabitants, some Custom of the Negroes, with such proper Deductions on each as may illustrate the Description, and inform the Reader.

We were bound hither from *Whydah*, at the latter Part of the Month *July*, when the Rains are over, and the Winds hang altogether S. W. (as they do before the Rains, S. E.) yet with this Wind (when at Sea) we found the Ship gained unexpectedly so far to the Southward, (*i. e.* Windward,) that we could with ease have weathered any of the Islands, and this seems next to impossible should be, if the Currents, which were strong to Leeward, in the Road of *Whydah*, had extended in like Manner cross the Bite of *Benin*: No, it must then have been very difficult to have weathered even Cape *Formosa*: On this Occasion, I shall farther expatiate upon the Currents on the whole Coast of *Guiney*.

The Southern Coast of *Africa* runs in a Line of Latitude, the Northern on an Eastern Line, but both strait, with the fewest Inlets, Gulphs or Bays,

Bays, of either of the four Continents; the only large and remarkable one, is that of *Benin* and *Calabar*, towards which the Currents of each Coaſt tend, and is ſtrongeſt from the Southward, becauſe more open to a larger Sea, whoſe riſing it is (tho' little and indiſcernable at any Diſtance from the Land,) that gives riſe to theſe Currents cloſe in Shore, which are nothing but Tides altered and diſturbed by the Make and Shape of Lands.

For Proof of this, I ſhall lay down the following Obſervations as certain Facts. That in the Rivers of *Gambia* and *Sierraleon*, in the Straits and Channels of *Benin*, and in general along the whole Coaſt, the Flowings are regular on the Shores, with this Difference; that, in the abovemention'd Rivers, and in the Channels of *Benin*, where the Shore contract the Waters into a narrow Compaſs, the Tides are ſtrong and high, as well as regular; but on the dead Coaſt, where it makes an equal Reverberation, flow and low, (not to above two or three Foot,) increaſing as you advance towards *Benin*; and this is farther evident in that at Cape *Corſo*, *Succonda* and *Commenda*, and where the Land rounds and gives any Stop, the Tides flow regularly to four Foot and upwards; when on an evener Coaſt, (tho' next adjoining,) they ſhall not exceed two or three Foot; and ten Leagues out at Sea, (where no ſuch Interruption is,) they become ſcarcely, if at all, perceptible.

What I would deduce from this, beſides a Confirmation of that ingenious Theory of the Tides, by Captain *Halley*; is firſt, that the Ships bound to *Angola*, *Cabenda*, and other Places on the Southern Coaſt of *Africa*, ſhould croſs the *Æquinoctial* from Cape *Palmas*, and run into a Southern Latitude, without keeping too far to the Weſtward; and the Reaſon ſeems plain, for if you endeavour to croſs it about the Iſlands, you meet Calms,

ſouthern Winds and oppoſite Currents; and if too far to the Weſtward, the trade Winds are ſtrong and unfavourable; for it obliges you to ſtand into 28 or 30° Southern Latitude, till they are variable.

Secondly, On the Northern Side of *Guiney*, if Ships are bound from the *Gold-Coaſt* to *Sierraleon*, *Gambia*, or elſewhere to Windward, conſidering the Weakneſs of theſe Currents, and the Favourableneſs of Land Breezes, and Southerly in the Rains, Turnadoes, and even of the Trade Wind, when a-breaſt of Cape *Palmas*, it is more expeditious to purſue the Paſſage this Way, than by a long perambulatory Courſe of 4 or 500 Leagues to the Weſtward, and as many more to the Northward, which muſt be before a Wind can be obtained, that could recover the Coaſt.

Laſtly, It is, in a great Meaſure, owning to this want of Inlets, and the Rivers being ſmall and unnavigable, that the Seas rebound with ſo dangerous a Surff thro' the whole Continent.

Round the Shores of this Iſland, and at this Seaſon, (*July*, *Auguſt* and *September*,) there is a great Reſort of Whale-Fiſh, tame, and ſporting very nigh the Ships as they ſail in, always in Pairs, the Female much the ſmaller, and often ſeen to turn on their Backs for Dalliance, the Prologue to engendring: It has an Enemy, called the Threſher, a large Fiſh too, that has its Haunts here at this Seaſon, and encounters the Whale, raiſing himſelf out of the Water a conſiderable Heighth, and falling again with great Weight and Force; it is commonly ſaid alſo, that there is a Sword Fiſh in theſe Battles, who pricks the Whale up to the Surface again, but without this, I believe, he would ſuffocate when put to quick Motions, unleſs frequently approaching the Air, to ventilate and remove the Impediments to a ſwifter Circulation:

Nor

Nor do I think he is battled for Prey, but to remove him from what is perhaps the Food of both. The Number of Whales here has put me sometimes on thinking an advantageous Fishery might be made of it, but I presume they (no more than those of *Brasil*) are the Sort which yield the profitable Part, called Whale-Bone: All therefore that the Islanders do, is now and then to go out with two or three Canoes, and set on one for Diversion.

The Rocks and outer Lines of the Island, are the Haunts of variety of Sea-Birds, especially Boobies and Noddies; the former are of the Big-of a Gull, and a dark Colour, named so from their Simplicity, because they often sit still and let the Sailors take them up in their Hands; but I fancy this succeeds more frequently from their Weariness, and the Largeness of their Wings, which, when they once have rested, cannot have the Scope necessary to raise and float them on the Air again. The Noddies are smaller and flat footed also.

What I would remark more of them, is, the admirable Instinct in these Birds, for the proper Seasons, and the proper Places for Support. In the aforemention'd Months, when the large Fish were here, numerous Flocks of Fowl attend for the Spawn and Superfluity of their Nourishment; and in *January* few of either; for the same Reason, there are scarce any Sea Fowl seen on the *African* Coast; Rocks and Islands being generally their best Security and Subsistance.

The Harbour of *Princes* is at the E. S. E. Point of the Island; the North-Side has gradual Soundings, but here deep Water, having no Ground at a Mile off with 140 Fathom of Line. The Port (when in) is a smooth narrow Bay, safe from Winds, (unless a little Swell when Southerly) and draughted into other smaller and sandy Ones, convenient

for raising of Tents, Watering, and hawling the Seam; the whole protected by a Fort, or rather Battery, of a dozen Guns on the Larboard-Side. At the Head of the Bay stands the Town, about a Mile from the anchoring Place, and consists of two or three regular Streets, of wooden built Houses, where the Governor and chief Men of the Island reside. Here the Water grows shallow for a considerable Distance, and the Natives, at every Ebb, (having before encompassed every convenient Angle with a Rise of Stones, something like Weirs in *England*) resort for catching of Fish, which, with them, is a daily Diversion, as well as Subsistance, 500 attending with Sticks and wicker Baskets; and if they cannot dip them with one Hand, they knock them down with the other. The Tides rise regularly 6 Foot in the Harbour, and yet not half that Heighth without the Capes that make the Bay.

Here are constantly two Missionaries, who are sent for six Years to inculcate the Christian Principles, and more especially attend the Conversion of the Negroes; the present are *Venetians*, ingenious Men, who seem to despise the loose Morals and Behaviour of the Seculars, and complain of them as of the Slaves, *ut Color Mores sunt nigri.* They have a neat Conventual-House and a Garden appropriated, which, by their own Industry and Labour, not only thrives with the several Natives of the Soil, but many Exoticks and Curiosities. A Fruit in particular, larger than a Chesnut, yellow, containing two Stones, with a Pulp, or clammy Substance about them, which, when suck'd, exceeds in Sweetness, Sugar or Honey, and has this Property beyond them, of giving a sweet Taste to every Liquid you swallow for the whole Evening after. The only Plague infesting the Garden, is a Vermin called Land-Crabs, in vast Numbers, of a bright red Colour, (in other Respects like the Sea ones) which burrough

burrough in these sandy Soils like Rabbets, and are as shy.

The Island is a pleasant Intermixture of Hill and Valley; the Hills spread with Palms, Coco-Nuts, and Cotton-Trees, with Numbers of Monkeys and Parrots among them; the Valleys with fruitful Plantations of *Yamms*, *Kula'u*, *Papas*, Variety of Sallating, *Ananas*, or Pine-Apples, *Guavas*, *Plantanes*, *Bonanas*, *Manyocos*, and *Indian* Corn; with Fowls, *Guinea* Hens, *Muscovy* Ducks, Goats, Hogs, Turkies, and wild Beefs, with each a little Village of Negroes, who, under the Direction of their several Masters, manage the Cultivation, and exchange or sell them for Money, much after the same Rates with the People of St. *Thome*.

I shall run a Description of the Vegetables, with their Properties, not only because they are the Produce of this Island, but most of them of *Africa* in general.

The Palm-Trees are numerous on the Shores of *Africa*, and may be reckoned the first of their natural Curiosities, in that they afford them Meat, Drink and Cloathing; they grow very straight to 40 and 50 Foot high, and at the top (only) have 3 or 4 Circles of Branches, that spread and make a capacious Umbrella. The Trunk is very rough with Knobs, either Excrescencies, or the Healings of those Branches that were lopped off to forward the Growth of the Tree, and make it answer better in its Fruit. The Branches are strongly tied together with a *Cortex*, which may be unravelled to a considerable Length and Breadth; the inward *Lamella* of this *Cortex*, I know are wove like a Cloath at *Benin*, and afterwards died and worn: Under the Branches, and close to the Body of the Tree, hang the Nuts, thirty Bunches perhaps on a Tree, and each of thirty Pound Weight, with prickly Films from between them, not unresem-

ſembling Hedge-Hogs; of theſe Nuts comes a liquid and pleaſant ſcented Oyl, uſed as Food and Sauce all over the Coaſt, but chiefly in the Windward Parts of *Africa*, where they ſtamp, boil and skim it off in great Quantities; underneath, where the Branches faſten, they tap for Wine, called *Cockra*, in this Manner; the Negroes who are moſtly limber active Fellows, encompaſs themſelves and the Trees with a Hoop of ſtrong With, and run up with a great deal of Agility; at the Bottom of a Branch of Nuts, he makes an Excavation of an Inch and a half over, and tying faſt his Calabaſh, leaves it to deſtil, which it does to two or three Quarts in a Night's Time, when done he plugs it up, and chooſes another; for if ſuffered to run too much, or in the Day Time, the Sap is unwarily exhauſted, and the Tree ſpoiled: The Liquor thus drawn, is of a wheyiſh Colour, intoxicating and ſours in 24 Hours, but when new drawn, is *pleaſanteſt to thirſt and hunger both*: It is from theſe Wines they draw their Arack in *India*. On the very Top of the Palm, grows a Cabbage, called ſo, I believe, from ſome reſemblance its Taſt is thought to have with ours, and is uſed like it; the Covering has a Down that makes the beſt of Tinder, and the Weavings of other Parts are drawn out into ſtrong Threads.

Coco-Nut-Trees are branch'd like, but not ſo tall as, *Palm* Trees, the Nut like them, growing under the Branches, and cloſe to the Trunk; the milky Liquor they contain, (to half a Pint or more,) is often drank to quench Thirſt, but ſurfeiting, and this may be obſerved in their Way of Nouriſhment, that when the Quantity of Milk is large, the Shell and Meat are very thin, and harden and thicken in Proportion, as that loſes.

Cotton Trees alſo are the Growth of all Parts of *Africk*, as well as the Iſlands, of vaſt Bigneſs, yet

not

not so incremental as the Shrubs or Bushes of five or six Foot high; these bear a Fruit (if it may be so called) about the Bigness of Pigeons Eggs, which as the Sun swells and ripens, bursts forth and discovers three Cells loaded with Cotton, and Seeds in the Middle of them: This in most Parts the Negroes know how to spin, and here at *Nicongo* and the Island St. *Jago*, how to weave into Cloths.

Yamms are a common Root, sweeter but not unlike Potato's: *Kulalu*, a Herb like Spinnage: *Papa*, a Fruit less than the smallest Pumkins; they are all three for boiling, and to be eat with Meat; the latter are improved by the *English* into a Turnip or an Apple Tast, with a due Mixture of Butter or Limes.

Guava's, a Fruit as large as a Pipin, with Seeds and Stones in it, of an uncouth astringing Tast, tho' never so much be said in Commendation of it, at the *West-Indies*, it is common for *Cæolians*, (who has tasted both,) to give it a Preference to Peach or Nectarine, no amazing Thing when Men whose Tasts are so degenerated, as to prefer a Toad in a Shell, (as *Ward* calls Turtle,) to Venison, and Negroes to fine *English* Ladies.

Plantanes and *Bonano's* are Fruit of oblong Figure, that I think differ only *secundum Major & Minus*, if any, the latter are preferable, and by being less, are juicier; they are usually, when stripped of their Coat, eat at Meals instead of Bread: The Leaf of this Plantane is an admirable Detergent, and, externally applied, I have seen cure the most obstinate scorbutick Ulcers.

Manyoco. A Root that shoots its Branches about the heighth of a Currant Bush; from this Root the Islanders make a Farine or Flower, which they sell at three Ryals a Roove, and drive a considerable Trade for it with the Ships that call in. The manner of making it, is first to press the Juice from it,

(which is poiſonous) done here with Engines, and then the Negroe Women, upon a rough Stone, rub it into a granulated Flower, reſerved in their Houſes, either to boil, as we do our Wheat, and is a hearty Food for the Slaves; or make it into a Bread, fine, white, and well taſted, for themſelves. One thing worth taking Notice about *Manyoco* in this Iſland, is, that the Woods abound with a wild poiſonous and more mortiferous Sort, which ſometimes Men, unskilled in the Preparation of it, feed on to their Deſtruction: This the Miſſionaries aſſured me they often experimented in their Hogs, and believed we did in the Mortality of our Sailors.

Indian Corn, is likewiſe as well as the *Farine de Manyoco* and Rice, the common Victualling of our Slave Ships, and is afforded here at 1000 Heads for two Dollars. This Corn grows eight or nine Foot high, on a hard Reed or Stick, ſhooting forth at every ſix Inches Heighth, ſome long Leaves; it has always an Ear, or rather Head, at top, of, perhaps, 400 Fold Increaſe; and often two, three, or more, Midway.

Here are ſome Tamarind Trees; another called *Cola*, whoſe Fruit, or Nut (about twice the Bigneſs of a Cheſtnut, and bitter) is chewed by the *Portugueze*, to give a ſweet Guſt to their Water which they drink; but above all, I was ſhewn the Bark of one (whoſe Name I do not know) gravely affirm'd to have a peculiar Property of enlarging the Virile Member; I am not fond of ſuch Conceits, nor believe it in the Power of any Vegetables, but muſt acknowledge, I have ſeen Sights of this kind among the Negroes very extraordinary; yet, that there may be no Wiſhes among the Ladies for the Importation of this Bark, I muſt acquaint them, that they are found to grow leſs merry, as they encreaſe in Bulk. I had like to have forgot their Cinnamon Trees; there is only one Walk of them, and is the

Entrance

Entrance of the Governor's Villa; they thrive extreemly well, and the Bark not inferior to our Cinnamon from *India*; why they and other Spice, in a Soil so proper, receive no farther Cultivation, is, probably, their Suspicion, that so rich a Produce, might make some potent Neighbour take a Fancy to the Island.

They have two Winters, or rather Springs, and two Summers: Their Winters, which are the rainy Seasons, come in *September* and *February*, or *March*, and hold two Months, returning that Fatness and generative Power to the Earth, as makes it yield a double Crop every Year, with little Sweat or Labour.

Hic Ver Assiduum atque Alienis Mensibus Æstas
——Bis gravidæ Pecudes, bis Pomis utilis arbos.

Their first coming is with *Travado*'s, *i. e.* sudden and hard Gusts of Wind, with Thunder, Lightning and heavy Showers, but short; and the next new or full Moon at those Times of the Year, infallibly introduces the Rains, which once begun, fall with little Intermission, and are observed coldest in *February*. Similar to these are rainy Seasons also over all the Coast of *Africa*: If there may be allowed any general Way of calculating their Time, they happen from the Course of the Sun, as it respects the *Æquinoctial* only; for if these *Æquinoxes* prove rainy Seasons all over the World (as I am apt to think they are) whatever secret Cause operates with that Station of the Sun to produce them, will more effectually do it in those vicine Latitudes; and therefore, as the Sun advances, the Rains are brought on the *Whydah* and Gold Coast, by *April*, and on the Windwardmost Part of *Guiney* by *May*: The other Season of the Sun's returning to the Southward, make them more uncertain and irregular in Northern *Africa*; but then to the Southward again,

again, they proceed in like manner, and are at Cape *Lopez* in *October*, at *Angola* in *November*, &c.

The Manner of living among the *Portugueze* here is, with the utmoſt Frugality and Temperance, even to Penury and Starving; a familiar Inſtance of Proof is, in the Voracity of their Dogs, who finding ſuch clean Cupboards at home, are wild in a manner with Hunger, and tare up the Graves of the Dead for Food, as I have often ſeen: They themſelves are lean with Covetouſneſs, and that Chriſtian Vertue, which is often the Reſult of it, Selfdenyal; and would train up their Cattle in the ſame way, could they fetch as much Money, or had not they their Proviſion more immediately of Providence. The beſt of them (excepting the Governor now and then) neither pay nor receive any Viſits of Eſcapade or Recreation; they meet and ſit down at each others Doors in the Street every Evening, and as few of them, in ſo ſmall an Iſland, can have their Plantations at any greater Diſtance, than that they may ſee it every Day if they will, ſo the Subject of their Talk is moſtly how Affairs went there, with their Negroes, or their Ground, and then part with one another innocently, but empty,

The Negroes have yet no hard Duty with them, they are rather Happy in Slavery; for as their Food is chiefly Vegetables, that could no way elſe be expended, there is no Murmurs bred on that account; and as their Buſineſs is Domeſtick, either in the Services of the Houſe, or in Gardening, Sowing, or Planting, they have no more than what every Man would preſer for Health and Pleaſure; the hardeſt of their Work is the Carriage of their Pateroons, or their Wives, to and from the Plantations; this they do in Hammocks (call'd at *Whydah*, *Serpentines*) ſlung croſs a Pole, with a Cloath over, to ſcreen the Perſon, ſo carried, from Sun and

Weather, and the Slaves are at each End; and yet even this, methinks, is better than the ſpecious Liberty a Man has for himſelf and his Heirs to work in a Coal Mine.

The Negroes are, moſt of them, thro' the Care of their Patroons, Chriſtians, at leaſt nominal, but excepting to ſome few, they adhere ſtill to many ſilly Pagan Cuſtoms in their Mournings and Rejoycings, and in ſome Meaſure, powerful Majority has introduced them with the Vulgar of the *Mulatto* and *Portugueze* Race.

If a Perſon die in that Colour, the Relations and Friends of him meet at the Houſe, where the Corpſe is laid out decently on the Ground and covered (all except the Face) with a Sheet; they ſit round it, crying and howling dreadfully, not unlike what our Countrymen are ſaid to do in *Ireland*: This Mourning laſts for eight Days and Nights, but not equally intenſe, for as the Friends, who compoſe the Chorus, go out and in, are weary, and unequally affected, the Tone leſſens daily, and the Intervals of Grief are longer.

In Rejoycings and Feſtivals they are equally ridiculous; theſe are commonly made on ſome Friend's Eſcape from Shipwreck, or other Danger: They meet in a large Room of the Houſe, with a Strum Strum, to which one of the Company, perhaps, ſings wofully; the reſt ſtanding round the Room cloſe to the Petitions, take it in their Turns (one or two at a time) to ſtep round, called Dancing, the whole clapping their Hands continually, and hooping out every Minute *Abeo*, which ſignify no more, than, *how do you*. And this fooliſh Mirth will continue three or four Days together at a Houſe, and perhaps twelve or ſixteen Hours at a time.

The *Portugueze*, tho' eminently abſtemious and temperate in all other Things, are unbounded in their Luſts;

Lusts; and perhaps they substitute the former in room of a Surgeon, as a Counterpoison to the Mischiefs of a promiscuous Salacity: They have most of them Venereal Taints, and with Age become meager and hectick: I saw two Instances here of Venereal Ulcers that had cancerated to the Bowels, Spectacles that would have effectually perswaded Men (I think) how Salutary the Restriction of Laws are.

Annobono is the last, and of the least Consequence of the three Islands; there are Plenty of Fruits and Provisions, exchanged to Ships for old Cloaths and Trifles of any Sort; they have a Governor nominated from St. *Thome*, and two or three Priests, neither of which are minded, every one living at Discretion, and fill'd with Ignorance and Lust.

To return to *Davis*, the next Day after he left *Anamaboe*, early in the Morning, the Man at the Mast-Head espied a Sail. It must be observed, they keep a good Look-out; for, according to their Articles, he who first espies a Sail, if she proves a Prize, is entitled to the best Pair of Pistols on Board, over and above his Dividend, in which they take a singular Pride; and a Pair of Pistols has sometimes been sold for thirty Pounds, from one to another.

Immediately they gave Chace, and soon came up with her; the Ship proved to be a *Hollander*, and being betwixt *Davis* and the Shore, she made all the Sail she could, intending to run aground; *Davis* guessed her Design, and putting out all his small Sails, came up with her before she could effect it, and fired a Broad-side, upon which she immediately struck, and called for Quarter. It was granted, for according to *Davis*'s Articles, it was agreed, that Quarter should be given whenever it was called for, upon Pain of Death.

This

This Ship proved a very rich Prize, having the Governor of *Acra* on Board, with all his Effects, going to *Holland*; there was in Money to the Value of 15000 *l.* Sterling, besides other valuable Merchandizes, all which they brought on Board of themselves.

Upon this new Success, they restored Captain *Hall* and Captain *Plumb*, before-mentioned, their Ships again, but strengthened their Company with thirty five Hands, all white Men, taken out of these two and the *Morrice* Sloop; they also restored the *Dutch* their Ship, after having plunder'd her, as is mentioned.

Before they got to the Island of *Princes*, one of their Ships, *viz.* that call'd the *King James*, sprung a Leak; *Davis* order'd all Hands out of her, on Board his own Ship, with every thing else of Use, and left her at an Anchor at *High Cameroon*. As soon as he came in Sight of the Island, he hoisted *English* Colours; the *Portuguese* observing a large Ship sailing towards them, sent out a little Sloop to examine what she might be; this Sloop hailing of *Davis*, he told them he was an *English* Man of War, in Quest of Pyrates, and that he had received Intelligence there were some upon that Coast; upon this they received him as a welcome Guest, and piloted him into the Harbour. He saluted the Fort, which they answered, and he came to an Anchor just under their Guns, and hoisted out the Pinnace, Man of War Fashion, ordering nine Hands and a Coxen in it, to row him ashore.

The *Portugueze*, to do him the greater Honour, sent down a File of Musqueteers to receive him, and conduct him to the Governor. The Governor not in the least suspecting what he was, received him very civilly, promising to supply him with whatever the Island afforded; *Davis* thanked him, telling him, the King of *England* would pay for whatever he should take; so after several Civilities

pass'd

paſs'd between him and the Governor, he returned again on Board.

It happened a *French* Ship came in there to ſupply it ſelf with ſome Neceſſaries, which *Davis* took into his Head to plunder, but to give the Thing a Colour of Right, he perſuaded the *Portugueze*, that ſhe had been trading with the Pyrates, and that he found ſeveral Pyrates Goods on Board, which he ſeized for the King's Uſe: This Story paſſed ſo well upon the Governor, that he commended *Davis*'s Diligence.

A few Days after, *Davis*, with about fourteen more, went privately aſhore, and walk'd up the Country towards a Village, where the Governor and the other chief Men of the Iſland kept their Wives, in tending, as we may ſuppoſe, to ſupply their Husbands Places with them; but being diſcovered, the Women fled to a neighbouring Wood, and *Davis* and the reſt retreated to their Ship, without effecting their Deſign: The Thing made ſome Noiſe, but as no body knew them, it paſſed over.

Having cleaned his Ship, and put all Things in Order, his Thoughts now were turned upon the main Buſineſs, *viz.* the Plunder of the Iſland, and not knowing where the Treaſure lay, a Stratagem came into his Head, to get it (as he thought) with little Trouble, he conſulted his Men upon it, and they liked the Deſign: His Scheme was, to make a Preſent to the Governor, of a Dozen Negroes, by Way of Return for the Civilities received from him, and afterwards to invite him, with the chief Men, and ſome of the Friers, on Board his Ship, to an Entertainment; the Minute they came on Board, they were to be ſecured in Irons, and there kept till they ſhould pay a Ranſom of 40000*l.* Sterling.

But this Stratagem proved fatal to him, for a *Portugueze* Negroe ſwam aſhore in the Night, and diſcovered the whole Plot to the Governor, and alſo let him

him know, that it was *Davis* who had made the Attempt upon their Wives. However, the Governor dissembled, received the Pyrates Invitation civilly, and promised that he and the rest would go.

The next Day *Davis* went on Shore himself, as if it were out of greater Respect to bring the Governor on Board: He was received with the usual Civility, and he, and other principal Pyrates, who, by the Way, had assumed the Title of Lords, and as such took upon them to advise or councel their Captain upon any important Occasion; and likewise held certain Priviledges, which the common Pyrates were debarr'd from, as walking the Quarter-Deck, using the great Cabin, going ashore at Pleasure, and treating with foreign Powers, that is, with the Captains of Ships they made Prize of; I say, *Davis* and some of the Lords were desired to walk up to the Governor's House, to take some Refreshment before they went on Board; they accepted it without the least Suspicion, but never returned again; for an Ambuscade was laid, a Signal being given, a whole Volley was fired upon them; they every Man dropp'd, except one, this one fled back, and escaped into the Boat, and got on Board the Ship: *Davis* was shot through the Bowels, yet he rise again, and made a weak Effort to get away, but his Strength soon forsook him, and he dropp'd down dead; just as he fell, he perceived he was followed, and drawing out his Pistols, fired them at his Pursuers; Thus like a game Cock, giving a dying Blow, that he might not fall unrevenged.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

OF

Captain *Bartho. Roberts*,

And his CREW.

Bartholomew Roberts ſailed in an honeſt Employ, from *London* aboard of the *Princeſs*, Captain *Plumb* Commander, of which Ship he was ſecond Mate: He left *England*, *November* 1719, and arrived at *Guiney* about *February* following, and being at *Anamaboe*, taking in Slaves for the *Weſt-Indies*, was taken in the ſaid Ship by Captain *Howel Davis*, as mentioned in the preceeding Chapter. In the beginning he was very averſe to this ſort of Life, and would certainly have eſcaped from them, had a fair Opportunity preſented it ſelf; yet afterwards he changed his Principles, as many beſides him have done upon another Element, and perhaps for the ſame Reaſon too, *viz.* Preferment, —— and what he did not like as a private Man he could reconcile to his Conſcience as a Commander.

Davis being cut off in the manner beforementioned, the Company found themſelves under a Neceſſity of filling up his Poſt, for which there appear'd two or three Candidates among the ſelect Part of

of them, that were distinguish'd by the Title of LORDS, such were *Sympson*, *Ashplant*, *Anstis*, &c. and on canvassing this Matter, how shatter'd and weak a Condition their Government must be without a Head, since *Davis* had been remov'd, in the manner beforemention'd, my Lord *Dennis* propos'd, its said, over a Bowl to this Purpose.

That it was not of any great Signification who was dignify'd with Title; for really and in Truth, all good Governments had (like theirs) the supream Power lodged with the Community, who might doubtless depute and revoke as suited Interest or Humour. We are the Original of this Claim (says he) *and should a Captain be so sawcy as to exceed Prescription at any time,* why down with Him! *it will be a Caution after he is dead to his Successors, of what fatal Consequence any sort of assuming may be. However, it is my Advice, that, while we are sober, we pitch upon a Man of Courage, and skill'd in Navigation, one, who by his Council and Bravery seems best able to defend this Commonwealth, and ward us from the Dangers and Tempests of an instable Element, and the fatal Consequences of Anarchy; and such a one I take* Roberts *to be. A Fellow! I think, in all Respects, worthy your Esteem and Favour.*

This Speech was loudly applauded by all but Lord *Sympson*, who had secret Expectations himself, but on this Disappointment, grew sullen, and left them, swearing, *he did not care who they chose Captain, so it was not a Papist, for against them he had conceiv'd an irreconcileable Hatred, for that his Father had been a Sufferer in* Monmouth's *Rebellion.*

Roberts was accordingly elected, tho' he had not been above six Weeks among them, the Choice was confirm'd both by the Lords and Commoners, and he accepted of the Honour, saying, *That since he had dipp'd his Hands in muddy Water, and must be a Pyrate, it was better being a Commander than a common Man.*

As soon as the Government was settled, by promoting other Officers in the room of those that were kill'd

by the *Portugueze*, the Company resolv'd to revenge Captain *Davis*'s Death, he being more than ordinarily respected by the Crew for his Affability and good Nature, as well as his Conduct and Bravery upon all Occasions; and pursuant to this Resolution, about 30 Men were landed in order to make an Attack upon the Fort, which must be ascended to by a steep Hill against the Mouth of the Cannon. These Men were headed by one *Kennedy*, a bold daring Fellow, but very wicked and profligate; they march'd directly up under the Fire of their Ship Guns, and as soon as they were discover'd, the *Portugueze* quitted their Post and fled to the Town, and the Pyrates march'd in without Opposition, set Fire to the Fort, and threw all the Guns off the Hill into the Sea, which after they had done, they retreated quietly to their Ship.

But this was not look'd upon as a sufficient Satisfaction for the Injury they received, therefore most of the Company were for burning the Town, which *Roberts* said he would yield to, if any Means could be proposed of doing it without their own Destruction, for the Town had a securer Scituation than the Fort, a thick Wood coming almost close to it, affording Cover to the Defendants, who under such an Advantage, he told them, it was to be fear'd, would fire and stand better to their Arms; besides, that bare Houses would be but a slender Reward for their Trouble and Loss. This prudent Advice prevailed; however, they mounted the *French* Ship, they seiz'd at this Place, with 12 Guns, and light'ned her, in order to come up to the Town, the Water being shoal, and battered down several Houses; after which they all returned on Board, gave back the *French* Ship to those that had most Right to her, and sailed out of the Harbour by the light of two *Portugueſe* Ships, which they were pleased to set on Fire there.

Roberts

Roberts ſtood away to the Southward, and met with a *Dutch Guiney* Man, which he made Prize of, but after having plundered her, the Skipper had his Ship again: Two Days after, he took an *Engliſh* Ship, called the *Experiment*, Captain *Cornet*, at *Cape Lopez*, the Men went all into the pyrate Service, and having no Occaſion for the Ship, they burnt her, and then ſteered for St. *Thome*, but meeting with nothing in their Way, they ſailed for *Annabona*, and there water'd, took in Proviſions, and put it to a Vote of the Company, whether their next Voyage ſhould be, to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or to *Braſil*; the latter being reſolved on, they ſailed accordingly, and in 28 Days arrived at *Ferdinando*, an uninhabited Iſland, on that Coaſt: Here they water'd, boot-top'd their Ship, and made ready for the deſigned Cruiſe.

Now that we are upon this Coaſt, I think it will be the proper Place to preſent our Readers with a Deſcription of this Country, and ſome ingenious Remarks of a Friend, how beneficial a Trade might be carried on here by our *Weſt-India* Merchants, at a little Hazard.

A

DESCRIPTION

OF

BRASIL, &c.

BRASIL (a Name ſignifying the holy Croſs) was diſcovered for the King of *Portugal*, by *Alvarez Cabral*, *Ann. Dom.* 1501. extending almoſt from the *Æquinoctial* to 28 ° South. The Air is temperate and cool, in compariſon of the *Weſt-In-*

dies, from ſtronger Breezes and an opener Country, which gives leſs Interruption to the Winds.

The northernmoſt Part of it ſtretching about 180 Leagues, (a fine fertile Country,) was taken from the *Portugueſe* by the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company, *Anno.* 1637 or thereabouts; but the Conquerors, as is natural where there is little or no Religion ſubſiſting, made ſuch heavy Exactions on the *Portugueſe*, and extended ſuch Cruelty to the Natives, that prepared them both eaſily to unite for a Revolt, facilitated by the *Dutch* Miſmanagement: For the States being at this Time very intent on their *India* Settlements, not only recalled Count *Morrice* their Governor, but neglected Supplies to their Garriſons; however, tho' the others were countenanced with a Fleet from *Portugal*, and had the Affection of the Natives, yet they found Means to withſtand and ſtruggle with this ſuperior Power, from 1643 to 1660, and then was wholly abandoned by them, on Articles diſhonourable to the *Portugueſe*, viz.

That the *Dutch*, on Relinquiſhing, ſhould keep all the Places they had conquered in *India* from *Portugal*. That they ſhould pay the States 800000 *l.* and permit them ſtill the Liberty of Trade to *Africa* and *Braſil*, on the ſame Cuſtom and Duties with the King of *Portugal*'s Subjects. But ſince that Time, new Stipulations and Treaties have been made; wherein the *Dutch*, who have been totally excluded the *Braſil* Trade, have, in lieu thereof, a Compoſition of 10 *per Cent.* for the Liberty of trading to *Africa*; and this is always left by every *Portugueſe* Ship (before ſhe begins her Slaving) with the *Dutch* General of the *Gold-Coaſt*, at *Des Minas*.

There are only three principal Towns of Trade on the *Braſil* Coaſt, St. *Salvadore*, St. *Sebaſtian*, and *Pernambuca*.

St.

St. *Salvadore* in the *Bahia los todos Santos*, is an Archbiſhoprick and Seat of the Viceroy, the chief Port of Trade for Importation, where moſt of the Gold from the Mines is lodged, and whence the Fleets for *Europe* generally depart. The Seas about it abound with Whale-Fiſh, which in the Seaſon they catch in great Numbers; the Fleſh is ſalted up generally to be the Victualling of their Slave-Ships, and the Train reſerved for Exportation, at 30 and 35 Millrays a Pipe.

Rio Janeiro (the Town St. *Sebaſtian*) is the Southernmoſt of the *Portugueſe*, the worſt provided of Neceſſaries, but commodious for a Settlement, becauſe nigh the Mine, and convenient to ſuperviſe the Slaves, who, as I have been told, do uſually allow their Maſter a Dollar *per Diem*, and have the Overplus of their Work (if any) to themſelves.

The Gold from hence is eſteemed the beſt, (for being of a copperiſh Colour,) and they have a Mint to run it into Coin, both here and at *Bahia*; the Moidors of either having the initial Letters of each Place upon them.

Pernambuca (tho' mention'd laſt) is the ſecond in Dignity, a large and populous Town, and has its riſe from the Ruins of *Olinda*, (or the handſome,) a City of a far pleaſanter Situation, ſix Miles up the River, but not ſo commodious for Traffick and Commerce. Juſt above the Town the River divides it ſelf into two Branches, not running directly into the Sea, but to the Southward; and in the Nook of the Iſland made by that Diviſion, ſtands the Governor's Houſe, a ſquare plain Building of Prince *Maurice*'s, with two Towers, on which are only this Date inſcribed, *Anno* 1641. The Avenues to it are every way pleaſant, thro' Viſto's of tall Coco-Nut Trees.

Over each Branch of the River is a Bridge; that leading to the Country is all of Timber, but the

other to the Town (of twenty ſix or twenty eight Arches) is half of Stone, made by the *Dutch*, who in their Time had little Shops and gaming Houſes on each Side for Recreation.

The Pavements alſo of the Town are in ſome Places of broad Tiles, the remaining Fragments of their Conqueſt. The Town has the outer Branch of the River behind it, and the Harbour before it, jetting into which latter are cloſe Keys for the weighing and receiving of Cuſtomage on Merchandize, and for the meeting and conferring of Merchants and Traders. The Houſes are ſtrong built, but homely, letticed like thoſe of *Lisbon*, for the Admiſſion of Air, without Cloſets, and what is worſe, Hearths; which makes their Cookery conſiſt all in frying and ſtewing upon Stoves; and that they do till the Fleſh become tender enough to ſhake it to Pieces, and one Knife is then thought ſufficient to ſerve a Table of half a Score.

The greateſt Inconvenience of *Pernambuca* is, that there is not one Publick-Houſe in it; ſo that Strangers are obliged to hire any ordinary one they can get, at a Guinea a Month: And others who come to tranſact Affairs of Importance, muſt come recommended, if it were only for the ſake of Privacy.

The Market is ſtocked well enough, Beef being at five Farthings *per l.* a Sheep or Goat at nine Shillings, a Turkey four Shillings, and Fowls two Shillings, the largeſt I ever ſaw, and may be procured much Cheaper, by hiring a Man to fetch them out of the Country. The deareſt in its kind is Water, which being fetch'd in Veſſels from *Olinda*, will not be put on Board in the Road under two Cruſado's a Pipe.

The *Portugueſe* here are darker than thoſe of *Europe*, not only from a warmer Climate, but their many Intermarriages with the Negroes, who are

nume-

numerous there, and ſome of them of good Credit and Circumſtances. The Women (not unlike the Mulatto Generation every where elſe) are fond of Strangers; not only the Courtezans, whoſe Intereſt may be ſuppoſed to wind up their Affections, but alſo the marryed Women who think themſelves obliged, when you favour them with the Secrecy of an Appointment; but the Unhappineſs of purſuing Amours, is, that the generallity of both Sexes are touched with veneral Taints, without ſo much as one Surgeon among them, or any Body skilled in Phyſick, to cure or palliate the progreſſive Miſchief: The only Perſon pretending that Way, is an *Iriſh* Father, whoſe Knowledge is all comprehended in the Virtues of two or three Simples, and thoſe, with the Salubrity of the Air and Temperance, is what they depend on, for ſubduing the worſt of Malignity; and it may not be unworthy Notice, that tho' few are exempted from the Misfortune of a Running, Eruptions, or the like, yet I could hear of none precipitated into thoſe deplorable Circumſtances we ſee common in unskillful mercurial Proceſſes.

There are three Monaſteries, and about ſix Churches, none of them Rich or Magnificent, unleſs one dedicated to St. *Antonio*, the Patron of their Kingdom, which ſhines all over with exquiſite Pieces of Paint and Gold.

The Export of *Braſil* (beſides Gold)is chiefly Sugars and Tobacco; the latter are ſent off in Rowls of a Quintal Weight, kept continually moiſtened with Muloſſus, which, with the Soil it ſprings from, imparts a ſtrong and peculiar Scent, more ſenſible in the Snuff made from it, which tho' under Prohibition of importing to *Lisbon*, ſells here at 2 *s. per l.* as the Tobacco does at about 6 Millraies a Rowl. The fineſt of their Sugars ſells at 8 *s. per* Roove, and a ſmall ill taſted Rum drawn from

the Dregs and Muloſſus, at two Teſtunes a Gallon.

Beſides theſe, they ſend off great Quantities of Braſil Wood, and Whale Oyl, ſome Gums and Parrots, the latter are different from the *African* in Colour and Bigneſs, for as they are blue and larger, theſe are green and ſmaller; and the Females of them ever retain the wild Note, and cannot be brought to talk.

In lieu of this Produce, the *Portugueze*, once every Year by their Fleet from *Lisbon*, import all manner of European Commodities; and whoever is unable or negligent of ſupplying himſelf at that Seaſon, buys at a very advanced Rate, before the Return of another.

To tranſport Paſſengers, Slaves, or Merchandize from one Settlement to another, or in Fiſhing; they make uſe of Bark-Logs, by the *Braſilians* called *Jingadahs:* They are made of four Pieces of Timber (the two outermoſt longeſt) pinned and faſtened together, and ſharpened at the Ends: Towards each Extremity a Stool is fixed to ſit on for paddling, or holding by, when the Agitation is more than ordinary; with theſe odd ſort of Engines, continually waſhed over by the Water, do theſe People, with a little triangular Sail ſpreeted about the Middle of it, venture out of Sight of Land, and along the Coaſts for many Leagues, in any ſort of Weather; and if they overſet with a Squall (which is not uncommon) they ſwim and preſently turn it up right again.

The Natives are of the darkeſt Copper Colour, with thin Hair, of a ſquare ſtrong make, and muſcular; but not ſo well looking as the Wooley Generation: They acquieſce patiently to the *Portugueze* Government, who uſe them much more humanly and Chriſtian-like than the *Dutch* did, and by that Means have extended Quietneſs and Peace, as well

as

as their Poſſeſſions, three or four hundred Miles into the Country. A Country abounding with fine Paſtures and numerous Herds of Cattle, and yields a vaſt Increaſe from every thing that is ſown: Hence they bring down to us Parrots, ſmall Monkies, Armadillos and Sanguins, and I have been aſſured, they have, (far In-land,) a Serpent of a vaſt Magnitude, called *Siboya*, able, they ſay, to ſwallow a whole Sheep; I have ſeen my ſelf here the Skin of another Specie full ſix Yards long, and therefore think the Story not improbable.

The Harbour of *Pernambuca* is, perhaps, ſingular, it is made of a Ledge of Rocks, half a Cables length from the Main, and but little above the Surface of the Water, running at that equal Diſtance and Heighth ſeveral Leagues, towards Cape *Auguſtine*, a Harbour running between them capable of receiving Ships of the greateſt Burthen: The Northermoſt End of this Wall of Rock, is higher than any Part of the contiguous Line, on which a little Fort is built, commanding the Paſſage either of Boat or Ship, as they come over the Bar into the Harbour: On the Starboard Side, (*i. e.* the Main) after you have entered a little way, ſtands another Fort (a *Pentagon*) that would prove of ſmall Account, I imagine, againſt a few diſciplined Men; and yet in theſe conſiſts all their Strength and Security, either for the Harbour or Town: They have begun indeed a Wall, ſince their removing from *Olinda*, deſigned to ſurround the latter; but the ſlow Progreſs they make in raiſing it, leaves Room to ſuſpect 'twill be a long time in finiſhing.

The Road without, is uſed by the *Portugueze*, when they are nigh ſailing for *Europe*, and wait for the Convoy, or are bound to *Bahia* to them, and by Strangers only when Neceſſity compels; the beſt of it is in ten Fathom Water, near three Miles W. N. W. from the Town; nigher in, is foul with the many Anchors

Anchors loſt there by the *Portugueze* Ships; and farther out (in 14 Fathom) corally and Rocky. *July* is the worſt and Winter Seaſon of this Coaſt, the Trade Winds being then very ſtrong and dead, bringing in a prodigious and unſafe Swell into the Road, intermixed every Day with Squalls, Rain, and a hazey Horizon, but at other times ſerener Skies and Sunſhine.

In theſe Southern Latitudes is a Conſtellation, which from ſome Reſemblance it bears to a *Jeruſalem* Croſs, has the Name of *Croſiers*, the brighteſt of this Hemiſphere, and are obſerved by, as the North Star is in Northern Latitudes; but what I mention this for, is, to introduce the admirable Phænomenon in theſe Seas of the Megellanick Clouds, whoſe Riſings and Sittings are ſo regular, that I have been aſſured, the ſame Nocturnal Obſervations are made by them as by the Stars; They are two Clouds, ſmall and whitiſh, no larger in Appearance than a Man's Hat, and are ſeen here in *July* in the Latitude of 8° S. about four of the Clock in the Morning; if their Appearance ſhould be ſaid to be the Reflection of Light, from ſome Stellary Bodies above them, yet the Difficulty is not eaſily anſwered, how theſe, beyond others, become ſo durable and regular in their Motions.

From theſe caſual Obſervations on the Country, the Towns, Coaſt, and Seas of *Braſil*, it would be an Omiſſion to leave the Subject, without ſome Eſſay on an interloping Slave Trade here, which none of our Countrymen are adventrous enough to purſue, though it very probably, under a prudent Manager, would be attended with Safety and very great Profit; and I admire the more it is not ſtruck at, becauſe Ships from the Southern Coaſt of *Africa*, don't lengthen the Voyage to the *Weſt-Indies* a great deal, by taking a Part of *Braſil* in their Way.

The

The Diſadvantages the *Portugueze* are under for purchaſing Slaves, are theſe, that they have very few proper Commodities for *Guiney*, and the Gold, which was their chiefeſt, by an Edict in *July* 1722, ſtands now prohibited from being carried thither, ſo that the Ships employed therein are few, and inſufficient for the great Mortality and Call of their Mines; beſides, ſhould they venture at breaking ſo deſtructive a Law, as the abovementioned (as no doubt they do, or they could make little or no Purchace) yet Gold does not raiſe its Value like Merchandize in travelling (eſpecially to *Africa*) and when the Compoſition with the *Dutch* is alſo paid, they may be ſaid to buy their Negroes at almoſt double the Price the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, or *French* do, which neceſſarily raiſes their Value extravagantly at *Braſil*; (thoſe who can purchaſe one, buying a certainer Annuity than *South-Sea* Stock.)

Thus far of the Call for Slaves at *Braſil*; I ſhall now conſider and obviate ſome Difficulties objected againſt any Foreigners (ſuppoſe *Engliſh*) interpoſing in ſuch a Trade, and they are ſome on theirs, and ſome on our Side.

On their Side it is prohibited under Pain of Death, a Law leſs effectual to the Prevention of it than pecuniary Mulcts would be, becauſe a Penalty ſo inadequate and diſproportioned, is only *In terrorem*, and makes it merciful in the Governor, or his Inſtruments, to take a Compoſition of eight or ten Moidors, when any Subject is catched, and is the common Cuſtom ſo to do as often as they are found out.

On our Side it is Confiſcation of what they can get, which conſidering, they have no Men of War to guard the Coaſt, need be very little, without ſupine Neglect and Careleſſneſs.

I am a Man of War, or Privateer, and being in Want of Proviſions, or in Search of Pyrates, put

in

in to *Pernambuca* for Intelligence, to enable me for the Purſuit: The Dread of Pyrates keeps every one off, till you have firſt ſent an Officer, with the proper Compliments to the Governor, who immediately gives Leave for your buying every Neceſſary you are in want of, provided it be with Money, and not an Exchange of Merchandize, which is againſt the Laws of the Country.

On this firſt time of going on Shore, depends the Succeſs of the whole Affair, and requires a cautious and diſcreet Management in the Perſon entruſted: He will be immediately ſurrounded at landing with the great and the ſmall Rabble, to enquire who? and whence he comes? and whether bound? *&c.* and the Men are taught to anſwer, from *Guiney*, denying any thing of a Slave on Board, which are under Hatches, and make no Shew; nor need they, for thoſe who have Money to lay out will conclude on that themſelves.

By that time the Compliment is paid to the Governor, the News has ſpread all round the Town, and ſome Merchant addreſſes you, as a Stranger, to the Civility of his Houſe, but privately deſires to know what Negroes he can have, and what Price. A Governor may poſſibly uſe an Inſtrument in ſifting this, but the Appearance of the Gentleman, and the Circumſtance of being ſo ſoon engaged after leaving the other, will go a great way in forming a Man's Judgment, and leaves him no room for the Suſpicion of ſuch a Snare; however, to have a due Guard, Intimations will ſuffice, and bring him, and Friends enough to carry off the beſt Part of a Cargo in two Nights time, from 20 to 30 Moidors a Boy, and from 30 to 40 a Man Slave. The Hazard is leſs at *Rio Janeiro*.

There has been another Method attempted, of ſettling a Correſpondence with ſome *Portugueze* Merchant or two, who, as they may be certain within a Fortnight

Fortnight of any Veſſels arriving on their Coaſt with Slaves, might ſettle Signals for the debarquing them at an unfrequented Part of the Coaſt, but whether any Exceptions were made to the Price, or that the *Portugueſe* dread Diſcovery, and the ſevereſt Proſecution on ſo notorious a Breach of the Law, I cannot tell but it has hitherto proved abortive.

However, Stratagems laudable, and attended with Profit, at no other Hazard (as I can perceive) then loſs of Time, are worth attempting; it is what is every Day practiſed with the *Spaniards* from *Jamaica.*

Upon this Coaſt our Rovers cruiz'd for about nine Weeks, keeping generally out of Sight of Land, but without ſeeing a Sail, which diſcourag'd them ſo, that they determined to leave the Station, and ſteer for the *Weſt-Indies,* and in order thereto, ſtood in to make the Land for the taking of their Departure, and thereby they fell in, unexpectedly, with a Fleet of 42 Sail of *Portugueſe* Ships, off the Bay of *los todos Santos,* with all their Lading in for *Lisbon,* ſeveral of them of good Force, who lay too waiting for two Men of War of 70 Guns each, their Convoy. However, *Roberts* thought it ſhould go hard with him, but he would make up his Market among them, and thereupon mix'd with the Fleet, and kept his Men hid till proper Reſolutions could be form'd; that done, they came cloſe up to one of the deepeſt, and ordered her to ſend the Maſter on Board quietly, threat'ning to give them no Quarters, if any Reſiſtance, or Signal of Diſtreſs was made. The *Portugueſe* being ſurprized at theſe Threats, and the ſudden flouriſh of Cutlaſhes from the Pyrates, ſubmitted without a Word, and the Captain came on Board; *Roberts* ſaluted him after a friendly manner, telling him, that they were Gentlemen of Fortune, but that their Buſi-

neſs

neſs with him, was only to be informed which was the richeſt Ship in that Fleet; and if he directed them right, he ſhould be reſtored to his Ship without Moleſtation, otherwiſe, he muſt expect immediate Death.

Whereupon this *Portugueſe* Maſter pointed to one of 40 Guns, and 150 Men, a Ship of greater Force than the *Rover*, but this no Ways diſmayed them, *they were* Portuguese, they ſaid, and ſo immediately ſteered away for him. When they came within Hail, the Maſter whom they had Priſoner, was ordered to ask, *how Seignior Capitain did?* And to invite him on Board, *for that he had a Matter of Conſequence to impart to him*, which being done, he returned for Anſwer, *That he would wait upon him preſently*: But by the Buſtle that immediately followed, the Pyrates perceived, they were diſcovered, and that this was only a deceitful Anſwer to gain Time to put their Ship in a Poſture of Defence; ſo without further Delay, they poured in a Broad-Side, boarded and grapled her; the Diſpute was ſhort and warm, wherein many of the *Portugueſe* fell, and two only of the Pyrates. By this Time the Fleet was alarmed, Signals of Top-gallant Sheets flying, and Guns fired, to give Notice to the Men of War, who rid ſtill at an Anchor, and made but ſcurvy haſt out to their Aſſiſtance; and if what the Pyrates themſelves related, be true, the Commanders of thoſe Ships were blameable to the higheſt Degree, and unworthy the Title, or ſo much as the Name of Men: For *Roberts* finding the Prize to ſail heavy, and yet reſolving not to looſe her, lay by for the headmoſt of them (which much out ſailed the other) and prepared for Battle, which was ignominiouſly declined, tho' of ſuch ſuperior Force; for not daring to venture on the Pyrate alone, he tarried ſo long for his Conſort as gave them both time leiſurely to make off.

They

They found this Ship exceeding rich, being laden chiefly with Sugar, Skins, and Tobacco, and in Gold 40000 Moidors, beſides Chains and Trinckets, of conſiderable Value; particularly a Croſs ſet with Diamonds, deſigned for the King of *Portugal*; which they afterwards preſented to the Governor of *Caiana*, by whom they were obliged.

Elated with this Booty, they had nothing now to think of but ſome ſafe Retreat, where they might give themſelves up to all the Pleaſures that Luxury and Wantonneſs could beſtow, and for the preſent pitch'd upon a Place called the *Devil's Iſlands*, in the River of *Surinam*, on the Coaſt of *Caiana*, where they arrived, and found the civileſt Reception imaginable, not only from the Governor and Factory, but their Wives, who exchanged Wares and drove a conſiderable Trade with them.

They ſeiz'd in this River a Sloop, and by her gained Intelligence, that a Brigantine had alſo ſailed in Company with her, from *Rhode-Iſland*, laden with Proviſions for the Coaſt. A Welcome Cargo! They growing ſhort in the Sea Store, and as *Sancho* ſays, *No Adventures to be made without Belly-Timber*. One Evening as they were rumaging (their Mine of Treaſure) the *Portugueſe* Prize, this expected Veſſel was deſcry'd at Maſt-Head, and *Roberts*, imagining no Body could do the Buſineſs ſo well as himſelf, takes 40 Men in the Sloop, and goes in purſuit of her; but a fatal Accident followed this raſh, tho' inconſiderable Adventure, for *Roberts* thinking of nothing leſs than bringing in the Brigantine that Afternoon, never troubled his Head about the Sloop's Proviſion, nor inquired what there was on Board to ſubſiſt ſuch a Number of Men; but out he ſails after his expected Prize, which he not only loſt further Sight of, but after eight Days contending with contrary Winds and Currents,

found

found themſelves thirty Leagues to Leeward. The Current ſtill oppoſing their Endeavours, and perceiving no Hopes of beating up to their Ship, they came to an Anchor, and inconſiderately ſent away the Boat to give the reſt of the Company Notice of their Condition, and to order the Ship to them; but too ſoon, even the next Day, their Wants made them ſenſible of their Infatuation, for their Water was all expended, and they had taken no thought how they ſhould be ſupply'd, till either the Ship came, or the Boat returned, which was not likely to be under five or ſix Days. Here like *Tantalus*, they almoſt famiſhed in Sight of the freſh Streams and Lakes; being drove to ſuch Extremity at laſt, that they were forc'd to tare up the Floor of the Cabin, and patch up a ſort of Tub or Tray with Rope Yarns, to paddle aſhore, and fetch off immediate Supplies of Water to preſerve Life.

After ſome Days, the long-wiſh'd-for Boat came back, but with the moſt unwellcome News in the World, for *Kennedy*, who was Lieutenant, and left in Abſence of *Roberts*, to Command the Privateer and Prize, was gone off with both. This was Mortification with a Vengeance, and you may imagine, they did not depart without ſome hard Speeches from thoſe that were left, and had ſuffered by their Treachery: And that there need be no further mention of this *Kennedy*, I ſhall leave Captain *Roberts*, for a Page or two, with the Remains of his Crew, to vent their Wrath in a few Oaths and Execrations, and follow the other, whom we may reckon from that Time, as ſteering his Courſe towards *Execution Dock*.

Kennedy was now choſen Captain of the revolted Crew, but could not bring his Company to any determined Reſolution; ſome of them were for purſuing the old Game, but the greater Part of them ſeem'd to have Inclinations to turn from thoſe evil

evil Courſes, and get home privately, (for there was no Act of Pardon in Force,) therefore they agreed to break up, and every Man to ſhift for himſelf, as he ſhould ſee Occaſion. The firſt Thing they did, was to part with the great *Portugueze* Prize, and having the Maſter of the Sloop (whoſe Name I think was *Cane*) aboard, who they ſaid was a very honeſt Fellow, (for he had humoured them upon every Occaſion,) told them of the Brigantine that *Roberts* went after; and when the Pyrates firſt took him, he complemented them at an odd Rate, telling them they were welcome to his Sloop and Cargo, and wiſh'd that the Veſſel had been larger, and the Loading richer for their Sakes: To this good natured Man they gave the *Portugueze* Ship, (which was then above half loaded,) three or four Negroes, and all his own Men, who returned Thanks to his kind Benefactors, and departed.

Captain *Kennedy* in the *Rover*, ſailed to *Barbadoes*, near which Iſland, they took a very peaceable Ship belonging to *Virginia*; the Commander was a Quaker, whoſe Name was *Knot*; he had neither Piſtol, Sword, nor Cutlaſh on Board; and Mr. *Knot* appearing ſo very paſſive to all they ſaid to him, ſome of them thought this a good Opportunity to go off; and accordingly eight of the Pyrates went aboard, and he carried them ſafe to *Virginia*: They made the Quaker a Preſent of 10 Cheſts of Sugar, 10 Rolls of *Braſil* Tobacco, 30 Moidors, and ſome Gold-Duſt, in all to the value of about 250 *l.* They alſo made Preſents to the Sailors, ſome more, ſome leſs, and lived a jovial Life all the while they were upon their Voyage, Captain *Knot* giving them their Way; nor indeed could he help himſelf, unleſs he had taken an Opportunity to ſurprize them, when they were either drunk or aſleep; for awake they wore Arms aboard the Ship, and put him in a continual Terror; it not being his Prin-

ciple (or the Sect's) to fight, unless with Art and Colluſion; he managed theſe Weapons well till he arrived at the Capes, and afterwards four of the Pyrates went off in a Boat, which they had taken with them, for the more eaſily making their Eſcapes, and made up the Bay towards *Maryland*, but were forced back by a Storm into an obſcure Place of the Country, where meeting with good Entertainment among the Planters, they continued ſeveral Days without being diſcovered to be Pyrates. In the mean Time Captain *Knot* leaving four others on Board his Ship, (who intended to go to *North-Carolina*,) made what haſt he could to diſcover to Mr. *Spotſwood* the Governor, what ſort of Paſſengers he had been forced to bring with him, who by good Fortune got them ſeized; and Search being made after the others, who were revelling about the Country, they were alſo taken, and all try'd, convicted and hang'd, two *Portugueſe* Jews who were taken on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, and whom they brought with them to *Virginia*, being the principal Evidences. The latter had found Means to lodge Part of their Wealth with the Planters, who never brought it to Account: But Captain *Knot* ſurrendered up every Thing that belonged to them, that were taken aboard, even what they preſented to him, in lieu of ſuch Things as they had plundered him of in their Paſſage, and obliged his Men to do the like.

Some Days after the taking of the *Virginia* Man laſt mentioned, in cruiſing in the Latitude of *Jamaica*, *Kennedy* took a Sloop bound thither from *Boſton*, loaded with Bread and Flower; aboard of this Sloop went all the Hands who were for breaking the Gang, and left thoſe behind that had a Mind to purſue further Adventures. Among the former were *Kennedy*, their Captain, of whoſe Honour they had ſuch a diſpicable Notion, that they were about

about to throw him over-board, when they found him in the Sloop, as fearing he might betray them all, at their return to *England*; he having in his Childhood been bred a Pick-pocket, and before he became a Pyrate, a Houſe-breaker; both Profeſſions that theſe Gentlemen have a very mean Opinion of. However, Captain *Kennedy*, by taking ſolemn Oaths of Fidelity to his Companions, was ſuffered to proceed with them.

In this Company there was but one that pretended to any skill in Navigation, (for *Kennedy* could neither write nor read, he being preferred to the Command merely for his Courage, which indeed he had often ſignaliz'd, particularly in taking the *Portugueſe* Ship,) and he proved to be a Pretender only; for ſhaping their Courſe to *Ireland*, where they agreed to land, they ran away to the North-Weſt Coaſt of *Scotland*, and there were toſt about by hard Storms of Wind for ſeveral Days, without knowing where they were, and in great Danger of periſhing: At length they puſhed the Veſſel into a little Creek, and went all aſhore, leaving the Sloop at an Anchor for the next Comers.

The whole Company refreſh'd themſelves at a little Village about five Miles from the Place where they left the Sloop, and paſſed there for Ship-wreck'd Sailors, and no doubt might have travelled on without Suſpicion; but the mad and riotous Manner of their Living on the Road, occaſion'd their Journey to be cut ſhort, as we ſhall obſerve preſently.

Kennedy and another left them here, and travelling to one of the Sea-Ports, ſhip'd themſelves for *Ireland*, and arrived there in Safety. Six or ſeven wiſely withdrew from the reſt, travelled at their leaſure, and got to their much deſired Port of *London*, without being diſturbed or ſuſpected; but the

main Gang alarm'd the Country where-ever they came, drinking and roaring at such a Rate, that the People shut themselves up in their Houses, in some Places, not daring to venture out among so many mad Fellows: In other Villages, they treated the whole Town, squandering their Money away, as if, like *Æsop*, they wanted to lighten their Burthens: This expensive manner of Living procured two of their drunken Straglers to be knocked on the Head, they being found murdered in the Road, and their Money taken from them: All the rest, to the Number of seventeen as they drew nigh to *Edinburgh*, were arrested and thrown into Goal, upon Suspicion, of they knew not what; However, the Magistrates were not long at a Loss for proper Accusations, for two of the Gang offering themselves for Evidences were accepted of; and the others were brought to a speedy Tryal, whereof nine were convicted and executed.

Kennedy having spent all his Money, came over from *Ireland*, and kept a common B——y-House on *Deptford* Road, and now and then, 'twas thought, made an Excursion abroad in the Way of his former Profession, till one of his Houshold W——s gave Information against him for a Robbery, for which he was committed to *Bridewell*; but because she would not do the Business by halves, she found out a Mate of a Ship that *Kennedy* had committed Pyracy upon, as he foolishly confess'd to her. This Mate, whose Name was *Grant*, paid *Kennedy* a Visit in *Bridewell*, and knowing him to be the Man, procured a Warrant, and had him committed to the *Marshalsea* Prison.

The Game that *Kennedy* had now to play was to turn Evidence himself; accordingly he gave a List of eight or ten of his Comrades; but not being acquainted with their Habitations, one only was taken, who, tho' condemn'd, appeared to be a Man of

of a fair Character, was forc'd into their Service, and took the firſt Opportunity to get from them, and therefore receiv'd a Pardon; but *Walter Kennedy* being a notorious Offender, was executed the 19th of *July*, 1721, at *Execution Dock*.

The reſt of the Pyrates who were left in the Ship *Rover*, ſtaid not long behind, for they went aſhore to one of the *Weſt-India* Iſlands; what became of them afterwards, I can't tell, but the Ship was found at Sea by a Sloop belonging to St. *Chriſtophers*, and carried into that Iſland with only nine Negroes aboard.

Thus we ſee what a diſaſtrous Fate ever attends the Wicked, and how rarely they eſcape the Puniſhment due to their Crimes, who, abandon'd to ſuch a profligate Life, rob, ſpoil, and prey upon Mankind, contrary to the Light and Law of Nature, as well as the Law of God. It might have been hoped, that the Examples of theſe Deaths, would have been as Marks to the Remainder of this Gang, how to ſhun the Rocks their Companions had ſplit on; that they would have ſurrendered to Mercy, or divided themſelves, for ever from ſuch Purſuits, as in the End they might be ſure would ſubject them to the ſame Law and Puniſhment, which they muſt be conſcious they now equally deſerved; *impending Law*, which never let them ſleep well, unleſs when drunk. But all the Uſe that was made of it here, was to commend the Juſtice of the Court, that condemn'd *Kennedy*, *for he was a ſad Dog* (they ſaid) *and deſerved the Fate he met with.*

But to go back to *Roberts*, whom we left on the Coaſt of *Caiana*, in a grievous Paſſion at what *Kennedy* and the Crew had done; and who was now projecting new Adventures with his ſmall Company in the Sloop; but finding hitherto they had been but as a Rope of Sand, they formed a Set of Articles, to be ſigned and ſworn to, for the better

Conſervation of their Society, and doing Juſtice to one another; excluding all *Iriſh* Men from the Benefit of it, to whom they had an implacable Averſion upon the Account of *Kennedy*. How indeed *Roberts* could think that an Oath would be obligatory, where Defiance had been given to the Laws of God and Man, I can't tell, but he thought their greateſt Security lay in this, *That it was every one's Intereſt to obſerve them if they were minded to keep up ſo abominable a Combination.*

The following, is the Subſtance of the Articles, as taken from the Pyrates own Informations.

I.

EVery Man has a Vote in Affairs of Moment; has equal Title to the freſh Proviſions, or ſtrong Liquors, at any Time ſeized, and uſe them at pleaſure, unleſs a Scarcity (no uncommon Thing among them) *make it neceſſary, for the good of all, to vote a Retrenchment.*

II.

Every Man to be called fairly in turn, by Liſt, on Board of Prizes, becauſe, (over and above their proper Share,) they were on theſe Occaſions allowed a Shift of Cloaths: But if they defrauded the Company to the Va ue of a Dollar, in Plate, Jewels, or Money, MAROONING *was their Puniſhment.* This was a Barbarous Cuſtom of putting the Offender on Shore, on ſome deſolate or uninhabited Cape or Iſland, with a Gun, a few Shot, a Bottle of Water, and a Bottle of Powder, to ſubſiſt with, or ſtarve. *If the Robbery was only between one another, they contented themſelves with ſlitting the Ears and Noſe of him that was Guilty, and ſet him on Shore, not in an uninhabited Place, but ſomewhere, where he was ſure to encounter Hardſhips.*

III.

III.

No Person to Game at Cards or Dice for Money.

IV.

The Lights and Candles to be put out at eight o'Clock at Night: If any of the Crew, after that Hour, still remained inclined for Drinking, they were to do it on the open Deck; which *Roberts* believed would give a Check to their Debauches, for he was a sober Man himself, but found at length, that all his Endeavours to put an End to this Debauch, proved ineffectual.

V.

To keep their Piece, Pistols, and Cutlash clean, and fit for Service: In this they were extravagantly nice, endeavouring to outdo one another, in the Beauty and Richness of their Arms, giving sometimes at an Auction (at the Mast,) 30 or 40*l.* a Pair, for Pistols. These were slung in Time of Service, with different coloured Ribbands, over their Shoulders, in a Way peculiar to these Fellows, in which they took great Delight.

VI.

No Boy or Woman to be allowed amongst them. If any Man were found seducing anny of the latter Sex, and carried her to Sea, disguised, he was to suffer Death; so that when any fell into their Hands, as it chanced in the *Onslow*, they put a Centinel immediately over her to prevent ill Consequences from so dangerous an Instrument of Division and Quarrel; but then here lies the Roguery; they contend who shall be Centinel, which happens generally to one of the

greateſt Bullies, who, to ſecure the Lady's Virtue, will let none lye with her but himſelf.

VII.

To Deſert the Ship, or their Quarters in Battle, was puniſhed with Death, or Marooning.

VIII.

No ſtriking one another on Board, but every Man's Quarrels to be ended on Shore, at Sword and Piſtol, Thus; The Quarter-Maſter of the Ship, when the Parties will not come to any Reconciliation, accompanies them on Shore with what Aſſiſtance he thinks proper, and turns the Diſputants Back to Back, at ſo many Paces Diſtance: At the Word of Command, they turn and fire immediately, (or elſe the Piece is knocked out of their Hands:) If both miſs, they come to their Cutlaſhes, and then he is declared Victor who draws the firſt Blood.

IX.

No Man to talk of breaking up their Way of Living, till each had ſhared a 1000 *l. If in order to this, any Man ſhould loſe a Limb, or become a Cripple in their Service, he was to have* 800 *Dollars, out of the publick Stock, and for leſſer Hurts, proportionably.*

X.

The Captain and Quarter-Maſter to receive two Shares of a Prize; the Maſter, Boatſwain, and Gunner, one Share and a half, and other Officers, one and a Quarter.

XI.

The Muſicians to have Reſt on the Sabbath Day, but the other ſix Days and Nights, none without ſpecial Favour.

Theſe

Theſe, we are aſſured, were ſome of *Roberts*'s Articles, but as they had taken Care to throw over-board the Original they had ſign'd and ſworn to, there is a great deal of Room to ſuſpect, the remainder contained ſomething too horrid to be diſcloſed to any, except ſuch as were willing to be Sharers in the Iniquity of them; let them be what they will, they were together the Teſt of all new Comers, who were initiated by an Oath taken on a Bible, reſerv'd for that Purpoſe only, and were ſubſcrib'd to in Preſence of the worſhipful Mr. *Roberts*. And in Caſe any Doubt ſhould ariſe concerning the Conſtruction of theſe Laws, and it ſhould remain a Diſpute whether the Party had infring'd them or no, a Jury is appointed to explain them, and bring in a Verdict upon the Caſe in Doubt.

Since we are now ſpeaking of the Laws of this Company, I ſhall go on, and, in as brief a Manner as I can, relate the principal Cuſtoms, and Government, of this roguiſh Common-Wealth; which are pretty near the ſame with all Pyrates.

For the Puniſhment of ſmall Offences, which are not provided for by the Articles, and which are not of Conſequence enough to be left to a Jury, there is a principal Officer among the Pyrates, called the Quarter-Maſter, of the Mens own chuſing, who claims all Authority this Way, (excepting in Time of Battle:) If they diſobey his Command, are quarrelſome and mutinous with one another, miſuſe Priſoners, plunder beyond his Order, and in particular, if they be negligent of their Arms, which he muſters at Diſcretion, he puniſhes at his own Arbitrement, with drubbing or whipping, which no one elſe dare do without incurring the Laſh from all the Ships Company: In ſhort, this Officer is Truſtee for the whole, is the firſt on Board any Prize, ſeparating for the Company's Uſe, what

what he pleaſes, and returning what he thinks fit to the Owners, excepting Gold and Silver, which they have voted not returnable.

After a Deſcription of the Quarter-Maſter, and his Duty, who acts as a ſort of a civil Magiſtrate on Board a Pyrate Ship; I ſhall conſider their military Officer, the Captain; what Privileges he exerts in ſuch anarchy and unrulyneſs of the Members: Why truly very little, they only permit him to be Captain, on Condition, that they may be Captain over him; they ſeparate to his Uſe the great Cabin, and ſometimes vote him ſmall Parcels of Plate and China, (for it may be noted that *Roberts* drank his Tea conſtantly) but then every Man, as the Humour takes him, will uſe the Plate and China, intrude into his Apartment, ſwear at him, ſeize a Part of his Victuals and Drink, if they like it, without his offering to find Fault or conteſt it: Yet *Roberts*, by a better Management than uſual, became the chief Director in every Thing of Moment, and it happened thus: --- The Rank of Captain being obtained by the Suffrage of the Majority, it falls on one ſuperior for Knowledge and Boldneſs, *Piſtol Proof* (as they call it,) and can make thoſe fear, who do not love him; *Roberts* is ſaid to have exceeded his Fellows in theſe Reſpects, and when advanced, enlarged the Reſpect that followed it, by making a ſort of Privy-Council of half a Dozen of the greateſt Bullies; ſuch as were his Competitors, and had Intereſt enough to make his Government eaſy; yet even thoſe, in the latter Part of his Reign, he had run counter to in every Project that oppoſed his own Opinion; for which, and becauſe he grew reſerved, and would not drink and roar at their Rate, a Cabal was formed to take away his Captainſhip, which Death did more effectually.

The

The Captain's Power is uncontroulable in Chace, or in Battle, drubbing, cutting, or even ſhooting any one who dares deny his Command. The ſame Privilege he takes over Priſoners, who receive good or ill Uſage, moſtly as he approves of their Behaviour, for tho' the meaneſt would take upon them to miſuſe a Maſter of a Ship, yet he would controul herein, when he ſee it, and merrily over a Bottle, give his Priſoners this double Reaſon for it. Firſt, That it preſerved his Precedence; and ſecondly, That it took the Puniſhment out of the Hands of a much more raſh and mad Sett of Fellows than himſelf. When he found that Rigour was not expected from his People, (for he often practiſed it to appeaſe them,) then he would give Strangers to underſtand, that it was pure Inclination that induced him to a good Treatment of them, and not any Love or Partiality to their Perſons; for, ſays he, *there is none of you but will hang me, I know, whenever you can clinch me within your Power.*

And now ſeeing the Diſadvantages they were under for purſuing the Account, *viz.* a ſmall Veſſel ill repaired, and without Proviſions, or Stores; they reſolved one and all, with the little Supplies they could get, to proceed for the *Weſt-Indies*, not doubting to find a Remedy for all theſe Evils, and to retreive their Loſs.

In the Latitude of *Deſeada*, one of the Iſlands, they took two Sloops, which ſupply'd them with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries; and a few Days afterwards, took a Brigantine belonging to *Rhode Iſland*, and then proceeded to *Barbadoes*, off of which Iſland, they fell in with a *Briſtol* Ship of 10 Guns, in her Voyage out, from whom they took abundance of Cloaths, ſome Money, twenty five Bales of Goods, five Barrels of Powder, a Cable, Hawſer,

Hawſer, 10 Casks of Oatmeal, ſix Casks of Beef, and ſeveral other Goods, beſides five of their Men; and after they had detained her three Days, let her go; who being bound for the aboveſaid Iſland, ſhe acquainted the Governor with what had happened, as ſoon as ſhe arrived.

Whereupon a *Briſtol* Galley that lay in the Harbour, was ordered to be fitted out with all imaginable Expedition, of 20 Guns, and 80 Men, there being then no Man of War upon that Station, and alſo a Sloop with 10 Guns, and 40 Men: The Galley was commanded by one Captain *Rogers*, of *Briſtol*, and the Sloop by Captain *Graves*, of that Iſland, and Captain *Rogers* by a Commiſſion from the Governor, was appointed Commadore.

The ſecond Day after *Rogers* ſailed out of the Harbour, he was diſcovered by *Roberts*, who knowing nothing of their Deſign, gave them Chaſe: The *Barbadoes* Ships kept an eaſy ſail till the Pyrates came up with them, and then *Roberts* gave them a Gun, expecting they would have immediately ſtruck to his pyratical Flag, but inſtead thereof, he was forced to receive the Fire of a Broadſide, with three Huzzas at the ſame Time; ſo that an Engagement enſued, but *Roberts* being hardly put to it, was obliged to crowd all the Sail the Sloop would bear, to get off: The Galley ſailing pretty well, kept Company for a long while, keeping a conſtant Fire, which gall'd the Pyrate; however, at length by throwing over their Guns, and other heavy Goods, and thereby light'ning the Veſſel, they, with much ado, got clear; but *Roberts* could never endure a *Barbadoes* Man afterwards, and when any Ships belonging to that Iſland fell in his Way, he was more particularly ſevere to them than others.

Captain *Roberts* ſailed in the Sloop to the Iſland of *Dominico*, where he watered, and got Proviſions of

of the Inhabitants, to whom he gave Goods in Exchange. At this Place he met with 13 *Engliſhmen*, who had been ſet aſhore by a *French Guard de la Coſte*, belonging to *Martinico*, taken out of two *New-England* Ships, that had been ſeiz'd, as Prize, by the ſaid *French* Sloop: The Men willingly entered with the Pyrates, and it proved a ſeaſonable Recruit.

They ſtaid not long here, tho' they had immediate Occaſion for cleaning their Sloop, but did not think this a proper Place, and herein they judg'd right; for the touching at this Iſland, had like to have been their Deſtruction, becauſe they having reſolved to go away to the *Granada* Iſlands, for the aforeſaid Purpoſe, by ſome Accident it came to be known to the *French* Colony, who ſending Word to the Governor of *Martinico*, he equipped and manned two Sloops to go in Queſt of them. The Pyrates ſailed directly for the *Granadilloes*, and hall'd into a Lagoon, at *Corvocoo*, where they cleaned with unuſual Diſpatch, ſtaying but a little above a Week, by which Expedition they miſſed of the *Martinico* Sloops, only a few Hours; *Roberts* ſailing over Night, that the *French* arrived the next Morning. This was a fortunate Eſcape, eſpecially conſidering, that it was not from any Fears of their being diſcovered, that they made ſo much haſt from the Iſland; but, as they had the Impudence themſelves to own, for the want of Wine and Women.

Thus narrowly eſcaped, they ſailed for *Newfoundland*, and arrived upon the Banks the latter end of *June*, 1720. They entered the Harbour of *Trepaſſi*, with their black Colours flying, Drums beating, and Trumpets ſounding. There were two and twenty Veſſels in the Harbour, which the Men all quitted upon the Sight of the Pyrate, and fled aſhore. It is impoſſible particularly to recount

the

the Deſtruction and Havock they made here, burning and ſinking all the ſhipping, except a *Briſtol* Galley, and deſtroying the Fiſheries, and Stages of the poor Planters, without Remorſe or Compunction; for nothing is ſo deplorable as Power in mean and ignorant Hands, it makes Men wanton and giddy, unconcerned at the Misfortunes they are impoſing on their Fellow Creatures, and keeps them ſmiling at the Miſchiefs, that bring themſelves no Advantage. *They are like mad Men, that caſt Fire-Brands, Arrows, and Death, and ſay, are not we in Sport?*

Roberts mann'd the *Briſtol* Galley he took in the Harbour, and mounted 16 Guns on Board her, and cruiſing out upon the Banks, he met with nine or ten Sail of *French* Ships, all which he deſtroyed except one of 26 Guns, which they ſeiz'd, and carried off for their own Uſe. This Ship they chriſt'ned *the Fortune*, and leaving the *Briſtol* Galley to the *French* Men, they ſailed away in Company with the Sloop, on another Cruiſe, and took ſeveral Prizes, *viz.* the *Richard* of *Biddiford*, *Jonathan Whitfield* Maſter; the *Willing Mind* of *Pool*; the *Expectation* of *Topſham*; and the *Samuel*, Captain *Cary*, of *London*; out of theſe Ships they encreaſed their Company, by entring all the Men they could well ſpare, in their own Service. The *Samuel* was a rich Ship, and had ſeveral Paſſengers on Board, who were uſed very roughly, in order to make them diſcover their Money, threatning them every Moment with Death, if they did not reſign every Thing up to them. They tore up the Hatches and entered the Hold like a parcel of Furies, and with Axes and Cutlaſhes, cut and broke open all the Bales, Caſes, and Boxes, they could lay their Hands on; and when any Goods came upon Deck, that they did not like to carry aboard, inſtead of toſſing them into the Hold again, threw

threw them over-board into the Sea; all this was done with inceſſant curſing and ſwearing, more like Fiends than Men. They carried with them, Sails, Guns, Powder, Cordage, and 8 or 9000 l. worth of the choiceſt Goods; and told Captain *Cary, That they ſhould accept of no Act of Grace; that the K—— and P——t might be damned with their Acts of G—— for them; neither would they go to* Hope-Point, *to be hang'd up a Sun drying, as* Kidd's, *and* Braddiſh's *Company were; but that if they ſhould ever be overpower'd, they would ſet Fire to the Powder, with a Piſtol, and go all merrily to Hell together.*

After they had brought all the Booty aboard, a Conſultation was held whether they ſhould ſink or burn the Ship, but whilſt they were debating the Matter, they ſpyed a Sail, and ſo left the *Samuel*, to give her Chace; at Midnight they came up with the ſame, which proved to be a Snow from *Briſtol*, bound for *Boſton*, Captain *Bowles* Maſter: They us'd him barbarouſly, becauſe of his Country, Captain *Rogers*, who attack'd them off *Barbadoes*, being of the City of *Briſtol*.

July the 16th, which was two Days afterwards, they took a *Virginia* Man called the *Little York*, *James Philips* Maſter, and the *Love*, of *Leverpool*, which they plundered and let go; the next Day a Snow from *Briſtol*, call'd the *Phœnix*, *John Richards* Maſter, met with the ſame Fate from them; as alſo a Brigantine, Captain *Thomas*, and a Sloop called the *Sadbury*; they took all the Men out of the Brigantine, and ſunk the Veſſel.

When they left the Banks of *Newfoundland*, they ſailed for the *Weſt-Indies*, and the Proviſions growing ſhort, they went for the Latitude of the Iſland *Deſeada*, to cruiſe, it being eſteemed the likelieſt Place to meet with ſuch Ships as (they uſed in their Mirth to ſay) were conſigned to them, with Supplies. And it has been very much ſuſpected that

Ships

Ships have loaded with Provisions at the *English* Colonies, on pretence of Trading on the Coast of *Africa*, when they have in reality been consigned to them; and tho' a shew of Violence is offered to them when they meet, yet they are pretty sure of bringing their Cargo to a good Market.

However, at this Time they missed with their usual Luck, and Provisions and Necessaries becoming more scarce every Day, they retired towards St. *Christophers*, where being deny'd all Succour or Assistance from the Government, they fir'd in Revenge on the Town, and burnt two Ships in the Road, one of them commanded by Captain *Cox*, of *Bristol*; and then retreated farther to the Island of St. *Bartholomew*, where they met with much handsomer Treatment. The Governor not only supplying them with Refreshments, but he and the Chiefs carressing them in the most friendly Manner: And the Women, from so good an Example, endeavoured to outvie each other in Dress, and Behaviour, to attract the good Graces of such generous Lovers, that paid well for their Favours.

Sated at length with these Pleasures, and having taken on Board a good supply of fresh Provisions, they voted unanimously for the Coast of *Guiney*, and in the Latitude of 22 N. in their Voyage thither, met with a *French* Ship from *Martinico*, richly laden, and, which was unlucky for the Master, had a property of being fitter for their Purpose, than the Banker. *Exchange was no Robbery* they said, and so after a little mock Complaisance to *Monsieur*, for the Favour he had done them, they shifted their Men, and took leave: This was their first *Royal Fortune*.

In this Ship *Roberts* proceeded on his designed Voyage; but before they reached *Guiney*, he proposed to touch at *Brava*, the Southermost of *Cape Verd*

Verd Islands and clean. But here again by an intolerable Stupidity and want of Judgment, they got so far to Leeward of their Port, that despairing to regain it, or any of the Windward Parts of *Africa*, they were obliged to go back again with the Trade-Wind, for the *West-Indies*; which had very near been the Destruction of them all. *Surinam* was the Place now designed for, which was at no less than 700 Leagues Distance, and they had but one Hogshead of Water left to supply 124 Souls for that Passage; a sad Circumstance that eminently exposes the Folly and Madness among Pyrates, and he must be an inconsiderate Wretch indeed, who, if he could separate the Wickedness and Punishment from the Fact, would yet hazard his Life amidst such Dangers, as their want of Skill and Forecast made them liable to.

Their Sins, we may presume were never so troublesome to their Memories, as now, that inevitable Destruction seem'd to threaten them, without the least Glympse of Comfort or Alleviation to their Misery; for, with what Face could Wretches who had ravaged and made so many Necessitous, look up for Relief; they had to that Moment lived in Defiance of the Power that now alone they must trust for their Preservation, and indeed without the miraculous Intervention of Providence, there appeared only this miserable Choice, viz. a present Death by their own Hands, or a ling'ring one by Famine.

They continued their Course, and came to an Allowance of one single Mouthful of Water for 24 Hours; many of them drank their Urine, or Sea Water, which, instead of allaying, gave them an inextinguishable Thirst, that killed them: Others pined and wasted a little more Time in Fluxes and Apyrexies, so that they dropped away daily: Those that sustain'd the Misery best, were such as

almoſt ſtarved themſelves, forbearing all ſorts of Food, unleſs a Mouthful or two of Bread the whole Day, ſo that thoſe who ſurvived were as weak as it was poſſible for Men to be and alive.

But if the diſmal Proſpect they ſet out with, gave them Anxiety, Trouble, or Pain, what muſt their Fears and Apprehenſions be, when they had not one Drop of Water left, or any other Liquor to moiſten or animate. This was their Caſe, when (by the working of Divine Providence, no doubt,) they were brought into Soundings, and at Night anchored in ſeven Fathom Water: This was an inexpreſſible Joy to them, and, as it were, fed the expiring Lamp of Life with freſh Spirits; but this could not hold long. When the Morning came, they ſaw Land from the Maſt-Head, but it was at ſo great a Diſtance, that it afforded but an indifferent Proſpect to Men who had drank nothing for the two laſt Days; however, they diſpatch'd their Boat away, and late the ſame Night it return'd, to their no ſmall Comfort, with a load of Water, informing them, that they had got off the Mouth of *Meriwinga* River on the Coaſt of *Surinam*.

One would have thought ſo miraculous an Eſcape ſhould have wrought ſome Reformation, but alaſs, they had no ſooner quenched their Thirſt, but they had forgot the Miracle, till Scarcity of Proviſions awakened their Senſes, and bid them guard againſt ſtarving; their allowance was very ſmall, and yet they would profanely ſay, *That Providence which had gave them Drink, would, no doubt, bring them Meat alſo, if they would uſe but an honeſt Endeavour.*

In purſuance of theſe honeſt Endeavours, they were ſteering for the Latitude of *Barbadoes*, with what little they had left, to look out for more, or Starve; and, in their Way, met a Ship that anſwered their Neceſſities, and after that a Brigantine; the former was called the *Greyhound*, belonging to St.

St. *Chriſtophers*, and bound to *Philadelphia*, the Mate of which ſigned the Pyrate's Articles, and was afterwards Captain of the *Ranger*, Conſort to the *Royal Fortune*.

Out of the Ship and Brigantine, the Pyrates got a good ſupply of Proviſions and Liquor, ſo that they gave over the deſigned Cruiſe, and watered at *Tobago*, and hearing of the two Sloops that had been fitted out and ſent after them at *Corvocoo*, they ſailed to the Iſland of *Martinico*, to make the Governor ſome ſort of an Equivalent, for the Care and Expedition he had ſhewn in that Affair.

It is the Cuſtom at *Martinico*, for the *Dutch* Interlopers that have a Mind to Trade with the People of the Iſland, to hoiſt their Jacks when they come before the Town: *Roberts* knew the Signal, and being an utter Enemy to them, he bent his Thoughts upon Miſchief; and accordingly came in with his Jack flying, which, as he expected, they miſtook for a good Market, and thought themſelves happieſt that could ſooneſt diſpatch off their Sloops and Veſſels for Trade. When *Roberts* had got them within his Power, (one after another,) he told them, he would not have it ſaid that they came off for nothing, and therefore ordered them to leave their Money behind, for that they were a Parcel of Rogues, and hoped they would always meet with ſuch a *Dutch* Trade as this was; he reſerved one Veſſel to ſet the Paſſengers on Shore again, and fired the reſt, to the Number of twenty.

Roberts was ſo enraged at the Attempts that had been made for taking of him, by the Governors of *Barbados* and *Martinico*, that he ordered a new Jack to be made, which they ever after hoiſted, with his own Figure pourtray'd, ſtanding upon two Skulls, and under them the Letters *A B H* and *A M H*,

ſignifying a *Barbadian*'s and a *Martinican*'s Head, as may be ſeen in the Plate of Captain *Roberts*.

At *Dominico*, the next Iſland they touched at, they took a *Dutch* Interloper of 22 Guns and 75 Men, and a Brigantine belonging to *Rhode-Iſland*, one *Norton* Maſter. The former made ſome Defence, till ſome of his Men being killed, the reſt were diſcouraged and ſtruck their Colours. With theſe two Prizes they went down to *Guadalupe*, and brought out a Sloop, and a *French* Fly-Boat laden with Sugar; the Sloop they burnt, and went on to *Moonay*, another Iſland, thinking to clean, but finding the Sea ran too high there to undertake it with Safety, they bent their Courſe for the North Part of *Hiſpaniola*, where, at *Bennet*'s Key, in the Gulf of *Saminah*, they cleaned both the Ship and the Brigantine. For tho' *Hiſpaniola* be ſettled by the *Spaniards* and *French*, and is the Reſidence of a Preſident from *Spain*, who receives, and finally determines Appeals from all the other *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Iſlands; yet is its People by no Means proportioned to its Magnitude, ſo that there are many Harbours in it, to which Pyrates may ſecurely reſort without Fear of Diſcovery from the Inhabitants.

Whilſt they were here, two Sloops came in, as they pretended, to pay *Roberts* a Viſit, the Maſters, whoſe Names were *Porter* and *Tuckerman*, addreſſed the Pyrate, as the Queen of *Sheba* did *Solomon*, to wit, *That having heard of his Fame and Atchievements*, they had put in there to learn his Art and Wiſdom in the Buſineſs of pyrating, being Veſſels on the ſame honourable Deſign with himſelf; and hoped with the Communication of his Knowledge, they ſhould alſo receive his Charity, being in want of Neceſſaries for ſuch Adventures. *Roberts* was won upon by the Peculiarity and Bluntneſs of theſe two

two Men, and gave them Powder, Arms, and what ever elſe they had Occaſion for, ſpent two or three merry Nights with them, and at parting, ſaid, *he hoped the L—— would Proſper their handy Works.*

They paſſed ſome Time here, after they had got their Veſſel ready, in their uſual Debaucheries; they had taken a conſiderable Quanty of Rum and Sugar, ſo that Liquor was as plenty as Water, and few there were, who denied themſelves the immoderate Uſe of it; nay, Sobriety brought a Man under a Suſpicion of being in a Plot againſt the Commonwealth, and in their Senſe, he was looked upon to be a Villain that would not be drunk. This was evident in the Affair of *Harry Glasby*, choſen Maſter of the *Royal Fortune*, who, with two others, laid hold of the Opportunity at the laſt Iſland they were at, to move off without bidding Farewel to his Friends. *Glasby* was a reſerved ſober Man, and therefore gave Occaſion to be ſuſpected, ſo that he was ſoon miſſed after he went away; and a Detachment being ſent in queſt of the Deſerters, they were all three brought back again the next Day. This was a capital Offence, and for which they were ordered to be brought to an immediate Tryal.

Here was the Form of Juſtice kept up, which is as much as can be ſaid of ſeveral other Courts, that have more lawful Commiſſions for what they do. —— Here was no feeing of Council, and bribing of Witneſſes was a Cuſtom not known among them; no packing of Juries, no torturing and wreſting the Senſe of the Law, for bye Ends and Purpoſes, no puzzling or perplexing the Cauſe with unintelligible canting Terms, and uſeleſs Diſtinctions; nor was their Seſſions burthened with numberleſs Officers, the Miniſters of Rapine and Extortion, with ill boding Aſpects, enough to fright *Aſtræa* from the Court.

The Place appointed for their Tryals, was the Steerage of the Ship; in order to which, a large Bowl of Rum Punch was made, and placed upon the Table, the Pipes and Tobacco being ready, the judicial Proceedings began; the Priſoners were brought forth, and Articles of Indictment againſt them read; they were arraigned upon a Statute of their own making, and the Letter of the Law being ſtrong againſt them, and the Fact plainly proved, they were about to pronounce Sentence, when one of the Judges mov'd, that they ſhould firſt Smoak t'other Pipe; which was accordingly done.

All the Priſoners pleaded for Arreſt of Judgment very movingly, but the Court had ſuch an Abhorrence of their Crime, that they could not be prevailed upon to ſhew Mercy, till one of the Judges, whoſe Name was *Valentine Aſhplant*, ſtood up, and taking his Pipe out of his Mouth, ſaid, he had ſomething to offer to the Court in behalf of one of the Priſoners; and ſpoke to this Effect. —— *By G——*, Glasby *ſhall not dye*; *d——n me if he ſhall.* After this learned Speech, he ſat down in his Place, and reſumed his Pipe. This Motion was loudly oppoſed by all the reſt of the Judges, in equivalent Terms; but *Aſhplant*, who was reſolute in his Opinion, made another pathetical Speech in the following Manner. *G—— d——n ye Gentlemen, I am as good a Man as the beſt of you*; *d——m my* S——l *if ever I turned my Back to any Man in my Life, or ever will, by G——*; Glasby *is an honeſt Fellow, notwithſtanding this Misfortune, and I love him, D——l d——n me if I don't: I hope he'll live and repent of what he has done*; *but d——n me if he muſt dye, I will dye along with him.* And thereupon, he pulled out a pair of Piſtols, and preſented them to ſome of the learned Judges upon the Bench; who, perceiving his Argument ſo well ſupported, thought

thought it reaſonable that *Glasby* ſhould be acquitted; and ſo they all came over to his Opinion, and allowed it to be Law.

But all the Mitigation that could be obtained for the other Priſoners, was, that they ſhould have the Liberty of chooſing any four of the whole Company to be their Executioners. The poor Wretches were ty'd immediately to the Maſt, and there ſhot dead, purſuant to their villainous Sentence.

When they put to Sea again, the Prizes which had been detained only for fear of ſpreading any Rumour concerning them, which had like to have been ſo fatal at *Corvocoo*, were thus diſpoſed of: They burnt their own Sloop, and mann'd *Norton*'s Brigantine, ſending the Maſter away in the *Dutch* Interloper, not diſſatisfied.

With the *Royal Fortune*, and the Brigantine, which they chriſtened the *Good Fortune*, they puſhed towards the Latitude of *Deſeada*, to look out for Proviſions, being very ſhort again, and juſt to their Wiſh, Captain *Hingſtone*'s ill Fortune brought him in their Way, richly laden for *Jamaica*; him they carried to *Berbudas* and plundered; and ſtretching back again to the *Weſt-Indies*, they continually met with ſome Conſignment or other, (chiefly *French*,) which ſtored them with Plenty of Proviſions, and recruited their ſtarving Condition; ſo that ſtocked with this ſort of Ammunition, they began to think of ſomething worthier their Aim, for theſe Robberies that only ſupplied what was in conſtant Expenditure, by no Means anſwered their Intentions; and accordingly they proceeded again for the Coaſt of *Guiney*, where they thought to buy Gold-Duſt very cheap. In their Paſſage thither, they took Numbers of Ships of all Nations, ſome of which they

burnt or ſunk, as the Carriage or Characters of the Maſters diſpleaſed them.

Notwithſtanding the ſucceſsful Adventures of this Crew, yet it was with great Difficulty they could be kept together, under any kind of Regulation; for being almoſt always mad or drunk, their Behaviour produced infinite Diſorders, every Man being in his own Imagination a Captain, a Prince, or a King. When *Roberts* ſaw there was no managing of ſuch a Company of wild ungovernable Brutes, by gentle means, nor to keep them from drinking to exceſs, the Cauſe of all their Diſturbances, he put on a rougher Deportment, and a more mageſterial Carriage towards them, correcting whom he thought fit; and if any ſeemed to reſent his Uſage, he told them, *they might go aſhore and take Satisfaction of him, if they thought fit, at Sword and Piſtol, for he neither valu'd or fear'd any of them.*

About 400 Leagues from the Coaſt of *Africa*, the Brigantine who had hitherto lived with them, in all amicable Correſpondence, thought fit to take the Opportunity of a dark Night, and leave the Commadore, which leads me back to the Relation of an Accident that happened at one of the Iſlands of the *Weſt-Indies*, where they water'd before they undertook this Voyage, which had like to have thrown their Government (ſuch as it was) off the Hinges, and was partly the Occaſion of the Separation: The Story is as follows.

Captain *Roberts* having been inſulted by one of the drunken Crew, (whoſe Name I have forgot,) he, in the Heat of his Paſſion killed the Fellow on the Spot, which was reſented by a great many others, put particularly one *Jones*, a brisk active young Man, who died lately in the *Marſhalſea*, and was his Meſs-Mate. This *Jones* was at that Time aſhore a watering the Ship, but as ſoon as he came on Board, was told that Captain *Roberts* had killed his

his Comrade; upon which he curſed *Roberts*, and ſaid, he ought to be ſerved ſo himſelf. *Roberts* hearing *Jones*'s Invective, ran to him with a Sword, and ran him into the Body; who, notwithſtanding his Wound, ſeized the Captain, threw him over a Gun, and beat him handſomely. This Adventure put the whole Company in an Uproar, and ſome taking Part with the Captain, and others againſt him, there had like to have enſued a general Battle with one another, like my Lord *Thomont*'s Cocks; however, the Tumult was at length appeas'd by the Mediation of the Quarter-Maſter; and as the Majority of the Company were of Opinion that the Dignity of the Captain, ought to be ſupported on Board; that it was a Poſt of Honour, and therefore the Perſon whom they thought fit to confer it on, ſhould not be violated by any ſingle Member; wherefore they ſentenced *Jones* to undergo two Laſhes from every one of the Company, for his Miſdemeanour, which was executed upon him as ſoon as he was well of his Wound.

This ſevere Puniſhment did not at all convince *Jones* that he was in the wrong, but rather animated him to ſome ſort of a Revenge; but not being able to do it upon *Roberts*'s Perſon, on Board the Ship, he and ſeveral of his Comrades, correſpond with *Anſtis*, Captain of the Brigantine, and conſpire with him and ſome of the principal Pyrates on Board that Veſſel, to go off from the Company. What made *Anſtis* a Malecontent, was, the Inferiority he ſtood in, with Reſpect to *Roberts*, who carried himſelf with a haughty and magiſterial Air, to him and his Crew, he regarding the Brigantine only as a Tender, and, as ſuch, left them no more than the Refuſe of their Plunder. In ſhort, *Jones* and his Conſort go on Board of Captain *Anſtis*, on Pretence of a Viſit, and there conſulting with

with their Brethren, they find a Majority for leaving of *Roberts*, and ſo came to a Reſolution to bid a ſoft Farewel, as they call it, that Night, and to throw over-board whoſoever ſhould ſtick out; but they proved to be unanimous, and effected their Deſign as above-mentioned.

I ſhall have no more to ſay of Captain *Anſtis*, till the Story of *Roberts* is concluded, therefore I return to him, in the purſuit of his Voyage to *Guiney*. The loſs of the Brigantine was a ſenſible Shock to the Crew, ſhe being an excellent Sailor, and had 70 Hands aboard; however, *Roberts* who was the Occaſion of it, put on a Face of Unconcern at this his ill Conduct and Miſmanagement, and reſolved not to alter his Purpoſes upon that Account.

Roberts fell in to Windward nigh the *Senegal*, a River of great Trade for Gum, on this Part of the Coaſt, monopolized by the *French*, who conſtantly keep Cruiſers, to hinder the interloping Trade: At this Time they had two ſmall Ships on that Service, one of 10 Guns and 65 Men, and the other of 16 Guns and 75 Men; who having got a Sight of Mr. *Roberts*, and ſuppoſing him to be one of theſe prohibited Traders, chaſed with all the Sail they could make, to come up with him; but their Hopes which had brought them very nigh, too late deceived them, for on the hoiſting of *Jolly Roger*, (the Name they give their black Flag,) their *French* Hearts failed, and they both ſurrendred without any, or at leaſt very little Reſiſtance. With theſe Prizes they went into *Sierraleon*, and made one of them their Conſort, by the Name of the *Ranger*, and the other a Store-Ship, to clean by.

Sierraleon River diſgorges with a large Mouth, the Starboard-Side of which, draughts into little Bays, ſafe and convenient for cleaning and watering; what ſtill made it preferable to the Pyrates,

is,

is, that the Traders ſettled here, are naturally their Friends. There are about 30 *Engliſh* Men in all, Men who in ſome Part of their Lives, have been either privateering, buccaneering, or pyrating, and ſtill retain and love the Riots, and Humours, common to that ſort of Life. They live very friendly with the Natives, and have many of them of both Sexes, to be their *Grometta*'s, or Servants: The Men are faithful, and the Women ſo obedient, that they are very ready to proſtitute themſelves to whomſoever their Maſters ſhall command them. The Royal *African* Company has a Fort on a ſmall Iſland call'd *Bence* Iſland, but 'tis of little Uſe, beſides keeping their Slaves; the Diſtance making it incapable of giving any Moleſtation to their Starboard Shore. Here lives at this Place an old Fellow, who goes by the Name of *Crackers*, who was formerly a noted Buccaneer, and while he followed the Calling, robb'd and plundered many a Man; he keeps the beſt Houſe in the Place, has two or three Guns before his Door, with which he Salutes his Friends, (the Pyrates, when they put in) and lives a jovial Life with him, all the while they are there.

Here follows a Liſt, of the reſt of thoſe lawleſs Merchants, and their Servants, who carry on a private Trade with the Interlopers, to the great Prejudice of the Royal *African* Company, who with extraordinary Induſtry and Expence, have made, and maintain, Settlements without any Conſideration from thoſe, who, without ſuch Settlements and Forts, would ſoon be under an Incapacity of purſuing any ſuch private Trade. Wherefore, 'tis to be hop'd, proper Means will be taken, to root out a pernicious ſet of People, who have all their Lives, ſupported themſelves by the Labours of other Men.

Two of theſe Fellows enter'd with *Robert*'s Crew, and continued with them, till the Deſtruction of the Company.

A List of the White-Men, now living on the high Land of Sierraleon, *and the Craft they occupy.*

JOHN Leadstone, three Boats and Periagoe.
His Man *Tom*,
His Man *John Brown*.
Alexander Middleton, one Long-Boat,
His Man *Charles Hawkins*.
John Pierce, *William Mead*, } Partners, one Long-Boat.
Their Man *John Vernon*.
David Chatmers, one Long-Boat.
John Chatmers, one Long-Boat.
Richard Richardson, one Long-Boat.
Norton, *Richard Warren*, *Roberts Glynn*, } Partners, two Long-Boats, and two small Boats.
His Man *John Franks*.
William Waits, and one young Man.
John Bonnerman.
John England, one Long-Boat.
Robert Samples, one Long-Boat.
William Presgrove, *Harry*, *Davis*, *Mitchel*, *Richard Lamb*, } one Sloop, two Long-Boats, a small Boat, and Periagoe.
With *Roquis Rodrigus*, a *Portuguese*.
George Bishop.
Peter Brown.
John Jones, one Long-Boat,

His

His *Iriſh* young Man.

At *Rio Pungo*, *Benjamen Gun.*

At *Kidham*, *George Yeats.*

At *Gallyneas*, *Richard Lemmons.*

The Harbour is ſo convenient for Wooding and Watering, that it occaſions many of our trading Ships, eſpecially thoſe of *Briſtol*, to call in there, with large Cargoes of Beer, Syder, and ſtrong Liquors, which they Exchange with theſe private Traders, for Slaves and Teeth, purchaſed by them at the *Rio Nune*'s, and other Places to the Northward, ſo that here was what they call good Living.

Hither *Roberts* came the End of *June*, 1721, and had Intelligence that the *Swallow*, and *Weymouth*, two Men of War, of 50 Guns each, had left that River about a Month before, and deſigned to return about *Chriſtmas*; ſo that the Pyrates could indulge themſelves with all the Satisfaction in the World, in that they knew they were not only ſecure whilſt there, but that in going down the Coaſt, after the Men of War, they ſhould always be able to get ſuch Intelligence of their Rendezvous, as would ſerve to make their Expedition ſafe. So after ſix Weeks ſtay, the Ships being cleaned and fitted, and the Men weary of whoring and drinking, they bethought themſelves of Buſineſs, and went to Sea the Beginning of *Auguſt*, taking their Progreſs down the whole Coaſt, as low as *Jaquin*, plundering every Ship they met, of what was valuable in her, and ſometimes to be more miſchieviouſly wicked, would throw what they did not want, overboard, accumulating Cruelty to Theft.

In this Range, they exchanged their old *French* Ship, for a fine Frigate built Ship, call'd the *Onſlow*, belonging to the Royal *African* Company, Captain

Gee

Gee Commander, which happened to lye at *Sestos*, to get Water and Neceſſaries for the Company. A great many of Captain *Gee*'s Men were aſhore, when *Robert*'s bore down, and ſo the Ship conſequently ſurpriz'd into his Hands, tho' had they been all on Board, it was not likely the Caſe would have been otherwiſe, the Sailors, moſt of them, voluntarily joyning the Pyrates, and encouraging the ſame Diſpoſition in the Soldiers, (who were going Paſſengers with them to *Cape-Corſo-Caſtle*) whoſe Ears being conſtantly tickled with the Feats and Gallantry of thoſe Fellows, made them fancy, that *to go*, was only being bound on a Voyage of Knight Errantry (to relieve the Diſtreſs'd, and gather up Fame) and ſo they likewiſe offer'd themſelves; but here the Pyrates were at a Stand, they entertain'd ſo contemptible a Notion of Landmen, that they put 'em off with Refuſals for ſome time, till at length, being weary'd with Solicitations, and pittying a Parcel of ſtout Fellows, which they ſaid, were going to ſtarve upon a little Canky and Plantane, they accepted of them, and allow'd them ¼ Share, as it was then term'd out of Charity.

There was a Clergyman on Board the *Onſlow*, ſent from *England*, to be Chaplain of *Cape-Corſo-Caſtle*, ſome of the Pyrates were for keeping him, alledging merrily, that their Ship wanted a Chaplain; accordingly they offered him a Share, to take on with them, promiſing, he ſhould do nothing for his Money, but make Punch, and ſay Prayers; yet, however brutiſh they might be in other Things, they bore ſo great a Reſpect to his Order, that they reſolved not to force him againſt his Inclinations; and the Parſon having no Reliſh for this ſort of Life, excuſed himſelf from accepting the Honour they deſigned him; they were ſatisfied, and generous enough to deliver him back every Thing

Thing he owned to be his: The Parſon laid hold of this favourable Diſpoſition of the Pyrates, and laid Claim to ſeveral Things belonging to others, which were alſo given up, to his great Satisfaction; in fine, they kept nothing which belonged to the Church, except three Prayer-Books, and a Bottle-Screw.

The Pyrates kept the *Onſlow* for their own Uſe, and gave Captain *Gee* the *French* Ship, and then fell to making ſuch Alterations as might fit her for a Sea-Rover, pulling down her Bulk-Heads, and making her fluſh, ſo that ſhe became, in all Reſpects, as compleat a Ship for their Purpoſe, as any they could have found; they continued to her the Name of the *Royal Fortune*, and mounted her with 40 Guns.

She and the *Ranger* proceeded (as I ſaid before,) to *Jaquin*, and from thence to *Old Calabar*, where they arrived about *October*, in order to clean their Ships, a Place the moſt ſuitable along the whole Coaſt, for there is a Bar with not above 15 Foot Water upon it, and the Channel intricate, ſo that had the Men of War been ſure of their being harbour'd here, they might ſtill have bid Defiance to their Strength, for the Depth of Water at the Bar, as well as the want of a Pilot, was a ſufficient Security to the Rovers, and invincible Impediments to them. Here therefore they ſat eaſy, and divided the Fruits of their diſhoneſt Inſtuſtry, *and drank and drove Care away.* The Pilot who brought them into this Harbour, was Captain *L——e*, who for this, and other Services, was extreamly well paid, according to the Journal of their own Accounts, which do not run in the ordinary and common way, of *Debtor*, *contra Creditor*, but much more conciſe, lumping it to their Friends, and ſo carrying the Debt in their Heads, againſt the next honeſt Trader they meet.

They

They took at *Calabar*, Captain *Loane*, and two or three *Briſtol* Ships, the Particulars of all which would be an unneceſſary Prolixity, therefore I come now to give an Account of the Uſage they received from the Natives of this Place. The *Calabar* Negroes did not prove ſo civil as they expected, for they refuſed to have any Commerce or Trade with them, when they underſtood they were Pyrates: An Indication that theſe poor Creatures, in the narrow Circumſtances they were in, and without the Light of the Goſpel, or the Advantage of an Education, have, notwithſtanding, ſuch a moral innate Honeſty, as would upbraid and ſhame the moſt knowing Chriſtian: But this did but exaſperate theſe lawleſs Fellows, and ſo a Party of 40 Men were detach'd to force a Correſpondence, or drive the Negroes to Extremities; and they accordingly landed under the Fire of their own Cannon. The Negroes drew up in a Body of 2000 Men, as if they intended to diſpute the Matter with them, and ſtaid till the Pyrates advanced within Piſtol-ſhot; but finding the Loſs of two or three, made no Impreſſion on the reſt, the Negroes thought fit to retreat, which they did, with ſome Loſs: The Pyrates ſet Fire to the Town, and then return'd to their Ships. This terrified the Natives, and put an entire ſtop to all the Intercourſe between them; ſo that they could get no Supplies, which obliged them, as ſoon as they had finiſhed the cleaning and triming of their Ships, to loſe no Time, but went for Cape *Lopez*, and watered, and at *Anna-Bona* took aboard a Stock of freſh Proviſions, and then ſailed for the Coaſt again.

This was their laſt and fatal Expedition, which we ſhall be more particular in, becauſe, it cannot be imagined that they could have had Aſſurance to have undertaken it, but upon a Preſumption, that the Men of War, (whom they knew were upon

upon the Coaſt,) were unable to attack them, or elſe purſuant to the Rumour that had indiſcretionally obtained at *Sierraleon*, were gone thither again.

It is impoſſible at this Time, to think they could know of the weak and ſickly Condition they were in, and therefore founded the Succeſs of this ſecond Attempt upon the Coaſt, on the latter Preſumption, and this ſeems to be confirmed by their falling in with the Coaſt as low as Cape *Lahou*, (and even that was higher than they deſigned,) in the beginning of *January*, and took the Ship called the *King Solomon*, with 20 Men in their Boat, and a trading Veſſel, both belonging to the Company. The Pyrate Ship happened to fall about a League to Leeward of the *King Solomon*, at Cape *Appollonia*, and the Current and Wind oppoſing their working up with the Ship, they agreed to ſend the Long-Boat, with a ſufficient Number of Men to take her: The Pyrates are all Voluntiers on theſe Occaſions, the Word being always given, *who will go?* And preſently the ſtanch and firm Men offer themſelves; becauſe, by ſuch Readineſs, they recommend their Courage, and have an Allowance alſo of a Shift of Cloaths, from Head to Foot, out of the Prize.

They rowed towards the *King Solomon* with a great deal of Alacrity, and being hailed by the Commander of her, anſwered, *Defiance*; Captain *Trahern*, before this, obſerving a great Number of Men in the Boat, began not to like his Viſitors, and prepared to receive them, firing a Muſket as they come under his Stern, which they returned with a Volley, and made greater Speed to get on Board: Upon this, he applied to his Men, and ask'd them, whether they would ſtand by him, to defend the Ship, it being a Shame they ſhould be taken by half their Number, without

any Repulſe? But his Boatſwain, *Philips*, took upon him to be the Mouth of the People, and put an End to the Diſpute; he ſaid plainly, he would not, laid down his Arms in the King's Name, as he was pleaſed to term it, and called out to the Boat for Quarters, ſo that the reſt, by his Example, were miſlead to the loſing of the Ship.

When they came on Board, they brought her under Sail, by an expeditious Method, of cutting the Cable; *Walden*, one of the Pyrates, telling the Maſter, this *yo hope* of heaving up the Anchor was a needleſs trouble, when they deſigned to burn the Ship. They brought her under Commadore *Roberts*'s Stern, and not only rifled her of what Sails, Cordage, *&c.* they wanted for themſelves, but wantonly throw'd the Goods of the Company overboard, like Spend-thrifts, that neither expected or deſigned any Account.

On the ſame Day alſo, they took the *Fluſhing*, a *Dutch* Ship, robbed her of Maſts, Yards and Stores, and then cut down her Fore-Maſt; but what ſat as heavily as any thing with the *Skipper*, was, their taking ſome fine Sauſages he had on Board, of his Wife's making, and ſtringing them in a ludicrous Manner, round their Necks, till they had ſufficiently ſhew'd their Contempt of them, and then threw them into the Sea. Others chopp'd the Heads of his Fowls off, to be dreſſed for their Supper, and courteouſly invited the Landlord, provided he would find Liquor. It was a melancholly Requeſt to the Man, but it muſt be comply'd with, and he was obliged, as they grew drunk, to ſit quietly, and hear them ſing *French* and *Spaniſh* Songs out of his *Dutch* Prayer-Books, with other Prophaneſs, that he (tho' a *Dutch* Man) ſtood amazed at.

In chaſing too near in, they alarmed the Coaſt, and Expreſſes were ſent to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Facto-



B. Cole sculp

Captain Bartho. Roberts *with two Ships, Viz the* Royal Fortune *and* Ranger, *takes a Sail in* Whydah *Road on the Coast of* Guiney, *January* 11.th 172½.

Factories, giving an Account of it: They were ſenſible of this Error immediately, and becauſe they would make the beſt of a bad Market, reſolved to keep out of ſight of Land, and loſe the Prizes they might expect between that and *Whydah*, to make the more ſure of that Port, where commonly is the beſt Booty; all Nations trading thither, eſpecially *Portugueſe*, who purchaſe chiefly with Gold, the Idol their Hearts were bent upon. And notwithſtanding this unlikely Courſe, they met and took ſeveral Ships between *Axim* and that Place; the circumſtantial Stories of which, and the pannick Terrors they ſtruck into his Majeſty's Subjects, being tedious and unneceſſary to relate, I ſhall paſs by, and come to their Arrival in that Road.

They came to *Whydah* with a St. *George*'s Enſign, a black Silk Flag flying at their Mizen-Peek, and a Jack and Pendant of the ſame: The Flag had a Death in it, with an Hour-Glaſs in one Hand, and croſs Bones in the other, a Dart by it, and underneath a Heart dropping three Drops of Blood. —— The Jack had a Man pourtray'd in it, with a flaming Sword in his Hand, and ſtanding on two Skulls, ſubſcribed *A B H* and *A M H*, *i. e.* a *Barbadian*'s and a *Martinican*'s Head, as has been before taken Notice of. Here they found eleven Sail in the Road, *Engliſh*, *French* and *Portugueſe*; the *French* were three ſtout Ships of 30 Guns, and upwards of 100 Men each, yet when *Roberts* came to Fire, they, with the other Ships, immediately ſtruck their Colours and ſurrendred to his Mercy. One Reaſon, it muſt be confeſs'd, of his eaſy Victory, was, the Commanders and a good Part of the Men being aſhore, according to the Cuſtom of the Place, to receive the Cargoes, and return the Slaves, they being obliged to watch the Seaſons for it, which otherwiſe, in ſo dangerous a Sea as here,

would be impracticable. These all, except the *Porcupine*, ransomed with him for eight Pound of Gold-Dust, a Ship, not without the trouble of some Letters passing and repassing from the Shore, before they could settle it; and notwithstanding the Agreement and Payment, they took away one of the *French* Ships, tho' with a Promise to return her, if they found she did not sail well, taking with them several of her Men for that End.

Some of the Foreigners, who never had Dealing this Way before, desired for Satisfaction to their Owners, that they might have Receipts for their Money, which were accordingly given, a Copy of one of them, I have here subjoined, *viz.*

THIS is to certify whom it may or doth concern, that we GENTLEMEN OF FORTUNE, *have received eight Pounds of Gold-Dust, for the Ransom of the* Hardey, *Captain* Dittwitt *Commander, so that we Discharge the said Ship,*

Witness our Hands, this 13*th of* Jan. 1721-2.

Batt. Roberts,
Harry Glasby.

Others were given to the *Portuguese* Captains, which were in the same Form, but being sign'd by two waggish Fellows, *viz. Sutton*, and *Sympson*, they subscribed by the Names of,

Aaron Whifflingpin,
Sim. Tugmutton.

But there was something so singularly cruel and barbarous done here to the *Porcupine*, Captain *Fletcher*, as must not be passed over without special Remark.

This Ship lay in the Road, almost slaved, when the Pyrates came in, and the Commander being on Shore, settling his Accounts, was sent to for the Ransom, but he excused it, as having no Orders from

from the Owners; though the true Reaſon might be, that he thought it diſhonourable to treat with Robbers; and that the Ship, ſeparate from the Slaves, towards whom he could miſtruſt no Cruelty, was not worth the Sum demanded; hereupon, *Roberts* ſends the Boat to tranſport the Negroes, in order to ſet her on Fire; but being in haſt, and finding that unſhackling them coſt much Time and Labour, they actually ſet her on Fire, with eighty of thoſe poor Wretches on Board, chained two and two together, under the miſerable Choice of periſhing by Fire or Water: Thoſe who jumped overboard from the Flames, were ſeized by Sharks, a voracious Fiſh, in Plenty in this Road, and, in their Sight, tore Limb from Limb alive. A Cruelty unparalell'd! And for which had every Individual been hanged, few I imagine would think that Juſtice had been rigorous.

The Pyrates, indeed, were obliged to diſpatch their Buſineſs here in haſt, becauſe they had intercepted a Letter from General *Phips* to Mr. *Baldwin*, the Royal *African* Company's Agent at *Whydah*, (giving an Account, that *Roberts* had been ſeen to Windward of Cape *Three Points*,) that he might the better guard againſt the Damages to the Company's Ships, if he ſhould arrive at that Road before the *Swallow* Man of War, which he aſſured him, (at the Time of that Letter,) was purſuing them to that Place. *Roberts* call'd up his Company, and deſired they would hear *Phip*'s Speech, (for ſo he was pleaſed to call the Letter,) and notwithſtanding their vapouring, perſwaded them of the Neceſſity of moving; for, ſays he, ſuch brave Fellows cannot be ſuppoſed to be frightned at this News, yet that it were better to avoid dry Blows, which is the beſt that can be expected, if overtaken.

This Advice weigh'd with them, and they got under Sail, having ſtay'd only from *Thurſday* to *Saturday* Night, and at Sea voted for the Iſland of *Anna Bona*; but the Winds hanging out of the Way, croſſed their Purpoſe, and brought them to Cape *Lopez*, where I ſhall leave them for their approaching Fate, and relate ſome further Particulars of his Majeſty's Ship the *Swallow*, *viz.* where it was ſhe had ſpent her Time, during the Miſchief that was done, and by what Means unable to prevent it; what alſo was the Intelligence ſhe received, and the Meaſures thereon formed, that at laſt brought two ſuch Strangers as Mr *Roberts* and Capt. *Ogle*, to meet in ſo remote a Corner of the World.

The *Swallow* and *Weymouth* left *Sierraleon*, *May* 28, where, I have already taken Notice, *Roberts* arrived about a Month after, and doubtleſs learn'd the Intent of their Voyage, and cleaning on the Coaſt; which made him ſet down with more Security to his Diverſion, and furniſh him with ſuch Intimations, as made his firſt Range down the Coaſt in *Auguſt* following, more proſperous; the *Swallow* and *Weymouth* being then at the Port of *Princes* a cleaning.

Their Stay at *Princes* was from *July* 28 to *Sept.* 20, 1721, where, by a Fatality, common to the Irregularities of Seamen, (who cannot in ſuch Caſes be kept under due Reſtraints,) they buried 100 Men in three Weeks time, and reduced the Remainder of the Ships Companies into ſo ſickly a State, that it was with Difficulty they brought them to ſail; and this Misfortune was probably the Ruin of *Roberts*, for it prevented the Men of War's going back to *Sierraleon*, as it was intended, there being a Neceſſity of leaving his Majeſty's Ship *Weymouth* (in much the worſe Condition of the two) under the Guns of Cape *Corſo*, to impreſs Men, being unable at this Time, either to hand

the

the Sails, or weigh her Anchor; and *Roberts* being ignorant of the Occasion or Alteration of the first Design, fell into the Mouth of Danger, when he thought himself the fartheſt from it; for the Men of War not endeavouring to attain further to Windward (when they came from *Princes*) then to secure Cape *Corso* Road under their Lee, they luckily hovered in the Track he had took.

The *Swallow* and *Weymouth* fell in with the Continent at Cape *Appollonia*, *Octo.* 20th, and there received the ungrateful News from one Captain *Bird*; a Notice that awaken'd and put them on their Guard; but they were far from expecting any Temerity should ever bring him a second Time on the Coast, while they were there; therefore the *Swallow* having seen the *Weymouth* into Cape *Corso* Road *Nov.* 10th, she ply'd to Windward as far as *Bassam*, rather as an Airing to recover a sickly Ship's Company, and shew herself to the Trade, which was found every where undisturb'd, and were, for that Reason, returning to her Consort, when accidently meeting a *Portugueſe* Ship, she told her, that the Day before she saw two Ships Chace into *Junk*, an *English* Vessel, which she believed must have fallen into their Hands. On this Story, the *Swallow* clung her Wind, and endeavoured to gain that Place, but receiving soon after (*Octo.* the 14th) a contrary Report from Captain *Plummer*, an intelligent Man, in the *Jason* of *Bristol*, who had come further to Windward, and neither saw or heard any Thing of this; she turned her Head down the second Time, anchored at Cape *Appollonia* the 23d, at Cape *Tres Puntas* the 27th, and in *Corso* Road *January* the 7th, 1721-2.

They learned that their Consort the *Weymouth*, was, by the Assistance of some Soldiers from the Castle, gone to Windward, to demand Restitution of some Goods or Men belonging to the

African Company, that were illegally detained by the *Dutch* at *Des Minas*; and while they were regretting so long a Separation, an Express came to General *Phips*, from *Axim*, the 9th, and followed by another from *Dixcove*, (an *English* Factory,) with Information that three Ships had chased and taken a Galley nigh *Axim* Castle, and a trading Boat belonging to the Company: No doubt was made, concerning what they were, it being taken for granted they were Pyrates, and supposed to be the same that had the *August* before infested the Coast. The natural Result therefore, from these two Advices, was, to hasten for *Whydah*; for it was concluded the Prizes they had taken, had informed them how nigh the *Swallow* was, and withal, how much better in Health than she had been for some Months past; so that unless they were very mad indeed, they would (after being discovered) make the best of their Way for *Whydah*, and secure the Booty there, without which, their Time and Industry had been entirely lost; most of the Gold lying in that Corner.

The *Swallow* weighed from *Cape-Corso*, *January* the 10th, but was retarded by waiting some Hours on the *Margaret*, a Company's Ship, at *Accra*, again on the *Portugal*, and a whole Day at *Apong*, on a Person they used to stile *Miss Betty*: A Conduct that Mr. *Phips* blamed, when he heard the Pyrates were miss'd at *Whydah*; altho' he had given it as his Opinion, they could not be passed by, and intimated, that to stay a few Hours would prove no Prejudice.

This, however, hinder'd the *Swallow*'s catching them at *Whydah*, for the Pyrates came into that Road, with a fresh Gale of Wind, the same Day the *Swallow* was at *Apong*, and sail'd the 13th of *January* from thence, that she arrived the 17th. She gained Notice of them by a *French* Shallop from

from *Grand Papa*, the 14th at Night, and from *Little Papa* next Morning by a *Dutch* Ship; ſo that the Man of War was on all Sides, as ſhe thought, ſure of her Purchaſe, particularly when ſhe made the Ships, and diſcovered three of them to get under Sail immediately at Sight of her, making Signals to one another, as tho' they deſigned a Defence; but they were found to be three *French* Ships; and thoſe at Anchor, *Portugueſe* and *Engliſh*, all honeſt Traders, who had been ranſack'd and ranſom'd.

This Diſappointment chagreen'd the Ship's Company, who were very intent upon their Market; which was reported to be an Arm-Cheſt full of Gold, and kept with three Keys; tho' in all likly-hood, had they met with them in that open Road, one or both would have made their Eſcapes; or if they had thought fit to have fought, an Emulation in their Defence would probably have made it deſperate.

While they were contemplating on the Matter, a Letter was received from Mr. *Baldwin*, (Governor here for the Company,) ſignifying, that the Pyrates were at *Jaquin*, ſeven Leagues lower. The *Swallow* weighed at two next Morning, *January* the 16th, and got to *Jaquin* by Day-Light, but to no other End, than frightening the Crews of two *Portugueſe* Ships on Shore, who took her for the Pyrate that had ſtruck ſuch Terror at *Whydah*: She returned therefore that Night, and having been ſtrengthened with thirty Voluntiers, *Engliſh* and *French*, the diſcarded Crews of the *Porcupine*, and the *French* Ship they had carried from hence, ſhe put to Sea again *January* the 19th, conjecturing, that either *Calabar*, *Princes*, the River *Gabone*, Cape *Lopez*, or *Annabona*, muſt be touched at for Water and Refreſhment, tho' they ſhould reſolve to leave the Coaſt. As to the former of thoſe Places

Places, I have before obſerved, it was hazardous to think of, or rather impracticable; *Princes* had been a ſower Grape to them, but being the firſt in the Way, ſhe came before the Harbour the 29th, where learning no News, without looſing Time, ſteered for the River *Gabone*, and anchored at the Mouth of it *February* the 1ſt.

This River is navigable by two Channels, and has an Iſland about five Leagues up; called *Popaguays* or *Parrots*, where the *Dutch* Cruiſers, for this Coaſt, generally Clean, and where ſometimes Pyrates come in to look for Prey, or to Refit, it being very convenient, by Reaſon of a ſoft Mud about it, that admits a Ship's lying on Shore, with all her Guns and Stores in, without Damage. Hither Captain *Ogle* ſent his Boat and a Lieutenant, who ſpoke with a *Dutch* Ship, above the Iſland, from whom he had this Account, *viz.* That he had been four Days from Cape *Lopez*, and had left no Ship there. However, they beat up for the Cape, without regard to this Story, and on the 5th, at Dawning, was ſurprized with the Noiſe of a Gun, which, as the Day brightened, they found was from Cape *Lopez* Bay, where they diſcovered three Ships at Anchor, the largeſt with the King's Colours and Pendant flying, which was ſoon after concluded to be Mr. *Roberts* and his Conſorts; but the *Swallow* being to Windward, and unexpectedly deep in the Bay, was obliged to Steer off, for avoiding a Sand, called the *French Man*'s *Bank*, which the Pyrates obſerved for ſome Time, and raſhly interpreting it to be Fear in her, righted the *French Ranger*, which was then on the Heel, and ordered her to chaſe out in all haſt, bending ſeveral of their Sails in the Purſuit. The Man of War finding they had fooliſhly miſtaken her Deſign, humoured the Deceit, and kept off to Sea, as if ſhe had been really afraid, and managed her Steerage ſo,

under

under the Direction of Lieutenant *Sun*, an experienced Officer, as to let the *Ranger* come up with her, when they thought they had got so far as not to have their Guns heard by her Consort at the Cape. The Pyrates had such an Opinion of their own Courage, that they could never dream any Body would use a Stratagem to speak with them, and so was the more easily drawn into the Snare.

The Pyrates now drew nigh enough to fire their Chase Guns; they hoisted the black Flag that was worn in *Whydah* Road, and got their Spritsail Yard along-ships, with Intent to board; no one having ever asked, all this while, what Country Ship they took the Chase to be; they would have her to be a *Portuguese*, (Sugar being then a Commodity among them,) and were swearing every Minute at the Wind or Sails to expedite so sweet a Chase; but, alass, all turned sour in an Instant: It was with the utmost Consternation they saw her suddenly bring to, and hawl up her lower Ports, now within Pistol-shot, and struck their black Flag upon it directly. After the first Surprize was over, they kept firing at a Distance, hoisted it again, and vapoured with their Cutlasses on the Poop; tho' wisely endeavouring at the same Time to get away. Being now at their Wits end, boarding was proposed by the Heads of them, and so to make one desperate Push; but the Motion not being well seconded, and their Main-Top-Mast coming down by a Shot, after two Hours firing, it was declin'd; they grew Sick, struck their Colours, and called out for Quarters; having had 10 Men killed out right, and 20 wounded, without the loss or hurt of one of the King's Men. She had 32 Guns, mann'd with 16 *French* Men, 20 Negroes, and 77 *English*. The Colours were thrown over board, that they might not rise in Judgment, nor be display'd in Tryumph over them.

While

While the *Swallow* was ſending their Boat to fetch the Priſoners, a Blaſt and Smoak was ſeen to pour out of the great Cabin, and they thought they were blowing up; but upon enquiry afterwards, found that half a dozen of the moſt Deſperate, when they ſaw all Hopes fled, had drawn themſelves round what Powder they had left in the Steerage, and fired a Piſtol into it, but it was too ſmall a Quantity to effect any Thing more, than burning them in a frightful Manner.

This Ship was commanded by one *Skyrme*, a *Welch* Man, who, tho' he had loſt his Leg in the Action, would not ſuffer himſelf to be dreſſed, or carried off the Deck; but, like *Widrington*, fought upon his Stump. The reſt appeared gay and brisk, moſt of them with white Shirts, Watches, and a deal of Silk Veſts, but the Gold-Duſt belonging to them, was moſt of it left in the *Little Ranger* in the Bay, (this Company's proper Ship,) with the *Royal Fortune*.

I cannot but take Notice of two among the Crowd, of thoſe disfigured from the Blaſt of Powder juſt before mentioned, *viz. William Main* and *Roger Ball*. An Officer of the Ship ſeeing a Silver Call hang at the Waſt of the former, ſaid to him, *I preſume you are Boatſwain of this Ship. Then you preſume wrong*, anſwered he, *for I am Boatſwain of the* Royal Fortune, *Captain* Roberts *Commander. Then Mr.* Boatſwain *you will be hanged I believe*, replies the Officer. *That is as your Honour pleaſes*, anſwered he again, and was for turning away: But the Officer deſired to know of him, how the Powder, which had made them in that Condition, came to take Fire. —— *By G——* ſays he, *they are all mad and bewitch'd, for I have loſt a good Hat by it.* (the Hat and he being both blown out of the Cabin Gallery, into the Sea.) *But what ſignifies a Hat Friend*, ſays the Officer. —— *Not much* anſwer'd he, the Men being

being busy in stripping him of his Shoes and Stockings.——The Officer then enquired of him, whether *Roberts*'s Company were as likely Fellows as these. —— *There are* 120 *of them*, (answered he) *as clever Fellows as ever trod Shoe Leather: Would I were with them!* —— *No doubt on't*, says the Officer. —— *By G—— it is naked Truth*, answered he, looking down and seeing himself, by this Time, quite striped.

The Officer then approached *Roger Ball*, who was seated in a private Corner, with a Look as sullen as Winter, and asked him, how he came blown up in that frightful Manner. —— *Why*, says he, John Morris *fired a Pistol into the Powder, and if he had not done it, I would*, (bearing his Pain without the least Complaint.) The Officer gave him to understand he was Surgeon, and if he desired it, he would dress him; but he swore it should not be done, and that if any Thing was applied to him, he would tear it off.——Nevertheless the Surgeon had good Nature enough to dress him, tho' with much trouble: At Night he was in a kind of *Delirium*, and raved on the Bravery of *Roberts*, saying, he should shortly be released, as soon as they should meet him, which procured him a lashing down upon the Forecastle, which he resisting with all his Force, caused him to be used with the more Violence, so that he was tied down with so much Severity, that his Flesh being sore and tender with the blowing up, he died next Day of a Mortification.

They secured the Prisoners with Pinions, and Shackles, but the Ship was so much disabled in the Engagement, that they had once Thoughts to set her on Fire; but this would have given them the Trouble of taking the Pyrates wounded Men on Board themselves, and that they were certain the *Royal Fortune* would wait for their Consort's Return, they

they lay by her two Days, repaired her Rigging and other Damages, and sent her into *Princes*, with the *French* Men, and four of their own Hands.

On the 9th in the Evening, the *Swallow* gained the Cape again, and saw the *Royal Fortune* standing into the Bay with the *Neptune*, Captain *Hill*, of *London*: A good Presage of the next Day's Success, for they did not doubt but the Temptation of Liquor, and Plunder, they might find in this their new Prize, would make the Pyrates very confused; and so it happened.

On the 10th, in the Morning, the Man of War bore away to round the Cape. *Roberts*'s Crew discerning their Masts over the Land, went down into the Cabin, to acquaint him of it, he being then at Breakfast with his new Guest, Captain *Hill*, on a savory Dish of Solomongundy, and some of his own Beer. He took no Notice of it, and his Men almost as little, some saying she was a *Portuguese* Ship, others a *French* Slave Ship, but the major Part swore it was the *French Ranger* returning, and were merrily debating for some Time, on the Manner of Reception, whether they should salute, or not; but as the *Swallow* approached nigher, Things appeared plainer, and though they were stigmatiz'd with the Name of Cowards, who shewed any Apprehension of Danger, yet some of them, now undeceived, declared it to *Roberts*, especially one *Armstrong*, who had deserted from that Ship, and knew her well: Those *Roberts* swore at as Cowards, who meant to dishearten the Men, asking them if it were so, whether they were afraid to fight, or no? And hardly refrained from Blows. What his own Apprehensions were, till she hawled up her Ports, and hoisted their proper Colours, is uncertain; but then being perfectly convinced, he slipped his Cable, got under Sail, and ordered his Men to Arms, without any shew of Timidity; dropping

dropping a first Rate Oath, *that it was a Bite*, but, at the same Time, resolved, like a gallant Rogue, to get clear, or die.

There was one *Armstrong*, as I just mention'd, a Deserter from the *Swallow*, whom they enquired of concerning the Trim and Sailing of that Ship; he told them she sail'd best upon a Wind, and therefore, if they designed to leave her, they should go before it.

The Danger was imminent, and Time very short, to consult of Means to extricate himself; his Resolution in this Streight, was as follows: To pass close to the *Swallow*, with all their Sails, and receive her Broadside, before they returned a Shot; if disabled by this, or that they could not depend on sailing, then to run on Shore at the Point, (which is steep to) and every one to shift for himself among the Negroes; or failing in these, to board, and blow up together, for he saw that the greatest Part of his Men were drunk, passively Courragious, unfit for Service.

Roberts himself made a gallant Figure, at the Time of the Engagement, being dressed in a rich crimson Damask Wastcoat and Breeches, a red Feather in his Hat, a Gold Chain round his Neck, with a Diamond Cross hanging to it, a Sword in his Hand, and two Pair of Pistols hanging at the End of a Silk Sling, flung over his Shoulders (according to the Fashion of the Pyrates;) and is said to have given his Orders with Boldness, and Spirit; coming, according to what he had purposed, close to the Man of War, received her Fire, and then hoisted his Black Flag, and returned it, shooting away from her, with all the Sail he could pack; and had he took *Armstrong*'s Advice, to have gone before the Wind, he had probably escaped; but keeping his Tacks down, either by the Winds shifting, or ill Steerage, or both, he was taken a-back with his Sails, and the

Swallow

Swallow came a second Time very nigh to him: He had now perhaps finished the Fight very desperately, if Death, who took a swift Passage in a Grape-Shot, had not interposed, and struck him directly on the Throat. He settled himself on the Tackles of a Gun, which one *Stephenson*, from the Helm, observing, ran to his Assistance, and not perceiving him wounded, swore at him, and bid him stand up, and fight like a Man; but when he found his Mistake, and that his Captain was certainly dead, he gushed into Tears, and wished the next Shot might be his Lot. They presently threw him over-board, with his Arms and Ornaments on, according to the repeated Request he made in his Life-time.

Roberts was a tall black Man, near forty Years of Age, born at *Newey-bagh*, nigh *Haverford-West*, in *Pembrokshire*, of good natural Parts, and personal Bravery, tho' he applied them to such wicked Purposes, as made them of no Commendation, frequently drinking *D——n to him who ever lived to wear a Halter.* He was forc'd himself at first among this Company out of the *Prince*, Captain *Plumb* at *Anamaboe*, about three Years before, where he served as second Mate, and shed, as he us'd to tell the *fresh Men*, as many Crocodile Tears then as they did now, but Time and good Company had wore it off. He could not plead Want of Employment, nor Incapacity of getting his Bread in an honest way, to favour so vile a Change, nor was he so much a Coward as to pretend it; but frankly own'd, it was to get rid of the disagreeable Superiority of some Masters he was acquainted with, and the Love of Novelty and Change, Maritime Peregrinations had accustom'd him to. *In an honest Service*, says he, *there is thin Commons, low Wages, and hard Labour; in this, Plenty and Satiety, Pleasure and Ease, Liberty and Power; and who would not ballance Creditor on this Side, when all the Hazard that is run for it, at worst, is only a*

four

four Look or two at choaking. No, A merry Life and a ſhort one, *ſhall be my Motto.* Thus he preach'd himſelf into an Approbation of what he at firſt abhorr'd; and being daily regal'd with Muſick, Drinking, and the Gaiety and Diverſions of his Companions, theſe deprav'd Propenſities were quickly edg'd and ſtrengthen'd, to the extinguiſhing of Fear and Conſcience. Yet among all the vile and ignominious Acts he had perpetrated, he is ſaid to have had an Averſion towards forcing Men into that Service, and had procured ſome their Diſcharge, notwithſtanding ſo many made it their Plea.

When *Roberts* was gone, as tho' he had been the Life and Soul of the Gang, their Spirits ſunk; many deſerted their Quarters, and all ſtupidly neglected any Means for Defence, or Eſcape; and their Main-maſt ſoon after being ſhot by the Board, they had no Way left, but to ſurrender and call for Quarters. The *Swallow* kept aloof, while her Boat paſſed, and repaſſed for the Priſoners; becauſe they underſtood they were under an Oath to blow up; and ſome of the Deſperadoes ſhewed a Willingneſs that Way, Matches being lighted, and Scuffles happening between thoſe who would, and thoſe who oppoſed it: But I cannot eaſily account for this Humour, which can be term'd no more than a falſe Courage, ſince any of them had Power to deſtroy his own Life, either by Piſtol, or Drowning, without involving others in the ſame Fate, who are in no Temper of Mind for it: And at beſt, it had been only dying, for fear of Death.

She had 40 Guns, and 157 Men, 45 whereof were Negroes; three only were killed in the Action, without any Loſs to the *Swallow.* There was found upwards of 2000*l.* in Gold-Duſt in her. The Flag could not be got eaſily from under the fallen Maſt, and was therefore recover'd by the *Swallow*; it had the Figure of a Skeleton in it, and a Man pourtray'd

with a flaming Sword in his Hand, intimating a Defyance of Death it self.

The *Swallow* returned back into Cape *Lopez* Bay, and found the little *Ranger*, whom the Pyrates had deserted in haſt, for the better Defence of the Ship: She had been plunder'd, according to what I could learn, of 2000 l. in Gold-Duſt, (the Shares of thoſe Pyrates who belonged to her;) and Captain *Hill*, in the *Neptune*, not unjuſtly ſuſpected, for he would not wait the Man of War's returning into the Bay again, but ſail'd away immediately, making no Scruple afterwards to own the Seizure of other Goods out of her, and ſurrender'd, as a Confirmation of all, 50 Ounces at *Barbadoes*, for which, ſee the Article at the End of this Book. 1720

All Perſons who after the 29th *of* Septem. ~~1690~~, &c.

To ſum up the whole, if it be conſidered, firſt, that the ſickly State of the Men of War, when they ſail'd from *Princes*, was the Misfortune that hindered their being as far as *Sierraleon*, and conſequently out of the Track the Pyrates then took. That thoſe Pyrates, directly contrary to their Deſign, in the ſecond Expedition, ſhould get above Cape *Corſo*, and that nigh *Axim*, a Chace ſhould offer, that inevitably muſt diſcover them, and be ſoon communicated to the Men of War. That the ſatiating their evil and malicious Tempers at *Whydah*, in burning the *Porcupine*, and running off with the *French* Ship, had ſtrengthened the *Swallow* with 30 Men. That the *Swallow* ſhould miſs them in that Road, where probably ſhe had not, or at leaſt ſo effectually obtained her End. That they ſhould be ſo far infatuated at Cape *Lopez*, as to divide their Strength, which when collected, might have been ſo formidable. And laſtly, that the Conqueſt ſhould be without Bloodſhed: I ſay, conſidering all theſe Circumſtances, it ſhews that the Hand of Providence was concerned in their Deſtruction.

As

As to their Behaviour after they were taken, it was found that they had great Inclinations to rebel, if they could have laid hold of any Opportunity. For they were very uneasy under Restraint, having been lately all Commanders themselves; nor could they brook their Diet, or Quarters, without cursing and swearing, and upbraiding each other, with the Folly that had brought them to it.

So that to secure themselves against any mad desperate Undertaking of theirs, they strongly barricado'd the Gun-Room, and made another Prison before it; an Officer, with Pistols and Cutlasses, doing Duty, Night and Day, and the Prisoners within, manacled and shackled.

They would yet in these Circumstances be impudently merry, saying, when they viewed their Nakedness, *that they had not left them a halfpenny, to give old* Charon, *to ferry them over* Stix: And at their thin Commons, they would observe, that they fell away so fast, that they should not have Weight left to hang them. *Sutton* used to be very prophane; he happening to be in the same Irons with another Prisoner, who was more serious than ordinary, and read and pray'd often, as became his Condition; this Man *Sutton* used to swear at, and ask him, *what he proposed by so much Noise and Devotion? Heaven*, says the other, *I hope. Heaven, you Fool*, says *Sutton, did you ever hear of any Pyrates going thither? Give me H——ll, it's a merrier Place: I'll give* Roberts *a Salute of* 13 *Guns at Entrance.* And when he found such ludicrous Expressions had no Effect on him, he made a formal Complaint, and requested that the Officer would either remove this Man, or take his Prayer-Book away, as a common Disturber.

A Combination and Conspiracy was formed, betwixt *Moody, Askplant, Magnes, Mare*, and others, to rise, and kill the Officers, and run away with the Ship. This they had carried on by Means of

a Mulatto Boy, who was allow'd to attend them, and proved very trusty in his Messages, between the Principals; but the Evening of that Night they were to have made this Struggle, two of the Prisoners that sat next to *Ashplant*, heard the Boy whisper them upon the Project, and naming to him the Hour they should be ready, presently gave Notice of it to the Captain, which put the Ship in an Alarm, for a little Time; and, on Examination, several of them had made shift to break off, or lose, their Shackles, (no doubt for such Purpose;) but it tended only to procure to themselves worse Usage and Confinement.

In the same Passage to Cape *Corso*, the Prize, *Royal Fortune*, was in the same Danger. She was left at the Island of St. *Thomas*'s, in the Possession of an Officer, and a few Men, to take in some fresh Provisions, (which were scarce at Cape *Corso*) with Orders to follow the Ship. There were only some of the Pyrates Negroes, three or four wounded Prisoners, and *Scudamore*, their Surgeon; from whom they seemed to be under no Apprehension, especially from the last, who might have hoped for Favour, on Account of his Employ; and had stood so much indebted for his Liberty, eating and drinking constantly with the Officer; yet this Fellow, regardless of the Favour, and lost to all Sense of Reformation, endeavoured to bring over the Negroes to his Design of murdering the People, and running away with the Ship. He easily prevailed with the Negroes to come into the Design; but when he came to communicate it to his Fellow Prisoners, and would have drawn them into the same Measures, by telling them, he understood Navigation, that the Negroes were stout Fellows, and by a Smattering he had in the *Angolan* Language, he had found willing to undertake such an Enterprize; and that it was better venturing to do this, run down

down the Coaſt, and raiſe a new Company, than to proceed to Cape *Corſo*, and be hanged like a Dog, and Sun dry'd. One of them abhorring the Cruelty, or fearing the Succeſs, diſcovered it to the Officer, who made him immediately a Priſoner, and brought the Ship ſafe.

When they came to be lodg'd in Cape *Corſo-Caſtle*, their Hopes of this kind all cut off, and that they were aſſured they muſt there ſoon receive a final Sentence; the Note was changed among moſt of them, and from vain inſolent jeſting, they became ſerious and devout, begging for good Books, and joyning in publick Prayers, and ſinging of Pſalms, twice at leaſt every Day.

As to their Tryals, if we ſhould give them at length, it may appear tedious to the Reader, for which Reaſon, I have, for the avoiding Tautology and Repetition, put as many of them together as were try'd for the ſame Fact, reſerving the Circumſtances which are moſt material, with Obſervations on the dying Behaviour of ſuch of them, as came to my Knowledge.

And firſt, it may be obſerved from the Liſt, that a great Part of theſe Pyrate Ships Crews, were Men entered on the Coaſt of *Africa*, not many Months before they were taken; from whence, it may be concluded, that the pretended Conſtraint of *Roberts*, on them, was very often a Complotment between Parties equally willing: And this *Roberts* ſeveral Times openly declared, particularly to the *Onſlow*'s People, whom he called aft, and ask'd of them, *who was willing to go, for he would force no Body?* As was depoſed, by ſome of his beſt Hands, after Acquittal; nor is it reaſonable to think, he ſhould reject *Iriſh* Voluntiers, only from a Pique againſt *Kennedy*, and force others, that might hazard, and, in Time, deſtroy his Government: But their Behaviour ſoon put him out of this Fear, and convinc'd him, that

the Plea of Force was only the beſt Artifice they had to ſhelter themſelves under, in Caſe they ſhould be taken; and that they were leſs Rogues than others, only in Point of Time.

It may likewiſe be taken Notice of, that the Country, wherein they happened to be tried, is among other Happineſſes, exempted from Lawyers, and Law-Books, ſo that the Office of Regiſter, of neceſſity fell on one, not verſed in thoſe Affairs, which might juſtify the Court in want of Form, more eſſentially ſupply'd with Integrity and Impartiality.

But, perhaps, if there was leſs Law, there might be more Juſtice, than in ſome other Courts; for, if the civil Law be a Law of univerſal Reaſon, judging of the Rectitude, or Obliquity of Mens Actions, every Man of common Senſe is endued with a Portion of it, at leaſt ſufficient to make him diſtinguiſh Right from Wrong, or what the Civilians call, *Malum in ſe.*

Therefore, here, if two Perſons were equally Guilty of the ſame Fact, there was no convicting one, and bringing the other off, by any Quirk, or turn of Law; for they form'd their Judgments upon the Conſtraint, or Willingneſs, the Aim, and Intention of the Parties, and all other Circumſtances, which make a material Difference. Beſides, in Crimes of this Nature, Men bred up to the Sea, muſt be more knowing, and much abler, than others more learned in the Law; for, before a Man can have a right Idea of a Thing, he muſt know the Terms ſtanding for that Thing: The Sea-Terms being a Language by it ſelf, which no Lawyer can be ſuppoſed to underſtand, he muſt of Conſequence want that diſcriminating Faculty, which ſhould direct him to judge right of the Facts meant by thoſe Terms.

The

The Court well knew, it was not poſſible to get the Evidence of every Sufferer by this Crew, and therefore, firſt of all, conſidered how that Deficiency ſhould be ſupplied; whether, or no, they could pardon one *Jo. Dennis*, who had early offered himſelf, as King's Evidence, and was the beſt read in their Lives and Converſations: Here indeed, they were at a Loſs for Law, and concluded in the Negative, becauſe it look'd like compounding with a Man to ſwear falſly, loſing by it, thoſe great Helps he could have afforded.

Another great Difficulty in their Proceedings, was, how to underſtand thoſe Words in the Act of Parliament, of, *particularly ſpecifying in the Charge, the Circumſtances of Time, Place*, &c. *i. e.* ſo to underſtand them, as to be able to hold a Court; for if they had been indicted on particular Robberies, the Evidence had happened moſtly from the Royal *African* Company's Ships, on which theſe Gentlemen of *Cape-Corſo-Caſtle*, were not qualify'd to ſit, their Oath running, *That they have no Intereſt directly, or indirectly, in the Ship, or Goods, for the Robbery of which, the Party ſtands accuſed:* And this they thought they had, Commiſſions being paid them, on ſuch Goods: And on the other Side, if they were incapacitated, no Court could be formed, the Commiſſion abſolutely requiring three of them by Name.

To reconcile all Things, therefore, the Court reſolved, to bottom the whole of their Proceedings on the *Swallow's* Depoſitions, which were clear and plain, and had the Circumſtance of Time when, Place where, Manner how, and the like, particularly ſpecified according to the Statute in that Caſe made, and provided. But this admitted only a general Intimation of Robbery in the Indictment, therefore *to approve their Clemency*, it looking Arbitrary on the Lives of Men, to lump them to the Gallows, in ſuch a ſummary Way as muſt have

been done, had they ſolely adhered to the *Swallow*'s Charge, they reſolved to come to particular Tryals.

Secondly, *That the Priſoners might not be ignorant whereon to anſwer*, and ſo have all fair Advantages, to excuſe and defend themſelves; the Court farther agreed with Juſtice and Equanimity, to hear any Evidence that could be brought, to weaken or corroborate the three Circumſtances that compleat a Pyrate; firſt, being a Voluntier amongſt them at the Beginning; ſecondly, being a Voluntier at the taking or robbing of any Ship; or laſtly, voluntarily accepting a Share in the Booty of thoſe that did; for by a Parity of Reaſon, where theſe Actions were of their own diſpoſing, and yet committed by them, it muſt be believed their Hearts and Hands joyned together, in what they acted againſt his Majeſty's Ship the *Swallow*.

The TRYALS *of the* PYRATES,

Taken by his Majesty's Ship the Swallow, *begun at Cape* Corso-Castle, *on the Coast of* Africa, March *the* 28*th*, 1722.

THE Commission impowered any three named therein, to call to their Assistance, such a Number of qualified Persons as might make the Court always consist of seven: And accordingly Summons were signed to Lieut. *Jo. Barnsley*, Lieut. *Ch. Fanshaw*, Capt. *Samuel Hartsease*, and Capt. *William Menzies*, *viz.*

'BY Virtue of a Power and Authority, to us 'given, by a Commission from the King, un- 'der the Seal of Admiralty, You are hereby re- 'quired to attend, and make one of the Court, for the 'trying and adjudging of the Pyrates, lately taken 'on this Coast, by his Majesty's Ship the *Swallow*.

Given under our Hands this 28th of *March*, 1722, at Cape *Corso-Castle*.

Mungo Heardman, *James Phips*, *Henry Dodson*, | *Francis Boy*, *Edward Hide*.

The Commissioners being met in the Hall of the Castle, the Commission was first read, after which, the President, and then the other Members, took the Oath, prescribed in the Act of Parliament, and having directed the Form of that for Witnesses, as follows, the Court was opened.

I, *A. B.*

I, A. B. *solemnly promise and swear on the Holy Evangelists, to bear true and faithful Witness between the King and Prisoner, or Prisoners, in Relation to the Fact, or Facts, of Pyracy and Robbery, he or they do now stand accused of.* So help me God.

The Court consisted of

Captain *Mungo Heardman*, President.

James Phips, *Esq*; *General of the Coast*,
Mr. H. Dodson, } *Mer.*
Mr. F. Boye, }
Mr. Edward Hyde, *Secretary to the Company.*
Lieut. John Barnsley,
Lieut. Ch. Fanshaw.

The following Prisoners, out of the Pyrate Ship *Ranger*, having been commanded before them, the Charge, or Indictment, was exhibited.

Prisoners taken in the *Ranger*.

Mens Names.	Ships from	Time when.
* *James Skyrm*	*Greyhound* Sloop	*Oct.* 1720
* *Rich. Hardy*	Pyrate with *Davis*	1718
* *Wm. Main*	Brigantine Capt. *Peet*	*June* 1720
* *Henry Dennis*	Pyrates with Capt. *Davis*	1718
* *Val. Ashplant*		1719
* *Rob. Birdson*		1719
* *Rich. Harris*	*Phœnix* of *Bristol*, Capt. *Richards* at *Newfoundland*	*June* 1720
* *D. Littlejohn*		
* *Thomas How*		
† *Her. Hunkins*	*Succes* Sloop	*July* 1720
* *Hugh Harris*	*Willing Mind*	
* *W. Mackintosh*		
Thomas Wills	*Richard* of *Biddiford*	
† *John Wilden*	*Mary* and *Martha*	
* *Ja. Greenham*	*Little York*, *Phillips* Mr.	
* *John Jaynson*	*Love* of *Lancaster*	
† *Chri. Lang*	*Thomas* Brigantine	*Sept.* 1720

* *John*

* *John Mitchel* *T. Withſtandenot*	*Norman* Galley	*Oct.* 1720
Peter la Fever * *Wm. Shurin*	*Jeremiah* and *Ann*	*Ap.* 1720
* *Wm. Wats* * *Wm. Davis*	*Sierraleon* of Mr. *Glin* of Seig. *Joſſié*	*July* 1721
† *James Barrow* * *Joſhua Lee*	*Martha* Snow Capt *Lady*	
Rob. Hartley (1) † *James Crane*	*Robinſon* of *Leverpole* Capt. *Kanning*	*Aug.* 1721
George Smithſon *Roger Pye* † *Rob. Fletcher* * *Ro. Hartley* (2)	*Stanwich* Galley Captain *Tarlton*	*Aug.* 1721
† *Andrew Rance*	A *Dutch* Ship	
* *Cuthbert Goſs* * *Tho. Giles* * *Iſrael Hynde*	*Mercy* Galley of *Briſtol* at *Callibar*	*Oct.* 1721
William Church	*Gertruycht* of *Holland*	
Philip Haak	*Fluſhingham* of *ditto*	
William Smith *Adam Comry*	*Elizabeth* Capt. *Sharp*	
William Graves * *Peter de Vine* *John Johnſon* *John Stodgill*	*King Solomon* Capt. *Trehern* off Cape *Appollonia*	
Henry Dawſon *William Glaſs*	*Whydah* Sloop at *Jaquin*	*Jan.* 172[illegible]
Joſiah Robinſon *John Arnaught* *John Davis*		
† *Henry Graves* *Tho. Howard* † *John Rimer* *Thomas Clephen*	*Tarlton* Capt. *Tho. Tarlton,*	
Wm. Guineys † *James Coſins*	*Porcupine* Capt. *Fletcher*	

Tho.

Tho. Stretton
* *William Petty*
Mic. Lemmon
* *Wm. Wood*
* *Ed. Watts*
* *John Horn*
} *Onslow* Capt. *Gee* at *Ceſtos* *Jan.* 172½

Pierre Ravon	*Peter Groſſey*	From the *French* Ship *Whydah* Road *Feb.* 1721-2.
John Dugan	*Rence Frogier*	
James Ardeon	*Lewis Arnaut*	
Ettrien Gilliot	*Rence Thoby*	
Ren. Marraud	*Meth Roulac*	
John Gittin	*John Gumar*	
Jo. Richardeau	*John Paquete*	
John Lavogue	*Allan Pigan*	
John Dupla'ſſey	*Pierce Shillot*	

You, *James Skyrm, Michael Lemmon, Robert Hartley*, &c.

YE, *and every one of you, are in the Name, and by the Authority, of our dread Sovereign Lord*, George, *King of* Great Britain, *indicted as follows*;

Foraſmuch as in open Contempt of the Laws of your Country, ye have all of you been wickedly united, and articled together, for the Annoyance and Diſturbance of his Majeſty's trading Subjects by Sea. And have in Conformity to the moſt evil and miſchievous Intentions, been twice down the Coaſt of Africa, *with two Ships*; *once in the Beginning of* Auguſt, *and a ſecond Time, in* January *laſt, ſinking, burning, or robbing ſuch Ships, and Veſſels, as then happened in your Way.*

Particularly, ye ſtand charged at the Inſtance, and Information of Captain Chaloner Ogle, *as Traytors and Pyrates, for the unlawful Oppoſition ye made to his Majeſty's Ship, the* Swallow, *under his Command.*

For that on the 5th of February *laſt paſt, upon Sight of the aforeſaid King's Ship, ye did immediately weigh Anchor from under Cape* Lopez, *on the Southern Coaſt of* Africa, *in a* French *built Ship of* 32 *Guns, called the* Ranger,

Ranger, *and did purſue and chaſe the aforeſaid King's Ship, with ſuch Diſpatch and Precipitancy, as declared ye common Robbers and Pyrates.*

That about Ten of the Clock the ſame Morning, drawing within Gun-ſhot of his Majeſty's aforeſaid Ship the Swallow, *ye hoiſted a pyratical black Flag, and fired ſeveral chace Guns, to deter, as much as ye were able, his Majeſty's Servants from their Duty.*

That an Hour after this, being very nigh to the aforeſaid King's Ship, ye did audaciouſly continue in a hoſtile Defence and Aſſault, for about two Hours more, in open Violation of the Laws, and in Defiance to the King's Colours and Commiſſion.

And laſtly, that in the acting, and compaſſing of all this, ye were all, and every one of you, in a wicked Combination, voluntarily to exert, and actually did, in your ſeveral Stations, uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to diſtreſs the ſaid King's Ship, and murder his Majeſty's good Subjects.

To which they ſeverally pleaded, *Not Guilty.*

Then the Court called for the Officers of the *Swallow*, Mr. *Iſaac Sun*, Lieutenant, *Ralph Baldrick*, Boatſwain, *Daniel Maclaughlin*, Mate, deſiring them to view the Priſoners, whether they knew them? And to give an Account in what Manner they had attack'd and fought the King's Ship; and they agreed as follows.

That they had viewed all the Priſoners, as they ſtood now before the Court, and were aſſured they were the ſame taken out of one, or other, of the Pyrate Ships, *Royal Fortune*, or *Ranger*; but verily believe them to be taken out of the *Ranger*.

That they did in the King's Ship, at break of Day, on *Monday*, the 5th of *February*, 1721-2, diſcover three Ships at Anchor, under Cape *Lopez*, on the Southern Coaſt of *Africa*; the Cape bearing then W. S. W. about three Leagues, and perceiving one

one of them to have a Pendant flying, and having heard their Morning-Gun before, they immediately ſuſpected them to be *Roberts* the Pyrate, his Conſort, and a *French* Ship, they knew had been lately carried out of *Whydah* Road.

The King's Ship was obliged to hawl off N. W. and W. N. W. to avoid a Sand, called, the *French Man's Bank*, the Wind then at S. S. E. and found in half an Hour's time, one of the three had got under Sail from the Careen, and was bending her Sails, in a Chace towards them. To encourage this Raſhneſs and Precipitancy, they kept away before the Wind, (as though afraid,) but with their Tacks on Board, their Main-Yard braced, and making, at the ſame Time, very bad Steerage.

About half an Hour after Ten, in the Morning, the Pyrate Ship came within Gun-ſhot, and fired four Chace Guns, hoiſted a black Flag at the Mizen-Peek, and got their Sprit-ſail Yard under their Bow-ſprit, for boarding. In half an Hour more, approaching ſtill nigher, they Starboarded their Helm, and gave her a Broadſide, the Pyrate bringing to, and returning the ſame.

After this, the Deponents ſay, their Fire grew ſlack for ſome Time, becauſe the Pyrate was ſhot ſo far a Head on the Weather-Bow, that few of their Guns could Point to her; yet in this Interval their black Flag was either Shot away, or hawled down a little Space, and hoiſted again.

At length, by their ill Steerage, and Favour of the Wind, they came near, a ſecond Time; and about Two in the Afternoon ſhot away their Main-topmaſt.

The Colours they fought under, beſides a black Flag, were a red *Engliſh* Enſign, a King's Jack, and a *Dutch* Pendant, which they ſtruck at, or about, Three in the Afternoon, and called for Quarters; it

it proving to be a *French* built Ship of 32 Guns, called the *Ranger*.

Iſaac Sun,
Ralph Baldrick,
Daniel Maclauglin.

When the Evidence had been heard, the Priſoners were called upon to anſwer, how they came on Board this Pyrate Ship; and their Reaſon for ſo audacious a Reſiſtance, as had been made againſt the King's Ship.

To this, each, in his Reply, owned himſelf to be one of thoſe taken out of the *Ranger*; that he had ſigned their pyratical Articles, and ſhared in their Plunder, ſome few only accepted, who had been there too ſhort a Time. But that neither in this ſigning, or ſharing, nor in the Reſiſtance had been made againſt his Majeſty's Ship, had they been Voluntiers, but had acted in theſe ſeveral Parts, from a Terror of Death; which a Law amongſt them, was to be the Portion of thoſe who refuſed. The Court then ask'd, who made thoſe Laws? How thoſe Guns came to be fired? Or why they had not deſerted their Stations, and mutinied, when ſo fair a Proſpect of Redemption offered? They replied ſtill, with the ſame Anſwers, and could extenuate their Crimes, with no other Plea, than being forced Men. Wherefore the Court were of Opinion, that the Indictment, as it charged them with an unlawful Attack and Reſiſtance of the King's Ship, was ſufficiently proved; but then it being undeniably evident, that many of theſe Priſoners had been forced, and ſome of them of very ſhort ſtanding, they did, on mature Deliberation, come to this merciful Reſolution;

That they would hear further Evidence for, or againſt, each Perſon ſingly, in Relation to thoſe Parts of the Indictment, which declared them Voluntiers

luntiers, or charged them with aiding and assisting, at the burning, sinking, or robbing of other Ships; for if they acted, or assisted, in any Robberies or Devastations, it would be a Conviction they were Voluntiers; here such Evidence, though it might want the Form, still carried the Reason of the Law with it.

The Charge was exhibited also against the following Pyrates taken out of the *Royal Fortune.*

* *Mich. Mare*	in the *Rover* 5 Years ago	
* *Chris. Moody*	under *Davis*	1718.
* *Mar. Johnson*	a *Dutch* Ship	18.
* *James Philips*	the *Revenge* Pyrate Sloop	17.
* *David Symson* * *Tho. Sutton*	Pyrates with *Davis*	
* *Hag. Jacobson*	a *Dutch* Ship	1719
* *W. Williams* 1 * *Wm. Fernon* * *W. Willams* 2 * *Roger Scot*	*Sadbury* Captain *Thomas Newfoundland*	*June* 1720.
* *Tho. Owen* * *Wm. Taylor*	*York* of *Bristol*	*May* 1720.
* *Joseph Nositer*	*Expedition* of *Topsham*	
* *John Parker*	*Willing Mind* of *Pool*	
* *Robert Crow*	*Happy Return* Sloop	
* *George Smith*	*Mary* and *Martha*	*July* 1720.
* *Ja. Clements*	*Success* Sloop	
* *John Walden*	*Blessing* of *Lymington*	
* *Jo. Mansfield*	from *Martinico*	
† *James Harris*	*Richard* Pink	
* *John Philips*	a fishing Boat	
Harry Glasby *Hugh Menzies* * *Wm. Magnus*	*Samuel* Capt. *Cary.*	*July* 1720.
* *Joseph Moor*	*May Flower* Sloop	*Feb.* 1720.

* *John*

† *John du Frock* *Wm. Champnies* *George Danſon* † *Iſaac Ruſſel*	*Loyd* Gally Capt. *Hyngſton*	*May* 1721.
Robert Lilbourn * *Robert Johnſon* *Wm. Darling* † *Wm. Mead*	*Jeremiah* and *Ann*, Capt. *Turner*	*Ap.* 1721.
Thomas Diggles * *Ben. Jeffreys* *John Francia* * *D. Harding* * *John Coleman* * *Charles Bunce* * *R. Armſtrong*	*Chriſtopher* Snow *Norman* Galley a Sloop at St. *Nicholas* a *Dutch* Ship *Adventure* Sloop a *Dutch* Galley *ditto* run from the *Swallow*	*Ap.* 1721.
* *Abra. Harper* * *Peter Leſley* * *John Jeſſup* *Thomas Watkins* * *Philip Bill* * *Jo. Stephenſon* * *James Cromby* *Thomas Garrat* † *George Ogle*	*Onſlow* Capt. *Gee* at *Seſtos*,	*May* 1721.
Roger Gorſuch *John Watſon*	*Martha* Snow	*Au.* 1721.
William Child * *John Griffin* * *Per. Scudamore*	*Mercy* Gally at *Callabar*	*Oct.* 1721.
Chriſt. Granger *Nicho. Brattle* *James White* *Tho. Davis* *Tho. Sever* * *Rob. Bevins* * *T. Oughterlaney* * *David Rice*	*Cornwall* Galley at *Callabar*	*ditto.*

* *Rob. Haws*	*Joceline* Capt. *Loane*	*Oct.* 1721.
Hugh Riddle *Stephen Thomas*	*Diligence* Boat	*Ja.* 1721.
* *John Lane* * *Sam. Fletcher* * *Wm. Philips* *Jacob Johnſon* * *John King*	*King Solomon*	*ditto.*
Benjamin Par	*Robinſon* Capt. *Kanning*	*ditto.*
William May *Ed. Thornden*	*Elizabeth* Capt. *Sharp*	*ditto.*
* *George Wilſon* *Edward Tarlton* * *Robert Hays*	*Tarlton* of *Leverpool* at Cape *la Hou*	*ditto.*
Thomas Roberts *John Richards* *John Cane*	*Charlton* Capt. *Allwright*	*Feb.* 1721.
Richard Wood *Richard Scot* *Wm. Daviſon* *Sam. Morwell* *Edward Evans*	*Porcupine* Capt. *Fletcher* *Whydah* Road	*Feb.* 1721.
* *John Jeſſup* 2	ſurrender'd up at *Princes*	

You, *Harry Glasby, William Daviſon, William Champnies, Samuel Morwell,* &c.

YE, *and every one of you, are, in the Name, and by the Authority of our moſt dread Sovereign Lord* George, *King of* Great Britain, *indicted as follows.*

Foraſmuch as in open Contempt and Violation of the Laws of your Country, to which ye ought to have been ſubject,) ye have all of you been wickedly united and articled together, for the Annoyance and Deſtruction of his Majeſty's trading Subjects by Sea; and in Conformity to ſo wicked an Agreement and Aſſociation, ye have been twice lately down this Coaſt of Africa, *once in* Auguſt, *and a ſecond Time in* January *laſt, ſpoiling and deſtroying many Goods and*

and Vessels of his Majesty's Subjects, and other trading Nations.

Particularly ye stand indicted at the Information and Instance of Captain Chaloner Ogle, *as Traytors, Robbers, Pyrates, and common Enemies to Mankind.*

For that on the 10th *of* February *last, in a Ship ye were possess'd of called the* Royal Fortune, *of* 40 *Guns, ye did maintain a hostile Defence and Resistance for some Hours, against his Majesty's Ship the* Swallow, *nigh Cape* Lopez *Bay, on the Southern Coast of* Africa.

That this Fight and insolent Resistance against the King's Ship, was made, not only without any Pretence of Authority, more than that of your own private depraved Wills, but was done also under a black Flag, flagrantly by that, denoting your selves common Robbers and Traitors, Opposers and Violators of the Laws.

And lastly, that in this Resistance, ye were all of you Voluntiers, and did, as such, contribute your utmost Efforts, for disabling and distressing the aforesaid King's Ship, and deterring his Majesty's Servants therein, from their Duty.

To which they severally pleaded, *Not Guilty.*

Whereupon the Officers of his Majesty's Ship, the *Swallow*, were called again, and testified as follows.

That they had seen all the Prisoners now before the Court, and knew them to be the same which were taken out of one or other of the Pyrate Ships, *Royal Fortune* or *Ranger*, and verily believe them to be those taken out of the *Royal Fortune.*

That the Prisoners were possess'd of a Ship of 40 Guns, called the *Royal Fortune*, and were at an Anchor under Cape *Lopez*, on the Coast of *Africa*, with two others: When his Majesty's Ship the *Swallow*, (to which the Deponents belong'd, and were Officers,) stood in for the Place, on *Saturday* the 10th of *February* 1721-2: The largest had a Jack,

Enſign and Pendant flying, (being this *Royal Fortune*,) who on Sight of them, had their Boats paſſing and repaſſing, from the other two, which they ſuppoſed to be with Men: The Wind not favouring the aforeſaid King's Ship, ſhe was obliged to make two Trips to gain nigh enough the Wind, to fetch in with the Pyrates; and being at length little more than random Shot from them, they found ſhe ſlipped her Cable, and got under Sail.

At Eleven, the Pyrate was within Piſtol-Shot, a Breaſt of them, with a black Flag, and Pendant hoiſted at their Main-topmaſt Head. The Deponents ſay, they then ſtruck the *French* Enſign that had continued hoiſted at their Staff all the Morning till then; and diſplay'd the King's Colours, giving her, at the ſame Time, their Broadſide, which was immediately returned.

The Pyrate's Mizen-topmaſt fell, and ſome of her Rigging was torn, yet ſhe ſtill out ſailed the Man of War, and ſlid half Gun-Shot from them, while they continued to fire without Intermiſſion, and the other to return ſuch Guns as could be brought to bear, till by favour of the Winds, they were advanced very nigh again; and after exchanging a few more Shot, about half an Hour paſt one, his Main-Maſt came down, having received a Shot a little below the Parrel.

At Two ſhe ſtruck her Colours, and called for Quarters, proving to be a Ship, formerly call'd the *Onſlow*, but by them, the *Royal Fortune*; and the Priſoners from her, aſſured them, that the ſmalleſt Ship of the two, then remaining in the Road, belong'd to them, by the Name of the *Little Ranger*, which they had deſerted on this Occaſion.

Iſaac Sun,
Ralph Baldrick,
Daniel Maclaughlin.

The

The Prisoners were asked by the Court, to the same Purpose the others had been in the Morning; what Exception they had to make against what had been sworn? And what they had to say in their Defence? And their Reply were much the same with the other Prisoners; that they were forc'd Men, had not fired a Gun in this Resistance against the *Swallow*, and that what little Assistance they did give on this Occasion, was to the Sails and Rigging, to comply with the arbitrary Commands of *Roberts*, who had threaten'd, and they were perswaded would, have Shot them on Refusal.

The Court, to dispense equal Justice, mercifully resolved for these, as they had done for the other Pyrate Crew; that further Evidence should be heard against each Man singly, to the two Points, of being a Voluntier at first, and to their particular Acts of Pyracy and Robbery since: That so Men, who had been lately received amongst them, and as yet, had not been at the taking, or plundering, of any Ship, might have the Opportunity, and Benefit, of clearing their Innocence, and not fall promiscuously with the Guilty.

By Order of the Court,
John Atkins, *Register.*

Wm. Magnes, *Tho. Oughterlauney*, *Wm. Main*, *Wm. Mackintosh*, *Val. Ashplant*, *John Walden*, *Israel Hind*, *Marcus Johnson*, *Wm. Petty*, *Wm. Fernon*, *Abraham Harper*, *Wm. Wood*, *Tho. How*, *John Stephenson*, *Ch. Bunce*, and *John Griffin*.

Against the e it was deposed by Captain *Joseph Trahern*, and *George Fenn*, his Mate, that they were all of them, either at the attacking and taking of the Ship King *Solomon*, or afterwards at the robbing and plundering of her, and in this Manner;

That on the 6th of *January* last their Ship riding at Anchor near Cape *Appollonia* in *Africa*, discovered a Boat rowing towards them, against Wind and Stream, from a Ship that lay about three Miles to Leeward. They judged from the Number of Men in her, as she nearer advanced, to be a Pyrate, and made some Preparation for receiving her, believing, on a nigher View, they would think fit to withdraw from an Attack that must be on their Side with great Disadvantage in an open Boat, and against double the Number of Men; yet by the Rashness, and the Pusillanimity of his own People (who laid down their Arms, and immediately called for Quarter) the Ship was taken, and afterwards robbed by them.

President. Can you charge your Memory with any Particulars in the Seizure and Robbery?

Evidence. We know that *Magnes*, Quarter-Master of the Pyrate Ship, commanded the Men in this Boat that took us, and assumed the Authority of ordering her Provisions and Stores out, which being of different Kinds, we soon found, were seized and sent away under more particular Directions; for *Main*, as Boatswain of the Pyrate Ship, carried away two Cables, and several Coils of Rope, as what belonged to his Province, beating some of our own Men for not being brisk enough at working in the Robbery. *Petty*, as Sail-maker, saw to the Sails and Canvas; *Harper*, as Cooper to the Cask and Tools; *Griffin*, to the Carpenter's Stores, and *Oughterlauney*, as Pilot, having shifted himself with a Suit of my Clothes, a new tye Wig, and called for a Bottle of Wine, ordered the Ship, very arrogantly, to be steered under Commadore *Robert*'s Stern, (I suppose to know what Orders there were concerning her.) So far particularly. In the general, Sir, they were very outragious and emulous in Mischief.

President.

Preſident. Mr. *Caſtel,* acquaint the Court of what you know in Relation to this Robbery of the King *Solomon*; after what Manner the Pyrate-Boat was diſpatch'd for this Attempt.

Tho. Caſtel. I was a Priſoner, Sir, with the Pyrates when their Boat was ordered upon that Service, and found, upon a Reſolution of going, Word was paſſed through the Company, Who would go? And I ſaw all that did, did it voluntarily; no Compulſion, but rather preſſing who ſhould be foremoſt.

The Priſoners yielded to what had been ſworn about the Attack and Robbery, but denied the latter Evidence, ſaying, *Roberts* hector'd, and upbraided them of Cowardice on this very Occaſion; and told ſome, they were very ready to ſtep on Board of a Prize when within Command of the Ship, but now there ſeem'd to be a Tryal of their Valour, backward and fearful.

Preſident. So that *Roberts* forc'd ye upon this Attack.

Priſoners. Roberts commanded us into the Boat, and the Quarter-Maſter to rob the Ship; neither of whoſe Commands we dared to have refuſed.

Preſident. And granting it ſo, thoſe are ſtill your own Acts, ſince done by Orders from Officers of your own Election. Why would Men, honeſtly diſpoſed, give their Votes for ſuch a Captain and ſuch a Quarter-Maſter as were every Day commanding them on diſtaſtful Services?

Here ſucceeded a Silence among the Priſoners, but at length *Fernon* very honeſtly own'd, that he did not give his Vote to *Magnes,* but to *David Sympſon* (the old Quarter-Maſter,) *for in Truth,* ſays he, *I took* Magnes *for too honeſt a Man, and unfit for the Buſineſs.*

The Evidence was plain and home, and the Court, without any Heſitation, brought them in *Guilty.*

WILLIAM Church, Phil. Haak, James White, Nich. Brattle, Hugh Riddle, William Thomas, Tho. Roberts, Jo. Richards, Jo. Cane, R. Wood, R. Scot, Wm. Davſon, Sam. Morwell, Edward Evans, Wm. Guineys, and 18 *French* Men.

The four firſt of theſe Priſoners, it was evident to the Court, ſerved as Muſick on Board the Pyrate, were forced lately from the ſeveral Merchant Ships they belonged to; and that they had, during this Confinement, an uneaſy Life of it, having ſometimes their Fiddles, and often their Heads broke, only for excuſing themſelves, or ſaying they were tired, when any Fellow took it in his Head to demand a Tune.

The other *Engliſh* had been a very few Days on Board the Pyrate, only from *Whydah* to Cape *Lopez*, and no Capture or Robbery done by them in that Time. And the *French* Men were brought with a Deſign to reconduct their own Ship (or the *Little Ranger* in Exchange) to *Whydah* Road again, and were uſed like Priſoners; neither quarter'd nor ſuffered to carry Arms. So that the Court immediately acquieſced in, *Acquitting them.*

THO. Sutton, Dav'd Sympſon, Chriſtopher Moody, Phil. Bill, R. Hardy, Hen. Dennis, David Rice, Wm. Williams, R. Harris, Geo. Smith, Ed. Watts, Jo. Mitchell and *James Barrow.*

The Evidence againſt theſe Priſoners, were *Geret de Haen*, Maſter of the *Fluſhingham*, taken nigh *Axim*, the Beginning of *January* laſt.

Benj. Kreft Maſter, and *James Groet* Mate of the *Gertruycht*, taken nigh *Gabone* in *December* laſt, and Mr. *Caſtel*, *Wingfield* and others, that had been Priſoners with the Pyrates.

The former depoſed, that all theſe Priſoners (excepting *Hardy*) were on Board at the Robbery and Plunder of their Ships, behaving in a vile outragious

ragious Manner, putting them in bodily Fears, ſometimes for the Ship, and ſometimes for themſelves; and in particular, *Kreft* charged it on *Sutton*, that he had ordered all their Gunner's Stores out; on which that Priſoner preſently interrupted, and ſaid, he was perjured, *That he had not taken half.* A Reply, I believe, not deſigned as any ſawcy Way of jeſting, but to give their Behaviour an Appearance of more Humanity than the *Dutch* would allow.

From Mr. *Caſtel*, *Wingfield* and others, they were proved to be diſtinguiſhed Men, Men who were conſulted as Chiefs in all Enterprizes; belonged moſt of them to the Houſe of Lords, (as they call'd it,) and could carry an Authority over others. The former ſaid, particularly of *Hardy*, (Quarter-Maſter of the *Ranger*,) that when the *Dilgence* Sloop was taken, (whereto he belonged,) none was buſier in the Plunder, and was the very Man who ſcuttled and ſunk that Veſſel.

From ſome of the Priſoners acquitted, it was farther demanded, whether the Acceptance or Refuſal of any Office was not in their own Option? And it was declared, that every Officer was choſe by a Majority of Votes, and might refuſe, if he pleaſed, ſince others gladly embraced what brought with it an additional Share of Prize. *Guilty*

The Court on the 31ſt of *March*, remanded the following ſix before them, for Sentence, *viz. Dav. Sympſon*, *Wm. Magnes*, *R. Hardy*, *Thomas Sutton*, *Chriſtopher Moody*, and *Valen. Aſhplant*.

To whom the Preſident ſpoke to the following Purpoſe; *The Crime of Pyracy, of which all of ye have been juſtly convicted, is of all other Robberies the moſt aggravating and inhumane, in that being removed from the Fears of Surprize, in remote and diſtant Parts, ye do in Wantonneſs of Power often add Cruelty to Theft.*

Pyrates

Pyrates unmoved at Distress or Poverty, not only spoil and rob, but do it from Men needy, and who are purchasing their Livlihoods thro' Hazards and Difficulties, which ought rather to move Compassion; and what is still worse, do often, by Perswasion or Force, engage the inconsiderate Part of them, to their own and Families Ruin, removing them from their Wives and Children, and by that, from the Means that should support them from Misery and Want.

To a trading Nation, nothing can be so Destructive as Pyracy, or call for more exemplary Punishment; besides, the national Reflection it infers: It cuts off the Returns of Industry, and those plentiful Importations that alone can make an Island flourishing; and it is your Aggravation, that ye have been the Chiefs and Rulers in these licentious and lawless Practices.

However, contrary to the Measures ye have dealt, ye have been heard with Patience, and tho' little has, or possibly could, have been said in Excuse or Extenuation of your Crimes, yet Charity makes us hope that a true and sincere Repentance (which we heartily recommend) may entitle ye to Mercy and Forgiveness, after the Sentence of the Law has taken Place, which now remains upon me to pronounce.

YOU Dav. Simpson, William Magnes, R. Hardy, Tho. Sutton, Christopher Moody, *and* Val. Ashplant.

Ye, and each of you, are adjudged and sentenced, to be carried back to the Place from whence ye came, from thence to the Place of Execution, without the Gates of this Castle, and there within the Flood-Marks, to be hangedby the Neck till ye are dead.

After this, ye, and each of you shall be taken down, and your Bodies hanged in Chains.

War-

Warrant for Execution.

PURSUANT *to the Sentence given on* Saturday, *by the Court of Admiralty, at* Cape-Corſo-Caſtle, *againſt* Dav. Simpſon, Wm. Magnes, R. Hardy, Tho. Sutton, Chriſtopher Moody, *and* Valentine Aſhplant.

You are hereby directed to carry the aforeſaid Malefactors to the Place of Execution, without the Gates of this Caſtle, to Morrow Morning at Nine of the Clock, and there within the Flood-Marks, cauſe them to be hanged by the Neck till they are dead, for which, this ſhall be your Warrant. Given under my Hand, this 2*d Day of* April 1722.

To Joſeph Gordyn, *Provoſt-Marſhal.* Mungo Heardman.

The Bodies remove in Chains, to the Gibbets already erected on the adjacent Hillocks.

M. H.

William Phillips.

IT appeared by the Evidence of Captain *Jo. Trahern*, and *George Fenn*, Mate of the King *Solomon*, that this Priſoner was Boatſwain of the ſame Ship, when ſhe was attacked and taken off Cape *Appollonia*, the 6th of *January* laſt, by the Pyrate's Boat.

When the Boat drew nigh, (they ſay,) it was judged from the Number of Men in her, that they were Pyrates, and being hailed, anſwered, *Defiance*; at which the Commander ſnatched a Muſquet from one of his Men, and fired, asking them at the ſame Time, whether they would ſtand by him, to defend the Ship? But the Pyrates returning a Volley, and crying out, they would give no Quarters if any Reſiſtance was made; this Priſoner took upon him to call out for Quarters, without the Maſter's Conſent, and miſlead the reſt to the laying down their Arms, and giving up the Ship, to half the Number of Men, and in an open Boat. It was

further

ſurther evident he became, after this, a Voluntier amongſt them. Firſt, becauſe he was preſently very forward and brisk, in robbing the Ship *King Solomon*, of her Proviſions and Stores. Secondly, becauſe he endeavoured to have his Captain ill uſed; and laſtly, becauſe he had confeſſed to *Fenn*, that he had been obliged to ſign their Articles that Night, (a Piſtol being laid on the Table, to ſignify he muſt do it, or be ſhot,) when the whole appeared to be an Untruth from other Evidence, who alſo aſſerted his being armed in the Action againſt the *Swallow*.

In anſwer to this, he firſt obſerved upon the Unhappineſs of being friendleſs in this Part of the World, which, elſewhere, by witneſſing to the Honeſty of his former Life, would, he believed, in a great Meaſure, have invalidated the wrong Evidence had been given of his being a Voluntier with the Pyrates. He owns indeed, he made no Application to his Captain, to intercede for a Diſcharge, but excuſes it with ſaying, he had a diſlike to him, and therefore was ſure that ſuch Application would have avail'd him nothing.

The Court obſerved the Pretences of this, and other of the Pyrates, of a Piſtol and their Articles being ſerved up in a Diſh together, or of their being miſuſed and forced from an honeſt Service, was often a Complotment of the Parties, to render them leſs ſuſpected of thoſe they came from, and was to anſwer the End of being put in a News-Paper or Affidavit: and the Pyrates were ſo generous as not to refuſe a Compliment to a Brother that coſt them nothing, and, at the ſame Time, ſecured them the beſt Hands; the beſt I call them, becauſe ſuch a Dependance made them act more boldly. *Guilty.*

Harry

Harry Glasby, Master.

THere appearing several Persons in Court, who had been taken by *Roberts*'s Ship, whereof the Prisoner was Master, their Evidence was accepted as follows.

Jo. Trahern, Commander of the *King Solomon*, deposed, the Prisoner, indeed, to act as Master of the Pyrate Ship (while he was under Restraint there) but was observed like no Master, every one obeying at Discretion, of which he had taken Notice, and complained to him, how hard a Condition it was, to be a Chief among Brutes; and that he was weary of his Life, and such other Expressions, (now out of his Memory,) as shew'd in him a great Disinclination to that Course of Living.

Jo. Wingfield, a Prisoner with them at *Calabar*, says the same, as to the Quality he acted in, but that he was Civil beyond any of them, and verily believes, that when the Brigantine he served on Board of, as a Factor for the *African* Company, was voted to be burnt, this Man was the Instrument of preventing it, expressing himself with a great deal of Sorrow, for this and the like malicious Rogueries of the Company he was in; that to him shewed, he had acted with Reluctancy, as one who could not avoid what he did. He adds further, that when one *Hamilton*, a Surgeon, was taken by them, and the Articles about to be imposed on him, he opposed, and prevented it. And that *Hunter*, another Surgeon, among them, was cleared at the Prisoner's Instance and Perswasion; from which last, this Deponent had it assured to him, that *Glasby* had once been under Sentence of Death, on Board of them, with two more, for endeavouring an Escape in the *West-Indies*, and that the other two were really shot for it.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth Trengrove, who was taken a Paſſenger in the *African* Company's Ship *Onſlow*, ſtrengthen'd the Evidence of the laſt Witneſs; for having heard a good Character of this *Glasby*, ſhe enquired of the Quarter-Maſter, who was then on Board a robbing, whether or no ſhe could ſee him? And he told her, *No*; they never ventured him from the Ship, for he had once endeavoured his Eſcape, and they had ever ſince continued jealous of him.

Edward Criſp, Captain *Trengrove*, and Captain *Sharp*, who had all been taken in their Turns, acknowledge for themſelves and others, who had unluckily fallen into thoſe Pyrates Hands, that the good Uſage they had met with, was chiefly thro' the Priſoner's Means, who often interpoſed, for leaving ſufficient Stores and Inſtruments on Board the Ships they had robbed, alledging, they were ſuperfluous and unneceſſary there.

James White, whoſe Buſineſs was Muſick, and was on the Poop of the Pyrate Ship in Time of Action with the *Swallow*, depoſed, that during the Engagement, and Defence ſhe made, he never ſaw the Priſoner buſied about the Guns, or giving Orders, either to the loading or firing of them; but that he wholly attended to the ſetting, or trimming, of the Sails, as *Roberts* commanded; and that in the Concluſion, he verily believed him to be the Man who prevented the Ship's being blown up, by ſetting truſty Centinels below, and oppoſing himſelf againſt ſuch hot-headed Fellows as had procured lighted Matches, and were going down for that Purpoſe.

Iſaac Sun, Lieutenant of the Man of War, depoſed, that when he came to take Poſſeſſion of the Prize, in the King's Boat, he found the Pyrates in a very diſtracted and divided Condition; ſome being for blowing up, and others (who perhaps ſuppoſed themſelves leaſt culpable) oppoſing it: That in this

this Confuſion he enquired for the Priſoner, of whom he had before heard a good Character; and thinks he rendered all the Service in his Power, for preventing it; in particular, he underſtood by all Hands, that he had ſeized, and taken, from one *James Philips*, a lighted Match, at the Inſtant he was going down to the Magazine, ſwearing, that he ſhould ſend them all to H——l together. He had heard alſo, that after *Roberts* was killed, the Priſoner ordered the Colours to be ſtruck; and had ſince ſhown, how oppoſite his Practice and Principles had been, by diſcovering who were the greateſt Rogues among them.

The Priſoner, in his own Defence, ſays, when he had the Misfortune of falling into the Pyrates Hands, he was chief Mate of the *Samuel*, of *London*, Captain *Cary*; and when he had hid himſelf, to prevent the Deſign of carrying him away, they found him, and beat and threw him over-board. Seven Days afterwards, upon his objecting againſt, and refuſing to ſign their Articles, he was cut and abus'd again: That tho' after this he ingratiated himſelf, by a more humble Carriage, it was only to make Life eaſy; the Shares they had given him, having been from Time to Time returned again to ſuch Priſoners as fell in his Way; till of late, indeed, he had made a ſmall Reſervation, and had deſired Captain *Loan* to take two or three Moidores from him, to carry to his Wife. He was once taken, he ſays, at making his Eſcape, in the *Weſt-Indies*, and, with two more, ſentenced to be ſhot for it, by a drunken Jury; the latter actually ſuffered, and he was preſerved only by one of the chief Pyrates taking a ſudden Liking to him, and bullying the others. A ſecond time he ran away at *Hiſpaniola*, carrying a Pocket Compaſs, for conducting him through the Woods; but that being a moſt deſolate and wild Part of the Iſland he fell upon, and he ignorant

rant how to direct his Course, was obliged, after two or three Days wandering, to return towards the Ship again, denying with egregious Oaths, the Design he was charg'd with, for Fear they should shoot him. From this Time he hopes it will be some Extenuation of his Fault, that most of the acquitted Prisoners can witness, they entertained Jealousies of him, and *Roberts* would not admit him into his Secrets; and withal, that Captain *Cary*, (and four other Passengers with him) had made Affidavit of his having been forced from his Employ, which tho' he could not produce, yet he humbly hoped the Court would think highly probable from the Circumstances offered.

On the whole, the Court was of Opinion Artists had the best Pretension to the Plea of Force, from the Necessity Pyrates are sometimes under of engaging such, and that many Parts of his own Defence had been confirmed by the Evidence, who had asserted he acted with Reluctance, and had expressed a Concern and Trouble for the little Hopes remained to him, of extricating himself. That he had used all Prisoners (as they were called) well, at the hazard of ill Usage to himself. That he had not in any military Capacity assisted their Robberies. That he had twice endeavoured his Escape, with the utmost Danger. *Acquitted him.*

Captain *James Skyrm.*

IT appeared from the Evidence of several Prisoners acquitted, that this *Skyrm* commanded the *Ranger*, in that Defence she made against the King's Ship; that he ordered the Men to their Quarters, and the Guns to be loaded and fired, having a Sword in his Hand, to enforce those Commands; and beat such to their Duty whom he espied any way negligent or backward. That altho' he had lost a Leg in the Action, his Temper was

was so warm, as to refuse going off the Deck, till he found all was lost.

In his Defence, he says, he was forced from a Mate's Employ on Board a Sloop call'd the *Greyhound*, of St. *Christophers*, *Oct.* 1720. The Pyrate having drubbed him, and broke his Head, only for offering to go away when that Sloop was dismissed. Custom and Success had since indeed blunted, and, in some Measure, worn out the Sense of Shame; but that he had really for several Months past been sick, and disqualified for any Duty, and though *Roberts* had forced him on this Expedition much against his Will, yet the Evidence must be sensible, the Title of Captain gave him no Pre-eminence, for he could not be obeyed, though he had often called to them, to leave off their Fire, when he perceived it to be the King's Ship.

The Sickness he alledged, but more especially the Circumstance of losing his Leg, were Aggravations of his Fault, shewing him more alert on such Occasions, than he was now willing to be thought: As to the Name of Captain, if it were allowed to give him no Precedence out of Battle, yet here it was proved a Title of Authority; such an Authority as could direct an Engagement against the King's Colours, and therefore he was in the highest Degree, *Guilty*.

John Walden.

CAptain *John Trahern*, and *George Fenn*, deposed, the Prisoner to be one of the Number, who, in an open Boat, pyratically assailed, and took their Ship, and was remarkably busy at Mischief, having a Pole-Ax in his Hand, which served him instead of a Key, to all the lock'd Doors and Boxes he come nigh: Also in particular, he cut the Cable of our Ship, when the other Pyrates were willing, and busied at heaving up the Anchor,

ſaying, Captain, what ſignifies this Trouble of *Yo Hope*, and ſtraining in hot Weather; there are more Anchors at *London*, and beſides, your Ship is to be burnt.

William Smith, (a Priſoner acquitted,) ſays *Walden* was known among the Pyrates moſtly, by the Nick-Name of *Miſs Nanney* (ironically its preſumed from the Hardneſs of his Temper) that he was one of the twenty who voluntarily came on Board the *Ranger*, in the Chace ſhe made out after the *Swallow*, and by a Shot from that Ship, loſt his Leg; his Behaviour in the Fight, till then, being bold and daring.

The *Preſident*, called for *Harry Glasby*, and bid him relate a Character of the Priſoner, and what Cuſtom was among them, in Relation to theſe voluntary Expeditions, out of their proper Ship; and this of going on Board the *Ranger*, in particular.

And he gave in for Evidence, that the Priſoner was looked on as a brisk Hand, (*i. e.* as he farther explained it, a ſtanch Pyrate, a great Rogue) that when the *Swallow* firſt appeared in Sight, every one was willing to believe her a *Portugueſe*, becauſe Sugar was very much in Demand, and had made ſome Jarring and Diſſention between the two Companies, (the *Fortune*'s People drinking Punch, when the *Ranger*'s could not) that *Roberts*, on Sight of the *Swallow*, hailed the new *Ranger*, and bid them right Ship, and get under Sail; there is, ſays he, Sugar in the Offing, bring it in, that we may have no more Mumbling; ordering at the ſame Time the Word to be paſs'd among the Crew, who would go to their Aſſiſtance, and immediately the Boat was full of Men, to tranſport themſelves.

Preſident. Then every one that goes on Board of any Prize, does it voluntarily? Or were there here any other Reaſons for it?

H.

H. Glasby. Every Man is commonly called by Lift, and inſiſts, in his Turn, to go on Board of a Prize, becauſe they then are allowed a Shift of Cloaths, (the beſt they can find) over and above the Dividend from the Robbery, and this they are ſo far from being compelled to, that it often becomes the Occaſion of Conteſt and Quarrel amongſt them: But in the preſent, or ſuch like Caſes, where there appears a Proſpect of Trouble, the Lazy and Timerous are often willing to decline this Turn, and yield to their Betters, who thereby eſtabliſh a greater Credit.

The Priſoner, and the reſt of thoſe Men who went from the *Fortune* on Board the *Ranger*, to aſſiſt in this Expedition, were Voluntiers, and the truſtieſt Men among us.

Preſident. Were there no Jealouſies of the *Ranger*'s leaving you in this Chace, or at any other Time, in order to ſurrender?

H. Glasby. Moſt of the *Ranger*'s Crew were freſh Men, Men who had been enter'd only ſince their being on the Coaſt of *Guiney*, and therefore had not ſo liberal a Share in freſh Proviſions, or Wine, as the *Fortune*'s People, who thought they had born the Burthen and Heat of the Day, which had given Occaſion indeed to ſome Grumblings and Whiſpers, as tho' they would take an Opportunity to leave us, but we never ſuppoſed (if they did) it would be with any other Deſign then ſetting up for themſelves, they having (many of them) behaved with greater Severity than the old Standers.

The Priſoner appeared undaunted, and rather ſolicitous, about reſting his Stump, than giving any Anſwer to the Court, or making any Defence for himſelf, till called upon; then he related in a careleſs, or rather hopeleſs Manner, the Circumſtances of his firſt Entrance, being forced, he ſaid, out of the *Bleſſing* of *Lemmington*, at *Newfoundland*,

about 12 Months past; this, he is sure, most of the old Pyrates knew, and that he was for some Time as sick of the Change as any Man; but Custom and ill Company had altered him, owning very frankly, that he was at the Attack, and taking of the *King Solomon*, that he did cut her Cable, and that none were forced on those Occasions.

As to the last Expedition in the *Ranger*, he confesses he went on Board of her, but that it was by *Roberts*'s Order; and in the Chace loaded one Gun, to bring her to, but when he saw it was a Bite, he declared to his Comrades, that it was not worth while to resist, forbore firing, and assisted to reeve the Braces, in order, if they could, to get away, in which sort of Service he was busied, when a Shot from the Man of War took off his Leg: And being asked, that supposing the Chace had proved a *Portuguese*? Why then, says he, I dont know what I might have done, intimating withal, that every Body then would have been ready enough at plundering. *Guilty.*

Peter Scudamore.

HArry Glasby, *Jo. Wingfield*, and *Nicholas Brattle*, depose thus much, as to his being a Voluntier with the Pyrates, from Capt. *Rolls*, at *Calabar*. First, That he quarrelled with *Moody*, (one of the Heads of the Gang) and fought with him, because he opposed his going, asking *Rolls*, in a leering manner, whether he would not be so kind, as to put him into the *Gazette*, when he came Home. And, at another Time, when he was going from the Pyrate Ship, in his Boat, a Turnado arose, *I wish*, says he, *the Rascal may be drowned, for he is a great Rogue, and has endeavoured to do me all the ill Offices he could among these Gentlemen*, (*i. e.* Pyrates.)

And secondly, That he had signed the Pyrate's Articles with a great deal of Alacrity, and gloried

in

in having been the firſt Surgeon that had done ſo, (for before this, it was their Cuſtom to change their Surgeons, when they deſired it, after having ſerved a Time, and never obliged them to ſign, but he was reſolved to break thro' this, for the good of thoſe who were to follow,) ſwearing immediately upon it, he was now, he hoped, as great a Rogue as any of them.

Captain *Jo. Trahern*, and *George Fenn*, his Mate, depoſed, the Priſoner to have taken out of the *King Solomon*, their Surgeon's capital Inſtruments, ſome Medicines, and a Back-Gammon Table; which latter became the Means of a Quarrel between one *Wincon*, and he, whoſe Property they ſhould be, and were yielded to the Priſoner.

Jo. Sharp, Maſter of the *Elizabeth*, heard the Priſoner ask *Roberts* leave to force *Comry*, his Surgeon, from him, which was accordingly done, and with him, carried alſo ſome of the Ship's Medicines: But what gave a fuller Proof of the diſhoneſty of his Principles, was, the treacherous Deſign he had formed of running away with the Prize, in her Paſſage to Cape *Corſo*, though he had been treated with all Humanity, and very unlike a Priſoner, on Account of his Employ and better Education, which had rendred him leſs to be ſuſpected.

Mr. Child, (acquitted) depos'd, that in their Paſſage from the Iſland of St. *Thomas*, in the *Fortune* Prize, this Priſoner was ſeveral Times tempting him, into Meaſures of riſing with the Negroes, and killing the *Swallow*'s People, ſhewing him, how eaſily the white Men might be demoliſhed, and a new Company raiſed at *Angola*, and that Part of the Coaſt, *for*, ſays he, *I underſtand how to navigate a Ship, and can ſoon teach you to ſteer; and is it not better to do this, than to go back to* Cape-Corſo, *and be hanged and Sun-dryed?* To

which the Deponent replying, he was not afraid of being hanged, *Scudamore* bid him be ſtill, and no Harm ſhould come to him; but before the next Day-Evening, which was the deſigned Time of executing this Project, the Deponent diſcovered it to the Officer, and aſſured him, *Scudamore* had been talking all the preceeding Night to the Negroes, in *Angolan* Language.

Iſaac Burnet heard the Priſoner ask *James Harris*, a Pyrate, (left with the wounded in the Prize,) whether he was willing to come into the Project of running away with the Ship, and endeavour the raiſing of a new Company, but turned the Diſcourſe to Horſe-Racing, as the Deponent crept nigher; he acquainted the Officer with what he had heard, who kept the People under Arms all Night, their Apprehenſions of the Negroes not being groundleſs; for many of them having lived a long Time in this pyratical Way, were, by the thin Commons they were now reduced to, as ripe for Miſchief as any.

The Priſoner in his Defence ſaid, he was a forced Man from Captain *Rolls*, in *October* laſt, and if he had not ſhewn ſuch a Concern as became him, at the Alteration, he muſt remark the Occaſion to be, the Diſagreement and Enmity between them; but that both *Roberts*, and *Val. Aſhplant*, threat'ned him into ſigning their Articles, and that he did it in Terror.

The *King Solomon*, and *Elizabeth* Medicine-Cheſt, he owns he plundered, by Order of *Hunter*, the then chief Surgeon, who, by the Pyrates Laws, always directs in this Province, and Mr. *Child*, (tho' acquitted) had by the ſame Orders taken out a whole *French* Medicine-Cheſt, which he muſt be ſenſible for me, as well as for himſelf, we neither of us dared to have denied; it was their being the proper Judges, made ſo ungrateful an

Office

Office impoſed. If after this he was elected chief Surgeon himſelf, both *Comry* and *Wilſon* were ſet up alſo, and it might have been their Chance to have carried it, and as much out of their Power to have refuſed.

As to the Attempt of riſing and running away with the Prize, he denies it altogether as untrue; a few fooliſh Words, but only by Way of Suppoſition, that if the Negroes ſhould take it in their Heads (conſidering the Weakneſs, and ill look-out that was kept;) it would have been an eaſy Matter, in his Opinion for them to have done it; but that he encouraged ſuch a Thing, was falſe, his talking to them in the *Angolan* Language, was only a Way of ſpending his Time, and trying his Skill to tell twenty, he being incapable of further Talk. As to his underſtanding Navigation, he had frequently acknowledg'd it to the Deponent *Child*, and wonders he ſhould now ſo circumſtantiate this Skill againſt him. *Guilty.*

Robert Johnſon.

IT appeared to the Court, that the Priſoner was one of the twenty Men, in that Boat of the Pyrates, which afterwards robb'd the *King Solomon*, at an Anchor near Cape *Appollonia*: That all Pyrates on this, and the like Service, were Voluntiers, and he, in particular, had conteſted his going on Board a ſecond Time, tho' out of his Turn.

The Priſoner in his Defence, called for *Harry Glasby*, who witneſſed to his being ſo very drunk, when he firſt came among their Crew, that they were forced to hoiſt him out of one Ship into the other, with a Tackle, and therefore without his Conſent; but had ſince been a truſty Man, and was placed to the Helm, in that running Battle they made with the *Swallow*.

He inſiſted for himſelf likewiſe, on Captain *Turner*'s Affidavit of his being forced, on which others (his Ship-mates) had been cleared.

The Court conſidering the Partiality that might be objected in acquitting one, and condemning another of the ſame ſtanding, thought fit to remark it as a clear Teſtimony of their Integrity, that their Care and Indulgence to each Man, in allowing his particular Defence, was to exempt from the Rigour of the Law, ſuch, who it muſt be allowed, would have ſtood too promiſcuouſly condemned, if they had not been heard upon any other Fact than that of the *Swallow*; and herein what could better direct them, than a Character and Behaviour from their own Aſſociates; for tho' a voluntary Entry with the Pyrates may be doubtful, yet his conſequent Actions are not, and it is not ſo material how a Man comes among Pyrates, as how he acts when he is there. *Guilty.*

George Wilſon.

JOHN Sharp, Maſter of the *Elizabeth*, in which Ship the Priſoner was Paſſenger, and fell a ſecond Time into the Pyrates Hands, depoſes, that he took the ſaid *Wilſon* off from *Seſtos*, on this Coaſt, paying to the Negroes for his Ranſom, the Value of three Pound five Shillings in Goods, for which he had taken a Note, that he thought he had done a charitable Act in this, till meeting with one Captain *Canning*, he was ask'd, why he would releaſe ſuch a Rogue as *Wilſon* was? For that he had been a Voluntier with the Pyrates, out of *John Tarlton*. And when the Deponent came to be a Priſoner himſelf, he found *Thomas*, the Brother of this *John Tarlton*, a Priſoner with the Pyrates alſo, who was immediately on *Wilſon*'s Inſtigation, in a moſt ſad manner miſuſed and beat, and had been ſhot, through the Fury and Rage of ſome of thoſe Fellows

Fellows if the Town-ſide, (*i. e. Liverpool*) Men, had not hid him in a Stay-Sail, under the Bowſprit; for *Moody* and *Harper*, with their Piſtols cock'd, ſearched every Corner of the Ship to find him, and came to this Deponent's Hammock, whom they had like fatally to have miſtaken for *Tarlton*, but on his calling out, they found their Error, and left him with this comfortable Anodyne, That he was the honeſt Fellow who brought the Doctor. At coming away, the Priſoner asked about his Note, whether the Pyrates had it or no? Who not being able readily to tell, he reply'd, it's no Matter Mr. *Sharp*, I believe I ſhall hardly ever come to *England* to pay it.

Adam Comry, Surgeon of the *Elizabeth*, ſays, that altho' the Priſoner had, on Account of his Indiſpoſition and Want, received many Civilities from him, before meeting with the Pyrates, he yet underſtood it was thro' his and *Scudamore*'s Means, that he had been compelled among them: The Priſoner was very alert and chearful, he ſays, at meeting with *Roberts*, hailed him, told him he was glad to ſee him, and would come on Board preſently, borrowing of the Deponent a clean Shirt and Drawers, for his better Appearence and Reception; he ſigned their Articles willingly, and uſed Arguments with him to do the ſame, ſaying, they ſhould make their Voyage in eight Months, to *Braſil*, Share 6 or 700 *l.* a Man, and then break up. Again, when the Crew came to an Election of a chief Surgeon, and this Deponent was ſet up with the others, *Wilſon* told him, he hoped he ſhould carry it from *Scudamore*, for that a quarter Share (which they had more than others) would be worth looking after; but the Deponent miſſed the Preferment, by the good Will of the *Ranger*'s People, who, in general, voted for *Scudamore*, to get rid

rid of him, (the chief Surgeon being always to remain with the Commadore.)

It appeared likewiſe by the Evidence of Captain *Jo. Trahern*, *Tho. Caſtel*, and others, who had been taken by the Pyrates, and thence had Opportunities of obſerving the Priſoners Conduct, that he ſeem'd thoroughly ſatisfy'd with that Way of Life, and was particularly intimate with *Roberts*; they often ſcoffing at the Mention of a Man of War, and ſaying, if they ſhould meet with any of the Turnip-Man's Ships, they would blow up, and go to H——ll together. Yet ſetting aſide theſe ſilly Freaks, to recommend himſelf, his Lazineſs had got him many Enemies, even *Roberts* told him, (on the Complaint of a wounded Man, whom he had refuſed to dreſs) that he was a double Rogue, to be there a ſecond Time, and threat'ned to cut his Ears off.

The Evidence further aſſured the Court, from Captain *Thomas Tarlton*, that the Priſoner was taken out of his Brother's Ship, ſome Months before, a firſt Time, and being forward to oblige his new Company, had preſently ask'd for the Pyrates Boat, to fetch the Medicine Cheſt away; when the Wind and Current proving too hard to contend with, they were drove on Shore at Cape *Montzerado*.

The Priſoner called for *William Darling*, and *Samuel Morwel*, (acquitted) and *Nicholas Butler*.

William Darling depoſed, the firſt Time the Priſoner fell into their Hands, *Roberts* miſtook him for *Jo. Tarlton* the Maſter, and being informed it was the Surgeon who came to repreſent him, (then indiſpoſed,) he preſently ſwore he ſhould be his Meſs-Mate, to which *Wilſon* reply'd, he hop'd not, he had a Wife and Child, which the other laughed at; and that he had been two Days on Board, before he went

went in that Boat, which was drove on Shore at Cape *Montzerado*. And at his second coming, in the *Elizabeth*, he heard *Roberts* order he should be brought on Board in the first Boat.

Samuel Morwel says, that he has heard him bewail his Condition, while on Board the Pyrate, and desired one *Thomas*, to use his Interest with *Roberts*, for a Discharge, saying, his Employ, and the little Fortune he had left at Home, would, he hop'd, exempt him the further Trouble of seeking his Bread at Sea.

Nicholas Butler, who had remained with the Pyrates about 48 Hours, when they took the *French* Ships at *Whydah*, deposes, that in this Space the Prisoner addressed him in the *French* Language, several Times, deploring the Wretchedness and ill Fortune of being confined in such Company.

The Prisoner desiring Liberty of two or three Questions, ask'd, whether or no he had not expostulated with *Roberts*, for a Reason of his obliging Surgeons to sign their Articles, when heretofore they did not; Whether he had not expressed himself, glad of having formerly escaped from them? Whether he had not said, at taking the Ships in *Whydah* Road, that he could like the Sport, were it lawful? And whether if he had not told him, should the Company discharge any Surgeon, that he would insist on it as his Turn? The Deponent answered, Yes, to every Question separately; and farther, that he believes *Scudamore* had not seen *Wilson* when he first came and found him out of the *Elizabeth*.

He added, in his own Defence, that being Surgeon with one *John Tarlton*, of *Leverpool*, he was met a first Time on this Coast of *Guiney*, by *Roberts* the Pyrate; who, after a Day or two, told him, to his Sorrow, that he was to stay there, and ordered him to fetch his Chest, (not Medicines, as asserted,) which Opportu-

portunity he took to make his Escape; for the Boat's Crew happening to consist of five *French* and one *English* Man, all as willing as himself, they agreed to push the Boat on Shore, and trust themselves with the Negroes of Cape *Montzerado*: Hazardous, not only in Respect of the dangerous Seas that run there, but the Inhumanity of the Natives, who sometimes take a liking to humane Carcasses. Here he remained five Months, till *Thomas Tarlton*, Brother to his Captain chanced to put in the Road for Trade, to whom he represented his Hardships and starving Condition; but was, in an unchristian Manner, both refused a Release of this Captivity, or so much as a small Supply of Biscuit and salt Meat, because, as he said, he had been among the Pyrates. A little Time after this, the Master of a *French* Ship paid a Ransom for him, and took him off; but, by Reason of a nasty leperous Indisposition he had contracted by hard and bad living, was, to his great Misfortune set ashore at *Sestos* again, when Captain *Sharp* met him, and generously procured his Release in the Manner himself has related, and for which he stands infinitely obliged.——That ill Luck threw him a second Time into the Pyrate's Hands, in this Ship *Elizabeth*, where he met *Thomas Tarlton*, and thoughtlessly used some Reproaches of him, for his severe Treatment at *Montzerado*; but protests without Design his Words should have had so bad a Consequence; for *Roberts* took upon him, as a Dispenser of Justice, the Correction of Mr. *Tarlton*, beating him unmercifully; and he hopes it will be belived, contrary to any Intention of his it should so happen, because as a Stranger he might be supposed to have no Influence, and believes there were some other Motives for it. —— He cannot remember he expressed himself glad to see *Roberts* this second Time, or that he dropped those Expressions about *Comry*, as

are

are ſworn; but if immaturity of Judgment had occaſioned him to ſlip raſh and inadvertent Words, or that he had paid any undue Compliments to *Roberts*, it was to ingratiate himſelf, as every Priſoner did, for a more civil Treatment, and in particular to procure his Diſcharge, which he had been promiſed, and was afraid would have been revoked, if ſuch a Perſon as *Comry* did not remain there to ſupply his Room; and of this, he ſaid, all the Gentlemen (meaning the Pyrates) could witneſs for him.

He urged alſo his Youth in Excuſe for his Raſhneſs.——The firſt time he had been with them (only a Month in all,) and that in no military Employ; but in particular, the Service he had done in diſcovering the Deſign the Pyrates had to riſe in their Paſſage on Board the *Swallow*. *Guilty.*

But Execution reſpited till the King's Pleaſure be known, becauſe the Commander of the *Swallow* had declared, the firſt Notice he received of this Deſign of the Pyrates to riſe, was from him.

Benjamin Jefferys

BY the Depoſitions of *Glasby* and *Lillburn* (acquitted) againſt this Priſoner, it appeared, that his Drunkenneſs was what at firſt detained him from going away in his proper Ship, the *Norman* Galley; and next Morning, for having been abuſive in his Drink, ſaying to the Pyrates, there was not a Man amongſt them, he received for a Welcome, ſix Laſhes from every Perſon in the Ship, which diſordered him for ſome Weeks, but on Recovery was made Boatſwain's Mate; the ſerving of which, or any Office on Board a Pyrate, is at their own Option, (tho' elected,) becauſe others are glad to accept what brings an additional Share in Prize.

The

The Deponents further ſay, that at *Sierraleon* every Man had more eſpecially the Means of eſcaping; and that this Priſoner, in particular, neglected it, and came off from that Place after their Ship was under Sail, and going out of the River.

The Priſoner, in his Defence, proteſts, he was at firſt forc'd; and that the Office of Boatſwain's Mate was impoſed on him, and what he would have been glad to have relinquiſh'd. That the barbarous Whipping he had received from the Pyrates at firſt, was for telling them, that none who could get their Bread in an honeſt Way, would be on ſuch an Account. And he had certainly taken the Opportunity which preſented at *Sierraleon*, of ridding himſelf from ſo diſtaſtful a Life, if there had not been three or four of the old Pyrates on Shore at the ſame Time, who, he imagined, muſt know of him, and would doubtleſs have ſerved him the ſame, if not worſe, than they ſince had done *William Williams*; who, for ſuch a Deſign, being delivered up by the treacherous Natives, had received two Laſhes thro' the whole Ship's Company.

The Court obſerved, the Excuſes of theſe Pyrates, about want of Means to eſcape, was oftentimes as poor and evaſive as their Pleas of being forced at firſt; for here, at *Sierraleon*, every Man had his Liberty on Shore, and it was evident, might have kept it, if he, or they, had ſo pleaſed. And ſuch are further culpable, who having been introduced into the Society, by ſuch uncivil Methods, as whipping, or beating, neglect leſs likely Means of regaining Liberty; it ſhews ſtrong Inclinations to Diſhoneſty, and they ſtand inexcuſably, *Guilty*.

Jo. Manſfield.

IT was proved againſt this Priſoner, by Captain *Trahern* and *George Fenn*, that he was one of thoſe Voluntiers who was at the Attack and Robbery

bery of the Company's Ship, called the *King Solomon*: That he bully'd well among them who dar'd not make any Reply, but was very easy with his Friends, who knew him; for *Moody*, on this Occasion, took a large Glass from him, and threatned to blow his Brains out, (a favourite Phrase with these Pyrates) if he muttered at it.

From others acquitted, it likewise appeared, that he was at first a Voluntier among them, from an Island call'd *Dominico*, in the *West-Indies*, and had to recommend himself, told them, he was a Deserter from the *Rose* Man of War, and before that, had been on the High-Way; he was always drunk, they said, and so bad at the Time they met with the *Swallow*, that he knew nothing of the Action, but came up vapouring with his Cutlash, after the *Fortune* had struck her Colours, to know who would go on Board the Prize; and it was some Time before they could perswade him into the Truth of their Condition.

He could say little in Defence of himself, acknowledg'd this latter Part of Drunkenness; a Vice, he says, that had too great a Share in insnaring him into this Course of Life, and had been a greater Motive with him than Gold. *Guilty.*

William Davis.

William Allen deposed, he knew this Prisoner at *Sierraleon*, belonging to the *Ann* Galley; that he had a Quarrel with, and beat the Mate of that Ship, for which (as he said) being afraid to return to his Duty, he consorted to the idle Customs and Ways of living among the Negroes, from whom he received a Wife, and ungratefully sold her, one Evening, for some Punch to quench his Thirst. After this, having put himself under the Protection of Mr. *Plunket*, Governor there for the Royal *African* Company: The Relations and Friends

Friends of the Woman, apply'd to him for Redreſs, who immediately ſurrendered the Priſoner, and told them, he did not care if they took his Head off; but the Negroes wiſely judging it would not fetch ſo good a Price, they ſold him in his Turn again to Seignior *Joſſee*, a Chriſtian Black, and Native of that Place; who expected and agreed for two Years Service from him, on Conſideration of what he had diſburſed, for the Redemption of the Woman: But long before the Expiration of this Time, *Roberts* came into *Sierraleon* River, where the Priſoner, (as Seignior *Joſſee* aſſured the Deponent,) entered a Voluntier with them.

The Deponent further corroborates this Part of the Evidence; in that he being obliged to call at Cape *Mount*, in his Paſſage down hither, met there with two Deſerters from *Roberts*'s Ship, who aſſured him of the ſame; and that the Pyrates did deſign to turn *Davis* away the next Opportunity, as an idle good-for-nothing Fellow.

From *Glasby* and *Lilburn*, it was evident, that every Pyrate, while they ſtay'd at *Sierraleon*, went on Shore at Diſcretion. That *Roberts* had often aſſured Mr. *Glyn* and other Traders, at that Place, that he would force no Body; and in ſhort, there was no Occaſion for it; in particular, the Priſoner's Row-Mate went away, and thinks, he might have done the ſame, if he had pleaſed.

The Priſoner alledged his having been detained againſt his Will, and ſays, that returning with Elephants Teeth for *Sierraleon*, the Pyrate's Boat purſued and brought him on Board, where he was kept on Account of his underſtanding the Pilotage and Navigation of that River.

It was obvious to the Court, not only how frivolous Excuſes of Conſtraint and Force were among theſe People, at their firſt commencing Pyrates, but alſo it was plain to them, from theſe

two

two Deſerters, met at Cape *Mount*, and the diſcretional Manner they lived in, at *Sierraleon*; thro' how little Difficulty ſeveral of them did, and others might, have eſcaped afterwards, if they could but have obtained their own Conſents for it. *Guilty.*

This is the Subſtance of the Tryals of *Roberts*'s Crew, which may ſuffice for others, that occcur in this Book. The foregoing Liſts, ſhews, by a * before the Names, who were condemn'd; thoſe Names with a † were referred for Tryal to the *Marſhalſea*, and all the reſt were acquitted.

The following Pyrates were executed, according to their Sentence, without the Gates of Cape *Corſo-Caſtle*, within the Flood-Marks, *viz.*

Mens Names	Years of Age	Habitations.
William Magnes	35	*Minehead.*
Richard Hardy	25	*Wales.*
David Sympſon	36	*North-Berwick.*
Chriſtopher Moody	28	
Thomas Sutton	23	*Berwick.*
Valentine Aſhplant	32	*Minories.*
Peter de Vine	42	*Stepney.*
William Philips	29	*Lower-Shadwell.*
Philip Bill	27	St. *Thomas*'s.
William Main	28	
William Mackintoſh	21	*Canterbury.*
William Williams	40	nigh *Plymouth.*
Robert Haws	31	*Yarmouth.*
William Petty	30	*Deptford.*
John Jaynſon	22	nigh *Lancaſter.*
Marcus Johnſon	21	*Smyrna.*
Robert Crow	44	*Iſle of Man.*
Michael Macr	41	*Ghent.*

Daniel Harding	26	*Croomsbury* in *Somersetshire.*
William Fernon	22	*Somersetshire.*
Jo. More	19	*Meer* in *Wiltshire.*
Abraham Harper	23	*Bristol.*
Jo. Parker	22	*Winfred* in *Dorsetshire.*
Jo. Philips	28	*Alloway* in *Scotland.*
James Clement	20	*Jersey.*
Peter Scudamore	35	*Bristol.*
James Skyrm	44	*Wales.*
John Walden	24	*Somersetshire.*
Jo. Stephenson	40	*Whitby.*
Jo. Mansfield	30	*Orkneys.*
Israel Hynde	30	*Bristol.*
Peter Lesley	21	*Aberdeen.*
Charles Bunce	26	*Exeter.*
Robert Birtson	30	*Other* St. *Maries Devonshire.*
Richard Harris	45	*Cornwall.*
Joseph Nositer	26	*Sadbury* in *Devonshire.*
William Williams	30	Speechless at Execution.
Agge Jacobson	30	*Holland.*
Benjamin Jefferys	21	*Bristol.*
Cuthbert Goss	21	*Topsham.*
John Jessup	20	*Plymouth.*
Edward Watts	22	*Dunmore.*
Thomas Giles	26	*Mine-head.*
William Wood	27	*York.*
Thomas Armstrong	34	*London*, executed on board the *Weymouth.*
Robert Johnson	32	at *Whydah.*
George Smith	25	*Wales.*
William Watts	23	*Ireland.*
James Philips	35	*Antegoa.*
John Coleman	24	*Wales.*
Robert Hays	20	*Liverpool.*
William Davis	23	*Wales.*

The Remainder of the Pyrates, whose Names are under mentioned, upon their humble Petition to the

the Court, had their Sentence changed from Death, to seven Years Servitude, conformable to our Sentence of Transportation; the Petition is as follows.

To the Honourable the President and Judges of the Court of Admiralty, for trying of Pyrates, sitting at Cape Corso-Castle. *the 20th Day of* April, 1722.

The humble Petition of *Thomas How, Samuel Fletcher*, &c.

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners being unhappily, and unwarily drawn into that wretched and detestable Crime of Pyracy, for which they now stand justly condemned, they most humbly pray the Clemency of the Court, in the Mitigation of their Sentence, that they may be permitted to serve the Royal African *Company of* England, *in this Country for seven Years, in such a Manner as the Court shall think proper; that by their just Punishment, being made sensible of the Error of their former Ways, they will for the future become faithful Subjects, good Servants, and useful in their Stations, if it please the Almighty to prolong their Lives.*

And your Petitioners, as in Duty, *&c.*

The Resolution of the Court was,

THAT the Petitioners have Leave by this Court of Admiralty, to interchange Indentures with the Captain General of the Gold Coast, *for the Royal* African *Company, for seven Years Servitude, at any of the Royal* African *Company's Settlements in* Africa, *in such Manner as he the said Captain General shall think proper.*

On Thursday *the 26th Day of* April, *the Indentures being all drawn out, according to the Grant made to the*

Petitioners, by the Court held on Friday *the 20th of this Inſtant; each Priſoner was ſent for up, ſigned, ſealed and exchanged them in the Preſence of*

Captain Mungo Herdman, *Preſident*,
James Phipps, *Eſq*;
Mr. Edward Hyde,
Mr. Charles Fanſhaw,
And Mr. John Atkins, *Regiſter.*

A Copy of the Indenture.

The Indenture of a Perſon condemned to ſerve abroad for Pyracy, which, upon the humble Petition of the Pyrates therein mentioned, was moſt mercifully granted by his Imperial Majeſty's Commiſſioners and Judges appointed to hold a Court of Admiralty, for the Tryal of Pyrates at Cape *Corſo-Caſtle*, in *Africa*, upon Condition of ſerving ſeven Years, and other Conditions, are as follows, *viz.*

THIS Indenture made the twenty ſixth Day of April, Anno Regni Regis Georgii magnæ Britanniæ, *&c.* Septimo, Domini, Milleſſimo, Sepcenteſſimo viginti duo, *between* Roger Scot, *late of the City of* Briſtol *Mariner, of the one Part, and the Royal* African *Company of* England, *their Captain General and Commander in Chief, for the Time being, on the other Part,* Witneſſeth, *that the ſaid* Roger Scot, *doth hereby covenant, and agree to, and with, the ſaid Royal* African *Company, their Captain General, and Commander in chief for the Time being, to ſerve him, or his lawful Succeſſors, in any of the Royal* African *Company's Settlements on the Coaſt of* Africa, *from the Day of the Date of theſe Preſents, to the full Term of ſeven Years, from hence next enſuing, fully to be compleat and ended; there to ſerve in ſuch Employment, as the ſaid Captain General, or his Succeſſors*

ceſſors ſhall employ him; according to the Cuſtom of the Country in like Kind.

In Conſideration whereof, the ſaid Captain General, and Commander in chief doth covenant and agree, to, and with, the ſaid Roger Scot, *to find and allow him Meat, Drink, Apparel and Lodging, according to the Cuſtom of the Country.*

In witneſs whereof, the Parties aforeſaid, to theſe Preſents, have interchangably put their Hands and Seals, the Day and Year firſt above written.

Signed, ſealed and delivered, in the Preſence of us, at Cape Corſo-Caſtle, *in* Africa, *where no ſtamp'd Paper was to be had.*

Mungo Heardman, *Preſident,*
John Atkins, *Regiſter,* } Witneſſes.

In like Manner was drawn out and exchanged the Indentures of

Thomas How of *Barnſtable*, in the County of *Devon*;
Samuel Fletcher of *East-Smithfield, London.*
John Lane of *Lombard-Street, London.*
David Littlejohn of *Briſtol.*
John King of *Shadwell* Pariſh, *London.*
Henry Dennis of *Bidiford.*
Hugh Harris of *Corf-Caſtle, Devonſhire.*
William Taylor of *Briſtol.*
Thomas Owen of *Briſtol.*
John Mitchel of *Shadwell* Pariſh, *London.*
Joſhua Lee of *Leverpool.*
William Shuren of *Wapping* Pariſh, *London.*
Robert Hartley of *Leverpool.*
John Griffin of *Blackwall, Middleſex.*
James Cromby of *London, Wapping.*
James Greenham of *Marſhfield, Glouceſterſhire.*
John Horn of St. *James's* Pariſh, *London.*
John Jeſſop of *Wisbich, Cambridgſhire.*
David Rice of *Briſtol.*

None of which, I hear, are now living, two others, *viz.* *George Wilson* and *Thomas Oughterlaney*, were respited from Execution, till his Majesty's Pleasure should be known; the former dy'd abroad, and the latter came Home, and received his Majesty's Pardon; the Account of the whole stands thus,

Acquitted,		74
Executed,		52
Respited,		2
To Servitude,		20
To the *Marshalsea*,		17
Kill'd	in the *Ranger*,	10
	in the *Fortune*,	3
Dy'd	in the Passage to Cape *Corso*,	15
	afterwards in the Castle,	4
Negroes in both Ships,		70
	Total,	276

I am not ignorant how acceptable the Behaviour and dying Words of Malefactors are to the generallity of our Countrymen, and therefore shall deliver what occurr'd, worthy of Notice, in the Behaviour of these Criminals.

The first six that were called to Execution, were *Magnes*, *Moody*, *Sympson*, *Sutton*, *Ashplant*, and *Hardy*; all of them old Standers and notorious Offenders: When they were brought out of the Hold, on the Parade, in order to break off their Fetters, and fit the Halters; none of them, it was observed, appeared the least dejected, unless *Sutton*, who spoke faint, but it was rather imputed to a Flux that had seiz'd him two or three Days before, than Fear. A Gentleman, who was Surgeon of the Ship, was so charitable at this Time, to offer himself in the room of an Ordinary, and represented to them, as well as he was able, the Heinousness of their Sin, and Necessity which lay on them of Repentance

pentance; one particular Part of which ought to be, acknowledging the Juſtice they had met with. They ſeem'd heedleſs for the preſent, ſome calling for Water to drink, and others applying to the Soldiers for Caps, but when this Gentleman preſs'd them for an Anſwer, they all exclaim'd againſt the Severity of the Court, and were ſo harden'd, as to curſe, and wiſh the ſame Juſtice might overtake all the Members of it, as had been dealt to them. *They were poor Rogues*, they ſaid, *and ſo hang'd, while others, no leſs guilty in another Way, eſcaped.*

When he endeavoured to compoſe their Minds, exhorting them to dye in Charity with all the World, and would have diverted them from ſuch vain Diſcourſe, by asking them their Country, Age, and the like; ſome of them anſwered, 'What 'was that to him, they ſuffered the Law, and ſhould 'give no Account but to God;' walking to the Gallows without a Tear, in Token of Sorrow for their paſt Offences, or ſhewing as much Concern as a Man would expreſs at travelling a bad Road; nay, *Sympſon*, at ſeeing a Woman that he knew, ſaid, 'he had lain with that B——h three times, and now 'ſhe was come to ſee him hang'd.' And *Hardy*, when his Hands were ty'd behind him, (which happened from their not being acquainted with the Way of bringing Malefactors to Execution,) obſerved, 'that he had ſeen many a Man hang'd, but 'this Way of the Hands being ty'd behind them, he 'was a Stranger to, and never ſaw before in his 'Life.' I mention theſe two little Inſtances, to ſhew how ſtupid and thoughtleſs they were of their End, and that the ſame abandoned and reprobate Temper that had carried them thro' their Rogueries, abided with them to the laſt.

Samuel Fletcher, another of the Pyrates ordered for Execution, but reprieved, ſeem'd to have a

quicker Senſe of his Condition; for when he ſaw thoſe he was allotted with gone to Execution, he ſent a Meſſage by the Provoſt-Marſhal to the Court, to be 'inform'd of the Meaning of it, and humbly deſir'd 'to know whether they deſign'd him Mercy, or not? 'If they did, he ſtood infinitely oblig'd to them, and 'thought the whole Service of his Life an incompe-'tent Return for ſo great a Favour; but that if he 'was to ſuffer, the ſooner the better, *he ſaid*, that 'he might be out of his Pain.'

There were others of theſe Pyrates the reverſe of this, and tho' deſtitute of Miniſters, or fit Perſons to repreſent their Sins, and aſſiſt them with ſpiritual Advice, were yet always imploying their Time to good Purpoſes, and behaved with a great deal of ſeeming Devotion and Penitence; among theſe may be reckon'd *Scudamore*, *Williams*, *Phillips*, *Stephenſon*, *Jefferys*, *Leſly*, *Harper*, *Armſtrong*, *Bunce*, and others.

Scudamore too lately diſcerned the Folly and Wickedneſs of the Enterprize, that had chiefly brought him under Sentence of Death, from which, ſeeing there was no Hopes of eſcaping, he petitioned for two or three Days Reprieve, which was granted; and for that Time apply'd himſelf inceſſantly to Prayer, and reading the Scriptures, ſeem'd to have a deep Senſe of his Sins, of this in particular, and deſired, at the Gallows, they would have Patience with him, to ſing the firſt Part of the thirty firſt Pſalm; which he did by himſelf throughout.

Armſtrong, having been a Deſerter from his Majeſty's Service, was executed on Board the *Weymouth*, (and the only one that was;) there was no Body to preſs him to an Acknowledgement of the Crime he died for, nor of ſorrowing in particular for it, which would have been exemplary, and made ſuitable Impreſſions on Seamen; ſo that his laſt

laſt Hour was ſpent in lamenting and bewailing his Sins in general, exhorting the Spectators to an honeſt and good Life, in which alone they could find Satisfaction. In the End, he deſir'd they would join with him in ſinging two or three latter Verſes of the 140th Pſalm; and that being concluded, he was, at the firing of a Gun, tric'd up at the Fore-Yard-Arm.

Bunce was a young Man, not above 26 Years old, but made the moſt pathetical Speech of any at the Gallows. He firſt declaim'd againſt the guilded Bates of Power, Liberty, and Wealth, that had enſnar'd him among the Pyrates, his unexperienc'd Years not being able to withſtand the Temptation; but that the Briskneſs he had ſhewn, which ſo fatally had procured him Favour amongſt them, was not ſo much a Fault in Principle, as the Livelineſs and Vivacity of his Nature. He was now extreamly afflicted for the Injuries he had done to all Men, and begg'd their's and God's Forgiveneſs, very earneſtly exhorting the Spectators to remember their Creator in their Youth, and guard betimes, that their Minds took not a wrong Byaſs, concluding with this apt Similitude, *That he ſtood there as a Beacon upon a Rock*, (the Gallows ſtanding on one) *to warn erring Marriners of Danger.*

CHAP. XII.

OF

Captain *ANSTIS*,

And his CREW.

THOMAS *Anſtis* ſhip'd himſelf at *Providence* in the Year 1718, aboard the *Buck* Sloop, and was one of ſix that conſpired together to go off a pyrating with the Veſſel; the reſt were, *Howel Davis*, *Roberts*'s Predeceſſor, killed at the Iſland of *Princes*; *Dennis Topping*, killed at the taking of the rich *Portugueſe* Ship on the Coaſt of *Braſil*; *Walter Kennedy*, hanged at *Execution-Dock*, and two others, which I forbear to name, becauſe, I underſtand they are at this Day employ'd in an honeſt Vocation in the City.

What followed concerning *Anſtis*'s Pyracies, has been included in the two preceeding Chapters; I ſhall only obſerve that the Combination of theſe ſix Men abovementioned, was the Beginning of that Company, that afterwards proved ſo formidable under Captain *Roberts*, from whom *Anſtis* ſeparated the 18th of *April* 1721, in the *Good Fortune* Brigantine, leaving his Commadore to purſue his Adventures upon the Coaſt of *Guiney*, whilſt he returned to the *Weſt-Indies*, upon the like Deſign.

About

About the Middle of *June*, these Pyrates met with one Captain *Marston*, between *Hispaniola* and *Jamaica*, bound on a Voyage to *New-York*; from whom they took all the wearing Apparel they could find, as also his Liquors and Provision, and five of his Men, but did not touch his Cargo; two or three other Vessels were also plundered by them, in this Cruise, out of whom they stocked themselves with Provision and Men; among the rest, I think, was the *Irwin*, Captain *Ross*, from *Cork* in *Ireland*; but this I won't be positive of, because they denied it themselves. This Ship had 600 Barrels of Beef aboard, besides other Provisions, and was taken off *Martinico*, wherein Colonel *Doyly* of *Montserrat*, and his Family were Passengers. The Colonel was very much abused and wounded, for endeavouring to save a poor Woman, that was also a Passenger, from the Insults of that brutish Crew; and the Pyrates prevailing, twenty one of them forced the poor Creature successively, afterwards broke her Back and flung her into the Sea. I say, I will not be positive it was *Anstis*'s Crew that acted this unheard of Violence and Cruelty, tho' the Circumstances of the Place, the Time, the Force of the Vessel, and the Number of Men, do all concur, and I can place the Villany no where else; but that such a Fact was done, there is too much Evidence for it to be doubted of.

When they thought fit to put an End to this Cruize, they went into one of the Islands to clean, which they effected without any Disturbance, and came out again, and stretching away towards *Burmudas*, met with a stout Ship, called the *Morning Star*, bound from *Guiney* to *Carolina*; they made Prize of her, and kept her for their own Use. In a Day or two, a Ship from *Barbadoes* bound to *New-York*, fell into their Hands, and taking out her Guns

and

and Tackle, mounted the *Morning Star* with 32 Pieces of Cannon, mann'd her with a 100 Men, and appointed one *John Fenn* Captain; for the Brigantine being of far leſs Force, the *Morning Star* would have fallen to *Anſtis*, as elder Officer, yet he was ſo in Love with his own Veſſel, (ſhe being an excellent Sailor,) that he made it his Choice to ſtay in her, and let *Fenn*, who was, before, his Gunner, Command the great Ship.

Now, that they had two good Ships well mann'd, it may be ſuppoſed they were in a Condition to undertake ſomething bold: But their Government was diſturbed by Malecontents, and a Kingdom divided within it ſelf cannot ſtand; they had ſuch a Number of new Men amongſt them, that ſeem'd not ſo violently enclined for the Game; that whatever the Captain propoſed, it was certainly carried againſt him, ſo that they came to no fix'd Reſolution for the undertaking any Enterprize; therefore there was nothing to be done, but to break up the Company, which ſeemed to be the Inclination of the Majority, but the Manner of doing ſo, concerned their common Safety; to which Purpoſe various Means were propoſed, at length it was concluded to ſend home a Petition to his Majeſty (there being then no Act of Indemnity in Force) for a Pardon, and wait the Iſſue; at the ſame Time one *Jones*, Boatſwain of the *Good Fortune*, propoſed a Place of ſafe Retreat, it being an uninhabited Iſland near *Cuba*, which he had been uſed to in the late War, when he went a privateering againſt the *Spaniards*.

This being approved of, it was unanimouſly reſolved on, and the underwritten Petition drawn up and ſigned by the whole Company in the Manner of what they call a *Round Robin*, that is, the Names were writ in a Circle, to avoid all Appear-

ance

ance of Pre-eminence, and leaſt any Perſon ſhould be mark'd out by the Government, as a principal Rogue among them.

To his moſt ſacred Majeſty George, *by the Grace of God, of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *King, Defender of the Faith,* &c.

The humble PETITION of the Company, now belonging to the Ship *Morning Star*, and Brigantine *Good Fortune*, lying under the ignominious Name and Denomination of PYRATES.

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT *we your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects, have, at ſundry Times, been taken by* Bartholomew Roberts, *the then Captain of the aboveſaid Veſſels and Company, together with another Ship, in which we left him; and have been forced by him and his wicked Accomplices, to enter into, and ſerve, in the ſaid Company, as Pyrates, much contrary to our Wills and Inclinations: And we your loyal Subjects utterly abhoring and deteſting that impious way of Living, did, with an unanimous Conſent, and contrary to the Knowledge of the ſaid* Roberts, *or his Accomplices, on, or about the* 18th *Day of* April 1721, *leave, and ran away with the aforeſaid Ship* Morning Star, *and Brigantine* Good Fortune, *with no other Intent and Meaning than the Hopes of obtaining your Majeſty's moſt gracious Pardon. And, that we your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects, may with more Safety return to our native Country, and ſerve the Nation, unto which we belong, in our reſpective Capacities, without Fear of being proſecuted by the Injured, whoſe Eſtates have*

have ſuffered by the ſaid Roberts *and his Accomplices, during our forcible Detainment, by the ſaid Company: We moſt humbly implore your Majeſty's moſt royal Aſſent, to this our humble Petition.*

And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray.

This Petition was ſent home by a Merchant Ship bound to *England*, from *Jamaica*, who promiſed to ſpeak with the Petitioners, in their Return, about 20 Leagues to Windward of that Iſland, and let them know what Succeſs their Petition met with. When this was done, the Pyrates retires to the Iſland before propoſed, with the Ship and Brigantine.

This Iſland (which I have no Name for) lies off the Southweſt End of *Cuba*, uninhabited, and little frequented. On the Eaſt End is a Lagune, ſo narrow, that a Ship can but juſt go in, tho' there's from 15 to 22 Foot Water, for almoſt a League up: On both Sides of the Lagune grows red Mangrove Trees, very thick, that the Entrance of it, as well as the Veſſels laying there, is hardly to be ſeen. In the Middle of the Iſland are here and there a ſmall thick Wood of tall Pines, and other Trees ſcattered about in different Places.

Here they ſtaid about nine Months, but not having Proviſion for above two, they were forced to take what the Iſland afforded, which was Fiſh of ſeveral Sorts, particularly Turtle, which latter was the chiefeſt Food they lived on, and was found in great Plenty on the Coaſts of this Iſland; whether there might be any wild Hogs, Beef, or other Cattle, common to ſeveral Iſlands of the *Weſt-Indies*, or that the Pyrates were too idle to hunt them, or whether they preferr'd other Proviſions to that ſort of Diet, I know not; but I was informed by them, that for the whole Time they eat not a Bit of any kind of Fleſh-Meat, nor Bread; the latter was

ſupply'd

ſupply'd by Rice, of which they had a great Quantity aboard: This was boyl'd and ſqueez'd dry, and ſo eat with the Turtle.

There are three or four Sorts of theſe Creatures in the *Weſt-Indies*, the largeſt of which will weigh 150 or 200 Pound Weight or more, but thoſe that were found upon this Iſland were of the ſmalleſt Kind, weighing 10 or 12 Pounds each, with a fine natural wrought Shell, and beautifully clouded; the Meat ſweet and tender, ſome Part of it eating like Chicken, ſome like Veal, *&c.* ſo that it was no extraordinary Hardſhip for them to live upon this Proviſion alone, ſince it affords variety of Meats to the Taſte, of it ſelf. The manner of catching this Fiſh is very particular; you muſt underſtand, that in the Months of *May*, *June* and *July*, they lay their Eggs in order to hatch their Young, and this three times in a Seaſon, which is always in the Sand of the Sea-ſhore, each laying 80 or 90 Eggs at a time. The Male accompanies the Female, and come aſhore in the Night only, when they muſt be watch'd, without making any Noiſe, or having a Light; as ſoon as they land, the Men that watch for them, turn them on their Backs, then haul them above high Water Mark, and leave them till next Morning, where they are ſure to find them, for they can't turn again, nor move from the Place. It is to be obſerv'd, that beſides their laying time, they come aſhore to feed, but then what's very remarkable in theſe Creatures, they always reſort to different Places to breed, leaving their uſual Haunts for two or three Months, and 'tis thought they eat nothing in all that Seaſon.

They paſs'd their Time here in Dancing, and other Diverſions, agreeable to theſe ſort of Folks; and among the reſt, they appointed a Mock Court of Judicature to try one another for Pyracy, and he that was a Criminal one Day was made Judge another.---

I had

I had an Account given me of one of these merry Tryals, and as it appeared diverting, I shall give the Readers a short Account of it.

The Court and Criminals being both appointed, as also Council to plead, the Judge got up in a Tree, and had a dirty Taurpaulin hung over his Shoulders; this was done by Way of Robe, with a Thrum Cap on his Head, and a large Pair of Spectacles upon his Nose: Thus equipp'd, he settled himself in his Place, and abundance of Officers attending him below, with Crows, Handspikes, *&c.* instead of Wands, Tipstaves, and such like. ——The Criminals were brought out, making a thousand sour Faces; and one who acted as Attorney-General opened the Charge against them; their Speeches were very laconick, and their whole Proceedings concise. We shall give it by Way of Dialogue.

Attorn. Gen. An't please your Lordship, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, here is a Fellow before you that is a sad Dog, a sad sad Dog; and I humbly hope your Lordship will order him to be hang'd out of the Way immediately. —— He has committed Pyracy upon the High Seas, and we shall prove, an't please your Lordship, that this Fellow, this sad Dog before you, has escap'd a thousand Storms, nay, has got safe ashore when the Ship has been cast away, which was a certain Sign he was not born to be drown'd; yet not having the Fear of hanging before his Eyes, he went on robbing and ravishing Man, Woman and Child, plundering Ships Cargoes fore and aft, burning and sinking Ship, Bark and Boat, as if the Devil had been in him. But this is not all, my Lord, he has committed worse Villanies than all these, for we shall prove, that he has been guilty of drinking Small-Beer; and your Lordship knows, there never was a sober Fellow but what was a Rogue. —— My Lord, I should have spoke much finer than I do now, but that, as your Lordship

Lordſhip knows our Rum is all out, and how ſhould a Man ſpeak good Law that has not drank a Dram. ——However, I hope, your Lordſhip will order the Fellow to be hang'd.

Judge. —— Hearkee me, Sirrah, —— you louſy, pittiful, ill-look'd Dog; what have you to ſay why you ſhould not be tuck'd up immediately, and ſet a Sun-drying like a Scare-crow? —— Are you guilty, or not guilty?

Priſ. Not guilty, an't pleaſe your Worſhip.

Judge. Not guilty! ſay ſo again, Sirrah, and I'll have you hang'd without any Tryal.

Priſ. An't pleaſe your Worſhip's Honour, my Lord, I am as honeſt a poor Fellow as ever went between Stem and Stern of a Ship, and can hand, reef, ſteer, and clap two Ends of a Rope together, as well as e'er a He that ever croſs'd ſalt Water; but I was taken by one *George Bradley* [the Name of him that ſat as Judge,] a notorious Pyrate, a ſad Rogue as ever was unhang'd, and he forc'd me, an't pleaſe your Honour.

Judge. Anſwer me, Sirrah, —— How will you be try'd?

Priſ. By G—— and my Country.

Judge. The Devil you will.——Why then, Gentlemen of the Jury, I think we have nothing to do but to proceed to Judgment.

Attor. Gen. Right, my Lord; for if the Fellow ſhould be ſuffer'd to ſpeak, he may clear himſelf, and that's an Affront to the Court.

Priſ. Pray, my Lord, I hope your Lordſhip will conſider ——

Judge. Conſider! —— How dare you talk of conſidering? —— Sirrah, Sirrah, I never conſider'd in all my Life. —— I'll make it Treaſon to conſider.

Priſ. But, I hope, your Lordſhip will hear ſome Reaſon.

Judge. D'ye hear how the Scoundrel prates?—What have we to do with Reason?—I'd have you to know, Raskal, we don't sit here to hear Reason;—we go according to Law.—Is our Dinner ready?

Attor. Gen. Yes, my Lord.

Judge. Then hark'ee, you Raskal at the Bar; hear me, Sirrah, hear me.——You must suffer, for three Reasons; first, because it is not fit I should sit here as Judge, and no Body be hang'd.——Secondly, you must be hang'd, because you have a damn'd hanging Look:—And thirdly, you must be hang'd, because I am hungry; for know, Sirrah, that 'tis a Custom, that whenever the Judge's Dinner is ready before the Tryal is over, the Prisoner is to be hang'd of Course.——There's Law for you, ye Dog.——So take him away Goaler.

This is the Tryal just as it was related to me; the Design of my setting it down, is only to shew how these Fellows can jest upon Things, the Fear and Dread of which, should make them tremble.

The beginning of *August* 1722, the Pyrates made ready the Brigantine, and came out to Sea, and beating up to Windward, lay in the Track for their Correspondant in her Voyage to *Jamaica*, and spoke with her; but finding nothing was done in *England* in their Favour, as 'twas expected, they return'd to their Consorts at the Island with the ill News, and found themselves under a Necessity, as they fancied, to continue that abominable Course of Life they had lately practis'd; in order thereto, they sail'd with the Ship and Brigantine to the Southward, and the next Night, by intolerable Neglect, they run the *Morning Star* upon the *Grand Caimanes*, and wreck'd her; the Brigantine seeing the Fate of her Consort, hall'd off in Time, and so weather'd the Island. The next Day Captain *Anstis* put in, and

and found that all, or the greateſt part of the Crew, were ſafe aſhore, whereupon ſhe came to an Anchor, in order to fetch them off; and having brought *Fenn* the Captain, *Philips* the Carpenter, and a few others aboard, two Men of War came down upon them, *viz.* the *Hector* and *Adventure*, ſo that the Brigantine had but juſt Time to cut their Cable, and get to Sea, with one of the Men of War after her, keeping within Gun-ſhot for ſeveral Hours. *Anſtis* and his Crew were now under the greateſt Conſternation imaginable, finding the Gale freſhen, and the Man of War gaining Ground upon them, ſo that, in all Probability, they muſt have been Priſoners in two Hours more; but it pleaſed God to give them a little longer Time, the Wind dying away, the Pyrates got out their Oars, and row'd for their Lives, and thereby got clear of their Enemy.

The *Hector* landed her Men upon the Iſland, and took 40 of the *Morning Star*'s Crew, without any Reſiſtance made by them; but on the contrary, alledging, they were forc'd Men, and that they were glad of this Opportunity to eſcape from the Pyrates; the reſt hid themſelves in the Woods, and could not be found. *George Bradley* the Maſter, and three more, ſurrender'd afterwards to a *Burmudas* Sloop, and were carried to that Iſland.

The Brigantine, after her Eſcape, ſail'd to a ſmall Iſland near the Bay of *Honduras*, to clean and refit, and, in her Way thither, took a *Rhode Iſland* Sloop, Captain *Durfey*, Commander, and two or three other Veſſels, which they deſtroy'd, but brought all the Hands aboard their own.

While ſhe was cleaning, a Scheme was concerted between Captain *Durfey*, ſome other Priſoners, and two or three of the Pyrates, for to ſeize ſome of the Chiefs, and carry off the Brigantine; but the ſame being diſcovered before ſhe was fit for ſailing, their Deſign was prevented: However, Captain

Durfey, and four or five more, got aſhore with ſome Arms and Ammunition; and when the Pyrates Canoe came in for Water, he ſeiz'd the Boat with the Men; upon which *Anſtis* ordered another Boat to be mann'd with 30 Hands and ſent aſhore, which was accordingly done; but Captain *Durfey*, and the Company he had by that Time got together, gave them ſuch a warm Reception, that they were contented to betake themſelves to their Veſſel again.

About the beginning of *December*, 1722, *Anſtis* left this Place and return'd to the Iſlands, deſigning to accumulate all the Power and Strength he could, ſince there was no looking back. He took in the Cruiſe a good Ship, commanded by Captain *Smith*, which he mounted with 24 Guns, and *Fenn*, a one handed Man, who commanded the *Morning-Star* when ſhe was loſt, went aboard to command her. They cruis'd together, and took a Veſſel or two, and then went to the *Bahama Iſlands*, and there met with what they wanted, *viz.* a Sloop loaded with Proviſions, from *Dublin*, called the *Antelope*.

It was time now to think of ſome Place to fit up and clean their Frigate lately taken, and put her in a Condition to do Buſineſs; accordingly they pitch'd upon the Iſland of *Tobago*, where they arrived the beginning of *April*, 1723, with the *Antelope* Sloop and her Cargo.

They fell to work immediately, got the Guns, Stores, and every Thing elſe out upon the Iſland, and put the Ship upon the Heel; and juſt then, as ill Luck would have it, came in the *Winchelſea* Man of War, by Way of Viſit, which put the Marooners into ſuch a Surprize, that they ſet Fire to the Ship and Sloop, and fled aſhore to the Woods. *Anſtis*, in the Brigantine, eſcap'd, by having a light Pair of Heels, but it put his Company into ſuch a Diſorder, that their Government could never be

ſet

ſet to rights again; for ſome of the New-Comers, and thoſe who had been tir'd with the Trade, put an End to the Reign, by ſhooting *Tho. Anſtis* in his Hammock, and afterwards the Quarter-Maſter, and two or three others; the reſt ſubmitting, they put into Irons, and ſurrender'd them up, and the Veſſel, at *Curacco*, a *Dutch* Settlement, where they were try'd and hang'd; and thoſe concerned in delivering up the Veſſel, acquitted.

But to return to Captain *Fenn*, he was taken ſtragling with his Gunner and three more, a Day or two after their Misfortune, by the Man of War's Men, and carry'd to *Antegoa*, where they were all executed, and *Fenn* hang'd in Chains. Thoſe who remain'd, ſtaid ſome Time in the Iſland, keeping up and down in the Woods, with a Hand to look out; at length Providence ſo order'd it, that a ſmall Sloop came into the Harbour, which they all got aboard of, except two or three Negroes, and thoſe they left behind. They did not think fit to purſue any further Adventures, and therefore unanimouſly reſolved to ſteer for *England*, which they accordingly did, and in *October* laſt came into *Briſtol* Channel, ſunk the Sloop, and getting aſhore in the Boat, diſperſed themſelves to their Abodes.

CHAP. XIII.

OF

Captain *WORLEY*, And his CREW.

HIS Reign was but ſhort, but his Beginning ſomewhat particular, ſetting out in a ſmall open Boat, with eight others, from *New-York*. This was as reſolute a Crew as ever went upon this Account: They took with them a few Biſcuits, and a dry'd Tongue or two, a little Cag of Water, half a dozen old Muskets and Ammunition accordingly. Thus provided, they left *New-York* the latter End of *September* 1718, but it cannot be ſuppoſed that ſuch a Man of War as this, could undertake any conſiderable Voyage, or attempt any extraordinary Enterprize; ſo they ſtood down the Coaſt, till they came to *Delaware* River, which is about 150 Miles diſtant, and not meeting with any Thing in their Way, they turn'd up the ſame River as high as *Newcaſtle*, near which Place they fell upon a Shallop belonging to *George Grant*, who was bringing Houſhold Goods, Plate, *&c.* from *Oppoquenimi* to *Philadelphia*; they made Prize of the moſt valuable Part of them, and let the Shallop go. This Fact could not come under the Article of Pyracy, it not being committed *ſuper altum Mare*, upon the High-Sea, therefore was a ſimple Robbery

Robbery only; but they did not ſtand for a Point of Law in the Caſe, but eaſing the Shallop Man of his Lading, the bold Adventurers went down the River again.

The Shallop came ſtraight to *Philadelphia*, and brought the ill News thither, which ſo alarm'd the Government, as if War had been declared againſt them; Expreſſes were ſent to *New-York*, and other Places, and ſeveral Veſſels fitted out againſt this powerful Rover, but to no manner of Purpoſe; for after ſeveral Days Cruize, they all return'd, without ſo much as hearing what became of the Robbers.

Worley and his Crew, in going down the River, met with a Sloop of *Philadelphia*, belonging to a Mulatto, whom they call'd *Black Robbin*; they quitted their Boat for this Sloop, taking one of *Black Robin*'s Men along with them, as they had alſo done from *George Grant*, beſides two Negroes, which encreaſed the Company one Third. A Day or two after, they took another Sloop belonging to *Hull*, homeward bound, which was ſomewhat fitter for their Purpoſe; they found aboard her, Proviſions and Neceſſaries, which they ſtood in need of, and enabled them to proſecute their Deſign, in a manner more ſuitable to their Wiſhes.

Upon the Succeſs of theſe Rovers, the Governor iſſued out a Proclamation, for the apprehending and taking all Pyrates, who had refuſed or neglected to ſurrender themſelves, by the Time limited in his Majeſty's Proclamation of Pardon; and thereupon, ordered his Majeſty's Ship *Phœnix*, of 20 Guns, which lay at *Sandy Hook*, to Sea, to cruize upon this Pyrate, and ſecure the Trade to that, and the adjoining Colonies.

In all probability, the taking this Sloop ſav'd their Bacons, for this Time, tho' they fell into the Trap preſently afterwards; for they finding themſelves

in tolerable good Condition, having a Veſſel newly cleaned, with Proviſions, *&c.* they ſtood off to Sea, and ſo miſſed the *Phœnix*, who expected them to be ſtill on the Coaſt.

About ſix Weeks afterwards they returned, having taken both a Sloop and a Brigantine, among the *Bahama* Iſlands; the former they ſunk, and the other they let go: The Sloop belonged to *New-York*, and they thought the ſinking of her good Policy, to prevent her returning to tell Tales at Home.

Worley had by this Time encreaſed his Company to about five and twenty Men, had ſix Guns mounted, and ſmall Arms as many as were neceſſary for them, and ſeem'd to be in a good thriving ſort of a Way. He made a black Enſign, with a white Death's Head in the Middle of it, and other Colours ſuitable to it. They all ſigned Articles, and bound themſelves under a ſolemn Oath, to take no Quarters, but to ſtand by one another to the laſt Man, which was raſhly fulfill'd a little afterwards.

For going into an Inlet in *North-Carolina*, to clean, the Governor received Information of it, and fitted out two Sloops, one of eight Guns, and the other with ſix, and about ſeventy Men between them. *Worley* had clean'd his Sloop, and ſail'd before the *Carolina* Sloops reached the Place, and ſteered to the Northward; but the Sloops juſt mentioned, purſuing the ſame Courſe, came in ſight of *Worley*, as he was cruiſing off the Capes of *Virginia*, and being in the Offin, he ſtood in as ſoon as he ſaw the Sloops, intending thereby to have cut them off from *James* River; for he verily believed they had been bound thither, not imagining, in the leaſt, they were in Purſuit of him.

The two Sloops ſtanding towards the Capes at the ſame Time, and *Worley* hoiſting of his black Flag, the Inhabitants of *James* Town were in the

the utmoſt Conſternation, thinking that all three had been Pyrates, and that their Deſign had been upon them; ſo that all the Ships and Veſſels that were in the Road, or in the Rivers up the Bay, had Orders immediately to hale in to the Shore, for their Security, or elſe to prepare for their Defence, if they thought themſelves in a Condition to fight. Soon after two Boats, which were ſent out to get Intelligence, came crowding in, and brought an Account, that one of the Pyrates was in the Bay, being a ſmall Sloop of ſix Guns. The Governor expecting the reſt would have followed, and altogether make ſome Attempt to land, for the ſake of Plunder, beat to Arms, and collected all the Force that could be got together, to oppoſe them; he ordered all the Guns out of the Ships, to make a Platform, and, in ſhort, put the whole Colony in a warlike Poſture; but was very much ſurpriſed at laſt, to ſee all the ſuppoſed Pyrates fighting with one another.

The Truth of the Matter is, *Worley* gained the Bay, thinking to make ſure of his two Prizes, by keeping them from coming in; but by the hoiſting of the King's Colours, and firing a Gun, he quickly was ſenſible of his Miſtake, and too ſoon perceived that the Tables were turned upon him; that inſtead of keeping them out, he found himſelf, by a ſuperiour Force kept in. When the Pyrates ſaw how Things went, they reſolutely prepar'd themſelves for a deſperate Defence; and tho' three to one odds, *Worley* and his Crew determined to fight to the laſt Gaſp, and receive no Quarters, agreeably to what they had before ſworn; ſo that they muſt either Dye or Conquer upon the Spot.

The *Carolina* Men gave the Pyrate a Broadſide, and then Boarded him, one Sloop getting upon his Quarter, and the other on his Bow; *Worley* and the Crew, drew up upon the Deck, and fought very

very obſtinately, Hand to Hand, ſo that in a few Minutes, abundance of Men lay weltering in their Gore; the Pyrates proved as good as their Words, not a Man of them cry'd out for Quarter, nor would accept of ſuch, when offered, but were all killed except the Captain and another Man, and thoſe very much wounded, whom they reſerved for the Gallows. They were brought aſhore in Irons, and the next Day, which was the 17th of *February* 1718-19, they were both hanged up, for fear they ſhould dye, and evade the Puniſhment as was thought due to their Crimes.



CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

OF

Capt. *George Lowther*, And his CREW.

George Lowther ſailed out of the River of *Thames*, in one of the Royal *African* Company's Ships, call'd the *Gambia Caſtle*, of 16 Guns and 30 Men, *Charles Ruſſel* Commander; of which Ship, the ſaid *Lowther* was ſecond Mate. Aboard of the ſame Ship, was a certain Number of Soldiers, commanded by one *John Maſſey*, who were to be carried to one of the Company's Settlements, on the River of *Gambia*, to Garriſon a Fort, which was ſometime ago taken and deſtroy'd by Captain *Davis* the Pyrate.

In *May* 1721, the *Gambia Caſtle* came ſafe to her Port in *Africa*, and landed Captain *Maſſey* and his Men on *James*'s Iſland, where he was to Command under the Governor, Colonel *Whitney*, who arrived there at the ſame Time, in another Ship: And here, by a fatal Miſunderſtanding, between the military Folks and the Trading People, the Fort and Garriſon not only came to be loſt again to the Company, but a fine Galley well provided, and worth 10000 *l.* turned againſt her Maſters.

The Names of Governor and Captain ſounded great, but when the Gentlemen found that the Power that generally goes along with thoſe Titles, was overſway'd and born down by the Merchants and Factors, (mechanick Fellows as they thought them) they grew very impatient and diſatisfy'd, eſpecially *Maſſey*, who was very loud in his Complaints againſt them, particularly at the ſmall Allowance of Proviſions to him and his Men; for the Garriſon and Governor too, were victualled by the Merchants, which was no ſmall Grievance and Mortification to them. And as the want of eating was the only Thing that made the great *Sancho* quit his Government, ſo did it here rend and tare their's to Pieces: For *Maſſey* told them, *that he did not come there to be a* Guiney *Slave, and that he had promiſed his Men good Treatment, and Proviſions fitting for Soldiers: That as he had the Care of ſo many of his Majeſty's Subjects, if they would not provide for them in a handſome Manner, he ſhould take ſuitable Meaſures for the Preſervation of ſo many of his Countrymen and Companions.*

The Governor at this Time was very ill of a Fever, and, for the better Accomodation in his Sickneſs, was carried aboard the Ship *Gambia Caſtle*, where he continued for about three Weeks, and therefore could have little to ſay in this Diſpute, tho' he reſolved not to ſtay in a Place, where there was ſo little Occaſion for him, and where his Power was ſo confin'd. The Merchants had certainly Orders from the Company, to iſſue the Proviſions out to the Garriſon, and the ſame is done along the whole Coaſt; but whether they had cut them ſhort of the Allowance that was appointed them, I can't ſay, but if they did, then is the Loſs of the Ship and Garriſon owing principally to their ill Conduct.

However

However, an Accident that happened on Board the Ship, did not a little contribute to this Misfortune, which was a Pique that the Captain of her took againſt his ſecond Mate, *George Lowther*, the Man who is the Subject of this ſhort Hiſtory; and who loſing his Favour, found Means to ingratiate himſelf into the good liking of the common Sailors, inſomuch that when Captain *Ruſſel* ordered him to be puniſh'd, the Men took up Handſpikes, and threat'ned to knock that Man down, that offered to lay hold of the Mate. This ſerved but to widen the Differences between him and the Captain, and more firmly attach'd *Lowther* to the Ship's Company, the greateſt Part of which, he found ripe for any Miſchief in the World.

Captain *Maſſey* was no wit the better reconciled to the Place, by a longer Continuance, nor to the Uſage he met with there, and having often Opportunities of converſing with *Lowther*, with whom he had contracted an Intimacy in the Voyage; they aggravated one another's Grievances to ſuch a height, that they reſolved upon Meaſures to curb the Power that controul'd them, and to provide for themſelves after another Manner.

When the Governor recover'd of his Fever, he went aſhore to the Iſland, but took no Notice of *Maſſey*'s Behaviour, tho' it was ſuch as might give Suſpicion of what he deſigned; and *Lowther*, and the common Sailors, who were in the Secret of Affairs, grew inſolent and bold, even refuſing to obey when commanded to their Duty by Captain *Ruſſel* and the chief Mate. The Captain ſeeing how Things were carried, goes aſhore early one Morning to the Governor and Factory, in order to hold a Council, which *Lowther* apprehending, was in order to prevent his Deſign, ſent a Letter in the ſame Boat to *Maſſey*, intimating it to him, and *that he ſhould repair*

on

on Board, for it was high Time to put their Project in Execution.

As ſoon as *Maſſey* received this Letter, he went to the Soldiers at the *Barracks*, and ſaid to them, and others, *You that have a Mind to go to* England, *now is your Time*; and they generally conſenting, *Maſſey* went to the Store-Room, burſt open the Door, ſet two Centinels upon it, and ordered that no Body ſhould come near it; then he went to the Governor's Apartment, and took his Bed, Baggage, Plate and Furniture, (in Expectation that the Governor himſelf, as he had promiſed *Maſſey*, would have gone on Board, which he afterwards refuſed, by Reaſon, as he ſaid, he believed they were going a-pyrating; which at firſt, whatever *Lowther* deſigned, *Maſſey* certainly propoſed only the going to *England*;) when this was done, he ſent the Boat off to the chief Mate, with this Meſſage, *That he ſhould get the Guns ready, for that the King of* Barro [a Negro Kingdom near the Royal *African* Settlement] *would come aboard to Dinner.* But *Lowther* underſtanding beſt, the meaning of thoſe Orders, he confined the chief Mate, ſhotted the Guns, and put the Ship in a Condition for ſailing. In the Afternoon *Maſſey* came on Board with the Governor's Son, having ſent off all the Proviſions of the Iſland, and eleven Pipes of Wine, leaving only two half Pipes behind in the Store-Houſe, and diſmounted all the Guns of the Fort.

In the Afternoon they weigh'd one Anchor, but fearing to be too late to get out of the River, they ſlipp'd the other, and ſo fell down; in doing of which, they run the Ship a-ground. *Maſſey* ſhew'd himſelf a Soldier upon this Accident, for as ſoon as the Misfortune happen'd, he left the Ship with about ſixteen Hands, and rows directly to the Fort, remounts the Guns, and keeps Garriſon there

there all the Night, while the Ship was aſhore; and obliged ſome of the Factory to aſſiſt in getting her clear. In the mean while, *Ruſſel* came off, but not being ſuffered to come on Board, he call'd to *Lowther*, and offered him and the Company, whatever Terms they would be pleaſed to accept of, upon Condition of ſurrendering up the Ship, which had no Effect upon any of them. In the Morning they got her afloat, and *Maſſey* and his Men came aboard, after having nailed up and diſmounted all the Cannon of the Fort: They put the Governor's Son, and two or three others aſhore, who were not willing to go without the Governor, and ſail'd out of the River, having exchanged ſeveral Shot with the *Martha*, *Otter*, *&c.* that lay there, without doing Execution on either Side.

When the Ship came out to Sea, *Lowther* called up all the Company, and told them, *it was the greateſt Folly imaginable, to think of returning to* England, *for what they had already done, could not be juſtifyed upon any Pretence whatſoever, but would be look'd upon, in the Eye of the Law, a capital Offence, and that none of them were in a Condition to withſtand the Attacks of ſuch powerful Adverſaries, as they would meet with at Home; for his Part he was determined not to run ſuch a Hazard, and therefore if his Propoſal was not agreed to, he deſired to be ſet a Shore in ſome Place of Safety: That they had a good Ship under them, a parcel of brave Fellows in her, that it was not their Buſineſs to ſtarve, or be made Slaves; and therefore, if they were all of his Mind, they ſhould ſeek their Fortunes upon the Seas, as other Adventurers had done before them.* They one and all came into the Meaſures, knocked down the Cabins, made the Ship fluſh fore and aft, prepared black Colours, new named her, *the Delivery*, having about 50 Hands and 16 Guns, and the following ſhort Articles were drawn up, ſigned and ſworn to upon the Bible.

The

The Articles of Captain *George Lowther*, and his Company.

1. *THE Captain is to have two full Shares; the Master is to have one Share and a half; the Doctor, Mate, Gunner, and Boatswain, one Share and a quarter.*

2. *He that shall be found Guilty of taking up any unlawful Weapon on Board the Privateer, or any Prize, by us taken, so as to strike or abuse one another, in any regard, shall suffer what Punishment the Captain and Majority of the Company shall think fit.*

3. *He that shall be found Guilty of Cowardize, in the Time of Engagement, shall suffer what Punishment the Captain and Majority shall think fit.*

4. *If any Gold, Jewels, Silver,* &c. *be found on Board of any Prize or Prizes, to the Value of a Piece of Eight; and the Finder do not deliver it to the Quarter-Master, in the Space of 24 Hours, shall suffer what Punishment the Captain and Majority shall think fit.*

5. *He that is found Guilty of Gaming, or Defrauding another to the Value of a Shilling, shall suffer what Punishment the Captain and Majority of the Company shall think fit.*

6. *He that shall have the Misfortune to lose a Limb, in Time of Engagement, shall have the Sum of one hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling, and remain with the Company as long as he shall think fit.*

7. *Good Quarters to be given when call'd for.*

8. *He that sees a Sail first, shall have the best Pistol, or Small-Arm, on Board her.*

It was the 13th of *June*, that *Lowther* left the Settlement, and on the 20th, being then within twenty Leagues of *Barbadoes*, he came up with a Brigantine, belonging to *Boston*, called the *Charles*, *James Douglass* Master, which they plundered in a pyra-

pyratical Manner, and let the Veſſel go; but leaſt ſhe ſhould meet with any of the Station Ships, and ſo give Information of the Robbery, *in Terrorem*, to prevent a Purſuit, *Lowther* contrived a ſort of a Certificate, which he directed the Maſter to ſhew to their Conſort, if they ſhould meet with her; and upon Sight of it the Brigantine would paſs unmoleſted: This Conſort, he pretended, was a 40 Gun Ship, and cruiſing thereabouts.

After this the *Delivery* proceeded to *Hiſpaniola*; near the Weſt End of the Iſland ſhe met with a *French* Sloop loaden with Wine and Brandy; aboard of this Veſſel went Captain *Maſſey*, as a Merchant, and ask'd the Price of one Thing, and then another, bidding Money for the greateſt Part of the Cargo; but after he had trifled a while, he whiſper'd a Secret in the *French* Man's Ear, *viz. That they muſt have it all without Money. Monſieur* preſently underſtood his Meaning, and unwillingly agreed to the Bargain. They took out of her thirty Casks of Brandy, five Hogſheads of Wine, ſeveral Pieces of Chintzes, and other valuable Goods, and about 70 *l. Engliſh*, in Money; of which *Lowther* generouſly return'd five Pounds back to the *French* Maſter for his Civilities.

But as all Conſtitutions grow old, and thereby ſhake and totter, ſo did our Commonwealth in about a Month of its Age, feel Commotions and inteſtine Diſturbances, by the Diviſions of its Members, which had near hand terminated in its Deſtruction; theſe civil Diſcords were owing to the following Occaſion. Captain *Maſſey* had been a Soldier almoſt from his Infancy, but was but very indifferently acquainted with Maritime Affairs, and having an enterprizing Soul, nothing would ſatisfy him, but he muſt be doing Buſineſs in his own Way, therefore he required *Lowther* to let him have thirty Hands to land with, and he would attack

the *French* Settlements, and bring aboard the Devil and all of Plunder.

Lowther did all that he could do, and ſaid all that he could ſay, to diſſwade *Maſſey* from ſo raſh and dangerous an Attempt; pointing out to him the Hazard the Company would run, and the Conſequences to them all, if he ſhould not ſucceed, and the little Likelihood there was to expect Succeſs from the Undertaking: But 'twas all one for that, *Maſſey* would go and attack the *French* Settlements, for any thing *Lowther* could ſay againſt it; ſo that he was obliged to propoſe the Matter to the Company, among whom *Maſſey* found a few Fellows as reſolute as himſelf; however, a great Majority being againſt it, the Affair was over-ruled in Oppoſition to Captain *Maſſey*, notwithſtanding which, *Maſſey* grew factious, quarrelled with *Lowther*, and the Men divided into Parties, ſome ſiding with the Land Pyrate, and ſome with the Sea Rover, and were all ready to fall together by the Ears, when the Man at the Maſt-Head cry'd out, A Sail! A Sail! then they gave over the Diſpute, ſet all their Sails, and ſteered after the Chace. In a few Hours they came up with her, ſhe being a ſmall Ship from *Jamaica*, bound to *England*; they took what they thought fit out of her, and a Hand or two, and then *Lowther* was for ſinking the Ship, with ſeveral Paſſengers that were in her, for what Reaſon I know not, but *Maſſey* ſo that he interpoſed, prevented their cruel Fate, and the Ship ſafely arrived afterwards in *England*.

The next Day they took a ſmall Sloop, an interloping Trader, which they detain'd with her Cargo. All this while *Maſſey* was uneaſy, and declar'd his Reſolution to leave them, and *Lowther* finding him a very troubleſome Man to deal with, conſented that he ſhould take the Sloop, laſt made Prize of, with what Hands had a Mind to go with

with him, and shift for himself. Whereupon *Massey*, with about ten more Malecontents, goes aboard the Sloop, and comes away in her directly for *Jamaica*.

Notwithstanding what had passed, Captain *Massey* puts a bold Face upon the Matter, and goes to Sir *Nicholas Laws*, the Governor, informs him of his leaving *Lowther* the Pyrate, owns, *That he assisted in going off with the Ship, at the River* Gambia; but said, *'twas to save so many of his Majesty's Subjects from perishing, and that his Design was to return to* England; *but* Lowther *conspiring with the greater Part of the Company, went a pyrating with the Ship; and that he had taken this Opportunity to leave him, and surrender himself and Vessel to his Excellency.*

Massey was very well received by the Governor, and had his Liberty given him, with a Promise of his Favour, and so forth; and, at his own Request, he was sent on Board the *Happy* Sloop, Captain *Laws*, to cruise off *Hispaniola*, for *Lowther*; but not being so fortunate as to meet with him, Captain *Massey* returned back to *Jamaica* in the Sloop, and getting a Certificate, and a Supply of Money, from the Governor, he came home Passenger to *England*.

When *Massey* came to Town, he writes a long Letter to the Deputy Governor and Directors of the *African* Company, wherein he imprudently relates the whole Transactions of his Voyage, the going off with the Ship, and the Acts of Pyracy he had committed with *Lowther*; but excuses it as Rashness and Inadvertency in himself, occasioned by his being ill used, contrary to the Promises that had been made him, and the Expectations he had entertained; but own'd, that he deserved to dye for what he had done; yet, if they had Generosity enough to forgive him, as he was still capable to do them Service, as a Soldier, so he should be ve-

ry ready to do it; but if they resolved to prosecute him, he begg'd only this Favour, that he might not be hang'd like a Dog, but to die like a Soldier, as he had been bred from his Childhood, that is, that he might be shot.

This was the Substance of the Letter, which, however, did not produce so favourable an Answer as he hoped for, Word being brought back to him, *That he should be fairly hang'd.* Whereupon, *Massey* resolved not to be out of the Way, when he found what important Occasion there was likely to be for him, but takes a Lodging in *Alderſgate-Street*, the next Day went to the Lord Chief Justice's Chambers, and enquired, if my Lord had granted a Warrant against Captain *John Massey*, for Pyracy: But being told by the Clerks, that they knew of no such Thing; he informed them, he was the Man, that my Lord would soon be apply'd to for that Purpose, and the Officer might come to him at such a Place, where he lodg'd: They took the Directions in Writing, and, in a few Days, a Warrant being issued, the Tipstaff went directly, by his own Information, and apprehended him, without any other Trouble, than walking to his Lodging.

There was then no Person in Town to charge him with any Fact, upon which he could be committed; nor could the Letter be proved to be of his Hand-Writing, so that they had been obliged to let him go again, if he had not helped his Accusers out at Pinch: The Magistrate was reduced to the putting of this Question to him, *Did you write this Letter?* He answered, *He did*: And not only that, but confessed all the Contents of it; upon which, he was committed to *Newgate*, but was afterwards admitted to a hundred Pounds Bail, or thereabouts.

On

On the 5th of *July* 1723, he was brought to his Tryal, at a Court of Admiralty held at the *Old-Baily*, when Captain *Ruſſel*, Governor *Whitney*'s Son, and others, appeared as Evidences, by whom the Indictment was plainly proved againſt him; which, if it had not been done, the Captain was of ſuch an heroick Spirit, that he would have deny'd nothing; for inſtead of making a Defence, he only entertained the Court with a long Narrative of his Expedition, from the firſt ſetting out, to his Return to *England*, mentioning two Acts of Pyracy committed by him, which he was not charged with, often challenging the Evidences to contradict him, if in any Thing he related the leaſt Syllable of an Untruth; and inſtead of denying the Crimes ſet forth in the Indictment, he charged himſelf with various Circumſtances, which fixed the Facts more home upon him. Upon the whole, the Captain was found Guilty, received Sentence of Death, and was executed three Weeks after, at *Execution-Dock*.

We return now to *Lowther*, whom we left cruiſing off *Hiſpaniola*, from whence he plyed to Windward, and, near *Porto Rico*, chaſed two Sail, and ſpoke with them; they proving to be a ſmall *Briſtol* Ship, commanded by Captain *Smith*, and a *Spaniſh* Pyrate, who had made Prize of the ſaid Ship. *Lowther* examined into the *Spaniard*'s Authority for taking an *Engliſh* Veſſel, and threat'ned to put every Man of them to death, for ſo doing; ſo that the *Spaniards* fancied themſelves to be in a very pittiful Condition, till Matters cleared up, and they found their Maſters as great Rogues as themſelves, from whom ſome Mercy might be expected, in regard to the near Relation they ſtood with them, as to their Profeſſion; in ſhort, *Lowther* firſt rifled, and then burnt both the Ships, ſending the *Spaniards* away in their

Launch, and turning all the *Engliſh* Sailors into Pyrates.

After a few Days Cruiſe, *Lowther* took a ſmall Sloop belonging to St. *Chriſtophers*, which they mann'd and carried along with them to a ſmall Iſland, where they cleaned, and ſtay'd ſome Time to take their Diverſions, which conſiſted in unheard of Debaucheries, with drinking, ſwearing and rioting, in which there ſeemed to be a kind of Emulation among them, reſembling rather Devils than Men, ſtriving who ſhould out do one another in new invented Oaths and Execrations.

They all got aboard about *Chriſtmas*, obſerving neither Times nor Seaſons, for perpetrating their villainous Actions, and ſailed towards the Bay of *Honduras*; but ſtopping at the *Grand Caimanes* for Water, they met with a ſmall Veſſel with 13 Hands, in the ſame honourable Employment with themſelves; the Captain of this Gang was one *Edward Lowe*, whom we ſhall particularly diſcourſe of in a Chapter by it ſelf: *Lowther* received them as Friends, and treated them with all imaginable Reſpect, inviting them, as they were few in Number, and in no Condition to purſue the Account, (as they called it) to join their Strength together, which on the Conſideration aforeſaid, was accepted of, *Lowther* ſtill continuing Commander, and *Lowe* was made Lieutenant: The Veſſel the new Pyrates came out of, they ſunk, and the Confederates proceed on the Voyage as *Lowther* before intended.

The 10th of *January*, the Pyrates came into the Bay, and fell upon a Ship of 200 Tun, called the *Greyhound*, *Benjamin Edwards* Commander, belonging to *Boſton*. *Lowther* hoiſted his pyratical Colours, and fired a Gun for the *Greyhound* to bring to, which ſhe refuſing, the *Happy Delivery* (the Name of the Pyrate) edg'd down, and gave her a Broad-

ſide,

ſide, which was returned by Captain *Edwards* very bravely, and the Engagement held for an Hour; but Captain *Edwards*, finding the Pyrate too ſtrong for him, and fearing the Conſequence of too obſtinate a Reſiſtance againſt thoſe lawleſs Fellows, ordered his Enſign to be ſtruck. The Pyrates Boat came aboard, and not only rifled the Ship, but whipp'd, beat, and cut the Men in a cruel Manner, turned them aboard their own Ship, and then ſet Fire to their's.

In cruiſing about the Bay, they met and took ſeveral other Veſſels without any Reſiſtance, *viz.* two Brigantines of *Boſton* in *New-England*, one of which they burnt, and ſunk the other; a Sloop belonging to *Connecticut*, Captain *Airs*, which they alſo burnt; a Sloop of *Jamaica*, Captain *Hamilton*, they took for their own Uſe; a Sloop of *Virginia* they unladed, and was ſo generous as to give her back to the Maſter that own'd her. They took a Sloop of 100 Ton, belonging to *Rhode Iſland*, which they were pleaſed to keep, and mount with eight Carriage, and ten Swivel Guns.

With this little Fleet, *viz.* Admiral *Lowther*, in the *Happy Delivery*; Captain *Low*, in the *Rhode Iſland* Sloop; Captain *Harris*, (who was ſecond Mate in the *Greyhound* when taken,) in *Hamilton*'s Sloop, and the little Sloop formerly mentioned, ſerving as a Tender; I ſay, with this Fleet the Pyrates left the Bay, and came to *Port Mayo* in the Gulph of *Matique*, and there made Preparations to careen; they carried aſhore all their Sails, and made Tents by the Water-Side, wherein they laid their Plunder, Stores, *&c.* and fell to work; and at the Time that the Ships were upon the Heel, and the good Folks employ'd in heaving down, ſcrubing, tallowing, and ſo forth; of a ſudden came down a conſiderable Body of the Natives, and attack'd the Py-

rates unprepared. As they were in no Condition to defend themſelves, they fled to their Sloops, leaving them Maſters of the Field and the Spoil thereof, which was of great Value, and ſet Fire to the *Happy Delivery*, their capital Ship.

Lowther made the beſt Proviſion he could in the largeſt Sloop, which he called the *Ranger*, having ten Guns and eight Swivels, and ſhe ſailing beſt, the Company went all aboard of her, and left the other at Sea. Proviſions was now very ſhort, which, with the late Loſs, put them in a confounded ill Humour, inſomuch that they were every now and then going together by the Ears, laying the Blame of their ill Conduct ſometimes upon one, then upon another.

The Beginning of *May* 1722, they got to the *Weſt-Indies*, and near the Iſland of *Diſeada*, took a Brigantine, one *Payne* Maſter, that afforded them what they ſtood in need of, which put them in better Temper, and Buſineſs ſeemed to go on well again. After they had pretty well plundered the Brigantine, they ſent her to the Bottom. They went into the Iſland and watered, and then ſtood to the Northward, intending to viſit the Main-Coaſt of *America*.

In the Latitude of 38, they took a Brigantine called the *Rebecca* of *Boſton*, Captain *Smith*, bound thither from St. *Chriſtophers*. At the taking of this Veſſel, the Crews divided; for *Low*, whom *Lowther* joined at the *Grand Caimanes*, proving always a very unruly Member of the Commonwealth, always aſpiring, and never ſatisfy'd with the Proceedings of the Commander; he thought it the ſafeſt Way to get rid of him, upon any Terms; and according to the Vote of the Company, they parted the Bear Skin between them: *Low* with 44 Hands went aboard the Brigantine, and *Lowther* with

with the ſame Number ſtay'd in the Sloop, and ſeparated that very Night, being the 28th of *May* 1722.

Lowther proceeding on his Way to the Main-Coaſt, took three or four fiſhing Veſſels off *New-York*, which was no great Booty to the Captors. The 3d of *June*, they met with a ſmall *New-England* Ship, bound home from *Barbadoes*, which ſtood an Attack a ſmall Time, but finding it to no Purpoſe, yielded herſelf a Prey to the Booters: The Pyrates took out of her fourteen Hogſheads of Rum, ſix Barrels of Sugar, a large Box of *Engliſh* Goods, ſeveral Casks of Loaf Sugar, a conſiderable Quantity of Pepper, ſix Negroes, beſides a Sum of Money and Plate, and then let her go on her Voyage.

The next Adventure was not ſo fortunate for them, for coming pretty near the Coaſt of *South-Carolina*, they met with a Ship juſt come out, on her Voyage to *England*; *Lowther* gave her a Gun, and hoiſted his pyratical Colours; but this Ship, which was called the *Amy*, happening to have a brave gallant Man to command her, who was not any ways daunted with that terrible Enſign, the black Flag, he inſtead of ſtriking immediately, as 'twas expected, let fly a Broadſide at the Pyrate. *Lowther* (not at all pleaſed with the Compliment, tho' he put up with it for the preſent) was for taking Leave; but the *Amy* getting the Pyrate between her and the Shore, ſtood after him to clap him aboard; to prevent which, *Lowther* run the Sloop a-ground, and landed all the Men with their Arms. Captain *Gwatkins*, the Captain of the *Amy*, was obliged to ſtand off, for fear of running his own Ship aſhore; but at the ſame Time thought fit for the publick Good, to deſtroy the Enemy; and thereupon went into the Boat, and rowed towards the Sloop, in order to ſet her on Fire; but before he reached the Veſſel, a fatal Shot from *Lowther*'s Company

Company aſhore, put an End to their Deſign and Captain *Gwatkin*'s Life. After this unfortunate Blow, the Mate returned aboard with the Boat, and not being enclined to purſue them any farther, took Charge of the Ship.

Lowther got off the Sloop after the Departure of the *Amy*, and brought all his Men aboard again, but was in a poor ſhattered Condition, having ſuffered much in the Engagement, and had a great many Men kill'd and wounded: He made Shift to get into an Inlet ſomewhere in *North-Carolina*, where he ſtaid a long while before he was able to put to Sea again.

He and his Crew laid up all the Winter, and ſhifted as well as they could among the Woods, divided themſelves into ſmall Parties, and hunted generally in the Day Times, killing of black Cattle, Hogs, *&c.* for their Subſiſtance, and in the Night retired to their Tents and Huts, which they made for Lodging; and ſometimes when the Weather grew very cold, they would ſtay aboard of their Sloop.

In the Spring of the Year 1723, they made Shift to get to Sea, and ſteered their Courſe for *Newfoundland*, and upon the Banks took a Scooner, call'd the *Swift*, *John Hood* Maſter; they found a good Quantity of Proviſions aboard her, which they very much wanted at that Time, and after taking three of their Hands, and plundering her of what they thought fit, they let her depart. They took ſeveral other Veſſels upon the Banks, and in the Harbour, but none of any great Account; and then ſteering for a warmer Climate, in *Auguſt* arrived at the *Weſt-Indies*. In their Paſſage thither, they met with a Brigantine, called the *John* and *Elizabeth*, *Richard Stanny* Maſter, bound for *Boſton*, which they plundered, took two of her Men, and diſcharged her.

Lowther

Lowther cruiſed a pretty while among the Iſlands without any extraordinary Succeſs, and was reduced to a very ſmall Allowance of Proviſions, till they had the luck to fall in with a *Martinico* Man, which proved a ſeaſonable Relief to them; and after that, a *Guiney* Man had the ill Fortune to become a Prey to the *Rovers*; ſhe was called the *Princeſs*, Captain *Wickſted* Commander.

It was now thought neceſſary to look out for a Place to clean their Sloop in, and prepare for new Adventures: Accordingly the Iſland of *Blanco* was pitched upon for that Purpoſe, which lies in the Latitude of 11° 50 m. N. about 30 Leagues from the Main of the *Spaniſh America*, between the Iſlands of *Margarita* and *Rocas*, and not far from *Tortuga*. It is a low even Iſland, but healthy and dry, uninhabited, and about two Leagues in Circumference, with Plenty of Lignum Vitæ Trees thereon, growing in Spots, with ſhrubby Buſhes of other Wood about them. There are, beſides Turtle, great Numbers of Guanoes, which is an amphibious Creature like a Lizard, but much larger, the Body of it being as big as a Man's Leg; they are very good to eat, and are much uſed by the Pyrates that come here: They are of divers Colours, but ſuch as live upon dry Ground, as here at *Blanco*, are commonly yellow. On the N. W. End of this Iſland, there is a ſmall Cove or ſandy Bay, all round the reſt of the Iſland is deep Water, and ſteep cloſe to the Iſland. Here *Lowther* reſorted to, the Beginning of *October* laſt, unrigged his Sloop, ſent his Guns, Sails, Rigging, *&c.* aſhore, and put his Veſſel upon the Careen. The *Eagle* Sloop of *Barbadoes*, belonging to the *South-Sea* Company, with 35 Hands, commanded by *Walter Moore*, coming near this Iſland, in her Voyage to *Comena*, on the *Spaniſh* Continent, ſaw the ſaid Sloop juſt careen'd, with her Guns out, and Sails unbent, which ſhe ſuppoſed to be a Pyrate, becauſe

becauſe it was a Place where Traders did not commonly uſe, ſo took the Advantage of attacking her, as ſhe was then unprepared; the *Eagle* having fired a Gun to oblige her to ſhew her Colours, the Pyrate hoiſted the St. *George*'s Flag at their Topmaſt-Head, as it were to bid Defiance to her; but when they found *Moore* and his Crew reſolved to board them in good earneſt, the Pyrates cut their Cable and hawled their Stern on Shore, which obliged the *Eagle* to come to an Anchor a-thwart their Hawſe, where ſhe engaged them till they called for Quarter and ſtruck; at which Time *Lowther* and twelve of the Crew made their Eſcape out of the Cabin Window. The Maſter of the *Eagle* got the Pyrate Sloop off, ſecured her, and went aſhore with 25 Hands, in Purſuit of *Lowther* and his Gang; but after five Day's ſearch, they could find but five of them, which they brought aboard, and then proceeded with the Sloop and Pyrates to *Comena* aforeſaid, where they ſoon arrived.

The *Spaniſh* Governor being informed of this brave Action, condemned the Sloop to the Captors, and ſent a ſmall Sloop with 23 Hands to ſcower the Buſhes and other Places of the Iſland of *Blanco*, for the Pyrates that remained there, and took four more, with ſeven ſmall Arms, leaving behind them Captain *Lowther*, three Men, and a little Boy, which they could not take; the above four the *Spaniards* try'd and condemned to Slavery for Life; three to the Gallies, and the other to the Caſtle of *Arraria*.

The *Eagle* Sloop brought all their Priſoners afterwards to St. *Chriſtopher*'s, where the following were try'd by a Court of Vice Admiralty, there held *March* the 11th, 1722, *viz. John Churchill, Edward Mackdonald, Nicholas Lewis, Richard Weſt, Sam. Levercott, Robert White, John Shaw, Andrew Hunter, Jonathan Delve, Matthew Freebarn, Henry Watſon,*

ſon, *Roger Grange*, *Ralph Candor*, and *Robert Willis*; the three laſt were acquitted, the other thirteen were found Guilty, two of which were recommended to Mercy by the Court, and accordingly pardoned; and the reſt executed at that Iſland, on the 20th of the ſame Month.

As for Captain *Lowther*, it is ſaid that he afterwards ſhot himſelf upon that fatal Iſland, where his Pyracies ended, being found, by ſome Sloop's Men, dead, and a Piſtol burſt by his Side.



CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

OF

Captain *Edward Low*,

And his CREW.

Edward Low was born in *Weſtminſter*, and had his Education there, ſuch as it was, for he could neither write or read. Nature ſeem'd to have deſigned him for a Pyrate from his Childhood, for very early he began the Trade of plundering, and was wont to raiſe Contributions among all the Boys of *Weſtminſter*; and if any were bold enough to refuſe it, a Battle was the Conſequence; but *Low* was ſo hardy, as well as bold, there was no getting the better of him, ſo that he robbed the Youths of their Farthings, with Impunity; when he grew bigger he took to Gaming in a low Way, for it was commonly among the Footmen in the *Lobby* of the Houſe of Commons, where he uſed to play the whole Game, (as they term it,) that is, cheat all he could, and thoſe who pretended to diſpute it with him, muſt fight him.

The Virtues of ſome of his Family were equal to his; one of his Brothers was a Youth of Genius, when he was but ſeven Years old, he uſed to be carried in a Basket, upon a Porter's Back, into a Crowd, and ſnatch Hats and Wigs: According to the

the exact Chronology of *Newgate*, he was the first who practised this ingenious Trick. After this, he applied himself to picking of Pockets; when he increased in Strength, he attempted greater Things, such as House-breaking, *&c.* But after he had run a short Race, he had the Misfortune of ending his Days at *Tyburn*, in Company with *Stephen Bunce*, and the celebrated *Jack Hall* the Chimney-Sweeper.

But to return to *Ned*, when he came to Man's Estate, at his eldest Brother's Desire, he went to Sea with him, and so continued for three or four Years, and then parted; and *Ned* work'd in a Rigging-House in *Boston* in *New-England*, for a while. About six Years ago, he took a Trip home to *England*, to see his Mother, who is yet Living. His Stay was not long here; but taking Leave of his Friends and Acquaintance, for the last Time he should see them; for so he was pleased to say; he returned to *Boston*, and work'd a Year or two longer at the Rigging Business. But being too apt to disagree with his Masters, he left them, and shipp'd himself in a Sloop that was bound to the Bay of *Honduras*.

When the Sloop arrived in the Bay, *Ned Low* was appointed Patron of the Boat, which was employ'd in cutting of Logwood, and bringing it aboard to lade the Ship; for that is the Commodity they make the Voyage for: In the Boat were twelve Men besides *Low*, who all go arm'd, because of the *Spaniards*, from whom this Logwood is but little better than stole. It happened that the Boat one Day came aboard just before Dinner was ready, and *Low* desired that they might stay and Dine; but the Captain, being in a Hurry for his Lading, ordered them a Bottle of Rum, and to take t'other Trip, because no Time should be lost: This provoked the Boat's Crew, but particularly

Low,

Low, who takes up a loaded Muſquet and fires at the Captain, but miſſing him, ſhot another poor Fellow thro' the Head, then put off the Boat, and with his twelve Companions goes to Sea: The next Day they took a ſmall Veſſel, and go in her, make a black Flag, and declare War againſt all the World.

They then proceeded to the Iſland of the *Grand Caimanes*, intending to have fitted up their ſmall Veſſel, and prepare themſelves as well as their Circumſtances would permit, for their honourable Employment; but falling in Company with *George Lowther*, another Pyrate there, who paying his Compliments to *Low*, as great Folks do to one another when they meet, and offering himſelf as an Ally; *Low* accepted of the Terms, and ſo the Treaty was preſently ſign'd without Plenipo's or any other Formalities.

We have already given an Account of their joynt Pyracies, under *Lowther* as chief Commander, till the 28th of *May*, 1722, when they took a Brigantine of *Boſton*, bound thither from St. *Chriſtophers*, at which Time they parted, and *Edward Low* went into the Brigantine, with forty four others, who choſe him their Captain: They took with them two Guns, four Swivels, ſix Quarter-Casks of Powder, Proviſions and ſome Stores, and ſo left *Lowther* to proſecute his Adventures, with the Men he had left.

Their firſt Adventure in the Brigantine, was on *Sunday* the 3d Day of *June*, when they took a Veſſel belonging to *Amboy*, *John Hance* Maſter, whom he rifled of his Proviſions, and let go; the ſame Day he met with a Sloop, *James Calquhoon* Maſter, off of *Rhode Iſland*, bound into that Port, whom he firſt plundered, and then cut away his Boltſprit, and all his Rigging, alſo his Sails from the Yards, and wounded the Maſter, to prevent his getting

in

in to give Intelligence, and then ſtood away to the South-Eaſtward, with all the Sail he could make, there being then but little Wind.

Low judged right in making ſail from the Coaſt, for a longer ſtay had proved fatal to him, for notwithſtanding the diſabled Condition he had rendered the Sloop in, ſhe made ſhift to get into *Block Iſland*, at 12 o'Clock that Night, and immediately diſpatched a Whale-Boat to *Rhode Iſland*, which got thither by ſeven the next Morning, with an Account of the Pyrate, his Force, and what had happened to him: As ſoon as the Governor had received this Information, he ordered a Drum to beat up for Volunteers, and two of the beſt Sloops then in the Harbour, to be fitted out: He gave Commiſſions to one Captain *John Headland*, and Captain *John Brown*, jun. for ten Days; the former had eight Guns and two Swivels, and the latter ſix Guns, well fitted with ſmall Arms, and in both Sloops 140 ſtout Fellows; all this was performed with ſo much Expedition, that before Sun-ſet, they were under Sail, turning out of the Harbour, at the ſame Time the Pyrate was ſeen from *Block Iſland*, which gave great Hopes that the Sloops would be Maſters of her the next Day, which however did not happen, for the Sloops returned into Harbour ſome Days afterwards, without ſo much as ſeeing their Enemy.

After this Eſcape, Captain *Low*, went into Port, upon the Coaſt, for he had not freſh Water enough to run to the Iſlands, where he ſtaid a few Days, getting Proviſions and what Neceſſaries the Crew wanted, and then ſailed for Purchaſe, (as they call it) ſteering their Courſe towards *Marblehead*.

About the 12th of *July*, the Brigantine ſailed into the Harbour of Port *Roſemary*, and there found thirteen Ships and Veſſels, but none of Force, at Anchor, they ſpread their black Flag, and ran in

among them; *Low* telling them from the Brigantine, they ſhould have no Quarters if they reſiſted; in the mean Time they mann'd and arm'd their Boat, and took Poſſeſſion of every one of them, plundered them of what they thought fit, and converted one to their own Uſe, *viz.* a Scooner of 80 Tuns, aboard of which they put 10 Carriage Guns, and 50 Men, and *Low* himſelf went Captain, and nam'd her the *Fancy*, making one *Charles Harris*, (who was at firſt forced into their Service out of the *Greyhound* of *Boſton*, by *Lowther*, of which Ship *Harris* was ſecond Mate) Captain of the Brigantine: Out of theſe Veſſels they took ſeveral Hands, and encreaſed the Company to 80 Men, who all ſigned the Articles, ſome willingly, and a few perhaps by Force, and ſo ſailed away from *Marblehead*.

Some Time after this, they met with two Sloops bound for *Boſton*, with Proviſions for the Garriſon, and the Scooner coming up firſt, attacked them, but there happening to be an Officer and ſome Soldiers on Board, who gave them a warm Reception, *Low* choſe to ſtay till he ſhould be joyned by the Brigantine; in the mean while the Sloops made the beſt of their Way, and the Pyrates gave them Chace two Days, and at laſt loſt ſight of them in a Fog.

They now ſteered for the Leeward Iſlands, but in their Voyage met with ſuch a Hurricane of Wind, that the like had not been known; the Sea ran Mountains high, and ſeemed to threaten them every Moment with Deſtruction; it was no Time now to look out for Plunder, but to ſave themſelves, if poſſible, from periſhing. All Hands were continually employed Night, and Day, on Board the Brigantine, and all little enough, for the Waves went over her, ſo that they were forced to keep the pump conſtantly going, beſides baling with

with Buckets; but finding themſelves not able to keep her free, and ſeeing the utmoſt Danger before their Eyes, they turn'd to the Tackle, and hoiſted out their Proviſions, and other heavy Goods, and threw them over-board, with ſix of their Guns, ſo that by lightening the Veſſel, ſhe might riſe to the Top of the Sea with the Waves: They were alſo going to cut away their Maſt; but conſidering how dangerous it would be, to be left in ſuch a Condition, they reſolved to delay it to the laſt, which was Prudence in them to do; for a Ship without Maſts or Sails, lies like a Log upon the Water, and if attack'd, muſt fight with Diſadvantage, the working of her being the moſt artful Part of the Engagement, becauſe ſhe may ſometimes bring all her great Guns on one Side, to bear upon her Enemy, when the diſabled Ship can do little or nothing.

But to proceed; by their throwing over-board the heavy Goods, the Veſſel made conſiderable leſs Water, and they could keep it under with the Pump only, which gave them Hopes and new Life; ſo that inſtead of cutting all away, they took neceſſary Meaſures to ſecure the Maſt, by making Preventor-Shrowds, *&c.* and then wore and lay too upon the other Tack, till the Storm was over. The Scooner made ſomewhat better Weather of it, of the two, but was pretty roughly handled notwithſtanding, having ſplit her Main-ſail, ſprung her Boltſprit, and cut her Anchors from her Bows. The Brigantine by running away to Leeward, when ſhe wore upon the Larboard Tack, had loſt Sight of the Scooner; but not knowing whether ſhe might be ſafe or not, as ſoon as the Wind abated, ſhe ſet her Main-Sail and Top-Sail, and made ſhort Trips to Windward; and the next Day had the good Fortune to come in Sight of their Conſort, who, upon a Signal, which the other knew, bore down to her, and the Crew were over-

joy'd to meet again, after ſuch ill Treatment from the Winds and Seas.

After the Storm, *Low* got ſafe to a ſmall Iſland, one of the Weathermoſt of the *Caribbees*, and there fitted their Veſſels, as well as the Place could afford; they got Proviſions of the Natives, in exchange for Goods of their own; and as ſoon as the Brigantine was ready, 'twas judg'd neceſſary to take a ſhort Cruize, and leave the Scooner in the Harbour till her Return. The Brigantine ſail'd out accordingly, and had not been out many Days before they met a Ship at Sea, that had loſt all her Maſts; on Board of whom they went, and took from her in Money and Goods, to the Value of 1000 *l.* and ſo left her in the Condition they found her: This Ship was bound home from *Barbadoes*, but loſing her Maſts in the late Storm, was making for *Antegoa*, to refit, where ſhe afterwards arriv'd.

The Storm juſt ſpoken of, was found to have done incredible Damage in thoſe Parts of the World; but however, it appear'd to have been more violent at *Jamaica*, both to the Iſland and Shipping, there was ſuch a prodigious Swell of the Sea, that ſeveral hundred Tuns of Stones and Rocks, were thrown over the Wall of the Town of *Port Royal*, and the Town it ſelf was overflowed, and above half deſtroy'd, there being the next Morning five Foot Water from one End to the other; the Cannon of Fort *Charles* were diſmounted, and ſome waſhed into the Sea, and four hundred People loſt their Lives; a more melancholly Sight was ſcarce ever ſeen when the Water ebb'd away, all the Streets being covered with Ruins of Houſes, Wrecks of Veſſels, and a great Number of dead Bodies, for forty Sail of Ships, in the Harbour, were caſt away.

The

The Brigantine return'd to the Iſland, where ſhe had left the Scooner, who being ready to ſail, it was put to the Vote of the Company, what Voyage to take next; and herein they follow'd the Advice of the Captain, who thought it not adviſeable to go any farther to Leeward, becauſe of the Men of War who were cruiſing in their ſeveral Stations, which they were not at all fond of meeting, and therefore it was agreed to go to the *Azores*, or Weſtern Iſlands.

The latter End of *July*, *Low* took a *French* Ship of 34 Guns, and carried her along with him to the *Azores*. He came into St. *Michael*'s Road the 3d of *Auguſt*, and took ſeven Sail that were lying there, *viz.* the *Noſtre Dame*, *Mere de Dieu*, Captain *Roach* Commander; the *Dove*, Capt. *Cox*; the *Roſe* Pink, formerly a Man of War, Capt. *Thompſon*; another *Engliſh* Ship, Capt. *Chandler*; and three other Veſſels. He threatened all with preſent Death who reſiſted, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror to them, that they yielded themſelves up a Prey to the Villains, without firing a Gun.

The Pyrates being in great Want of Water and freſh Proviſions, *Low* ſent to the Governor of St. *Michael*'s for a Supply, and promiſed upon that Condition to releaſe the Ships he had taken, but otherwiſe to burn them all; which Demand the Governor thought it not prudent to refuſe, but ſent the Proviſion he required, upon which he releaſed ſix of the Ships, (after he had plundered them of what he thought fit,) and the other, *viz.* the *Roſe* Pink, was made a Pyrate Ship, which *Low* himſelf took the Command of.

The Pyrates took ſeveral of the Guns out of the *French* Ship, and mounted them aboard the *Roſe*, which proved very fit for their Turn, and condemned the former to the Flames. They took all the Crew out of her, but the Cook, who, they ſaid,

being a greazy Fellow would fry well in the Fire; ſo the poor Man was bound to the Main-Maſt, and burnt in the Ship, to the no ſmall Diverſion of *Low* and his *Mirmidons*.

Low ordered the Scooner to lye in the Fare between St. *Michael*'s and St. *Mary*'s, where, about the 20th of *Auguſt*, Captain *Carter* in the *Wright* Galley, had the ill Fortune to come in her Way; and becauſe at firſt they ſhewed Inclinations to defend themſelves, and what they had, the Pyrates cut and mangled them in a barbarous Manner; particularly ſome *Portugueſe* Paſſengers, two of which being Friers, they triced up at each Arm of the Fore-Yard, but let them down again before they were quite dead, and this they repeated ſeveral Times out of Sport.

Another *Portugueſe*, who was alſo Captain *Carter*'s Paſſenger, putting on a ſorrowful Countenance at what he ſaw acted, one of this vile Crew attacked him upon the Deck, ſaying, *he did not like his Looks*, and thereupon gave him one Blow a-croſs his Belly with his Cutlaſh, that cut out his Bowels, and he fell down dead without ſpeaking a Word. At the ſame Time another of theſe Rogues cutting at a Priſoner, miſſed his Mark, and Captain *Low* ſtanding in his Way, very opportunely received the Stroke upon his under Jaw, which laid the Teeth bare; upon this the Surgeon was called, who immediately ſtitched up the Wound, but *Low* finding fault with the Operation, the Surgeon being tollerably drunk, as it was cuſtomary for every Body to be, ſtruck *Low* ſuch a Blow with his Fiſt, that broke out all the Stitches, and then bid him ſew up his Chops himſelf and be damned, ſo that *Low* made a very pitiful Figure for ſome Time after.

When they had plundered Captain *Carter*'s Ship, ſeveral of them were for burning her, as they had done

done the *French* Man, but it was otherwiſe reſolved at laſt; for after they had cut her Cables, Rigging and Sails to Pieces, they left her to the Mercy of the Sea.

After theſe Depredations, they ſteered for the Iſland of *Madera*, where miſſing other Booty, they took up with a Fiſhing-Boat, with two old Men and a Boy in her, one of which they detained on Board, but ſent the other aſhore with a Flag of Truce, demanding a Boat of Water of the Governor, on Pain of taking away the old Man's Life, whom they threatened to hang at the Yard-Arm, upon their refuſal; but the Thing being complied with, the old Man was honourably (as the Pyrates ſay) diſcharged, and all the three much handſomer cloathed than when they took them. From this Iſland they ſailed to the *Canaries*, but meeting with no Prey there, they continued their Courſe for the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, and at *Bonaviſta*, took a Ship called the *Liverpool Merchant*, Captain *Goulding*, from whom they ſtole a great Quantity of Proviſions and dry Goods, 300 Gallons of Brandy, two Guns and Carriages, a Maſt, Yard and Hawſers, beſides ſix of his Men, and then would not let them Trade there, nor at St. *Nicholas*, but obliged Captain *Goulding* to go with his Ship, to the Iſle of *May*.

The Pyrate alſo took among theſe Iſlands, a Ship belonging to *Liverpool*, *Scot* Commander; two *Portugueſe* Sloops bound for *Braſil*; a ſmall *Engliſh* Sloop trading there, *James Peaſe* Maſter, bound to *Sancta Crux*, and three Sloops from St. *Thomas* bound to *Curaſo*, the Maſters Names were *Lilly*, *Staples* and *Simpkins*, all which they plundered, and then let go about their Buſineſs, except one Sloop which they fitted up for the following Purpoſe.

Low had heard by one of the above mentioned Ships, that two ſmall Gallies were expected every

Day at the *Weſtern Iſlands*, *viz.* the *Greyhound*, Captain *Glaſs*, and the *Joliff*, Captain *Aram*; the former of which was deſigned to be fitted for the pyratical Trade to *Braſil*, if Things had happened to their Minds. They mann'd the Sloop, and ſent her in Queſt of one or both of theſe Ships to the *Weſtern Iſlands* aforeſaid, whilſt they carreen'd their Ship *Roſe*, at one of the *Cape de Verds*: But now Fortune that had hitherto been ſo propitious to them, left her Minions, and baffled for the preſent all their Hopes, for the Sloop miſſing of their Prey, was reduced to great Neceſſities for want of Proviſions and Water, ſo that they ventured to go aſhore at St. *Michael*'s for a Supply, and paſs for a Trader; but they play'd their Parts ſo aukwardly, that they were ſuſpected by the Governor to be what they really were, and he was ſoon put out of doubt by a Viſit ſome *Portugueſe* made them, who happened unluckily to be Paſſengers in Captain *Carter*'s Ship, when *Low* took her, and knew the Gentlemen's Faces very well; upon which the whole Crew was conducted into the Caſtle, where they were provided for as long as they liv'd.

Low, in the mean Time, did not fare quite ſo ill, but had his intended Voyage to *Braſil* ſpoil'd, by the overſetting of his Ship, when ſhe was upon the Careen, whereby ſhe was loſt, ſo that he was reduc'd to his old Scooner, which he called the *Fancy*, aboard of which they all went, to the Number of 100, as vile Rogues as ever ended their Lives at *Tyburn*. They proceeded now to the *Weſt-Indies*, but before they had gotten far on their Voyage, they attack'd a rich *Portugueſe* Ship, call'd the *Noſtre Signiora de Victoria*, bound home from *Bahia*, and after ſome Reſiſtance, took her. *Low* tortur'd ſeveral of the Men, to make them declare where the Money, (which he ſuppos'd they had on Board) lay, and extorted by that Means, a Confeſſion

ſeſſion that the Captain had, during the Chace, hung out of the Cabin Window, a Bag with 11,000 Moidores, which, aſſoon as he was taken, he cut the Rope off, and let it drop into the Sea.

Low, upon hearing what a Prize had eſcap'd him, rav'd like a Fury, ſwore a thouſand Oaths, and ordered the Captain's Lips to be cut off, which he broil'd before his Face, and afterwards murthered him and all the Crew, being thirty two Perſons.

After this bloody Action, they continued their Courſe, till they came to the Northward of all the Iſlands, and there cruiz'd for about a Month, in which Time they made Prizes of the following Veſſels, *viz.* a Snow from *New-York* to *Curacoa*, *Robert Leonard* Maſter; a Sloop from the Bay, bound to *New-York*, *Craig* Maſter; a Snow from *London* and *Jamaica*, bound to *New-York*; and the *Stanhope* Pink, *Andrew Delbridge* Maſter, from *Jamaica* to *Boſton*; which laſt they burnt, becauſe of *Low*'s irreconcileable Averſion to *New-England* Men.

After this Cruize, they went into one of the Iſlands and clean'd, and then ſteered for the Bay of *Honduras*, where they arrived about the Middle of *March* 1722-3, and met a Sloop turning out of the ſaid Bay. The Pyrates had hoiſted up *Spaniſh* Colours, and continued them till they drew near the Sloop, then they hall'd them down, hoiſted their black Flag, fired a Broadſide, and boarded her. This Sloop was a *Spaniard* of ſix Guns, and 70 Men, that came into the Bay that Morning, and meeting there with five *Engliſh* Sloops, and a Pink, made Prizes of them all, plundered them, and brought the Maſters of the Veſſels away Priſoners, for the ranſom of the Logwood; their Names were *Tuthill*, *Norton*, *Newbury*, *Sprafort*, *Clark* and *Parrot*. The *Spaniards* made no Reſiſtance, ſo that the *Engliſh* Pyrates ſoon became their Maſters

and

and fell to rifling; but finding the above-mentioned People in the Hold, and several *English* Goods, they consulted *Low* the Captain thereupon, and without examining any further, the Resolution pass'd to kill all the Company; and the Pyrates, without any Ceremony, fell Pell-Mell to Execution with their Swords, Cutlashes, Poll-Axes and Pistols, cutting, slashing and shooting the poor *Spaniards* at a sad Rate. Some of the miserable Creatures jump'd down into the Hold, but could not avoid the Massacre; they met Death every where, for if they escaped it from one Hand, they were sure to perish by another; the only Prospect they had of Life, was to fly from the Rage of those merciless Men, and to trust to the more merciful Sea; and accordingly a great many leap'd over-board, and swam for the Shore; but *Low* perceiving it, ordered the Canoa to be mann'd, and sent in pursuit of them, by which Means several of the poor unhappy Men were knock'd in the Head in the Water, as they were endeavouring to get to Land; however, about 12 of them did reach the Shore, but in a miserable Condition, being very much wounded, and what became of them afterwards was not known, except one, who while the Pyrates were at their Sports and Pastimes ashore, finding himself very weak and fainting with his Wounds, and not knowing where to go for Help and Relief, in this Extremity, he came back to them, and begg'd for God sake, in the most earnest Manner possible, that they would give him Quarters; upon which, one of the Villains took hold of him, and said, *G——d——n him, he would give him good Quarters presently*, and made the poor *Spaniard* kneel down on his Knees, then taking his Fusil, put the Muzzle of it into his Mouth, and fired down his Throat. 'Twas thought the rest did not long survive their miserable Condition, and

and could only prolong their Lives, to add to the Misery of them.

When the murdering Work was over, they rumaged the *Spaniſh* Pyrate, and brought all the Booty aboard their own Veſſels: The ſix Maſters aforementioned, found in the Hold, they reſtored to their reſpective Veſſels: They forced away the Carpenter from the Pink, and then ſet Fire to the *Spaniſh* Sloop, and burnt her; which laſt Scene concluded the Deſtruction of their Enemy, Ship and Crew.

Low ſet the Maſters of the Veſſels free, but would not ſuffer them to ſteer for *Jamaica*, where they were then bound, for fear the Men of War ſhould get Intelligence of them, but forced them all to go to *New-York*, threat'ning them with Death, when they met them again, if they refuſed to comply with their Demands.

In the next Cruize, which was between the Leeward Iſlands and the Main, they took two Snows, bound from *Jamaica* to *Liverpool*, and a Snow from *Jamaica* to *London*, *Bridds* Maſter; as alſo a Ship from *Biddford* to *Jamaica*, *John Pinkham* Commander; and two Sloops from *Jamaica* to *Virginia*.

On the 27th of *May*, *Low* and his Conſort *Harris*, came off *South-Carolina*, and met with three good Ships, *viz.* the *Crown*, Captain *Lovereigne*, the *King William*, the *Carteret*, and a Brigantine, who all came out of *Carolina* together two Days before. The Pyrates were at the Trouble of chacing them, and Captain *Lovereigne* being the ſternmoſt, ſhe fell firſt a Prey into their Hands; and they ſpent all the Day in coming up with the reſt.

Within a few Days they took a Ship called the *Amſterdam Merchant*, Captain *Willard*, from *Jamaica*, but belonging to *New-England*; as *Low* let none of that Country depart without ſome Marks of his Rage, he cut off this Gentleman's Ears, ſlit up his Noſe,

Noſe, and cut him in ſeveral Places of his Body, and, after plundering his Ship, let him purſue his Voyage.

After this he took a Sloop bound to *Amboy*, *William Frazier*, Maſter, with whom Mr. *Low* happening to be diſpleaſed, he ordered lighted Matches to be ty'd between the Mens Fingers, which burnt all the Fleſh off the Bones; then cut them in ſeveral Parts of their Bodies with Knives and Cutlaſhes; afterwards took all their Proviſions away, and ſet ſome of them aſhore in an uninhabited Part of the Country.

The *Kingſton*, Captain *Eſtwick*, another Ship, one *Burrington* Maſter, two Brigantines from *Carolina* to *London*; a Sloop from *Virginia* to *Bermudas*; a Ship from *Glaſgow* to *Virginia*; a Scooner from *New-York* to *South-Carolina*; a Pink from *Virginia* to *Dartmouth*, and a Sloop from *Philadelphia* to *Surinam*, fell a Prey to theſe Villains, upon this Cruize, beſides thoſe above-mentioned.

It happened that at this Time one of his Majeſty's Ships was upon a Cruize, on this Station, and got Intelligence of ſome of the miſchievous Actions of this Miſcreant, by one of the Veſſels that had been plundered by him, who ſteering as directed, came in Sight of the Pyrates by break of Day, on the 10th of *June*, of all Days in the Year. The Rovers looking out for Prey, ſoon ſaw, and gave Chace to the Man of War, which was called the *Greyhound*, a Ship of 20 Guns, and 120 Men, rather inferiour in Force to the two Pyrate Veſſels: The *Greyhound* finding them ſo eager, was in no doubt what they ſhould be, and therefore tack'd and ſtood from them, giving the Pyrates an Opportunity to chace her for two Hours, till all Things were in Readineſs for an Engagement, and the Pyrates about Gun-ſhot off; then the *Greyhound* tack'd again, and ſtood towards the two Sloops, one of

of them called the *Fancy*, commanded by *Low* himſelf, and the other the *Ranger*, commanded by *Harris*, both which hoiſted their pyratical Colours, and fired each a Gun. When the *Greyhound* came within Muſquet-ſhot, ſhe halled up her Main-ſail, and clapp'd cloſe upon a Wind, to keep the Pyrates from running to Leeward, and then engaged: But when the Rogues found who they had to deal with, they edg'd away under the Man of War's Stern, and the *Greyhound* ſtanding after them, they made a running Fight for about two Hours; but little Wind happening, the Sloops gained from her, by the help of their Oars; upon which the *Greyhound* left off firing, and turned all Hands to her own Oars, and at three in the Afternoon came up with them. The Pyrates haul'd upon a Wind to receive the Man of War, and the Fight was immediately renewed, with a briſk Fire on both Sides, till the *Ranger*'s Main-Yard was ſhot down, and the *Greyhound* preſſing cloſe upon the diſabled Sloop, *Low*, in the other, thought fit to bear away and leave his Conſort a Sacrifice to his Enemy, who (ſeing the Cowardice and Treachery of his Commadore and Leader, having ten or twelve Men killed and wounded, and that there was no poſſibility of eſcaping,) called out for *Quarters*, and ſurrendered themſelves to Juſtice, which proved ſevere enough to them a-while afterwards.

The Conduct of *Low* was ſurprizing in this Adventure, becauſe his reputed Courage and Boldneſs, had, hitherto, ſo poſſeſs'd the Minds of all People, that he became a Terror, even to his own Men; but his Behaviour throughout this whole Action, ſhewed him to be a baſe cowardly Villain, for had *Low*'s Sloop fought half ſo briskly as *Harris*'s had done, (as they were under a ſolemn Oath to do,) the

the Man of War, in my Opinion, could never have hurted them.

The *Greyhound* carried in their Prize to *Rhode Island*, to the great Joy of the whole Province, tho' it had been more compleat, if the great *LOW* himself had grac'd the Triumph. The Prisoners were strongly secured in a Goal, till a Court of Vice-Admiralty could be held for their Tryals, which begun on the 10th of *July*, at *Newport*, and continued three Days. The Court was made up of the following Gentlemen.

William Dummer, Esq; Lieutenant Governor of the *Massachusets*, President.
Nathaniel Paine, Esq;
Addington Davonport, Esq;
Thomas Fitch, Esq;
Spencer Phipps, Esq;
John Lechmere, Esq; Surveyor-General.
John Valentine, Esq; Advocate-General.
Samuel Cranston, Governor of *Rhode-Island*.
John Menzies, Esq; Judge of the Admiralty,
Richard Ward, Esq; Register.
Mr. *Jahleel Brinton*, Provost-Marshal.

Robert Auchmuta, Esq; was assigned, by the Court, Council for the Prisoners here under mention'd.

Prisoners Names.	Ages.	Places of Birth.
Charles Harris, Captain	25	*London.*
William Blads	28	*Rhode-Island.*
Daniel Hide	23	*Virginia.*
Thomas Powel, jun.	21	*Connecticut, N. E.*
Stephen Mundon	20	*London.*
Thomas Huggit	30	*London.*
William Read	35	*Londonderry, Ireland.*
Peter Kneeves	32	*Exeter* in *Devon.*
James Brinkly	28	*Suffolk* in *England.*
Joseph Sound	28	City of *Westminster.*

William

William Shutfield	40	*Lancaſter* in *England.*
Edward Eaton	38	*Wrexham* in *Wales.*
John Brown	29	County of *Durham.*
Edward Lawſon	20	*Iſle of Man.*
Owen Rice	27	*South-Wales.*
John Tomkins	23	*Glouceſterſhire.*
John Fitzgerrald	21	*Limerick* in *Ireland.*
Abraham Lacy	21	*Devonſhire.*
Thomas Liniſter	21	*Lancaſhire.*
Francis Leyton	39	*New-York.*
John Waters, Quart.-Mr.	35	County of *Devon.*
William Jones	28	*London.*
Charles Church	21	St. *Margaret*'s, *Weſtm.*
Thomas Hazel	50	—— —— ——
John Bright	25	—— —— —— ——

Theſe 25 were found guilty, and executed the 19th of *July*, 1723, near *Newport* in *Rhode-Iſland.*

John Brown	17	*Liverpoole.*
Patrick Cunningham	25	—— —— ——

Theſe two were found guilty, but reſpited for one Year, and recommended to the King's Favour.

John Wilſon	23	*New-London* County
Henry Barnes	22	*Barbadoes.*
Thomas Jones	17	*Flur* in *Wales.*
Joſeph Switzer	24	*Boſton* in *New-England.*
Thomas Mumper, Indian.		*Mather*'s *Vineyard N. E.*
John Hincher, Doctor	22	Near *Edinburgh*, *Scot.*
John Fletcher	17	—— —— ——
Thomas Child	15	—— —— ——

Theſe eight were found Not Guilty.

The deſtroying this Pyrate was look'd upon by the Province, to be of ſuch a ſignal Service to the Publick, and particular Advantage to the Colony of

of *New-York*, that it was thought neceſſary to make ſome handſome Acknowledgement to Captain *Peter Solgard* for it; and therefore it was reſolved, in an Aſſembly of the Common-Council, to compliment him with the Freedom of their Corporation. The Reſolution, together with the Preamble of the Captain's Freedom, being curious in their Kind, I ſubjoin them for the Satisfaction of the Reader.

Reſolution of the Mayor and Common-Council of the City of *New-York*, at a Common-Council held at the City Hall of the ſaid City, on *Thurſday* the 25th of *July*, *Anno. Dom.* 1723.

Preſent *Robert Walter*, Eſq; Mayor.

City of New-York, *ſſ.*

THIS Court having taken into their Conſideration the great Service lately done to this Province in particular, as well as to all other his Majeſty's good Subjects in general, by Captain Peter Solgard, *Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the* Greyhound, *the Station Ship of the Province, who lately in a Cruize upon this Coaſt, in due Execution and Diſcharge of his Duty, upon Intelligence given him, ſought for, purſued and engaged two Pyrate Sloops, commanded by one* Low, *(a notorious and inhumane Pyrate,) one of which Sloops he took, after a reſolute Reſiſtance, and very much ſhattered the other, who by the Favour of the Night eſcaped. Twenty ſix of which Pyrates ſo taken, being lately executed at* Rhode Iſland, *not only eaſed this City and Province of a very great Trouble, but of a very conſiderable Expence, &c. It is therefore reſolved (*Nemine Contradicente*) that this Corporation do preſent the ſaid Captain* Solgard *with the Freedom of this Corporation, as a Mark of the great Eſteem they have for his Perſon, as well as for the aforeſaid great and good Ser-*

vices;

vices; *and that the Seal of the said Freedom be enclosed in a Gold Box*; *that Mr.* Recorder *and Mr.* Bickley *do draw the Draught of the said Freedom, signifying therein, the grateful Sense of this Corporation, for so signal a Service to the Publick, and Benefit and Advantage of Mankind. That Alderman* Kip, *and Alderman* Cruger, *do prepare the said Box*; *that the Arms of the Corporation be engraved on one Side thereof, and a Representation of the Engagement on the other, with this Motto,* (viz.) [Quesitos Humani Generos Hostes Debellare superbum, 10 Junii, 1723.] *That the Town-Clerk cause the same Freedom to be handsomly engrossed on Parchment, and that the whole Corporation do wait upon him, to present the same.*

By Order of the Common-Council.

William Sharpas, *Clerk.*

The Preamble of Captain *Peter Solgard*'s Copy of his Freedom.

Robert Walter, Esq; Mayor, and the Aldermen of the City of *New-York*.

City of *New-York*, ss.

TO *all whom these Persents shall come, send Greeting.* WHEREAS, *Captain* Peter Solgard, *Commander of his Majesty's Ship the* Greyhound, (*the present Station Ship of this Province,*) *in his Cruize, having Intelligence of two Pyrate Sloops of considerable Force in Consortship, under the Command of one* Low, *a notorious Pyrate, that had for upward of two Years, committed many Depredations, Murders and Barbarities, upon many of his Majesty's Subjects and Allies, lately come upon this Coast, hath, with great Diligence, and utmost Application, pursued, overtaken, and after a stubborn Resistance, vanquished and overcome both of them, taking one, and driving the other from our Coast*; *which Action, as it is glorious in it self, so it is glorious in the publick Benefits and Advantages that flow from it,* (*to wit*) *The Safety and Freedom of our own Trade and Com-*

merce, and of all the neighbouring Provinces on this Continent, ſuch ſignal Service done againſt the Enemies of Mankind, merits the Applauſe of all good Men, but more immediately from thoſe of this Province, who are appointed his particular Care and Charge. WE therefore, the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New-York, *aſſembled in Common Council, to expreſs our grateful Senſe and Acknowledgment, to the ſaid Captain* Peter Solgard, *for ſo noble and faithful a Diſcharge of his Duty, and as a particular Mark of the great Eſteem and juſt Regard we bear to his kind Acceptance of the Freedom of the Corporation of this City of* New-York, *and that he will pleaſe to become a Fellow Citizen with us.* Theſe are therefore *to certify and declare, that the ſaid Captain* Peter Solgard *is hereby admitted, received and allowed a Freeman and Citizen of the ſaid City of* New-York, *to have, hold, enjoy and partake of all and ſingular Advantages, Benefits, Liberties, Privileges, Franchiſes, Freedoms and Immunities whatſoever, granted or belonging to the ſame City:* In Teſtimony *thereof, the ſaid Mayor hath hereunto ſubſcribed his Name, and cauſed the Seal of the ſaid City to be affix'd the 25th Day of* July, *in the ninth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord* George, *by the Grace of God, King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith,* &c. Anno. Dom. 1723.

William Sharpas, *Clerk.* R. Walter *Mayor.*

This narrow Eſcape of *Low* and his Companions, one would have thought might have brought them to a little Conſideration of their black and horrid Crimes, and to look upon this Interval as an Opportunity put into their Hands by Providence, to reconcile themſelves to God, by a hearty and ſincere Repentance. But alaſs they were dead to all Goodneſs, and had not ſo much as one Spark of Virtue to ſtir them up to be thankful for ſuch an

eminent

eminent Deliverance: But inſtead thereof, vented a Million of Oaths and Curſes upon the Captain of the *Greyhound*, vowing to execute Vengeance upon all they ſhould meet with afterwards, for the Indignity he put upon them.

The firſt Prey that they met with, after their Flight, was a ſmall Sloop belonging to *Nantucket*, a Whale-Fiſhing, about 80 Miles from Land; the Maſter of which, one *Nathan Skiff*, a brisk young Fellow, the Pyrates cruelly whipp'd naked about the Deck, making his Torture their Sport; after which they cut of his Ears, and laſt of all ſhot him through the Head, and then ſunk his Veſſel; putting the reſt of the Hands into their Whale-Boat, with a Compaſs, a little Water, and a few Biskets; and it being good Weather, they providentially got ſafe to *Nantucket*, beyond all Expectation.

There was another Whale-Boat belonging to this Sloop laſt mentioned, which happened to be at ſome Diſtance from her, and perceiving what was doing, rowed with all ſpeed to another Sloop not far off, to acquaint her with the Misfortune, that the Men might take Care of themſelves; and ſhe happily got away in Time. Some Days after, *Low* took a Fiſhing-Boat off of *Block Iſland*, but did not perpetrate ſo much Cruelty to her, contenting himſelf with only cutting off the Maſter's Head: But after taking two Whale-Boats near *Rhode Iſland*, he cauſed one of the Maſter's Bodies to be ripp'd up, and his Intrails to be taken out; and cut off the Ears of the other, and made him eat them himſelf with Pepper and Salt; which hard Injunction he comply'd with, without making a Word. Several other Perſons he would have murthered, but Humanity prevailing in the tender Hearts of his Companions, they refuſed to put his ſavage Orders in Execution.

From the Coaſt of *New-England*, *Low* ſailed directly for *Newfoundland*, and, near Cape *Briton*, took two or three and twenty *French* Veſſels; and one of them of 22 Guns he mann'd with Pyrates, making a ſort of a Man of War of her; with which he ſcower'd the Harbours and Banks of *Newfoundland*, and took ſixteen or eighteen other Ships and Veſſels, all which they plundered, and ſome deſtroyed.

Thus theſe inhumane Wretches went on, who could not be contented to ſatisfy their Avarice only, and travel in the common Road of Wickedneſs; but, like their Patron, the Devil, muſt make Miſchief their Sport, Cruelty their Delight, and damning of Souls their conſtant Employment. Of all the pyratical Crews that were ever heard of, none of the *Engliſh* Name came up to this, in Barbarity; their Mirth and their Anger had much the ſame Effect, for both were uſually gratified with the Cries and Groans of their Priſoners; ſo that they almoſt as often murthered a Man from the Exceſs of good Humour, as out of Paſſion and Reſentment; and the Unfortunate could never be aſſured of Safety from them, for Danger lurked in their very Smiles. An Inſtance of this had liked to have happened to one Captain *Graves*, Maſter of a *Virginia* Ship laſt taken; for as ſoon as he came aboard of the Pyrate, *Low* takes a Bowl of Punch in his Hand, and drinks to him, ſaying, *Captain* Graves, *here's half this to you.* But the poor Gentleman being too ſenſibly touched at the Misfortune of falling into his Hands, modeſtly deſired to be excuſed, for that he could not drink; whereupon *Low* draws out a Piſtol, cocks it, and with the Bowl in 'tother Hand, told him, he ſhould either take one or the other: So *Graves*, without Heſitation, made Choice of the Vehicle that contained the Punch, and guttled down about a Quart, when he had the leaſt Inclination that ever he had in his Life to be merry.

The

The latter End of *July*, (1723,) *Low* took a large Ship, called the *Merry Chriſtmas*, and fitted her for a Pyrate, cut ſeveral Ports in her, and mounted her with 34 Guns. *Low* goes aboard of this Ship, aſſumes the Title of Admiral, and hoiſts a black Flag, with the Figure of Death in red, at the Main-topmaſt Head, and takes another Voyage to the *Weſtern Iſlands*, where he arrived the Beginning of *September*. The firſt Veſſel he met with there, was a Brigantine, formerly an *Engliſh* Sloop, commanded by *Elias Wild*, but lately bought by a *Portugueſe* Nobleman, and altered: She was manned partly with *Engliſh*, and partly *Portugueſe*; the latter *Low* cauſed to be hang'd, by Way of Repriſal, for ſome of his own Men ſent thither in a Sloop from the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, as has been mentioned: The *Engliſh* Men he thruſt into their own Boat, to ſhift for themſelves, and ſet Fire to the Veſſel.

At St. *Michaels*, they ſent in their Boats and cut out of the Road, a new *London* built Ship of 14 Guns, commanded by Captain *Thompſon*, who was taken there the Year before, by *Low*, in the *Roſe* Pink. The Boats had fewer Men than the Ship, and Captain *Thompſon* would have defended himſelf, but his Men through Cowardize, or too great an Inclination of becoming Pyrates themſelves, refuſed to ſtand by him, and he was obliged to ſurrender; and when he came aboard the Pyrate, had his Ears cut off cloſe to his Head, for only propoſing to reſiſt Admiral *Low*'s black Flag; they gave him one of his own Boats, and burnt his Ship.

The next was a *Portugueſe* Bark that fell into their Hands, whoſe Men came off ſomewhat better than uſual, for they only cut them with their Cutlaſhes, out of Wantonneſs, turned them all into their Boat, and ſet their Veſſel on Fire. When the Boat was going from the Side of the Ship, one

of *Low*'s Men, who, we may ſuppoſe, was forced into his Gang, was drinking with a Silver Tankard at one of the Ports, and took his Opportunity to drop into the Boat among the *Portugueſe*, and lye down in the Bottom, in order to eſcape along with them: After he had ſtowed himſelf in the Boat, ſo as not to be ſeen, it came into his Head, that the Tankard might prove of ſome Uſe to him, where he was going; ſo he got up again, laid hold of the Utenſil, and went off, without being diſcover'd: In which Attempt had he failed, no doubt his Life, if not the Lives of all the People in the Boat, would have paid for it: The Name of this Man is *Richard Hains*.

Low took his old Tour to the *Canaries*, *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, and ſo to the Coaſt of *Guiney*; but nothing extraordinary happened till they arrived near *Sierraleon* in *Africa*, where they met with a Ship call'd the *Delight*, Captain *Hunt* Commander; this Ship they thought fit for their own Purpoſe, for ſhe had been a ſmall Man of War, and carried 12 Guns; however, they mounted 16 on Board her, mann'd her with 60 Men, and appointed one *Spriggs*, who was then their Quarter-Maſter, to be Captain of her, who, two Days after, ſeparated from the Admiral, and went to the *Weſt-Indies* a-pyrating, upon his own, and particular Company's, Account, where for the preſent we ſhall leave him.

In *January* laſt, *Low* took a Ship, called the *Squirrel*, Captain *Stephenſon*; but what became of him afterwards, I can't tell; we have had no News concerning him come to *England*, ſince this I have now mentioned; but I have heard that he talk'd of going to *Brazil*; and if ſo, it is likely we may too ſoon hear of ſome Exploit or other; tho' the beſt Information we could receive, would be, that he and all his Crew were at the Bottom of the Sea.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

OF

Capt. *JOHN EVANS*,

And his CREW.

JOHN Evans was a *Welch* Man, had been formerly Maſter of a Sloop belonging to *Nevis*, but loſing his Employ there, he ſailed for ſome Time out of *Jamaica* as Mate, till happening in Company of three or four of his Comrades, and Wages not being ſo good as formerly, and Births ſcarce, becauſe of the great Number of Seamen; they agreed to go abroad in ſearch of Adventures. They ſailed, or rather rowed out of *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*, the latter End of *September* 1722, in a Canoa; and coming on the North-Side of the Iſland, went aſhore in the Night, broke open a Houſe or two, and robb'd them of ſome Money, and every Thing elſe they could find that was portable, and brought the Booty on Board the Canoa.

This was very well for the firſt Time, but this kind of Robbery did not pleaſe ſo well, they wanted to get out to Sea, but having no Veſſel but their Canoa, they were prevented in their laudable Deſign; however, they kept a good look out, and traverſed the Iſland, in Expectation that Providence would ſend ſome unfortunate Veſſel as a

Sacrifice, and in a few Days their Wiſhes were accompliſhed; for at *Duns Hole*, they found a ſmall Sloop at an Anchor, belonging to *Bermudas*: They made bold and went aboard, and *Evans* informed the Folks that belonged to her, that he was Captain of the Veſſel, which was a Piece of News they knew not before. After they had put their Affairs in a proper Diſpoſition aboard, they went aſhore to a little Village for Refreſhments, and lived jovially the remaining Part of the Day, at a Tavern, ſpending three Piſtols, and then departed. The People of the Houſe admired at the merry Gueſts they had got, were mightily pleaſed, and wiſhed for their Company at another Time, which happened too ſoon for their Profit; for, in the middle of the Night, they came aſhore all Hands, rifled the Houſe, and carried what they could aboard their Sloop.

The next Day they weighed in the Sloop, aboard of which they mounted four Guns, called her the *Scowerer*, and ſailed to *Hiſpaniola*; on the North Part of which Iſland they took a *Spaniſh* Sloop, which proved an extraordinary rich Prize, as it fell among ſo few Perſons as this Company conſiſted of, for they ſhared upwards of 150 *l.* a Man.

In Purſuance of the Game, and beating up for the Windward Iſlands, the *Scowerer* met with a Ship from *New-England*, bound to *Jamaica*, 120 Tons, called the *Dove*, Captain *Diamond* Maſter, off *Porto Rico*: They plundered her, and ſtrengthened their own Company, by taking out the Mate, and two or three other Men; they diſcharged the Prize, and run into one of the Iſlands for freſh Water and Neceſſaries, and ſtaid there ſome Time.

The next Prize they made, was the *Lucretia and Catherine*, Captain *Mills*, of 200 Ton Burthen; they came up with her near the Iſland *Diſſeada*, *January* 11th. Upon ſeizing of this Ship, the Pyrates began

gan to take upon themſelves the Diſtribution of Juſtice, examining the Men concerning their Maſter's Uſage of them, according to the Cuſtom of other Pyrates; but the Captain over-hearing the Matter, put an End to the judicial Proceedings, and fell to rumaging the Ship, ſaying to them, *What have we to do to turn Reformers, 'tis Money we want?* And ſpeaking to the Priſoners, he asked them, *Does your Captain give you Victuals enough?* And they anſwering in the Affirmative: *Why then,* ſaid he, *he ought to give you Work enough.*

After the taking of this Prize, they went to the little Iſland of *Avis*, with a Deſign to clean, and carried the *Lucretia* along with them, in order to heave down the *Scowerer* by her; but meeting there with a Sloop, the Pyrate gave Chace till the Evening, when ſhe was within Gun-Shot of her; but fearing to loſe Company with the *Lucretia*, who was a heavy Sailor, they left off, and ſaw her no more. This Chace brought them to Leeward of their Port, ſo that they were obliged to look out for another Place of Retreat, and the Iſland of *Ruby* not being far diſtant, they ſteered for that, and anchored there accordingly; but the next Day a *Dutch* Sloop coming as it were, into their Mouths, they could not forbear dealing, and ſo making her their Prize, they plundered her of what came, when ſhared, to fifty Pounds a Man.

They found this Sloop more for their Purpoſe than the *Lucretia*, to clean their own Sloop by, as being much lower in the Waſt, and therefore capable of heaving her Bottom farther out of the Water, ſo ſhe was diſcharged, and the *Dutch* Man kept in her Room; but not thinking it convenient to lay up here, for fear a diſcovery ſhould be made, they turned their Thoughts another Way, and ſteered to the Coaſt of *Jamaica*, where they took a Sugar Drover, and then run to the *Grand Caimanes*, about

about 30 Leagues to Leeward of *Jamaica*, with Intention to clean there; but an unhappy Accident put an End to their Pyracies, which hitherto had proved very ſucceſsful to them.

The Boatſwain of the Pyrate being a noiſy ſurly Fellow, the Captain had at ſeveral Times Words with him, relating to his Behaviour, who thinking himſelf ill treated, not only returned ill Language, but alſo challenged the Captain to fight him on the next Shore they came to, with Piſtols and Sword, as is the Cuſtom among theſe Outlaws. When the Sloop arrived, as abovementioned, the Captain propoſed the Duel; but the cowardly Boatſwain refuſed to fight, or go aſhore, tho' it was his own Challenge. When Captain *Evans* ſaw there was nothing to be done with him, he took his Cane, and gave him a hearty drubbing; but the Boatſwain not being able to bear ſuch an Indignity, drew out a Piſtol and ſhot *Evans* thro' the Head, ſo that he fell down dead; and the Boatſwain immediately jumped over-board, and ſwam towards the Shore; but the Boat was quickly mann'd and ſent after him, which took him up and brought him aboard.

The Death of the Captain in that Manner, provoked all the Crew, and they reſolved the Criminal ſhould die by the moſt exquiſite Tortures; but while they were conſidering of the Puniſhment, the Gunner, tranſported with Paſſion, diſcharged a Piſtol, and ſhot him thro' the Body; but not killing him outright, the Delinquent in very moving Words, deſired a Week for Repentance only; but another ſtepping up to him, told him, *that he ſhould repent and be damned to him*, and without more ado ſhot him dead.

I ſhould have obſerved, that when the *Lucretia* and *Katharine* was ſuffered to go away, the Pyrates detained their Mate, who was now the only Man aboard, who underſtood Navigation, and him they

deſired

desired to take upon him the Command of the Sloop, in the Room of Captain *Evans* deceased; but he desired to be excused that Honour, and at length positively refused it; so they agreed to break up the Company, and leave the Mate in Possession of the Vessel: Accordingly they went ashore at the *Caimanes*, carrying with them about nine thousand Pounds among thirty Persons; and it being fair Weather, the Mate and a Boy brought the Vessel into *Port Royal*, in *Jamaica*.



CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

OF

Captain *John Phillips*,

And his CREW.

JOHN Phillips was bred a Carpenter, and ſailing to *Newfoundland* in a Weſt-Country Ship, was taken by *Anſtis* in the *Good Fortune* Brigantine, the next Day after he had left his Conſort and Commadore, Captain *Roberts*. *Phillips* was ſoon reconciled to the Life of a Pyrate, and being a brisk Fellow, was appointed Carpenter of the Veſſel, for at firſt his Ambition reach'd no higher; there he remain'd till they broke up at *Tabago*, and was one of thoſe who came home in a Sloop that we have mentioned to be ſunk in *Briſtol* Channel.

His Stay was not long in *England*, for whilſt he was paying his firſt Viſits to his Friends in *Devonſhire*, he heard of the Misfortune of ſome of his Companions, that is, of their being taken and committed to *Briſtol* Goal; and there being good Reaſon for his apprehending Danger from a Wind that blew from the ſame Quarter, he mov'd off immediately to *Topſham*, the neareſt Port, and there ſhipp'd himſelf with one Captain *Wadham*, for a Voyage to *Newfoundland*, and home again; which, by the way, Mr. *Phillips* never deſign'd to perform,

or

or to ſee *England* any more. When the Ship came to *Peter* Harbour in *Newfoundland* aforeſaid, he ran away from her, and hired himſelf a Splitter in the Fiſhery, for the Seaſon: But this was only till he could have an Opportunity of proſecuting his intended Rogueries; in order to which, he combined with ſeveral others, in the ſame Employ, to go off with one of the Veſſels that lay in the Harbour, upon the pyratical Account; accordingly the Time was fix'd, *viz.* the 29th of *Auguſt* 1723, at Night; but whether Remorſe or Fear prevented their coming together, I know not, but of ſixteen Men that were in the Combination, five only kept the Appointment: Notwithſtanding which, *Phillips* was for puſhing forward with that ſmall Number, aſſuring his Companions, that they ſhould ſoon encreaſe their Company; and they agreeing, a Veſſel was ſeiz'd on, and out of the Harbour they ſailed.

The firſt Thing they had now to do, was to chuſe Officers, draw up Articles, and ſettle their little Commonwealth, to prevent Diſputes and Ranglings afterwards; ſo *John Phillips* was made Captain, *John Nutt*, Maſter, (or Navigator) of the Veſſel; *James Sparks*, Gunner; *Thomas Fern*, Carpenter; and *Wiliam White* was the only private Man in the whole Crew: When this was done, one of them writ out the following Articles (which we have taken *verbatim*) and all ſwore to 'em upon a Hatchet for want of a Bible.

The Articles on Board the *Revenge*.

1.

EVery Man ſhall obey civil Command; the Captain ſhall have one full Share and a half in all Prizes; the Maſter, Carpenter, Boatſwain and Gunner ſhall have one Share and quarter.

2. *If*

2.

If any Man shall offer to run away, or keep any Secret from the Company, he shall be marroon'd, with one Bottle of Powder, one Bottle of Water, one small Arm, and Shot.

3.

If any Man shall steal any Thing in the Company, or game, to the Value of a Piece of Eight, he shall be marroon'd or shot.

4.

If at any Time we should meet another Marrooner [*that is,* Pyrate,] *that Man that shall sign his Articles without the Consent of our Company, shall suffer such Punishment as the Captain and Company shall think fit.*

5.

That Man that shall strike another whilst these Articles are in force, shall receive Moses's *Law* (*that is,* 40 *Stripes lacking one*) *on the bare Back.*

6.

That Man that shall snap his Arms, or smoak Tobacco in the Hold, without a Cap to his Pipe, or carry a Candle lighted without a Lanthorn, shall suffer the same Punishment as in the former Article.

7.

That Man that shall not keep his Arms clean, fit for an Engagement, or neglect his Business, shall be cut off from his Share, and suffer such other Punishment as the Captain and the Company shall think fit.

8.

If any Man shall lose a Joint in time of an Engagement, shall have 400 *Pieces of Eight; if a Limb,* 800.

9.

If at any time you meet with a prudent Woman, that Man that offers to meddle with her, without her Consent, shall suffer present Death.

Thus prepar'd, this bold Crew set out, and before they left the Banks they made Prize of several small Fishing-Vessels, out of which they got a few Hands, some

ſome *French* and ſome *Engliſh*, and then ſail'd for the *Weſt-Indies*; in one of theſe Veſſels they took out one *John Roſe Archer*, who having been a Pyrate under the famous *Black-beard*, was immediately preferr'd over other People's Heads, to be Quarter-Maſter to the Company; which ſudden Promotion ſo diſguſted ſome of the older Standers, eſpecially *Fern*, the Carpenter, that it occaſioned ſome Miſchief to follow, as we ſhall ſhew by and by.

The Pyrates came off *Barbadoes* the beginning of *October*, and cruiſed there, and among other Iſlands, above three Months, without ſpeaking with a Veſſel, ſo that they were almoſt ſtarv'd for want of Proviſions, being reduc'd to a Pound of Meat a Day between ten; at length they fell in with a *Martinico* Man of 12 Guns and 35 Hands, far ſuperior in Force, and what they would not have ventur'd on at another Time, but *Hunger will break down Stone Walls*; they were reſolved to ſhew the *French* Men their black Flag; and if that would not do, they muſt ſeek out elſewhere; accordingly, they boldly ran up a-long-ſide of the Sloop, with their pyratical Colours flying, and told them, if they did not ſtrike immediately, they would give them no Quarters; which ſo intimidated the *Frenchmen*, that they never fired a Gun. This proved a ſeaſonable Supply; they took her Proviſions, and four of her Men, and let her go. They took preſently after, a Sloop belonging to *New-York*, and a *Virginia* Man, *Huffam* Maſter.

Having now occaſion to clean their Veſſel, *Phillips* propos'd *Tobago*, where the Company he formerly belong'd to, under *Anſtis* and *Fenn*, broke up; to induce them to it, he told them when he left the Iſland, there was left behind ſix or eight of their Company that were not willing to go to *England*, with three Negroes: Whereupon they ſail'd to the Iſland, and after a careful Search, found only

one

one of the Negroes, whose Name was *Pedro*, who inform'd Captain *Phillips*, that those that were left behind were taken by a Man of War's Crew, and hang'd at *Antegoa*, among whom was *Fenn*, their Captain.

They took *Pedro* on Board, and then fell to Business, careening their Vessel; and just as they had finished their Work, a Man of War's Boat came into the Harbour, the Ship being cruising to Leeward of the Island. It was easily guess'd upon what Errant she was sent, and therefore they lost no Time, but, as soon as the Boat went away, warp'd out, and ply'd to Windward for Security, but left the four *French* Men, they took out of the *Martinico* Sloop, behind.

In a few Days they took a Snow with a few Hands, and *Fern*, the Carpenter, one *William Phillips*, *Wood* and *Taylor*, went aboard to take Possession of her. *Fern*, not forgetting the Affront of having *Archer* preferr'd before him, resolv'd to go off with the Prize, and brought the rest into the same Measures; however *Phillips*, the Captain, keeping a good Look-out, perceiv'd their Design, and gave them Chace, who coming up with the Vessel, a Skirmish ensu'd, wherein *Wood* was kill'd and *Taylor* wounded in his Leg; upon which the other two surrender'd. There was no Surgeon aboard, and therefore it was advis'd, upon a learned Consultation, that *Phillips*'s Leg should be cut off; but who should perform the Operation was the Dispute; at length the Carpenter was appointed, as the most proper Man: Upon which, he fetch'd up the biggest Saw, and taking the Limb under his Arm, fell to Work, and separated it from the Body of the Patient, in as little Time as he could have cut a Deal Board in two; after that he heated his Ax red hot in the Fire, and cauteriz'd the Wound, but not with so much Art as he perform'd the other Part,

for

for he so burnt his Flesh distant from the Place of Amputation, that it had like to have mortify'd; however nature perform'd a Cure at last without any other Assistance.

From *Tobago* they stood away to the Northward and took a *Portugueze* bound for *Brazil*, and two or three Sloops from *Jamaica*, in one of which, *Fern* the Carpenter, endeavouring to go off, was kill'd by *Phillips* the Captain, pursuant to their Articles; another had the same Fate some Days after for the like Attempt. These Severities made it dangerous for any to consult or project an Escape; the Terror of which made several sign their Articles and set down quietly, waiting impatiently for Redemption, which as yet they saw no great likelyhood of, and should they have been taken before such Circumstances appear'd in their Actions or Characters, as afterwards happen'd, to denote their Innocence, they might have lost their Lives upon a Tryal at a Court of Admiralty; for pretty strong Evidence is expected in their Favour, to ballance that of being taken aboard a Vessel which is prov'd to be in actual Pyracy, and they assisting therein.

Thus was many an honest Man's Case made most desperate by the consummate Villany of a few hardned Wretches, who fear neither God or Devil, as this *Phillips* us'd often blasphemously to express himself.

On the 25th of *March* they took two Ships from *Virginia* for *London*, *John Phillips*, the Pyrate Captain's Namesake, was Master of one, and Captain *Robert Mortimer*, the other, a brisk young Fellow, that deserv'd a better Fate than he met with. *Phillips* the Pyrate staid on Board of Captain *Mortimer*'s Ship, while they transported the Crew to the Sloop, and the Boat returning along side, one of the Pyrates therein calls to *Phillips*, and tells him, there was a Mutiny aboard their Vessel, *Mortimer* had two Men

in his Ship, and the Pyrate Captain had two, therefore thought it a good Opportunity to recover his Ship, and directly took up a Handspike and struck *Phillips* over the Head, giving him a dangerous wound, but not knocking him down, he recovered and wounded *Mortimer* with his Sword; and the two Pyrates that were aboard coming in to Captain *Phillips*'s Assistance, Captain *Mortimer* was presently cut to Pieces, while his own two Men stood by and did nothing.

This was the first Voyage that *Mortimer* had the Command of a Vessel, by whose Death is a poor disconsolate Widow made miserable, more in regard of the mutual Love and Fidelity they lived in, than the Loss of what would have been a handsome and comfortable Provision for themselves and Children, which, I think, now ought to be made up by the Publick, since 'twas in the publick Service he fell; for had his Attempt succeeded, in all Probability he would not only have regained his own Ship, but entirely subdued and destroy'd the Enemy, there being several, as it afterwards proved, that would have seconded such an Enterprize when ever they found a Beginning made.

This Affair ended without any other Consequence than a strict Search after a Brother of Captain *Mortimer*, who was on Board, in order to have put him likewise to death; but he had the good Fortune to meet with a Townsman among the Crew, who hid him for four and twenty Hours in a Stay-Sail, till the Heat of their Fury was over, and by that Means happily missed of the Fate designed him.

Out of the other *Virginia* Man before spoken of, they took one *Edward Cheeseman*, a Carpenter, to supply the Place of their late Carpenter, *Fern*. He was a modest sober young Man, very averse to their unlawful Practice, and a brave gallant Fellow.

There

There was one *John Philmore* of *Ipſwich*, formerly taken by them, ordered to row *Cheeſeman* aboard of *Mortimer*'s Ship, which the Pyrates poſſeſs'd themſelves of, who, ſeeing with what Reluctance and Uneaſineſs *Cheeſeman* was brought away, told him, he would join with him, in ſome Meaſures, to over-throw the pyratical Government, telling him withal, their preſent Condition, what Difficulties *Phillips* had met with to make up his Company, and how few voluntary Pyrates there were on Board, and the like. But, however ſpecious this ſeemed, *Cheeſeman* out of Prudence rejected his Offers of Aſſiſtance, till he ſaw ſome Proofs of his Sincerity, which after a few Days he was convinced of, and then they often conſulted; but as the old Pyrates were always jealous of the new Comers, and conſequently obſervant of their Behaviour; this was done with the utmoſt Caution, chiefly when they were lying down together, as tho' aſleep, and, at other Times, when they were playing at Cards; both which they feigned often to do for that Purpoſe.

The Pyrates went on all the while, plundering and robbing ſeveral Ships and Veſſels, bending their Courſe towards *Newfoundland*, where they deſigned to raiſe more Men, and do all the Miſchief they could on the Banks, and in the Harbours.

Newfoundland is an Iſland on the North Continent of *America*, contained between the 46 and 53° of N. Latitude, diſcovered firſt by St. *Sebaſtion Cabot* A. D. 1497, but never ſettled till the Year 1610; when Mr. *Guy* of *Briſtol* revived the Affair, and obtained a Patent, and himſelf to be Governor. The Iſland is deſerted by the Natives and neglected by us, being deſolate and Woody, and the Coaſt and Harbour only held for the Conveniency of the Cod Fiſhery, for which alone they were ſettled.

The Bays and Harbours about it, are very numerous and convenient, and being deeply indented, makes it eaſy for any Intelligence quickly to paſs from one Harbour to another over Land; eſpecially the principal, St. *John*'s and *Placentia*, when the Appearance of an Enemy makes them apprehend Danger.

They are able to cure and export about 100000 Quintals (100 Weight each) of Fiſh, annually, which returns to *England* in Money, or the neceſſary Commodities of *Portugal*, *Spain* and *Italy*. As it therefore expends abundance of Rum, Moloſſus and Sugar, the Product of our *Weſt-India* Colonies, and employs a Number of Fiſhermen from home every Seaſon, by whoſe Induſtry and Labour only this Fiſh is purchaſed, it may very well be reckon'd an advantagious Branch of Trade.

But the preſent Deſign of this Digreſſion being not to give an exact Deſcription of the Country or Fiſhery; but rather how it accidentally contributes to raiſe, or ſupport the Pyrates already rais'd, I ſhall obſerve,

Firſt, That our Weſt Country Fiſhing-Ships, *viz.* from *Topſham*, *Barnſtable* and *Briſtol*, who chiefly attend the Fiſhing Seaſons, tranſport over a conſiderable Number of poor Fellows every Summer, whom they engage at low Wages, and are by their Terms to pay for Paſſage back to *England*. When the *Newfoundland* Ships left that Country, towards Winter, in the Year 1720, theſe Paſſengers muſter'd 1100, who, during the Seaſon of Buſineſs, (the Hardneſs of their Labour, and Chilneſs of the Nights, pinching them very much) are moſtly fond of drinking Black Strap, (a ſtrong Liquor uſed there, and made from Rum, Moloſſus, and Chowder Beer;) by this the Majority of them out-run the Conſtable, and then are neceſſitated to come under hard Articles of Servitude for their Maintenance in the Winter; no ordinary Charge, indeed, when

when the Barrenneſs of the Country is conſider'd, and the Stock of Proviſion laid in, happen to fall ſhort, in Proportion to the Computation made of the People remaining there the Winter, which are generally about 17 or 1800. The Maſters reſiding there think Advantages taken on their Neceſſities, no more than a juſt and lawful Gain; and either bind ſuch for the next Summer's Service, or ſell their Proviſions out to them at extravagant Rates; Bread from 15 s. to 50, immediately at the departing of the Ships, and ſo of other ſorts of Food in Proportion; wherefore not being able to ſubſiſt themſelves, or in any likely Way of clearing the Reckoning to the Maſters, they ſometimes run away with Shallops and Boats, and begin on pyratical Exploits, as *Phillips* and his Companions, whom we are now treating of, had done.

And ſecondly (which is more opportunely for them,) they are viſited every Summer, almoſt, by ſome Set of Pyrates or other, already rais'd, who call here for the ſame Purpoſe, (if young Beginners) and to lay in a Store of Water and Proviſions, which they find imported, much or little, by all the Ships that uſe the Trade.

Towards this Country *Phillips* was making his Way, and took on the Voyage, beſides thoſe abovementioned, one *Salter*, in a Sloop off the Iſle of *Sables*, which Veſſel they made uſe of themſelves, and gave back *Mortimer*'s Ship to the Mate and Crew. The ſame Day, *viz.* the 4th of *April*, took a Scooner, one *Chadwell*, Maſter, which they ſcuttled, in order to ſink; but Capt. *Phillips* underſtanding that ſhe belong'd to Mr. *Minors* at *Newfoundland*, with whoſe Veſſel they firſt went off a pyrating, a Qualm of Conſcience came athwart his Stomach, and he ſaid to his Companions, *We have done him Injury enough already*; ſo order'd the Veſſel immediately to be repair'd, and return'd her to the Maſter,

That Afternoon they chac'd another Veſſel, and at Night came up with her, the Maſter of which was a Saint of *New-England*, nam'd *Dependance Ellery*, who taking *Phillips* for a Pyrate, he told him was the Reaſon that he gave him the Trouble of chacing ſo long; which being reſented by theſe Men of Honour, they made poor *Dependance* dance about the Deck till he was weary.

Within few Days ſeveral other Veſſels had the ſame Misfortune, the Maſters Names were as follow, *Joſhua Elwell*, *Samuel Elwell*, Mr. *Combs*, Mr. *Lanſly*, *James Babſton*, *Edward Freeman*, Mr. *Start*, *Obediah Beal*, *Erick Erickſon* and *Benjamin Wheeler*.

The 14th of *April* they took a Sloop belonging to Cape *Ann*, *Andrew Harradine* Maſter; they look'd upon this Veſſel more fit for their Purpoſe, and ſo came aboard, keeping only the Maſter of her Priſoner, and ſending *Harradine*'s Crew away in *Salter*'s Veſſel, which they, till this Time, detain'd. To this *Harradine*, *Cheeſeman* the Carpenter, broke his Mind, and brought him into the Confederacy to deſtroy the Crew, which was put in Execution four Days afterwards.

Harradine and the reſt were for doing the Buſineſs in the Night, as believing they might be more opportunely ſurpriz'd; for *Nut*, the Maſter, being a Fellow of great Strength, and no leſs Courage, it was thought dangerous to attack him without Fire-Arms; however, *Cheeſeman* was reſolute to have it perform'd by Day-light, as the leaſt liable to Confuſion; and as to the Maſter, he offer'd to lay Hands on him firſt: Upon this 'twas concluded on, 12 at Noon was the appointed Time; in order for the Buſineſs *Cheeſeman* leaves his working Tools on the Deck, as though he had been going to uſe them, and walked aft; but perceiving ſome Signs of Timidity in *Harradine*, he comes back, fetches his Brandy Bottle and gives him and the reſt a Dram, then drank

to

to *Burril*, the Boatſwain, and the Maſter, *To their next merry Meeting*, and up he puts the Bottle; then he takes a Turn with *Nut*, asking what he thought of the Weather, and ſuch like. In the mean while *Filemore* takes up the Axe, and turns it round upon the Point, as if at Play, then both he and *Harradine* wink at him, thereby letting him know they were ready; upon which Signal he ſeizes *Nut* by the Collar, with one Hand between his Legs, and toſs'd him over the Side of the Veſſel, but, he holding by *Cheeſeman*'s Sleeve, ſaid, *Lord have Mercy upon me! what are you going to do, Carpeuter?* He told him it was an unneceſſary Queſtion, *For*, ſays he, *Maſter, you are a dead Man*, ſo ſtrikes him over the Arm, *Nut* looſes his Hold, tumbles into the Sea, and never ſpoke more.

By this time the Boatſwain was dead; for as ſoon as *Filemore* ſaw the Maſter laid hold of, he raiſed up the Axe, and divided his Enemy's Head in two: The Noiſe brought the Captain upon Deck, whom *Cheeſeman* ſaluted with the Blow of a Mallet, which broke his Jaw-Bone, but did not knock him down; *Harradine* came in then with the Carpenter's Adds, but *Sparks*, the Gunner, interpoſing between him and Captain *Phillips*, *Cheeſeman* trips up his Heels, and flung him into the Arms of *Charles Joymay*, one of his Conſorts, who that Inſtant diſcharg'd him into the Sea; and at the ſame Time *Harradine* compaſſed his Buſineſs with the Captain aforeſaid: *Cheeſeman* loſt no Time, but from the Deck jumps into the Hold, and was about to beat out the Brains of *Archer*, the Quarter-Maſter, having ſtruck him two or three Blows with his blunt Weapon the Mallet, when *Harry Giles*, a young Lad, came down after him, and deſir'd his Life might be ſpar'd, as an Evidence of their own Innocence; that he having all the Spoil and Plunder in his Cuſtody, it may appear, that theſe tragick Proceedings were not undertaken

dertaken with any dishoneſt View of ſeizing or appropriating the Effects to themſelves; which prudent Advice prevail'd, and he and three more were made Priſoners, and ſecured.

The Work being done, they went about Ship, altered the Courſe from *Newfoundland* to *Boſton*, and arrived ſafe the 3d of *May* following, to the great Joy of that Province.

On the 12th of *May*, 1724, a ſpecial Court of Admiralty was held for the Tryal of theſe Pyrates, when *John Filmore*, *Edward Cheeſeman*, *John Combs*, *Henry Giles*, *Charles Ivymay*, *John Bootman*, and *Henry Payne*, the ſeven that confederated together for the Pyrates Deſtruction, were honourably acquitted; as alſo three *French* Men, *John Baptiſt*, *Peter Taffery*, and *Iſaac Laſſen*, and three Negroes, *Pedro*, *Franciſco*, and *Pierro*. And *John Roſe Archer*, the Quarter-Maſter, *William White*, *William Taylor*, and *William Phillips*, were condemned; the two latter were reprieved for a Year and a Day, in order to be recommended (though I don't know for what) as Objects of his Majeſty's Mercy. The two former were executed on the 2d of *June*, and dy'd very penitently, making the following Declarations at the Place of Execution, with the Aſſiſtance of two grave Divines that attended them.

The dying Declarations of John Roſe Archer *and* William White, *on the Day of their Execution at* Boſton, June 2, 1724, *for the Crimes of Pyracy.*

Firſt, ſeparately, of *Archer.*

I Greatly bewail my Profanations of the Lord's Day, and my Diſobedience to my Parents.

And my Curſing and Swearing, and my blaſphemning the Name of the glorious God.

Unto

Unto which I have added, the Sins of Unchaſtity. And I have provoked the Holy One, at length, to leave me unto the Crimes of Pyracy and Robbery; wherein, at laſt, I have brought my ſelf under the Guilt of Murder alſo.

But one Wickedneſs that has led me as much as any, to all the reſt, has been my brutiſh Drunkenneſs. By ſtrong Drink I have been heated and hardened into the Crimes that are now more bitter than Death unto me.

I could wiſh that Maſters of Veſſels would not uſe their Men with ſo much Severity, as many of them do, which expoſes to great Temptations.

And then of *White*.

I am now, with Sorrow, reaping the Fruits of my Diſobedience to my Parents, who uſed their Endeavours to have me inſtructed in my Bible, and my Catechiſm.

And the Fruits of my neglecting the publick Worſhip of God, and prophaning the holy Sabbath.

And of my blaſpheming the Name of God, my Maker.

But my Drunkenneſs has had a great Hand in bringing my Ruin upon me. I was drunk when I was enticed aboard the Pyrate.

And now, for all the vile Things I did aboard, I own the Juſtice of God and Man, in what is done unto me.

Of both together.

We hope, we truly hate the Sins, whereof we have the Burthen lying ſo heavy upon our Conſciences.

We warn all People, and particularly young People, againſt ſuch Sins as theſe. We wiſh, all may take Warning by us.

We beg for Pardon, for the ſake of Chriſt, our Saviour; and our Hope is in him alone. Oh! *that*

in

in his Blood our Scarlet and Crimſon Guilt may be all waſhed away!

We are ſenſible of an hard Heart in us, full of Wickedneſs. And we look upon God for his renewing Grace upon us.

We bleſs God for the Space of Repentance which he has given us; and that he has not cut us off in the Midſt and Heighth of our Wickedneſs.

We are not without Hope, that God has been ſavingly at work upon our Souls.

We are made ſenſible of our abſolute Need of the Righteouſneſs of Chriſt; that we may ſtand juſtified before God in that. We renounce all Dependance on our own.

We are humbly thankful to the Miniſters of Chriſt, for the great Pains they have taken for our Good. The Lord Reward their Kindneſs.

We don't Deſpair of Mercy; but hope, through Chriſt, that when we dye, we ſhall find Mercy with God, and be received into his Kingdom.

We wiſh others, and eſpecially the Sea-faring, may get Good by what they ſee this Day befalling of us.

Declared in the Preſence of J. W. D. M.



CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

OF

Captain *SPRIGGS*, And his Crew.

Spriggs ſailed with *Low* for a pretty while, and I believe came away from *Lowther*, along with him; he was Quarter-Maſter to the Company, and conſequently had a great Share in all the Barbarities committed by that execrable Gang, till the Time they parted; which was about *Chriſtmas* laſt, when *Low* took a Ship of 12 Guns on the Coaſt of *Guiney*, called the *Delight*, (formerly the *Squirrel* Man of War,) commanded by Captain *Hunt*. *Spriggs* took Poſſeſſion of the Ship with eighteen Men, left *Low* in the Night, and came to the *Weſt-Indies*. This Separation was occaſioned by a Quarrel with *Low*, concerning a Piece of Juſtice *Spriggs* would have executed upon one of the Crew, for killing a Man in cold Blood, as they call it, one inſiſting that he ſhould be hang'd, and the other that he ſhould not.

A Day or two after they parted, *Spriggs* was choſe Captain by the reſt, and a black Enſign was made, which they called *Jolly Roger*, with the ſame Device that Captain *Low* carried, *viz.* a white Skeliton in the Middle of it, with a Dart in one Hand ſtriking

ing a bleeding Heart, and in the other, an Hour-Glaſs; when this was finiſhed and hoiſted, they fired all their Guns to ſalute their Captain and themſelves, and then looked out for Prey.

In their Voyage to the *Weſt-Indies*, theſe Pyrates took a *Portugueſe* Bark, wherein they got valuable Plunder, but not contented with that alone, they ſaid they would have a little Game with the Men, and ſo ordered them a Sweat, more for the Brutes Diverſion, than the poor Men's Healths; which Operation is performed after this Manner; they ſtick up lighted Candles circularly round the Mizon-Maſt, between Decks, within which the Patients one at a Time enter; without the Candles, the Pyrates poſt themſelves, as many as can ſtand, forming another Circle, and armed with Pen-Knives, Tucks, Forks, Compaſſes, *&c.* and as he runs round and round, the Muſick playing at the ſame Time, they prick him with thoſe Inſtuments; this uſually laſts for 10 or 12 Minutes, which is as long as the miſerable Man can ſupport himſelf. When the Sweating was over, they gave the *Portugueſe* their Boat with a ſmall Quantity of Proviſions, and ſet their Veſſel on Fire.

Near the Iſland of St. *Lucia*, they took a Sloop belonging to *Barbadoes*, which they plundered, and then burnt, forcing ſome of the Men to ſign their Articles, the others they beat and cut in a barbarous Manner, becauſe they refuſed to take on with the Crew, and then ſent them away in the Boat, who all got ſafe afterwards to *Barbadoes*.

The next was a *Martinico* Man, which they ſerved as bad as they had done the others, but did not burn their Ship. Some Days afterwards in running down to Leeward, they took one Captain *Hawkins*, coming from *Jamaica*, loaden chiefly with Logwood; they took out of her, Stores, Arms, Ammunition, and ſeveral other Things, as they thought

thought fit, and what they did not want they threw over-board or deſtroy'd; they cut the Cables to pieces, knocked down the Cabins, broke all the Windows, and in ſhort took all the Pains in the World to be Miſchievous. They took by Force, out of her, Mr. *Burridge* and Mr. *Stephens*, the two Mates, and ſome other Hands; and after detaining the Ship from the 22d of *March*, to the 29th, they let her go. On the 27th they took a *Rhode Iſland* Sloop, Captain *Pike*, and all his Men were obliged to go aboard the Pyrate; but the Mate being a grave ſober Man, and not inclinable to ſtay, they told him, he ſhould have his Diſcharge, and that it ſhould be immediately writ on his Back; whereupon he was ſentenced to receive ten Laſhes from every Man in the Ship, which was rigorouſly put in Execution.

The next Day Mr. *Burridge*, Captain *Hawkins*'s Mate, ſign'd their Articles, which was ſo agreeable to them (he being a good Artiſt and Sailor) that they gave three Huzza's, fir'd all the Guns in the Ship, and appointed him Maſter: The Day was ſpent in boyſterous Mirth, roaring and drinking of Healths, among which was, by Miſtake, that of King *George* the II. for you muſt know, now and then the Gentry are provok'd to ſudden Fits of Loyalty, by the Expectation of an Act of Grace: It ſeems Captain *Pike* had heard at *Jamaica* that the King was dead, ſo the Pyrates immediately hoiſted their Enſign Half-Maſt (the Death Signal) and proclaim'd his Royal Highneſs, ſaying, *They doubted not but there would be a general Pardon in a twelve Month, which they would embrace and come in upon, but damn 'em if they ſhould be excepted out of it, they would murder every* Engliſhman *that ſhould fall into their Hands.*

The ſecond of *April*, they ſpy'd a Sail, and gave her Chace till 12 o'Clock at Night, the Pyrates believed

lieved her to be a *Spaniard*, when they came close up to her, they discharged a Broadside, with small and great Shot, which was follow'd by another, but the Ship making a lamentable Cry for Quarters, they ceas'd firing, and ordered the Captain to come aboard, which he did, but how disappointed the Rogues were when they found 'twas their old Friend Captain *Hawkins*, whom they had sent away three Days before, worth not one Penny? This was such a Baulk to them, that they resolved he should suffer for falling in their Way, tho' it was so contrary to his own Inclinations: About 15 of them surrounded the poor Man with sharp Cutlashes, and fell upon him, whereby he was soon laid flat on the Deck; at that Instant *Burridge* flew amongst the thickest of the Villains, and begg'd earnestly for his Life, upon whose Request 'twas granted. They were now most of 'em drunk, as is usual at this Time of Night, so they unanimously agreed to make a Bonfire of *Hawkins*'s Ship, which was immediately done, and in half an Hour she was all of a Blaze.

After this, they wanted a little more Diversion, and so Captain *Hawkins* was sent for down to the Cabin to Supper; what should the Provision be, but a Dish of Candles, which he was forced to eat, having a naked Sword and a Pistol held to his Breast all the while; when this was over, they bussetted him about for some Time, and sent him forward amongst the other Prisoners, who had been treated with the same Delicacies.

Two Days afterwards, they anchor'd at a little uninhabited Island, call'd *Rattan*, near the Bay of *Honduras*, and put ashore Captain *Hawkins*, and several other Men, (one of them his Passenger) who dy'd there of the Hardships he underwent. They gave them Powder and Ball, and a Musquet, with which they

they were to shift as they could, sailing away the next Day for other Adventures.

Captain *Hawkins*, and his unfortunate Companions, staid 19 Days upon this Island, supplying themselves with both Fish and Fowl, such as they were, at which Time came two Men in a Canoe, that had been left upon another marroon Island near *Benacca*, who carry'd the Company at several Times thither, it being more convenient in having a good Well of fresh Water, and Plenty of Fish, *&c.* Twelve Days afterwards they spy'd a Sloop off at Sea, which, upon their making a great Smoke, stood in, and took them off; she was the *Merriam*, Captain *Jones*, lately escaped out of the Bay of *Honduras*, from being taken by the *Spaniards*.

At an Island to the Westward, the Pyrates clean'd their Ship, and sail'd towards the Island of St. *Christophers*, to wait for one Captain *Moor*, who commanded the *Eagle* Sloop, when she took *Lowther*'s upon the Careen, at *Blanco*; *Spriggs* resolved to put him to Death, whenever he took him, for falling upon his Friend and Brother, but instead of *Moor*, he found a *French* Man of War from *Martinico*, upon the Coast, which *Spriggs* not thinking fit to contend with, run away with all the Sail he could make, the *French* Man crowded after him, and was very likely to speak with Mr. *Spriggs*, when unfortunately his Main-Top-Mast came by the Board, which obliged him to give over the Chace.

Spriggs then stood to the Northward, towards *Burmudas*, or the *Summer Isles*, and took a Scooner belonging to *Boston*; he took out all the Men and sunk the Vessel, and had the Impudence to tell the Master, that he designed to encrease his Company on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, and then would sail for the Coast of *New-England* in quest of Captain *Solgard*, who attack'd and took their Consort *Charles Harris*, *Spriggs* being then in *Low*'s Sloop, who

who very fairly run for it. The Pyrate ask'd the Master if he knew Captain *Solgard*, who answering No; he ask'd another the same Question, and then a third, who said he knew him very well, upon which *Spriggs* ordered him to be sweated, which was done in the Manner before describ'd.

Instead of going to *Newfoundland* as the Pyrates threat'ned, they came back to the Islands, and to Windward of St. *Christophers*, on the 4th of *June* last, took a Sloop, *Nicholas Trot* Master, belonging to St. *Eustatia*, and wanting a little Diversion, they hoisted the Men as high as the Main and Fore Tops, and let them run down amain, enough to break all the Bones in their Skins, and after they had pretty well crippled them by this cruel Usage, and whipp'd them about the Deck, they gave *Trot* his Sloop, and let him go, keeping back only 2 of his Men, besides the Plunder of the Vessel.

Within two or three Days they took a Ship coming from *Rhode-Island* to St. *Christophers*, loaden with Provisions and some Horses; the Pyrates mounted the Horses and rid them about the Deck backwards and forwards a full Gallop, like Madmen at *New-Market*, cursing, swearing, and hallowing, at such a Rate, that made the poor Creatures wild, and at length, two or three of them throwing their Riders, they fell upon the Ship's Crew, and whipp'd, and cut, and beat them in a barbarous Manner, telling them, it was for bringing Horses without Boots and Spurs, for want of which they were not able to ride them.

This is the last Account we have had of Captain *Spriggs*, I shall only add the two following Relations, and conclude.

A Brigantine belonging to *Bristol*, one *Mr. Rowry* Master, had been trading at *Gambia*, in *Africa*, and sailing as low as Cape *Mount*, to finish the

the ſlaving of the Veſſel, he had, by a Misfortune uſual at that Part of the Coaſt, his Mate, Surgeon, and two more of his Men, * *Panyarr'd* by the Negroes. The Remainder of his Company, which was not above 5 or 6 in Number, took this Opportunity, and ſeiz'd the Veſſel in the Road, making the Maſter Priſoner.

You will think it prodigious impudent that ſo ſmall a Number ſhould undertake to proceed a pyrating, eſpecially when neither of them had ſufficient Skill in Navigation: Yet this they did, leaving thoſe People, their Ship-Mates abovemention'd, to the Mercy of the barbarous Natives, and ſail'd away down the Coaſt, making them a black Flag, which they merrily ſaid, would be as good as 50 Men more, *i. e.* would carry as much Terror; and that they did not doubt of ſoon increaſing their Crew, to put them in an enterprizing Capacity; but their vain Projection was ſoon happily fruſtrated, and after this Manner.

The Maſter whoſe Life they had preſerved, (perhaps only for ſupplying their own Unskillfulneſs in Navigation,) adviſed them, that ſince contrary to their Expectations, they had met with no Ship between *Cape Mount*, and the *Bite* of *Calabar*, to proceed to the Iſland of St. *Thomas*'s, where they might recruit with Proviſions and Water, and ſell off the Slaves (about 70 of them) which they perceived would be a uſeleſs Lumber, and incommodious to their Deſign. They arrived there in *Auguſt* 1721, and one Evening, while Part of them were on Shore, applying for this Purpoſe to the Governor, and the other Part careleſly from the Deck, Mr. *Rowry* ſtepp'd into the Boat belonging to the Veſſel, and puſhed off, very ſuddenly: They heard the Noiſe it made, and ſoon were upon Deck again, but ha-

* Term for ſtealing of Men uſed all over the Coaſt.

ving no other Boat to purſue, nor a Muſket, ready to fire, he got ſafe on Shore, and ran to the Governor with his Complaint, who immediately impriſoned thoſe already there, and ſent a Launch off to take the reſt out of the Ship.

The *Swallow* arrived at St. *Thomas*'s the Beginning of *October* following, where, on Mr. *Rowry*'s Remonſtrance, Application was made to the *Portugueſe* Governor of that Iſland, for a Surrendery of theſe five *Engliſh* Priſoners then in the Caſtle; but he not only peremptorily excuſed himſelf from it, as a Matter out of his Power, without particular Direction from the Court of *Portugal*; but withal inſinuated, that they had only taken Refuge there from the Hardſhips and Severity they had met with from their Maſter. The manner of Denial, and the avaritious Temper of the Gentleman, which I had Occaſion to be acquainted with, makes it very ſuſpicious, that he propoſed conſiderable Gains to himſelf; for if Mr. *Rowry* had not made ſuch an Eſcape to him, the Slaves had been his for little or nothing, as a Bribe to ſilence his Suſpicions, which any Man, leſs acute than he, muſt have had from the awkward and unskilful Carriage of ſuch Merchants. But enough of this; perhaps he is not the only Governor abroad that finds an Intereſt in countenancing theſe Fellows.

An Account of the Pyracies and Murders committed by *Philip Roche*, &c.

Philip Roche was born in *Ireland*, and from his Youth had been bred up to the Sea; he was a brisk genteel Fellow, of 30 Years of Age at the Time of his Death; one whoſe black and ſavage Nature did

no

no ways anſwer the Comlineſs of his Perſon, his Life being almoſt one continued Scene of Villany, before he was diſcovered to have committed the horrid Murders we are now ſpeaking of.

This inhumane Monſter had been concerned with others, in inſuring Ships to a great Value, and then deſtroying them; by which Means, and other Rogueries, he had got a little Money; and being Mate of a Ship, was dilligent enough in trading for himſelf between *Ireland* and *France*, ſo that he was in a Way of getting himſelf a comfortable Livelihood: But, as he reſolved to be rich, and finding fair Dealing brought in Wealth but ſlowly, he contriv'd to put other Things in Execution, and certainly had murthered ſeveral innocent Perſons in the Proſecution of his abominable Schemes; but as I have now forgot the particular Circumſtances of thoſe Relations, I ſhall confine my ſelf at preſent to the Fact for which he ſuffer'd.

Roch getting acquainted with one *Neal*, a Fiſherman at *Cork*, whom he found ready for any villainous Attempt, he imparted his Deſign to him, who being pleas'd with the Project, brings one *Pierce Cullen* and his Brother into the Confederacy, together with one *Wiſe*, who at firſt was very unwilling to come into their Meaſures, and, indeed, had the leaſt Hand in the Perpetration of what follows.

They pitch'd upon a Veſſel in the Harbour, belonging to *Peter Tartoue*, a *French* Man, to execute their cruel Intentions upon, becauſe it was a ſmall one, and had not a great Number of Hands on Board, and 'twas eaſy afterwards to exchange it for one more fit for Pyracy; and therefore they apply'd themſelves to the Maſter of her, for a Paſſage to *Nantz*, whereto the Ship was bound; and accordingly, the Beginning of *November* 1721, they went aboard; and when at Sea, *Philip Roche* being an experienced Sailor, the Maſter of the Veſſel readily

truſted him with the Care of her, at times, while he and the Mate went to reſt.

The 15th of *November*, at Night, was the Time deſigned for the Tragedy; but *Francis Wife* relented, and appear'd deſirous to divert them from their bloody Purpoſes. *Roche* (ſometimes called Captain) told him, *That as* Cullen *and he had ſuſtained great Loſſes at Sea, unleſs every* Iriſhman *preſent would aſſiſt in repairing their Loſſes, by murthering all the* French *Rogues, and running away with the Ship, he ſhould ſuffer the ſame Fate with the* French *Men; but if all would aſſiſt, all ſhould have a Share in the Booty.* Upon this, they all reſolved alike, and Captain *Roche* ordered three *Frenchmen* and a Boy up to hand the Topſails, the Maſter and Mate being then aſleep in their Cabins, The two firſt that came down, they beat out their Brains and threw them over-board: The other two ſeeing what was done, ran up to the Topmaſt Head, but *Cullen* followed them, and taking the Boy by the Arm, toſt him into the Sea; then driving down the Man, thoſe below knocked him on the Head, and threw him over-board.

Thoſe who were aſleep, being awakened by the diſmal Skrieks and Groans of dying Men, ran upon Deck in Confuſion, to enquire into the Cauſe of ſuch unuſual Noiſes; but the ſame Cruelty was immediately acted towards them, e'er they could be ſenſible of the Danger that threat'ned them.

They were now (as *Roche* himſelf afterwards confeſs'd) *all over as wet with the Blood that had been ſpilt, as if they had been dipp'd in Water, or ſtood in a Shower of Rain, nor did they regard it any more.* *Roche* ſaid, Captain *Tartoue* uſed many Words for Mercy, and asked them, if he had not uſed them with Civility and Kindneſs? If they were not of the ſame Chriſtian Religion, and owned the ſame bleſſed *Jeſus*, and the like? But they, not regarding what he ſaid, took Cords and bound the poor Maſter and his Mate

Mate Back to Back, and while that was doing, both of them begged with the utmoſt Earneſtneſs, and uſed the moſt ſolemn Intreaties, that they would at leaſt allow them a few Minutes to ſay their Prayers, and beg Mercy of God for the various Sins and Offences of their Lives: But it did not move them, (though all the reſt were dead, and no Danger could be apprehended from them two alone) for the bound Perſons were hurry'd up and thrown into the Sea.

The Maſſacre being finiſhed, they waſhed themſelves a little from the Blood, and ſearched the Cheſts and Lockers, and all Places about the Ship, and then ſet down in the Captain's Cabin, and refreſhed themſelves with ſome Rum they found there, and (as *Roche* confeſſed) were never merrier in their Lives. They inveſted *Roche* with the Command of the Ship, and calling him Captain, talked over their Liquor, what rare Actions they would perform about Cape *Briton*, *Sable Iſle*, and the Banks of *Newfoundland*, whither they deſigned to go as ſoon as they had recruited their Company, and got a better Ship, which they propoſed ſpeedily to do.

Roche taking upon himſelf the Command of the Veſſel, *Andrew Cullen* was to paſs for a Merchant or Super-cargo; but when they bethought themſelves, that they were in Danger of being diſcovered by the Papers of the Ship, relating to the Cargo, as Bills of Lading, *&c.* therefore they eraſe and take out the Name of the *French* Maſter, and inſtead thereof, inſerted the Name of *Roche*, ſo that it ſtood in the Ship's Papers, *Peter Roche* Maſter; that then having ſo few Hands on Board, they contrived if they met any Ships, to give out, that they had loſt ſome Hands by their being waſhed overboard in a Storm, and by that Means ſcreen themſelves from being ſuſpected of having committed ſome ſuch wicked Act, by Reaſon of the Fewneſs of

their Hands on Board; and alſo might prevail with ſome Ship to ſpare them ſome, on Conſideration of their pretended Diſaſter.

In going to *Cales* they were in Diſtreſs by the Weather, and being near *Lisbon*, they made Complaint to a Ship, but obtained no Aſſiſtance. They were then obliged to ſail back for *England*, and put into the Port of *Dartmouth*; but then they were in fear leaſt they might be diſcovered, therefore to prevent that, they reſolve to alter the Ship, and getting Workmen, they take down the Mizzen-Maſt, and build a Spar Deck, and made Rails, (on pretence that the Sailors had been waſh'd overboard) to ſecure the Men. Then they took down the Image of St. *Peter* at the Head of the Ship, and put up a Lion in its Place, and painted over the Stern of the Ship with Red, and new nam'd her the *Mary* Snow. The Ship being thus alter'd that they thought it could not be known, they fancy'd themſelves pretty ſecure; but wanting Money to defray the Charge of theſe Alterations, *Roche*, as Maſter of the Veſſel, and *Andrew Cullen*, as Merchant, apply themſelves to the Officers of the Cuſtoms for Liberty to diſpoſe of ſome of the Cargo, in order to pay the Workmen; which they having obtained, they ſold fifty eight Barrels of Beef, and having hired three more Hands, they ſet Sail for *Oſtend*, and there having ſold more Barrels of Beef, they ſteer their Courſe to *Rotterdam*, diſpoſe of the reſt of the Cargo, and took in one Mr. *Anneſly*, who freighted the Ship for *England*; but in their Paſſage, in a ſtormy Night, it being very dark, they took up Mr. *Anneſly* their Paſſenger, and threw him into the Sea, who ſwam about the Ship a pretty while, calling out for Life, and telling them they ſhould have all his Goods, if they would receive him again into the Veſſel: But in vain were his Cries!

After

After this, they were obliged to put into ſeveral Ports, and by contrary Winds, came to the Coaſt of *France*, and hearing there was an Enquiry made after the Ship, *Roche* quits her at *Havre de Grace*, and leaves the Management to *Cullen* and the reſt; who having ſhipp'd other Men, ſail'd away to *Scotland*, and there quitted the Veſſel, which was afterwards ſeized and brought into the River of *Thames*.

Some Time after this, *Philip Roche* came to *London*, and making ſome Claim for Money, he had made Inſurance of, in the Name of *John Euſtace*, the Officer was apprized of the Fraud, and he arreſted and flung into the Compter; from whence directing a Letter to his Wife, ſhe ſhewed it to a Friend, who diſcovered by it, that he was the principal Villain concerned in the Deſtruction of *Peter Tartoue*, and the Crew. Upon this, an Information was given to my Lord *Carteret*, that the Perſon who went by the Name of *John Euſtace*, was *Philip Roche*, as aforeſaid; and being brought down by his Lordſhips Warrant, he ſtifly deny'd it for ſome Time, notwithſtanding a Letter was found in his Pocket, directed to him by the Name of *Roche*; but being confronted by a Captain of a Ship, who knew him well, he confeſſed it, but prevaricated in ſeveral Particulars; whereupon he was committed to *Newgate* upon violent Suſpicion, and the next Day was brought down again at his own Requeſt, confeſſed the whole, deſired to be made an Evidence, and promiſed to convict three Men worſe than himſelf. Two were diſcovered by him, who died miſerably in the *Marſhalſea*, and *Roche* himſelf was afterwards try'd, (no more being taken,) found Guilty of the Pyracy, and executed.

An ABSTRACT of the Civil Law and Statute Law now in Force, in Relation to PYRACY.

A Pyrate is Hostis humanis generis, *a common Enemy, with whom neither Faith nor Oath is to be kept, according to* Tully. *And by the Laws of Nature, Princes and States are responsible for their Neglect, if they do not provide Remedies for restraining these sort of Robberies. Though Pyrates are called common Enemies, yet they are properly not to be term'd so. He is only to be honour'd with that Name, says* Cicero, *who hath a Commonwealth, a Court, a Treasury, Consent and Concord of Citizens, and some Way, if Occasion be, of Peace and League: But when they have reduced themselves into a Government or State, as those of* Algier, Sally, Tripoly, Tunis, *and the like, they then are allowed the Solemnities of War, and the Rights of Legation.*

If Letters of Marque *be granted to a Merchant, and he furnishes out a Ship, with a Captain and Mariners, and they, instead of taking the Goods, or Ships of that Nation against whom their Commission is awarded, take the Ship and Goods of a Friend, this is Pyracy; and if the Ship arrive in any Part of his Majesty's Dominions, it will be seized, and for ever lost to the Owners; but they are no way liable to make Satisfaction.*

If a Ship is assaulted and taken by the Pyrates, for Redemption of which, the Master becomes a Slave to the Captors, by the Law Marine, *the Ship and Lading are tacitly obliged for his Redemption, by a general Contribution; but if it*

it happen through his own Folly, then no Contribution is to be made.

If Subjects in Enmity with the Crown of England, *are abord an* Engliſh *Pyrate, in Company with* Engliſh, *and a Robbery is committed, and they are taken; it is Felony in the* Engliſh, *but not in the Stranger; for it was no Pyracy in them, but the Depredation of an Enemy, and they will be tried by a Martial Law.*

If Pyracy is committed by Subjects in Enmity with England, *upon the* Britiſh *Seas, it is properly only puniſhable by the Crown of* England, *who have* iſtud regimen & Dominnm *excluſive of all other Power.*

If Pyracy be committed on the Ocean, and the Pyrates in the Attempt be overcome, the Captors may, without any Solemnity of Condemnation, hang them up at the Main-Yard; if they are brought to the next Port, and the Judge rejects the Tryal, or the Captors cannot wait for the Judge, without Peril or Loſs, Juſtice may be done upon them by the Captors.

If Merchandize be delivered to a Maſter, to carry to one Port, and he carries it to another, and ſells and diſpoſes of it, this is not Felony; but if, after unlading it at the firſt Port, he retakes it, it is Pyracy.

If a Pyrate attack a Ship, and the Maſter for Redemption, gives his Oath to pay a Sum of Money, tho' there be nothing taken, yet it is Pyracy by the Law Marine.

If a Ship is riding at Anchor, and the Mariners all aſhore, and a Pyrate attack her, and rob her, this is Pyracy.

If a Man commit Pyracy upon the Subjects of any Prince, or Republick, (though in Amity with us,) and brings the Goods into England, *and ſells them in a Market Overt, the ſame ſhall bind, and the Owners are for ever excluded.*

If a Pyrate enters a Port of this Kingdom, and robs a Ship at Anchor there, it is not Pyracy, becauſe not dom. ſuper altum Mare; *but is Robbery at common Law, becauſe* infra Corpus Comitatus. *A Pardon of all Felonies does not extend to Pyracy, but the ſame ought to be eſpecially named.*

By

By 28 H. 8. *Murthers and Robberies committed upon the Sea, or in other Places, where the Admiral pretends Juriſdiction, ſhall be enquired into, try'd, heard, and determined, in ſuch Places and Counties within the Realm, as ſhall be limited by the King's Commiſſion, in like Manner as if ſuch Offences were done at Land. And ſuch Commiſſions (being under the Great Seal) ſhall be directed to the Lord Admiral, his Lieutenant or Deputy, and to three or four ſuch others as the Lord Chancellor ſhall name*

The ſaid Commiſſioners, or three of them, have Power to enquire of ſuch Offences by twelve lawful Men of the County, ſo limited in their Commiſſion, as if ſuch Offences were done at Land, within the ſame County; and every Indictment ſo found and preſented, ſhall be good in Law; and ſuch Order, Progreſs, Judgment, and Execution ſhall be uſed, had, done, and made thereupon, as againſt Offenders for Murder and Felony done at Land. Alſo the Tryal of ſuch Offences (if they be denied) ſhall be had by twelve Men of the County, limited in the ſaid Commiſſion, (as aforeſaid,) and no Challenge ſhall be had for the Hundred: And ſuch as ſhall be convict of ſuch Offences, ſhall ſuffer Death without Benefit of Clergy, and forfeit Land and Goods, as in Caſe of Felonies and Murders done at Land.

This Act ſhall not prejudice any Perſon, or Perſons, (urged by Neceſſity) for taking Victuals, Cables, Ropes, Anchors or Sails, out of another Ship that may ſpare them, ſo as they either pay ready Money, or Money worth for them, or give a Bill for the Payment thereof; if on this Side the Straits of Gibraltar, *within four Months; if beyond, within twelve Months.*

When any ſuch Commiſſion ſhall be ſent to any Place within the Juriſdiction of the Cinque-Ports, *it ſhall be directed to the Warden of the ſaid Ports, or his Deputy with three or four other Perſons, as the Lord Chancellor ſhall Name; and the Inquiſition or Tryal of ſuch Offences, there, ſhall be made and had, by the Inhabitants of the ſaid Ports, and Members of the ſame.*

By

By 11 *and* 12 W. 3. c. 7. *If any natural born Subjects or Denizons of* England, *commit Pyracy, or any Act of Hostility, against his Majesty's Subjects at Sea, under Colour of a Commission or Authority, from any foreign Prince or State, or Person whatsoever, such Offenders shall be adjudged Pyrates.*

If any Commander or Master of a Ship, or Seaman or Mariner, give up his Ship, &c. *to Pyrates, or combine to yield up, or run away with any Ship, or lay violent Hand on his Commander, or endeavour to make a Revolt in the Ship, he shall be adjudged a Pyrate.*

All Persons who after the 29*th of* September 1720, *shall set forth any Pyrate (or be aiding and assisting to any such Pyrate,) committing Pyracy on Land or Sea, or shall conceal such Pyrates, or receive any Vessel or Goods pyratically taken, shall be adjudged accessary to such Pyracy, and suffer as Principals.*

By 4 G. c. 11. Sect. 7. *All Persons who have committed, or shall commit any Offences, for which they ought to be adjudged Pyrates, by the Act* 11 *and* 12 W. 3. c. 7. *may be tried for every such Offence, in such Manner as by the Act* 28 H. 8. c. 15. *is directed for the Tryal of Pyrates; and shall not have the Benefit of Clergy.*

Sect. 8. *This Act shall not extend to Persons convicted or attainted in* Scotland.

Sect. 9. *This Act shall extend to his Majesty's Dominions in* America, *and be taken as a publick Act.*

FINIS.

Next Week will be publiſhed,

NOTES on ſeveral Chyrurgical Subjects. By JOHN ATKINS, Surgeon.

N. B. One entire Chapter on the Diſtempers of *Guiney*. Printed for *T. Warner* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*.