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,

And their several CREWS.

To which is added,

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

The Fourth EDITION.

VOL. I.

By Captain CHARLES JOHNSON.

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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 Law 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 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 am 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 Livelihood 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 there 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, sometimes 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 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.*

The PREFACE.

I presume we need make no Apology for giving the Name of a History to the following Sheets, though they contain nothing 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 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

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

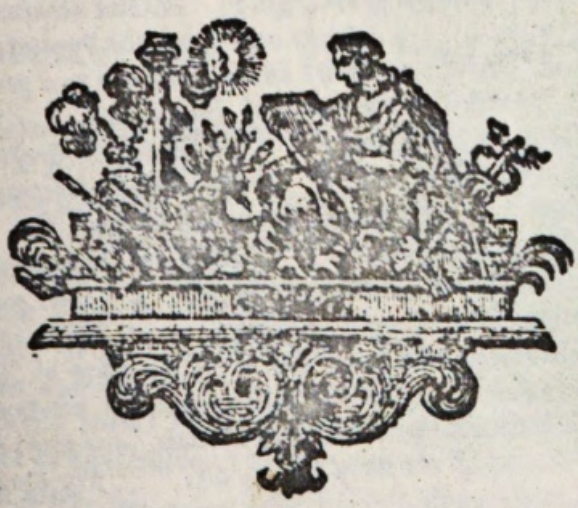
It must be noted also, that when the Masters of Ships make Discoveries this Way, they are not fond of communicating them; a Man's knowing this or that Coast, better than others, recommends him in his Business, and makes him more useful, and he'll no more discover it than a Tradesman will the Mystery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

ture of these Thing, have not been able to make the least Objection to its Credit : —— And he will be bold to affirm, that there is hardly 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.*



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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 crushed 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 *Mediterranean*, 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 Vessels, 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 *Nicodemes*, King of that Country; in his Return back by

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 threatened them with in Jest.

Cæsar went straight 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 divers Arsenals full of all Manner of warlike Stores, made commodious Harbours, set up Watch-Towers and Beacons all along the Coasts of *Cicilia*; 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 Strength; 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 hundred 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 *Corecesium* 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 theirs; 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 *Ægean 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 Vessell, 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 increas'd to a formidable Fleet; With these he performed such bold and adventurous Actions, that he became the Terror of the Seas. About this Time it happened that *Selim Eatemi*, 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 murdered *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, for several Reasons:

First, Because there are so many uninhabited little Islands and Keys, with Harbours convenient and secure for cleansing their Vessells, 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 Encouragers at *Jamaica*, and perhaps they are not all dead yet; I have been told many of 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 imputed 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 Inconveniences, perhaps a Decree is obtain'd 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 ſeiz'd 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 Recepticle; then 'twas founds 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

'A List of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employ-
'ed, and to be employed, at the *British* Govern-
'ments 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.
	6	*Swift* Sloop,	10	Now there.
		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 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 and 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 Reign.

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 Punctillio's, so that they might but 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*, *William 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 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 he 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 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 ther 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 three hundred 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 hanged 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 pull'd 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 Capt. *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 *Lanceſton* Man of War, in *May* 1722, and brought to *Jamaica*, were they were all but ſeven diſervedly hanged. It is likely the Man of War might not have meddled with her, but that ſhe blindly laid the *Lanceſton* 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 *Crean* 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 Nicholas 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 Oc- 'caſion of my ſending the Bearer Captain *Cham-* 'berlain, Commander of his Majeſty's Snow, *Happy*, 'to demand Satisfaction of you for ſo many noto- 'rious Robberies which your People have lately 'committed on the King's Subjects of this Iſland; 'particularly by thoſe Traytors, *Nicholas 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 to 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 ac- 'quaint you, and aſſure you in the King my Ma- 'ſter'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 *Cham-* 'berlain 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 *Tri-* 'nidado; 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 up- ‘ on it, thoſe that I can meet with, ſhall be eſteem- ‘ ed 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.

Gentlemen,

‘ 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 Com- ‘ pliance, I am, Gentlemen,

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

The Anſwer of the Alcaldes *of* Trinidado, *to Mr.* Law'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 'chastised 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 'preserve you. We kiss your Hand.

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

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

Gentlemen,

'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 to the Truth of the Facts I have al-'ledged in my former, I must tell you my Reso-'lutionsare, to stay on the Coast 'till I have made 'Reprizals; and should I meet any Vessels be-'longing to your Port, I should not treat them as 'the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain*, but as Py-'rates,

‘ rates, 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 Pur-
‘ poſe. 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, give 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 *Jone*'s Ship, and kept Poſſeſſion of her from the 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

all their Treasure, least his growing 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 resolved 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* (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 Coast 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 observed, 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 *Duchess*'s Long-Boat appeared, 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 ſixteen 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 weighed 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 Cabbin; 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'ere 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 you 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, ſlipp'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 led 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 believ'd 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 perceiv'd 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 to, she hoisted *Mogul*'s Colours, and seemed to stand upon her Defence; *Avery* only cannonaded 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 Noſe 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, and 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 their 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 reaſonable 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 embark'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 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 them 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 threatning 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 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 having 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 wherefoever 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 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 obſerv'd, 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's 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 the 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 a Wood, and situate 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 stuck 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 Situation they were found by Captain *Woods Rogers*, when he went to *Madagascar*, in the *Delicia*, a Ship of 40 Guns, with a Design of buying Slaves, in order to sell to the *Dutch* at *Batavia* or *New-England*: 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, 11 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 their 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 and 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 Kingdoms 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's no Opportuntty 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 in 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 Fellows*, say the *Creolcans*, *with no Advantage to themselves.*

The

The Multitude of Men and Vessels, employed 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 they get,) that when the War is over, and they can have no further 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 called 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,

called the *John* and *Martha*, Captain *Wilson*, which they attack'd 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; and the Captain advis'd *Wilson*, in a gay Humour, to tell 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, and 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*: They 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 so 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 Latitude of 18, 30, N. ten Miles 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 the 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 her, in order to Clean; where I shall leave them a while, till I bring other Company to the Place.

In the Month of *November*, 1716, General *Hamilton*, Commander in chief of all the *Leeward Carribee 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 buried 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 fired 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 can-

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 a-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 them afterwards: Captain *Hume* released the Prisoners, with the Ship and the 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 thought fit, put all the Men ashore upon the Island above-mentioned, and 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 joined; 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, at his Pleasure, in such a Ship as his, where he would not be obliged to perform the necessary Duties of a Sea Voyage.*

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 Despair, 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, threatening, 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 Pyrate 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, they 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

nions 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 Fears of her ever rising in Judgment against them.

Captain

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 he 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 revell'd 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, *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

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* Williamsburg, *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 Northen 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 called 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 Country-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 sailed from *Kicquetan*, in *James* River in *Virginia*, and, the 31st 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 *Okerecock* 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 Advice, nor was he convinced till he saw the Sloops: Then it was Time to 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 forty. 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 make. *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 ordered 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 obliged 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 fashion'd 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. *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 Shots 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 only 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 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, had he been leſs reſolute and bold than this Lieutenant. The Broadſide that did ſo much Miſchief before they boarded, in all Probability

ſaved

ſaved 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 with himſelf: 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 'tis thought with the Fright, and died in a few Days.

After the wounded Men were pretty well recovered, 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 arrived 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 was alive some Time ago 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 its 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 Heroe 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 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 ſat 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, damn'd 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 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, acquitted.

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 were paid it not till four Years afterwards. *Vide Appendix in* Vol. II.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

OF

Major *Stede Bonnet*, And his Crew.

THE Major was a Gentlemen 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 *Toung* 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, lading with Rum, Sugar, and Negroes; and the Brigantine came from *New-England*, *Thomas Porter* Master, whom they plundered, and then dismiss'd; but they sail'd 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 he happened 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 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* re-aſſumed 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 Clearance 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

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 Syder 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 entered 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 to 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 diſmiſs'd 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 careen, 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 *Swillivant*'s 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 *Berbadoes*; the other a Brigantine, Captain *Thompſon* Maſter, from *Guiney*, with ninety odd Negroes, which were 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 there surrender 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 this Advice, sailed over the Bar the 15th of *September*, with the two Sloops beforementioned; 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 Sloop aground and it being dark before they were on Float, it 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 Sloops with unwelcome News. Major *Bonnet* made Preparation 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 *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 *Bonnet*, 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, listed from Colonel *Rhet*'s, by which Means they were all covered, and the Colonel's Sloop listing 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 Whiff in their bloody Flag, and beckon'd 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, but were prevented, by his sending a Flag of Truce, and

after ſome Time capitulating, the Pyrates ſurrender'd 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 20th 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, at which two Centries were ſet every Night; but whether it was 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 Eſcapes, 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 Eſcapes. 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 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 ſhould 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 *Swillivant*'s 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 according 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 Search, 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 to 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, contined to *Wedneſday*, the 12th of *November* following, for the

the Tryal of this Crew of Pyrates taken in the Sloop formerly called *the Revenge*, but now *the Royal James*, before *Nicholas Trot*, Esq; Judge of the Vice-Admiralty, and Chief Justice of the said Province of *South-Carolina*, with 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 the 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 *Newcastle* 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 *Glasgow*, Mariner.

George Dunkin, late of *Glasgow*, 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 second 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 feloniously 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 Latitude 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 feloniously 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 feloniously 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 Latitude of* 39, *or thereabouts, as aforesaid, and within the Jurisdiction aforesaid; pyratically, and feloniously, did steal, take,*

take, and carry away all 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 Indictment 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 arraign'd, 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 occaſion'd 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 them 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 Justice'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 Authority

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 impower'd 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*, confirm'd 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*

rance 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 *Deviation* from the *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 her Paths are Peace*, Prov. 3. 17.

But what you could not learn from God's Word, by Reason of your *carelesly*, 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*, Mat. 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 Coun-

sel

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*.

As ſoon 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 Boards, 3 of which turned Pyrates.

The *Sarah*, Captain *Stunt*, 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 named *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 the Coast; and the *Flying King*, giving herself over for lost, ran ashore: There were then 70 Men on Board, 12 of which were killed, 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 Latitude, 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*, and *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.

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 Letter

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* Guiney *Coast to the* East-Indies, *had been bulged and lost. They said they left the Captain and forty of their Men building a new Vessel to proceed on their wicked Design. Captain* 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 a-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 Captain* 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* Ostender *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 Captain* 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* Ostender *basely deserted us, and left us engaged with barbarous and inhuman Enemies,*

with their back 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 engag'd them 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 a-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 Captain* 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, 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*

ashoar

ashoar by Seven a-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. 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 Coasts 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 to; 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 twenty 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 provok'd 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 happened 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 Refreſhment, by *French* Ships bound to, or from *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 the 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 Scurrility, 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, and then tortur'd them, and rifled 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 aud 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 ſqueez'd 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 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 having 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 Crabs Sight of them, and was but just Time enough to get under *India 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 said he thought was collusive, 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 they should be the last Men 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 *Canwar*'s 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, and 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 behind: 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 at *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!*

But 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 und 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, but commanded up both by the Captain and Quarter-Maſter 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 Privilege 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, it is 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 Governor's 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 in 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 inconſiderate 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* lying 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 lies 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 *Offender* 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 *Judda* 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 contained several other Things which we have before related.—— Commadore *Matthews*, upon receiving this Intelligence, and being fond of the Service he came out for, hasten'd to those Islands, as the most hopeful Places of Success; at St. *Mary*'s he 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 *Monomopota*, 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 ſurpriz'd with a few Shot from the Shore, not knowing of any Fortification or *European* Settlement then in that Place; however they anchor'd 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 them for Proviſions, at the Rate of 3 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 not 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 attack'd 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 with-held. 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 had the like Opportunities. 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 whatever 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 were 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. The Ship 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 Brigantine

Brigantine aboard of *Yeats*'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 him 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 Probality, 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 failed 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 Deel* 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 Streghts, 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 for 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*, ſhew'd 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 Acquaintaince 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 *Bermudas*, 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 ſail'd 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 were making ready to put to 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 Morni g.

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 Cutlasses, 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 as soon 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 Fool's, 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 halled 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 Canoe 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 Fetherſtone* 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 Cap-

'tain

'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 'together.

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 'toward them, upon which they took their Arms, 'and hid themſelves in the Buſhes: That one of 'them hail'd the Sloop, who anſwered, *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

lony 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 belong'd 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.

The

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 Bonney*, 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 Grand-mother ſhould allow a Crown a Week for its Maintainance.

Thus the Mother gained her Point, ſhe bred up her Daughter as 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, ceas'd, 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 enter'd herſelf on Board a Man of War, where ſhe ſerved ſome Time, then quitted it, went over into *Flanders*, and carried Arms in a Regiment

ment 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 order'd 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 Wish 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, quartered 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 happened 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 published 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 *Wood 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 sail'd with her, deposed upon Oath, that in Times of Action, no Person amongst them was more resolute, or ready to board or undertake any Thing that was hazardous, than she and *Anne Bonney*; 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 Bonney* 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 Bonney*, that he grew furiouſly jealous, ſo that he told *Anne Bonney*, 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 whenever 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 engaging 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 nor 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 herself 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 ceas'd 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 Cowardice; 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 quarrelling 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 Obligation, his Inclination towards her was ſufficient; in fine, they plighted 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 Livelihood.

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

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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 Bonney* 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 employed 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 stiffly 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 lie 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 happen'd, at this Time, that the Miſtreſs being perfectly recovered of her late Indiſpoſition, was returned 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 happen'd, but now ſhe had got the 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 lie there herſelf that Night, becauſe her Mother in-Law was to lie in her Bed, and that ſhe (the Maid) muſt lie 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 ſpoiled 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 catched in that Room; in the mean Time, the Revenge of the Miſtreſs was ſtrongly againſt the Maid, and without conſidering, that to her ſhe owed 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 paſs'd, 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 increaſing,

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 Friend 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 he 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 die, 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 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 spoil'd all, for without his Consent, she marries a young Fellow, who belong'd to the Sea, and was not worth a Groat; which provoked her Father to such a Degree, that he turn'd 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 surrender'd; afterwards being sent upon the privateering Account, he return'd 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 courageous 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. VIII.

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 *Sierreleon* 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 solicited 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 bid 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, rose 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 *Mumvile* 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 Exigences; 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, thay 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 Number; 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 ashoar, 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 the Hurry, run into the Governor's Houſe to ſave themſelves, which they barricadoed ſo ſtrong 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 moor'd, 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, clap'd 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

put 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 Anchors 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 desirous 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 held each other in Play for several Hours, when the two confederate Ships were come up to the Assistance of the Brigantine; those who defended

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 quarell'd, but *Davis* put an End to it, by this short Speech: —— *Heark ye, you* Cocklyn *and* La Bouse, *I find by strengthening you, I have put a Rod into your Hands to whip my self, but I am 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

and a 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 to 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 by 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 Leiſure 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 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 af-

fected

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 follow'd 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 *Guincy*, 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 coveniently 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 coarse 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 Situation, 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 thoughtful Disposition of the *Portuguese*, an Improvement to 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 Current 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 above-mention'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, slow 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,

ſoutherly 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, which are Southerly in the Rains, Turnadoes, and even of the Trade Wind, when a-breaſt of Cape *Palma*, 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, owing 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 are 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 he frequently approaches the Air, to ventilate, and thereby cauſe a more regular Circulation of the Blood:

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 Bigneſs 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 as the others.

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 aforementioned 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 Places, 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 Wiers 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*, *Kulula*, *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. *Thomæ*.

I shall run on 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 straigt 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 *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 dyed 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-

bling 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 skin it off in great Quantities; underneath, where the Branches fasten, they tap for Wine, called *Cokra*, in this Manner; the Negroes who are mostly limber active Fellows, encompass themselves and the Trees with a Hoop of strong Wyth, 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 *pleasantst to Thirst and Hunger both*: It is from these Wines they draw their Arrack 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 is 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 Taste, with a due Mixture of Butter and Limes.

Guava's, a Fruit as large as a Pipin, with Seeds and Stones in it, of an uncouth astringing Taste; tho' never so much be said in Commendation of it, at the *West-Indies*, it is common for *Creolians*, (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 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, and keep it 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 of 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 affirmed 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 vigorous, 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 extremely 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*. Similiar 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, Self-denial; 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 Vegetable, 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 prefer 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

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 woſully; 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

their Lusts; and perhaps they substitute the former in the Place 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. *Thomæ*, 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 entituled 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 at 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 *Portugueze* 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 Pinnance, 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