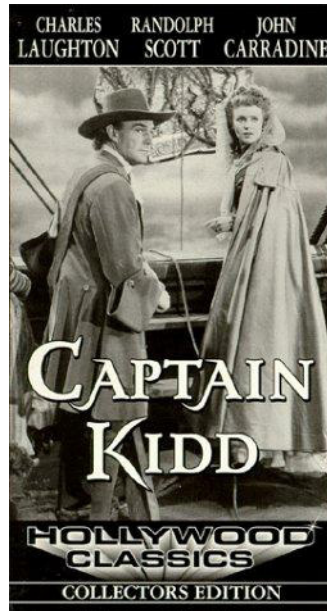


“KIDD’S MEN”¹



[Henry David Thoreau](#) would make reference to “The Ballad Song of Captain Kid” in [WALDEN](#):

[WALDEN](#): It was very pleasant, when I staid late in town, to launch myself into the night, especially if it was dark and tempestuous, and set sail from some bright village parlor or lecture room, with a bag of rye or Indian meal upon my shoulder, for my snug harbor in the woods, having made all tight without and withdrawn under hatches with a merry crew of thoughts, leaving only my outer man at the helm, or even tying up the helm when it was plain sailing. I had many a genial thought by the cabin fire “as I sailed.” I was never cast away nor distressed in any weather, though I encountered some severe storms.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

CAPTAIN WILLIAM KIDD

Let us therefore explore this Kidd “as I sailed” ballad, as it appears on the following screen, in the context of William Kidd’s life –and also, for thoroughness, let us consider the famous hanged Captain’s life in the context of the generality of piracy and privateering:

1. As a euphemism, all [pirates](#) were known in New England as “Kidd’s Men.” I have heard a remark, that the most persistent Massachusetts pirate legend had to do with a Palmer and a Warren in the vicinity of Springfield — but as yet I have not been able to turn up any version of such a legend.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

The Ballad Song of Captain Kid

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
My name is Captain Kid,
And so wickedly I did,
God's laws I did forbid
When I sail'd, when I sail'd

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
I roam'd from sound to sound,
And many a ship I found,
And them I sunk or burn'd
When I sail'd, when I sail'd.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
I murdered William Moore,
And laid him in his gore,
Not many leagues from shore,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
Farewell to young and old,
All jolly seamen bold;
You're welcome to my gold,
For I must die, I must die.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
Farewell to Lunnon town,
The pretty girls all round;
No pardon can be found,
And I must die, I must die.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
Farewell, for I must die
Then to eternity,
In hideous misery,
I must lie, I must lie.

Otherwise:

My name is William Kidd, as I sailed, as I sailed
My name is William Kidd, as I sailed
My name is William Kidd, God's laws I did forbid
And most wickedly I did, as I sailed, as I sailed

Oh, my parents taught me well, as I sailed, as I sailed
My parents taught me well, as I sailed
My parents taught me well to shun the gates of Hell
But against them I rebelled, as I sailed, as I sailed

Oh, I murdered William Moore, as I sailed, as I sailed
I murdered William Moore, as I sailed
I murdered William Moore and I left him in his gore
Many leagues from shore, as I sailed, as I sailed

Oh, I steered from sound to sound, as I sailed, as I sailed
Oh I steered from sound to sound, as I sailed
I steered from sound to sound, and many ships I found
And all of them I burned as I sailed, as I sailed

And being cruel still, as I sailed, as I sailed
And being cruel still, as I sailed
And being cruel still my gunner I did kill



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And his precious blood did spill, as I sailed, as I sailed

I was sick and nigh to death, as I sailed, as I sailed
I was sick and nigh to death, as I sailed
I was sick and nigh to death and I vowed with every breath
To walk in wisdom's ways when I sailed, when I sailed

My repentance lasted not, as I sailed, as I sailed
My repentance lasted not, as I sailed
My repentance lasted not, my vows I soon forgot
Damnation was my lot, as I sailed, as I sailed

To execution dock I must go, I must go
To execution dock I must go
To execution dock, while many thousands flock
But I must bear the shock and must die, and must die,

Take a warning now by me, for I must die, for I must die,
Take a warning now by me for I must die
Take a warning now by me and shun bad company,
Lest you come to hell with me, for I must die, I must die.

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*CAPTAIN KID'S FAREWEL TO THE SEAS; OR,
THE FAMOUS PIRATE'S LAMENT.*

- My name is Captain Kid, who has sail'd [who has sail'd],
My name is Captain Kid, who has sail'd ;
My name is Captain Kid.
What the laws did still forbid
Unluckily I did while I sail'd [while I sailed, etc.].
- Upon the ocean wide, when I sail'd, etc.,
Upon the ocean wide, when I sail'd,
Upon the ocean wide
I robbed on every side,
With most ambitious pride, when I sail'd.
- My faults I will display while I sail'd, etc.,
My faults I will display while I sail'd ;
My faults I will display,
Committed day by day
[A line lost.]
- Many long leagues from shore when I sail'd, etc.,
Many long leagues from shore when I sail'd,
Many long leagues from shore
I murdered William More,
And laid him in his gore, when I sail'd,
- Because a word he spoke when I sail'd, etc.,
Because a word he spoke when I sail'd,
Because a word he spoke :
I with a bucket broke
His scull at one sad stroke, while I sail'd.
- I struck with a good will when I sail'd, etc.,
I struck with a good will when I sail'd ;
I struck with a good will,
And did a gunner kill
As being cruel still when I sail'd.
- A Quida merchant then while I sail'd, etc.,
A Quida merchant then while I sail'd,
A Quida merchant then
I robbed of hundreds ten,
Assisted by my men, while I sailed.
- A banker's ship of France, while I sailed, etc.,
A banker's ship of France, while I sailed,
A banker's ship of France
Before us did advance :
I seized her by chance, while I sailed.
- Full fourteen ships I see when I sailed, etc.,
Full fourteen ships I see when I sailed ;
Full fourteen ships I see,
Merchants of high degree ;
They were too hard for me when I sailed.
- We steered from sound to sound while we sailed,
We steered from sound to sound while we sailed ;
We steered from sound to sound,
A Moorish ship we found ;
Her men we stript and bound while we sailed.
- Upon the ocean seas while we sailed, etc.,
Upon the ocean seas while we sailed,
Upon the ocean seas
A warlike Portuguese
In sport did us displease, while we sailed.
- At famous Malabar when we sailed, etc.,
At famous Malabar when we sailed,
At famous Malabar
We went ashore, each tar,
And robbed the natives there, when we sailed.
- Then after this we chased, while we sailed,
Then after this we chased, while we sailed,
Then after this we chased
A rich Armenian, graced
With wealth, which we embraced, while we sailed.
- Many Moorish ships we took while we sailed,
Many Moorish ships we took while we sailed,
Many Moorish ships we took ;
We did still for plunder look ;
All conscience we forsook while we sailed.
- I, Captain Cullifoord, while I sailed, etc.,
I, Captain Cullifoord, while I sailed,
I, Captain Cullifoord,
Did many merchants board,
Which did much wealth afford, while we sailed.
- Two hundred bars of gold, while we sail'd, etc.,
Two hundred bars of gold, while we sailed,
Two hundred bars of gold
And six dollars manifold
We seized uncontrolled, while we sailed.
- St. John*, a ship of fame, when we sailed, etc.,
St. John, a ship of fame, when we sailed,
St. John, a ship of fame,
We plundered when she came,
With more that I could name, when we sailed.
- We taken was at last, and must die, etc.,
We taken was at last, and must die ;
We taken were at last,
And into prison cast :
Now, sentence being past, we must die.
- Tho' we have reigned awhile we must die, etc.,
Tho' we have reigned awhile we must die ;
Tho' we have reigned awhile,
While fortune seemed to smile,
Now on the British Isle we must die.
- Farewel the ocean main, we must die, etc.,
Farewel the ocean main, we must die ;
Farewel the ocean main :
The coast of France or Spain
We ne'er shall see again ; we must die.
- From Newgate now in carts we must go, etc.,
[From Newgate now in carts we must goe ;]
From Newgate now in carts,
With sad and heavy hearts,
To have our due deserts we must go.
- Some thousands they will flock when we die,
Some thousands they will flock when we die,
Some thousands they will flock
To Execution Dock,
Where we must stand the shock and must die.
To the Tune of *Coming down*.



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555 CE

St. Hélier, a holy isolate on a lonely rock in [Jersey](#)'s St. Aubin's Bay, was offed by some [pirates](#).



826 CE

In this year and the following one, Ummayyad Arab pirates out of Spain were subjugating Crete and transforming the island into their [pirate](#) stronghold of the eastern Mediterranean.

- 640 Alexandria in Egypt is taken by the Saracens, and the grand library there burnt by order of Omar, their caliph or prince.
- 653 The Saracens now extend their conquests on every side, and retaliate the barbarities of the Goths and Vandals upon their posterity.
- 664 Glass invented in England by Benalt, a monk.
- 685 The Britons after a brave struggle of near 150 years, are totally expelled by the Saxons, and driven into Wales and Cornwall.
- 713 The Saracens conquer Spain.
- 726 The controversy about images begins, and occasions many insurrections in the eastern empire.
- 748 The computing of years from the birth of Christ began to be used in history.
- 749 The race of Abbas became caliphs of the Saracens, and encourage learning.
- 762 The city of Bagdad upon the Tigris is made the capital for the caliphs of the house of Abbas.
- 800 Charlemagne, king of France, begins the empire of Germany, afterwards called the western empire; gives the present names to the winds and months; endeavours to restore learning in Europe; but mankind are not yet disposed for it, being solely engrossed in military enterprises.
- 826 Harold, king of Denmark, dethroned by his subjects, for being a Christian.
- 828 Egbert, king of Wessex, unites the Heptarchy, by the name of England.
- 836 The Flemings trade to Scotland for fish.
- 838 The Scots and Picts have a decisive battle, in which the former prevail, and both kingdoms are united by Kenneth, which begins the second period of Scottish history.
- 867 The Danes begin their ravages in England.
- 896 Alfred the Great, after subduing the Danish invaders (against whom he fought 56 battles by sea and land), composes his body of laws; divides England into counties, hundreds, and tithings; erects county courts, and founds the university of Oxford about this time.
- 915 The university of Cambridge founded.
- 936 The Saracen empire is divided by usurpation into seven kingdoms.
- 975 Pope Boniface VII. is deposed and banished for his crimes.
- 979 Coronation oaths said to be first used in England.
- 991 The figures in arithmetic are brought into Europe by the Saracens from Arabia. Letters of the alphabet were hitherto used.
- 996 Otho III. makes the empire of Germany elective.
- 999 Boleslaus, the first king of Poland.

YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION.



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**WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS, LIKE MERE “SCIENCE FICTION,” MERELY TO “HISTORY FICTION”:
IT’S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.**

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1406

March 22, Monday (1405, Old Style): The vessel bound for France that had Prince [James Stewart](#) aboard, the *Maryenknyght* out of Danzig, was taken by English [pirates](#) off Flamborough Head. They would deliver their prize teenager to King Henry IV of England. The father, Robert III, was at Rothesay Castle when he learned of his son's capture.



HENRY IV (Reigned 1399-1413. From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery). A far-sighted young man, Henry Bolingbroke spent his youth making himself popular in England and abroad. At the right moment he deposed his unlucky cousin, Richard II, and made himself King. The new monarch quickly learned how "uneasy lies the head that wears the crown"; his brief reign was largely taken up with maintaining his position against frequent rebellions. As a youth Bolingbroke was attractive; physically imposing, though his health was poor; rather reserved, but courteous; on occasion very witty; virtuous at a time of much depravity. In later life he suffered from disease, and died at the age of forty-five. (No. 13.)

HENRY V (Reigned 1413-22. From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery). Henry's youth was merry, but on succeeding his father he devoted his whole attention to government. He conciliated the clergy by repressing heresy, gave Parliament more power in return for money, and pleased the nobles by invading France, "in pursuit of honour." Inspired by the King's leadership, the "little band of brothers" defeated a huge French army at Agincourt. On a second expedition Henry captured Rouen, was recognized as the next King of France and married Princess Katherine. Two years later he was dead. By his contemporaries Henry was regarded as an ideal king—brave, cheerful, considerate and modest. (No. 14.)

HENRY VI (Reigned 1422-63. From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery). Fate cast this son of the warrior Henry V into a sea of troubles. The war party in England was strong and the impossible attempt to hold his father's conquests in France continued. The House of York challenged Henry VI's right to the throne, and England was plunged into civil war. Frequently a fugitive, sometimes a prisoner, at least a puppet of Warwick "the King maker," the half-crazy King, crossed by religious exercises, patiently submitted to the grossest indignities, culminating in his murder in the Tower. Eton and King's College, Cambridge still revere their founder's "holy shade." (No. 15.)

SCOTLAND

THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN



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SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.

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THE DANISH AND NORMAN PIRATES²



The Saxons, a people supposed to be derived from the Cimbri, uniting the occupations of fishing and piracy, commenced at an early period their ravages in the German Ocean; and the shores of Gaul and Britain were for ages open to their depredations. About the middle of the fifth century, the unwarlike Vortigern, then king of Britain, embraced the fatal resolution of requesting these hardy warriors to deliver him from the harassing inroads of the Picts and Scots; and the expedition of Hengist and Horsa was the consequence. Our mention of this memorable epoch is not for its political importance, great as that is, but for its effects on piracy; for the success attending such enterprises seems to have turned the whole of the northern nations towards sea warfare. The Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, from their superior knowledge of navigation, gave into it most; and on whatever coast the winds carried them, they made free with all that came in their way. Canute the Fourth endeavored in vain to repress these lawless disorders among his subjects; but they felt so galled by his restrictions, that they assassinated him. On the king of Sweden being taken by the Danes,

2. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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permission was given to such of his subjects as chose, to arm themselves against the enemy, pillage his possessions, and sell their prizes at Ribnitz and Golnitz. This proved a fertile nursery of pirates, who became so formidable under the name of "Victalien Broders," that several princes were obliged to arm against them, and hang some of their chiefs.

Even the females of the North caught the epidemic spirit, and proudly betook themselves to the dangers of sea-life. Saxo-Grammaticus relates an interesting story of one of them. Alwilda, the daughter of Synardus, a Gothic king, to deliver herself from the violence imposed on her inclination, by a marriage with Alf, the son of Sygarus, king of Denmark, embraced the life of a rover; and attired as a man, she embarked in a vessel of which the crew was composed of other young women of tried courage, dressed in the same manner. Among the first of her cruises, she landed at a place where a company of pirates were bewailing the loss of their commander; and the strangers were so captivated with the air and agreeable manners of Alwilda, that they unanimously chose her for their leader. By this reinforcement she became so formidable, that Prince Alf was despatched to engage her. She sustained his attacks with great courage and talent; but during a severe action in the gulf of Finland, Alf boarded her vessel, and having killed the greatest part of her crew, seized the captain, namely herself; whom nevertheless he knew not, because she had a casque which covered her visage. The prince was agreeably surprised, on removing the helmet, to recognize his beloved Alwilda; and it seems that his valor had now recommended him to the fair princess, for he persuaded her to accept his hand, married her on board, and then led her to partake of his wealth, and share his throne.

Charlemagne, though represented as naturally generous and humane, had been induced, in his extravagant zeal for the propagation of those tenets which he had himself adopted, to enforce them throughout Germany at the point of the sword; and his murders and decimations on that account disgrace humanity. The more warlike of the Pagans flying into Jutland, from whence the Saxons had issued forth, were received with kindness, and furnished with the means of punishing their persecutor, by harassing his coasts. The maritime towns of France were especially ravaged by those pirates called "Normands," or men of the North; and it was owing to their being joined by many malcontents, in the provinces since called Normandy, that that district acquired its name. Charlemagne, roused by this effrontery, besides fortifying the mouths of the great rivers, determined on building himself a fleet, which he did, consisting of 400 of the largest galleys then known, some having five or six benches of oars. His people were, however, extremely ignorant of maritime affairs, and in the progress of having them taught, he was suddenly called to the south, by the invasion of the Saracens.

Another division of Normans, some years afterwards, in the same spirit of emigration, and thirsting, perhaps, to avenge their injured ancestors, burst into the provinces of France, which the degeneracy of Charlemagne's posterity, and the dissensions which prevailed there, rendered an affair of no great difficulty. Louis le Debonnaire had taken every means of keeping on good terms with them; annually persuading some to become Christians, and then sending them home so loaded with presents, that it was

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discovered they came to be baptized over and over again, merely for the sake of the gifts, as Du Chesne tells us. But on the subsequent division of the empire among the undutiful sons of Louis, the pirates did not fail to take advantage of the general confusion; braving the sea almost every summer in their light coracles, sailing up the Seine, the Somme, or the Loire, and devastating the best parts of France, almost without resistance. In 845, they went up to Paris, pillaged it, and were on the point of attacking the royal camp at St. Dennis; but receiving a large sum of money from Charles the Bald, they retreated from thence, and with the new means thus supplied them, ravaged Bordeaux, and were there joined by Pepin, king of Aquitaine. A few years afterwards, they returned in great numbers. Paris was again sacked, and the magnificent abbey of St. Germain des Prés burnt. In 861, Wailand, a famous Norman pirate, returning from England, took up his winter quarters on the banks of the Loire, devastated the country as high as Tourraine, shared the women and girls among his crews, and even carried off the male children, to be brought up in his own profession. Charles the Bald, not having the power to expel him, engaged the freebooter, for 500 pounds of silver, to dislodge his countrymen, who were harassing the vicinity of Paris. In consequence of this subsidy, Wailand, with a fleet of 260 sail, went up the Seine, and attacked the Normans in the isle of Oiselle: after a long and obstinate resistance, they were obliged to capitulate; and having paid 6000 pounds of gold and silver, by way of ransom, had leave to join their victors. The riches thus acquired rendered a predatory life so popular, that the pirates were continually increasing in number, so that under a "sea-king" called Eric, they made a descent in the Elbe and the Weser, pillaged Hamburg, penetrated far into Germany, and after gaining two battles, retreated with immense booty. The pirates, thus reinforced on all sides, long continued to devastate Germany, France, and England; some penetrated into Andalusia and Hetruria, where they destroyed the flourishing town of Luni; whilst others, descending the Dnieper, penetrated even into Russia.

Meanwhile the Danes had been making several attempts to effect a *lodgment* in England; and allured by its fertility, were induced to try their fortune in various expeditions, which were occasionally completely successful, and at other times most fatally disastrous. At length, after a struggle of several years, their success was so decided, that king Alfred was obliged for a time to abandon his kingdom, as we all know, to their ravages. They immediately passed over to Ireland, and divided it into three sovereignties; that of Dublin fell to the share of Olauf; that of Waterford to Sitrih; and that of Limerick to Yivar. These arrangements dispersed the forces of the enemy, and watching his opportunity, Alfred issued from his retreat, fell on them like a thunderbolt, and made a great carnage of them. This prince, too wise to exterminate the pirates after he had conquered them, sent them to settle Northumberland, which had been wasted by their countrymen, and by this humane policy gained their attachment and services. He then retook London, embellished it, equipped fleets, restrained the Danes in England, and prevented others from landing. In the twelve years of peace which followed his fifty-six battles, this great man composed his body of laws; divided England into counties, hundreds, and tithings, and founded the University of Oxford.

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But after Alfred's death, fresh swarms of pirates visited the shores, among the most formidable of whom were the Danes, who spread desolation and misery along the banks of the Thames, the Medway, the Severn, the Tamar, and the Avon, for more than a century, though repeatedly tempted to desist by weighty bribes, raised by an oppressive and humiliating tax called *Danegelt*, from its object; and which, like most others, were continued long after it had answered its intent.

About the end of the 9th century, one of the sons of Rogwald, count of the Orcades, named Horolf, or Rollo, having infested the coasts of Norway with piratical descents, was at length defeated and banished by Harold, king of Denmark. He fled for safety to the Scandinavian island of Soderoe, where finding many outlaws and discontented fugitives, he addressed their passions, and succeeded in placing himself at their head. Instead of measuring his sword with his sovereign again, he adopted the wiser policy of imitating his countrymen, in making his fortune by plundering the more opulent places of southern Europe. The first attempt of this powerful gang was upon England, where, finding Alfred too powerful to be coped with, he stood over to the mouth of the Seine, and availed himself of the state to which France was reduced. Horolf, however, did not limit his ambition to the acquisition of booty; he wished permanently to enjoy some of the fine countries he was ravaging, and after many treaties made and broken, received the duchy of Normandy from the lands of Charles the Simple, as a fief, together with Gisla, the daughter of the French monarch, in marriage. Thus did a mere pirate found the family which in a few years gave sovereigns to England, Naples, and Sicily, and spread the fame of their talents and prowess throughout the world.

Nor was Europe open to the depredations of the northern pirates only. Some Asiatic moslems, having seized on Syria, immediately invaded Africa, and their subsequent conquests in Spain facilitated their irruption into France, where they pillaged the devoted country, with but few substantial checks. Masters of all the islands in the Mediterranean, their corsairs insulted the coasts of Italy, and even threatened the destruction of the Eastern empire. While Alexis was occupied in a war with Patzinaces, on the banks of the Danube, Zachas, a Saracen pirate, scoured the Archipelago, having, with the assistance of an able Smyrniote, constructed a flotilla of forty brigantines, and some light fast-rowing boats, manned by adventurers like himself. After taking several of the surrounding islands, he established himself sovereign of Smyrna, that place being about the centre of his newly-acquired dominions. Here his fortunes prospered for a time, and Soliman, sultan of Nicea, son of the grand Soliman, sought his alliance, and married his daughter, about AD. 1093. But in the following year, young Soliman being persuaded that his father-in-law had an eye to his possessions, with his own hand stabbed Zachas to the heart. The success of this freebooter shows that the Eastern emperors could no longer protect, or even assist, their islands.

Maritime pursuits had now revived, the improvement of nautical science was progressing rapidly, and the advantages of predatory expeditions, especially when assisted and masked by commerce, led people of family and acquirements to embrace the profession. The foremost of these were the Venetians and Genoese, among whom the private adventurers, stimulated by an enterprising spirit,

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fitted out armaments, and volunteered themselves into the service of those nations who thought proper to retain them; or they engaged in such schemes of plunder as were likely to repay their pains and expense. About the same time, the Roxolani or Russians, became known in history, making their debut in the character of pirates, ravenous for booty, and hungry for the pillage of Constantinople – a longing which 900 years have not yet satisfied. Pouring hundreds of boats down the Borysthenes, the Russian marauders made four desperate attempts to plunder the city of the Caesars, in less than two centuries, and appear only to have been repulsed by the dreadful effects of the celebrated Greek fire.

England, in the mean time, had little to do with piracy; nor had she any thing worthy the name of a navy; yet Coeur de Lion had given maritime laws to Europe; her seamen, in point of skill, were esteemed superior to their contemporaries; and King John enacted that those foreign ships which refused to lower their flags to that of Britain should, if taken, be deemed lawful prizes. Under Henry III., though Hugh de Burgh, the governor of Dover Castle, had defeated a French fleet by casting lime into the eyes of his antagonists, the naval force was impaired to such a degree that the Normans and Bretons were too powerful for the Cinque Ports, and compelled them to seek relief from the other ports of the kingdom. The taste for depredation had become so general and contagious, that privateers were now allowed to be fitted out, which equipments quickly degenerated to the most cruel of pirates. Nay more: on the disputes which took place between Henry and his Barons, in 1244, the Cinque Ports, who had shown much indifference to the royal requisitions, openly espoused the cause of the revolted nobles; and, under the orders of Simon de Montfort, burnt Portsmouth. From this, forgetful of their motives for arming, they proceeded to commit various acts of piracy, and considering nothing but their private interests, extended their violence not only against the shipping of all countries unfortunate enough to fall in their way, but even to perpetrate the most unwarrantable ravages on the property of their own countrymen. Nor was this confined to the Cinque Port vessels only; the example and the profits were too stimulating to the restless; and one daring association on the coast of Lincolnshire seized the Isle of Ely, and made it their receptacle for the plunder of all the adjacent countries. One William Marshall fortified the little island of Lundy, in the mouth of the Severn, and did so much mischief by his piracies, that at length it became necessary to fit out a squadron to reduce him, which was accordingly done, and he was executed in London; yet the example did not deter other persons from similar practices. The sovereign, however, did not possess sufficient naval means to suppress the enormities of the great predatory squadrons, and their ravages continued to disgrace the English name for upwards of twenty years, when the valor and conciliation of the gallant Prince Edward brought them to that submission which his royal parent had failed in procuring.

Those "harum-scarum" expeditions, the Crusades, were perhaps influential in checking piracy, although the rabble that composed the majority of them had as little principle as the worst of the freebooters. From the time that Peter the Hermit set Europe in a blaze, all ranks, and all nations, streamed to the East, so that few vessels were otherwise employed than in



PIRACY

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conveying the motly groups who sought the shores of Palestine; some from religious zeal; some from frantic fanaticism; some from desire of distinction; some for the numberless privileges which the crusaders acquired; and the rest and greater portion, for the spoil and plunder of which they had a prospect. The armaments, fitted in no fewer than nine successive efforts, were mostly equipped with such haste and ignorance, and with so little choice, that ruinous delays, shipwrecks, and final discomfiture, were naturally to be expected. Still, the effect of such incredible numbers of people betaking themselves to foreign countries, advanced civilization, although vast means of forwarding its cause were buried in the East; and those who assert that no benefit actually resulted, cannot deny that at least some evils were thereby removed. Montesquieu says, that Europe then required a general shock, to teach her, but the sight of contrasts, the theorems of public economy most conducive to happiness. And it is evident, that notwithstanding these follies wasted the population of Europe, squandered its treasures, and infected us with new vices and diseases, still the crusades diminished the bondage of the feudal system, by augmenting the power of the King, and the strength of the Commons; while they also occasioned a very increased activity in commerce: thus taming the ferocity of men's spirits, increasing agriculture in value from the safety it enjoyed, and establishing a base for permanent prosperity.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1470

Portuguese navigators ventured as far as the “Gold Coast” of west Africa.³



They began to suspect that Africa was circumnavigable rather than being an impassable barrier.

The family of [Christopher Columbus](#) moved to Savona. He would go to sea as a [pirate](#) or [privateer](#), helping to prey on Moorish shipping.

The French introduced trunnions that allowed lightweight cannon to be suspended in wheeled carriages, for ready transport about the battlefield.

The Japanese began to create large armies of conscript light infantry known as ashigaru, “light feet.” The training of such ashigaru was less thorough than that of provincial samurai, but they needed large quantities of inexpensive weapons and helmets — which would involve the development of techniques of mass production.

3. For this and other such maps: <http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/search.html>



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1538

French [pirates](#), assisted by local [slaves](#), burned [Havana](#).

**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1554

Peg-Leg Leclerc, a French pirate, attacked the capital city of Santiago de Cuba



NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE





PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1555

Another French [pirate](#), Jacques de Sores (this one a Lutheran), plundered the city of [Hayana](#).

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1575

Miguel de Cervantes was captured by pirates and taken to Algeria as a slave (after a series of unsuccessful escape attempts he would in 1580, at the age of 33, be ransomed by the Trinitarian friar Juan Gil).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Abraham Ortelius was appointed geographer to King Philip II of Spain, with Arias Montanus vouching for both his expertise and his Catholic orthodoxy.



GEOGRAPHER



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1576

During this year and the next, [Francis Drake](#) would be coasting north to approximately 48° north latitude in the Pacific Ocean. He may have sighted Vancouver Island.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a favorite of [Queen Elizabeth](#), published DISCOURSE to suggest a passage by the northwest to [Cathay](#) and the East Indies. Such ideas got the Queen's support. She got the court to back a voyage by Martin Frobisher. (An infamous [pirate](#) and privateer, Frobisher was turning to exploring after having committed the understandable lapse in judgment of taking an English ship as booty in the name of the Queen.) Frobisher would reach Baffin Island and return with some rocks he supposed inaccurately to contain an ore of gold. With three small ships he would continue mapping the south-east coast of Baffin Island that now bears his name, Frobisher Bay, in search for the hoped-for "Northwest Passage" into the Pacific Ocean.

CARTOGRAPHY

THE FROZEN NORTH

Chronological observations of America

Sir Humphrey Gilbert a Devonshire Knight attempted to discover Virginia, but without success.

Sir Martin Frobisher's third voyage to Meta incognita. Freeze-land now called West-England, 25 leagues in length, in the latitude of 57.

Sir Francis Drake now passed the Streights of Magellan in the Ship called the Pelican.

BY *John Josselyn Gent.*

From the year of the World

to the year of Christ 1673.

His "colorful" exchanges with the Eskimo natives showed him to be a formidable opponent and warrior, and he would die accordingly, mortally wounded in 1594 in sea battle against the Spanish Armada.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

WALDEN: What does Africa, -what does the West stand for? Is not our own interior white on the chart? black though it may prove, like the coast, when discovered. Is it the source of the Nile, or the Niger, or the Mississippi, or a North-West Passage around this continent, that we would find? Are these the problems which most concern mankind? Is Franklin the only man who is lost, that his wife should be so earnest to find him? Does Mr. Grinnell know where he himself is? Be rather the Mungo Park, the Lewis and Clarke and Frobisher, of your own streams and oceans; explore your own higher latitudes, -with shiploads of preserved meats to support you, if they be necessary; and pile the empty cans sky-high for a sign. Were preserved meats invented to preserve meat merely? Nay, be a Columbus to whole new continents and worlds within you, opening new channels, not of trade, but of thought. Every man is the lord of a realm beside which the earthly empire of the Czar is but a petty state, a hummock left by the ice. Yet some can be patriotic who have no *self-respect*, and sacrifice the greater to the less. They love the soil which makes their graves, but have no sympathy with the spirit which may still animate their clay. Patriotism is a maggot in their heads. What was the meaning of that South-Sea Exploring Expedition, with all its parade and expense, but an indirect recognition of the fact, that there are continents and seas in the moral world, to which every man is an isthmus or an inlet, yet unexplored by him, but that it is easier to sail many thousand miles through cold and storm and cannibals, in a government ship, with five hundred men and boys to assist one, than it is to explore the private sea, the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean of one's being alone.-

“Erret, et extremos alter scrutetur Iberos.
Plus habet hic vitæ, plus habet ille viæ.”

Let them wander and scrutinize the outlandish Australians.
I have more of God, they more of the road.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN
DR. ELISHA KENT KANE
LEWIS AND CLARK
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS
MUNGO PARK



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

Chronological observations of America

Sir Martin Frobisher the first in Queen Elizabeths days that sought for the North-west passage, or the streight, or passage to China, and meta incognita, in three several voyages, others will have it in 1577.

BY John Josselyn Gent.

From the year of the World

to the year of Christ 1673.

Arctic Explorations

Date	Explorer	Nation	Discovery
1501	Gaspar Corte Real	Portuguese	Newfoundland
1536	Jacques Cartier	French	St. Lawrence River, Gaspe Peninsula
1553	Richard Chancellor	English	White Sea
1556	Stephen Burrough	English	Kara Sea
1576	Martin Frobisher	English	Frobisher Bay
1582	Humphrey Gilbert	English	Newfoundland
1587	John Davis	English	Davis Strait
1597	Willem Barents	Dutch	Spitsbergen, Novaya Zemyla
1611	<u>Henry Hudson</u>	English	Hudson Bay
1616	William Baffin	English	Ellesmere and Devon Islands
1632	Thomas James	English	James Bay
1741	Vitus Bering	Russian	Alaska
1772	<u>Samuel Hearne</u>	English	Coppermine River to the Arctic Ocean
1779	James Cook	British	Vancouver Island, Nootka Sound
1793	<u>Alexander Mackenzie</u>	English	Bella Coola River to the Pacific
1825	Edward Parry	British	Cornwallis, Bathurst, Melville Islands



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

Arctic Explorations

Date	Explorer	Nation	Discovery
1833	John Ross	British	North Magnetic Pole
1845	John Franklin	British	King William Island
1854	Robert McClure	British	Banks Island, Viscount Melville Sound

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1578

September: The ships of [Francis Drake](#), now 3 rather than 5, made it through the Straits of Magellan without great difficulty, but when they emerged into the Pacific they encountered terrific storms. For months the remaining ships would be in mortal danger, unable either to sail clear of the weather or to stay clear of the coast. The ships were scattered and the smallest, the *Marigold*, went down with all hands. The *Elizabeth*, finding herself back in the strait, made for England and would make it back safely but, of course, in utter disgrace. Meanwhile the *Golden Hinde* had been blown far to the south, where Drake perhaps discovered that there was open water



below the islands at the tip of the South American continent. When the storms abated, the *Golden Hinde* was sailed north along the Pacific South American coast, entering the previously undisturbed private waters of King Philip II of Spain. Its 1st stop for food and water was at Mocha Island off the coast of what is now Chile, where the inhabitants, mistaking the English for their Spanish oppressors, had laid an ambush. for the next 5 and a half months Drake would be raiding the Spanish settlements at will, among them Valparaiso, Lima, and Arica, and easily capturing Spanish ships, including the treasure ship *Cacafuego* (yes, this does

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

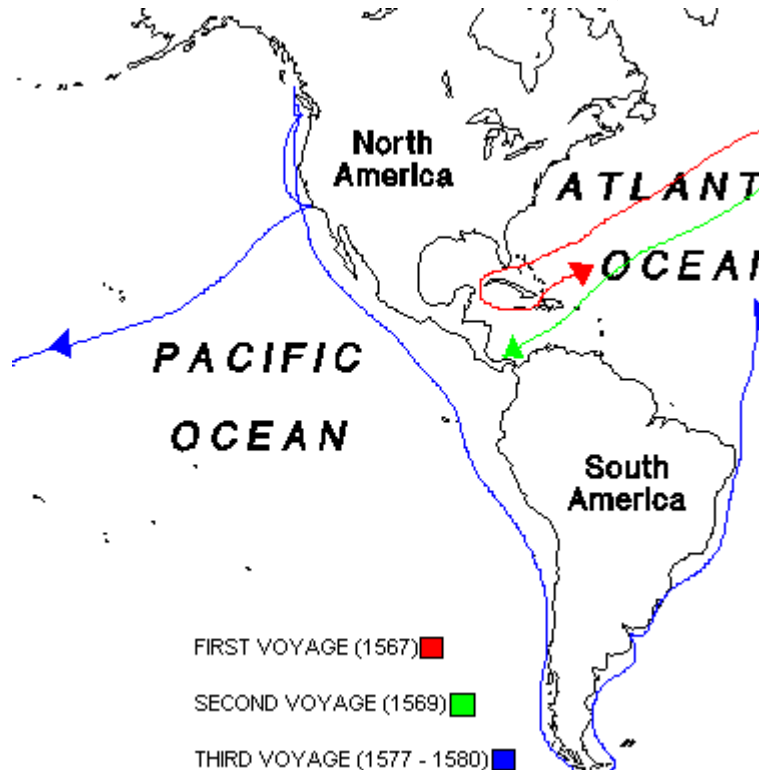
mean “*Shitfire*”):



From the *Cacafuego*, Drake robbed 26 tons of silver, 80 pounds of gold, 13 trunks of silver coins, and many chests of jewels.

The Spanish spread news of an English [pirate](#) whom they called el Draque, meaning “the dragon.” The Dragon ([Francis Drake](#)) robbed many other ships and burned several towns along the Pacific coast of South America. Then he went north. He was looking for the western end of the Northwest Passage because he was afraid the Spanish would catch him if he went back the way he came.

He called what he found on the west coast of the continent Nova Albion, which is Latin for New England.





PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

Then they went through the Indonesian islands and stopped to trade for spices.

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



PIRACY**PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING****1580**

September 26, Monday (Old Style): From the Indonesian spice islands, Captain [Francis Drake](#) sailed across the Indian Ocean and around the Cape of Good Hope at the bottom of Africa.



Drake returned in the *Golden Hinde* to Plymouth, England, to make anxious inquiries as to whether Queen Elizabeth were still alive (because he needed for her to protect him against Spanish charges of [piracy](#)). Since this round-the-world voyage had stopped off along the way in the [Spice Islands](#), his investors would receive a profit from the spices in his hold, of 4,700%. The royal person would come visit the dashing captain on board his vessel.

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE SEPTEMBER 26TH, 1580 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFfy AT BEST).



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1582

Cutlass in hand, Lady Killigrew of Cornwall led a [pirate](#) attack on a German ship anchored in Falmouth Harbour. Queen Elizabeth, unamused, had Lady Killigrew imprisoned, and hanged her henchmen (Lady Killigrew of Cornwall's Irish equivalent, Grace O'Malley, fought Spaniards and Barbary corsairs with a pistol in one hand and a cutlass in the other).

**ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,
IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.**



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1586

January 1, day (1585, Old Style): Sir [Francis Drake](#) sacked [Santo Domingo](#) on [Hispaniola](#).

1592

[King Felipe II of Spain](#) (“Felipe el Prudente,” who was also King Filipe I of Portugal) warned his fleet not to stop by the island of [St. Helena](#) while on their way home from [Goa](#) laden with treasure (he had been made aware that English [privateers](#) would be lying in wait).

**ESSENCES ARE FUZZY, GENERIC, CONCEPTUAL;
ARISTOTLE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE INSISTED THAT ALL TRUTH IS
SPECIFIC AND PARTICULAR (AND WRONG WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED
TRUTH AS A GENERALIZATION).**

Sir John Burrough captured an East Indian carrack laden with 900 tons of spices, cloth and treasures from the orient. This would excite more English adventurers to seek ways to get to these riches.



PIRACY



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1597

On the island of [Cuba](#), the Castillo del Morro was completed. The fortress was strategically situated above the eastern entrance to the [Havana](#) harbor, to protect the city from attackers such as [pirates](#).

“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF. THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

17TH CENTURY

1604

Off the coast of Sumatra, John Davis was killed by [pirates](#).

**WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF**



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1611

August: The mutineers from [Henry Hudson](#)'s *Discovery* were being helped along the way by favorable winds but were running low on food and attempting to eat seagulls. Finally they were down to consuming the birds' bones fried in candle grease — each man was receiving a pound of the ship's candles as his personal ration each week. Robert Juet tried to convince the crew to find refuge in Newfoundland, possibly to become [pirates](#) from there. He assured the others they had only 200 miles left to get home, although really they were still some 600 miles off the Irish coast. Not long before they sighted land, Prickett wrote, Juet, the last ringleader, died of "mere want."

Arctic Explorations

Date	Explorer	Nation	Discovery
1501	Gaspar Corte Real	Portuguese	Newfoundland
1536	Jacques Cartier	French	St. Lawrence River, Gaspé Peninsula
1553	Richard Chancellor	English	White Sea
1556	Stephen Burrough	English	Kara Sea
1576	Martin Frobisher	English	Frobisher Bay
1582	Humphrey Gilbert	English	Newfoundland
1587	John Davis	English	Davis Strait
1597	Willem Barents	Dutch	Spitsbergen, Novaya Zemlya
1611	Henry Hudson	English	Hudson Bay
1616	William Baffin	English	Ellesmere and Devon Islands
1632	Thomas James	English	James Bay
1741	Vitus Bering	Russian	Alaska
1772	Samuel Hearne	English	Coppermine River to the Arctic Ocean
1779	James Cook	British	Vancouver Island, Nootka Sound
1793	Alexander Mackenzie	English	Bella Coola River to the Pacific
1825	Edward Parry	British	Cornwallis, Bathurst, Melville Islands
1833	John Ross	British	North Magnetic Pole
1845	John Franklin	British	King William Island
1854	Robert McClure	British	Banks Island, Viscount Melville Sound



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1612

Sir Henry Mainwaring (1587-1653) had been an English vice-admiral and a [pirate](#) catcher but had been himself attracted to the life of a corsair. At this point he based himself on the Atlantic coast of Morocco and began to prey upon shipping in the Mediterranean.

HISTORY'S NOT MADE OF WOULD. IF SOMEONE WERE TO REVEAL, FOR INSTANCE, AT THIS POINT, THAT IN 1616 THIS CORSAIR WOULD RETURN TO ENGLAND WITH A ROYAL PARDON TO WRITE ABOUT PIRACY AND THE MEANS FOR ITS SUPPRESSION, S/HE WOULD BE DISCLOSING THAT WHAT WAS BEING CRAFTED WAS NOT REALITY BUT PREDESTINARIANISM. THE RULE OF REALITY IS THAT THE FUTURE HASN'T EVER HAPPENED, YET — AND AT THIS POINT, 1616 WAS FUTURE.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1616

Sir Henry Mainwaring, who had been active as a [pirate](#) based on the Atlantic coast of Morocco and preying upon shipping in the Mediterranean, at this point returned to England with a royal pardon, to write about piracy and the means for its suppression.

**ONE COULD BE ELSEWHERE, AS ELSEWHERE DOES EXIST.
ONE CANNOT BE ELSEWHEN SINCE ELSEWHEN DOES NOT.
(TO THE WILLING MANY THINGS CAN BE EXPLAINED,
THAT FOR THE UNWILLING WILL REMAIN FOREVER MYSTERIOUS.)**



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1617

The Dutch [pirate](#) De Veenboer had while in Algeria converted to Islam and taken the name Soliman Reis or Slemen Reis. At this point he had become Admiral of the Algerian pirate fleet but, wanting to return to Holland, and engaging in correspondence with the Dutch consul in Algiers, and the Dutch government, when he attacked ships he spared the Dutch ones or when he did attack them, made sure that the Dutch crews were not harmed. The crew on the pirate ships of De Veenboer consisted mostly of Dutchmen. While he usually sailed under the colors of Algiers, when it was Spanish ships he was attacking he would raise the Dutch flag.

YOU HAVE TO ACCEPT EITHER THE REALITY OF TIME OVER THAT OF CHANGE, OR CHANGE OVER TIME — IT'S PARMENIDES, OR HERACLITUS. I HAVE GONE WITH HERACLITUS.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1618

At this point the [pirate](#) fleet of Algiers consisted of 50 ships. They sailed out in squadrons to attack other ships. At this point the Dutch pirate De Veenboer lost his position as admiral of that fleet to another, more adventurous captain, Mustapha Reis.

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



The British monarch allowed the “Guinea Company” to trade with West Africa: the main interest at the moment, however, was not Africa’s [slaves](#) but Africa’s gold.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

July 23, Thursday-24, Friday (Old Style): Abacuck Prickett, Edward Wilson, Bennet Matheus (Matthews), and Francis Clements stood trial in Southwark for [piracy](#). Nicolas Simms was excused because he was a minor at the time of the mutiny, and in the interim three of the other survivors had died. The mutineers told the court that Edward Wilson and Henry Greene had first urged only that they take the shallop and flee, deserting the others in order to take care of themselves. It was only later, they averred, that they had changed their plan to the taking of the entire ship. Edward Wilson averred that at first the mutineers had put the others in the shallop only to keep them under guard while they searched out and divided the “hidden” food, but later on, they “would not suffer them to come back again into the ship.” Francis Clements alleged that [Henry Hudson](#) had been hoarding food and giving it to his favorites in his cabin, including Edward Wilson. The jury found the



survivors to be “not guilty” on the charge of “the ejection of Henry and John Hudson and others from the ship [Discovery](#) in a boat without food or drink and other necessities and the murder of the same,” on the charge of “fleeing from justice,” and on the charge of putting Henry Hudson, Master of the *Discovery* “out of the same ship with eight more of his company into a shallop in the Isle of America without meat, drink, or other provision; whereby they died.” Most of the responsibility for the incident was assigned to those conveniently dead: Henry Greene got most of the censure, and master’s mate Robert Juet (Ivett), and William Wilson.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1620

The London and Plymouth companies, which in 1606 had been granted the territory between latitudes 34° and 45° North under the name “Virginia,” were in this year reorganized and the northern part of their grant, extended to 48°, was granted to a newly formed “Council of New England.” [Sir Ferdinando Gorges](#) became treasurer of this newly formed Council. Governor John Mason of Newfoundland and [Sir William Alexander](#) were able to persuade [King James I](#) that the best way to persuade Scots to emigrate would be to provide them with a “New [Scotland](#)” destination comparable to the “New France” and “New England” destinations. King James conveyed this as a royal wish to the newly formed Council of New England and obtained from it the surrender of all its claims to territory north of the Sainte-Croix River. He then instructed his Scottish Privy Council to grant this northern territory to Sir William.

[Captain John Mason](#)’s tract A BRIEF DISCOURSE OF THE NEW-FOUND-LAND WITH THE SITUATION, TEMPERATURE, AND COMMODITIES THEREOF, INCITING OUR NATION TO GO FORWARD IN THE HOPEFULL PLANTATION BEGUNNE. The Privy Council issued a commission and provided a ship with which he might suppress [piracy](#) in Newfoundland waters.



Use the sword to poke at the pigeon on your head!

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

Jan Janszoon was one of the most successful corsairs of the Mediterranean sea. Like so many Dutch [pirates](#) Jan, of the city Haarlem, had begun his career as a [privateer](#), sailing with a letter of Marque to capture pirates that operated from Duinkerken. Because this trade had not proved to be very lucrative, he had himself become a pirate. Sailing with a small boat from La Rochelle, he met with an accident at Lancerote in the Canary Isles. After this he had become a member of the crew of De Veenboer, and had managed to work himself up to steerer. When De Veenboer retired from personal activity, in 1618 or 1619, it seems he allowed Janszoon to take over as a commander of his pirate vessel. In this year, when Jan Janszoon met what appeared to be a Dutch man-of-war in the area of Malaga, that ship immediately altered its course and sailed directly after them while raising the red flag which indicated that no quarter would be given. Seeing this flag and this bold maneuver, Janszoon turned his ship and fled. According to the Dutch consul in Algiers, however, this had been a successful bluff as the ship had not in fact been a man-of-war. Not long after this, in June and July of this year, however, Janszoon did capture prizes. Unlike De Veenboer, he made no distinction between Dutch shipping and the shipping of other nations. While in Algiers, although I do not know whether this was before or after 1620, Janszoon converted to Islam under the name Murat (Morat, Murate, or Morato) Reis and took a 2d wife.

THE FALLACY OF MOMENTISM: THIS STARRY UNIVERSE DOES NOT CONSIST OF A SEQUENCE OF MOMENTS. THAT IS A FIGMENT, ONE WE HAVE RECOURSE TO IN ORDER TO PRIVILEGE TIME OVER CHANGE, A PRIVILEGING THAT MAKES CHANGE SEEM UNREAL, DERIVATIVE, A MERE APPEARANCE. IN FACT IT IS CHANGE AND ONLY CHANGE WHICH WE EXPERIENCE AS REALITY, TIME BEING BY WAY OF RADICAL CONTRAST UNEXPERIENCED — A MERE INTELLECTUAL CONSTRUCT. THERE EXISTS NO SUCH THING AS A MOMENT. NO “INSTANT” HAS EVER FOR AN INSTANT EXISTED.

July: The Dutch [pirate](#) De Veenboer, in a spell of calm weather, was unable to escape the cannon fire of a formation of three Dutch men-of-war, and his ship was heavily damaged.

August: The Dutch [pirate](#) De Veenboer brought his limping ship to the port of Algiers for repairs.

September: The Dutch [pirate](#) De Veenboer took a squadron of eight vessels out of the port of Algiers on what would turn out to be his last voyage.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

October 10, Tuesday (September 30, Saturday, Old Style): The eight vessels of the Dutch [pirate](#) De Veenboer engaged in a long sea battle with a squadron of one Dutch, two French, and two English men-of-war, and a cannonball shattered both his legs and he died.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1623

The Dutch pirate Jan Janszoon took Salé (in Morocco) as his base of operations. Since Algeria was making nice with several European nations, Algiers was no longer a suitable harbour at that time to sell the captured cargoes and ships. Janszoon soon built a fleet of 16 or 17 fast and well provisioned vessels. He managed to make Salé almost as feared as Duinkerken in Belgium. Salé became very prosperous and consequently declared itself independent from Morocco. After an unsuccessful siege by Morocco the Sultan eventually acknowledged his suzerainty over his region. The main sources of income of Salé were [piracy](#), shipping, and dealing in stolen property. Janszoon went privateering in the North sea, the North Atlantic ocean, and the Canal. In November he went to the harbor Veere in the Low Countries, because he needed to make repairs. The authorities could not deny the two ships access to Veere because at that time several peace treaties and trade agreements existed between the emperor of Morocco and the Dutch Republic. Several Dutchmen joined his crew when he left in December, despite having been forbidden to do so by the Dutch authorities. His first wife, a Dutch woman, visited Janszoon while he was there. During the repairs some of their Spanish prisoners escaped and were hidden by sympathizers. The pirates did not get any help with locating the escaped prisoners so, enraged at the French, upon sailing out of the harbour of Veere, despite all treaties and agreements they began to attack French shipping.

BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

June: Dixie Bull was trading for furs in the Penobscot Bay of Maine when French pirates came upon him and stripped him of his provisions. Indignant, and reduced to desperate measures, he persuaded other fishermen, traders, and seamen in the region to join with him in local [piracy](#), plundering trading vessels and attacking trading posts along the New England coast. He would make of himself New England's 1st pirate of record, operating for a decade. The authorities would send off a total of five vessels against him but would come up empty-handed. He would disappear from the New England area in 1633, with some speculating that he had joined the French and others suggesting that perhaps he had returned to his native England. A poem would become popular, that would have him getting killed in a sword fight.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1624

Cheng Cheng-kung or Zheng Chenggong, who would be known to the Dutch as “Coxinga,” was born, son of Zheng Zhilong (known to the Dutch as “Iquan”), a local [pirate](#) in the service of the Dutch.

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

August 25, Wednesday (Old Style): Marinus Sonck succumbed to [Chinese](#) demands and moved his contingent to Formosa (Taiwan), to erect there the factory of Fort Zeelandia. Since the Dutch would forbid Li Dan to trade with [Japan](#) and would monopolize the harbour, Li Dan and his sailors effectively became [pirates](#) in the Dutch service, attacking trade between [China](#) and Manila.

1626

February (1625, Old Style): The [pirate](#) Jan Janszoon returned again to Holland. He had left Salé with three vessels and apparently had captured a rich Spanish prize which he was hoping to sell in the Dutch Republic. When his ships arrived in the North Sea they spotted what appeared to be a rich Dutch merchant ship with only a few men on guard. Coming alongside, fifty of their crew boarded the ship, but then the Dutch flag was struck, the



Spanish flag was raised, and it turned out to be a well laid trap. The ship was a Spanish [privateer](#) out of Duinkerken with a full fighting crew. One of Jan Janszoon’s ships was almost immediately disabled and forced to surrender. His other two ships were heavily damaged but managed to get away with many dead and wounded among their crews. One of these ships managed to sail into the Maas river. The most heavily damaged one was able to reach the Isle of Texel near Amsterdam, but there they had a hard time getting medical aid. After their ship was sold in Amsterdam, the pirates were down to one ship, in which they would enter the Maas early in 1627. After this 1627 voyage, although Jan Janszoon would continue in piracy, he would be focusing on dealing in stolen goods in Salé.

FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.

March 7, Tuesday (1625, Old Style): The [pirate](#) Assan Reis, alias Jan Marinus van Sommelsdijk, alias Meinart Dirksen of the family of De Veenboer, attacked the Dutch ship *St. Jan Babtista*, captained by Jacob Jacobsen of Ilpendam.

1627

Early in the year, the [pirate](#) Jan Janszoon went into the waters of Iceland, which was farther north than he had previously sailed. In the harbor of the capital city he attacked a ship and carried away several of its sailors as his prisoners. On the way back home from Iceland he also took a Dutch vessel, capturing more prisoners. These people he would sell as slaves in Salé.



IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT IT IS MORTALS WHO CONSUME OUR HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS, FOR WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO IS EVADE THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE HUMAN LIFESPAN. (IMMORTALS, WITH NOTHING TO LIVE FOR, TAKE NO HEED OF OUR STORIES.)

Zheng Zhilong (known to the Dutch as “Iquan”), one of the local sea captains who had been serving as [pirates](#) in the service of the Dutch, shifted his allegiance to the [Chinese](#). After seeing off Simsou, he was promoted to the rank of admiral by the governor of Fujian and established for himself a monopoly on trade with the Dutch.

Christmas: Having obtained the leave of [King Charles I](#) of England and taken out letters of marque, at about this point [Sir Kenelm Digby](#) sailed from Deal on a [privateering](#) expedition against French ships anchored in the Venetian haven of Iskanderun or Alexandretta on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey. There would be various adventures on the voyage, but his two vessels would arrive at Iskanderun on June 10th, 1628.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1628

June 11, Wednesday (Old Style): The two vessels of [Sir Kenelm Digby](#) that had sailed in the previous year under a letter of marque from [King Charles I](#) of England attacked the various French and Venetian galleys anchored in the haven of Iskanderun or Alexandretta on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey. The enterprise succeeded and the English [privateers](#) would return in a leisurely manner to their home base, arriving during the following February.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1629

Gunung Api, the volcano towering over the [spice](#) island of Neira, erupted dangerously.

The officers of the Massachusetts Company wrote to their Governor John Endecott; — “We have sent grayne for seed, wheat, barley, and rye in the chaff.”

MASSACHUSETTS BAY

John Endecott brought the first domestic European apple trees to America, planting them on Governors Island in Boston Harbor, an island which is now beneath the runway of Logan International Airport. Imagine the trees of Governor Endecott’s apple orchard interspersed with poles from which hung the bodies of [Boston’s pirates](#), dessicating and rotting in chains and screaming their silent warnings to honest sailors, that they should be most careful to remain honest.

APPLES



John Endecott
J. Endecott

CONTINGENCY

ALTHOUGH VERY MANY OUTCOMES ARE OVERDETERMINED, WE TRUST



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

THAT SOMETIMES WE ACTUALLY MAKE REAL CHOICES.

February: The two [privateering](#) vessels of [Sir Kenelm Digby](#) that had sailed in 1627 under a letter of marque from [King Charles I](#) returned to their home port in England laden with the spoils of the various French and Venetian galleys which they had looted in 1628 in the Venetian haven of Iskanderun or Alexandretta on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1630

The 1st [servile insurrection](#) to take place in an English colony, on Santa Catalina in the Eastern Caribbean (a Puritan colonist there advised the slaves that human enslavement was illicit and that they might legitimately abscond).

The Spanish under [Don Fadrique de Toledo](#) who had in the previous year set out to fortify the smaller island of [Tortuga](#) just to the north of [Hispaniola](#) ([L'île de la Tortue](#) or [Turtle Island](#)) had become preoccupied with driving other French settlers out of [Hispaniola](#), and so the French returned to that smaller island, seized the new Spanish fortifications, and expanded on them. From this point [Tortuga](#) would be inhabited by a French colony, and by settlements consisting mostly of English [pirates](#).



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1631

The Dutch settled the southern portion of the Caribbean island of St. Maarten.

The [pirate](#) Jan Janszoon sailed to England and Ireland, landing his men at various spots along the coast and rounding up approximately 200 people they could sell as [slaves](#) in Algiers. From this point until 1640 not much is known about Janszoon's actions. We know that he had to leave Salé for political reasons, and seems to have been for some time in Algiers and Tripoli. There is a possibility that he was for a time a prisoner of the Maltese Knights.

[INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE](#)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1633

For about a decade Dixie Bull and his band had been engaging in local [piracy](#), plundering trading vessels and attacking trading posts along the New England coast. The authorities had sent off a total of 5 vessels against him but had always come up empty-handed. At this point he disappeared from the New England area, and some would speculate that he had joined the French while others would suggest that perhaps he had returned to his native England. A poem became popular, that had him as killed in a sword fight.

**THE AGE OF REASON WAS A PIPE DREAM, OR AT BEST A PROJECT.
ACTUALLY, HUMANS HAVE ALMOST NO CLUE WHAT THEY ARE DOING,
WHILE CREDITING THEIR OWN LIES ABOUT WHY THEY ARE DOING IT.**



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1634

John Stone (an occasional furtrader and fulltime West Indies [pirate](#) banished by the Bay Colony Puritans for lewd and immoral conduct) stopped off at the mouth of the Connecticut River to attempt to capture some Western Niantic women and children whom he could sell as slaves in Jamestown VA. Instead of this the man got his ass killed but, rather than considering that this guy had reaped as he had sown, Boston's Puritan clergy mounted their pulpits to condemn the Pequot as "demons from hell." When the grand sachem Sassacus of the Pequot put aside his personal distaste for the English and visited the Bay Colony to keep the peace, the English demanded that he surrender "the murderers" for execution, a request with which of course he was not only unable but also unwilling to comply.

Regular trade with [China](#) was established though a monopoly by the [pirate](#) Zheng Zhilong and his traders.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1635

Samuel Axe accepted Dutch letters of Marque (became a [privateer](#)) without first obtaining permission to do so from the Providence Island Company.

The smaller island of [Tortuga](#) north of [Hispaniola](#) was again recaptured by the Spanish, expelling the French colonists and the English pirate settlements (this would not last very long, as the island was too small to be of interest to the Spanish and they would again sail away, leaving the island vacant again to be repopulated again by [pirates](#)).

The French settled the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the Caribbean. A private company “Compagnie des Iles” of 74 individuals took possession of Martinique.

The French claimed Saba.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1636

From this year until 1641, Samuel Axe would be a [privateer](#) in the service of the Providence Island Company.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1638

Manasseh ben Israel was appointed to the Amsterdam *Yeshiva*.

The French attempted to settle Grenada. English from Bermuda and St. Kitts settled St. Lucia (3 years later these settlers would be exterminated by Caribs).

The Spanish returned to the island of *Tortuga* north of *Hispaniola* for a 3d time, expelling French and Dutch colonists. This time they would hold the island for a couple of years, before being driven away in 1640.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1640

The [pirate](#) Jan Janszoon resurfaced at this point as an employee of the Emperor of Morocco, governing for him the castle of Maladia on the west coast of Morocco. In this year his Dutch daughter, Lysbeth Janszoon, sailed to Morocco to visit him. (The last thing we know of him is that he and his daughter were still at the castle of Maladia in August 1641.)

The Dutch settled the Caribbean island of Saba, building 2 communities, Trent Bay and The Bottoms.

By this point the French and English [pirates](#) who based themselves on the island of [Tortuga](#) north of [Hispaniola](#) were referring to themselves as “[The Brethren of the Coast](#)” (included among them were a smaller number of Dutch pirates). In this year the French returned to Tortuga, expelling the Spanish forces, and began to construct Fort de Rocher to keep the island from changing hands so often.

May: The [privateer](#) Samuel Axe of the Providence Island Company brought a prize vessel to England bearing a cargo of gold, silver, jewels, [indigo](#), and cochineal.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1641

August: We know that the [pirate](#) Jan Janszoon was at this point still governing the Castle Maladia on behalf of the Emperor of Morocco, and we know that his Dutch daughter, Lysbeth Janszoon, was still with him. We lack any further record.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1642

From this year until 1645, Samuel Axe would be part of a [privateer](#) fleet sailing in the West Indies. At one point this fleet would conquer the island of Jamaica.

1645

Although some stories have [William Kidd](#) as being born to the family of a clergyman in this year,⁴ he was probably born instead in 1654 in or around Dundee, on the east coast of Scotland, because in 1695, when he testified under oath in the case of Jackson and Jacobs v. Noell in the High Court of the Admiralty of England, he would give his age as 41 years and his place of birth as Dundee — this is supported by an entry in the Dundee parish register of baptisms, plus the fact that he would name his black cabin boy “Dundee.” His father is listed in these records as a seaman. The surname “Kidd” occurs frequently in Fife. There is a small sea box inscribed “William Kidd — Leith,” and it is plausible that he would have joined his first ship as a young deck-hand sailing out of Leith, also on the east coast of Scotland.



PIRACY

4. There is only one factoid to support the idea that he had been born in the year 1645 — in the written statement of Paul Lorain, the Minister in Attendance at Kidd’s execution in 1701, his age was given at about 56.

HDT

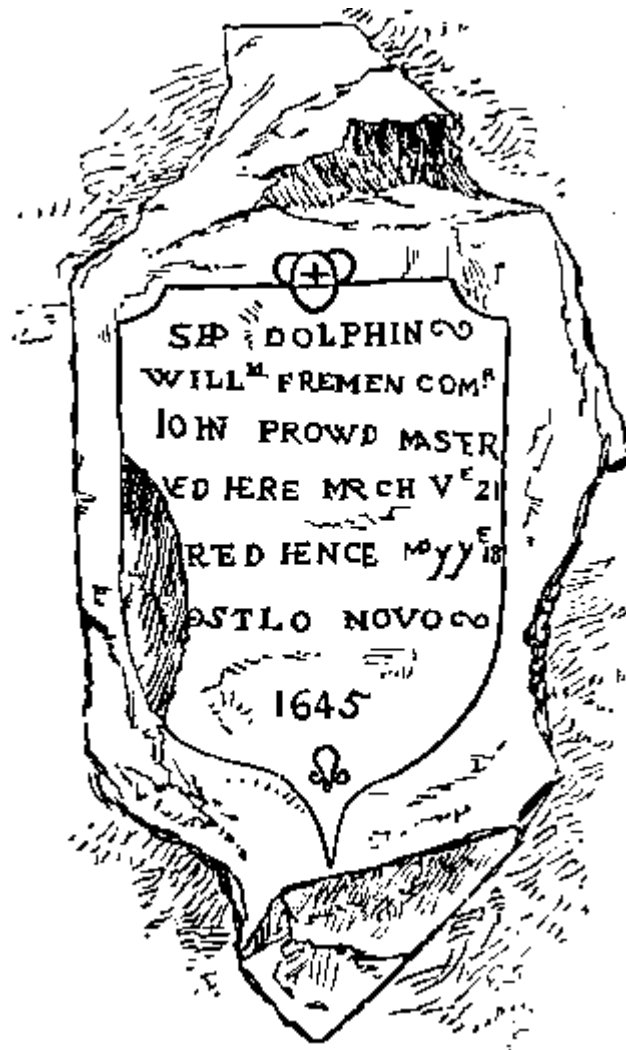
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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

In this year a message was inscribed on an exposed surface at the harbor of the lonely island of [St. Helena](#) in the South Atlantic:



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1646

The [pirate](#) Zheng Zhilong having been brought to Beijing by the Manchus as a captive, his son Cheng Chengkung or Zheng Chenggong, known to the Dutch as “Coxinga,” took control. Until 1658 he would be the de facto ruler of the southeastern part of [China](#), defying the Manchus in Beijing by pledging alliance to the superseded Ming dynasty.

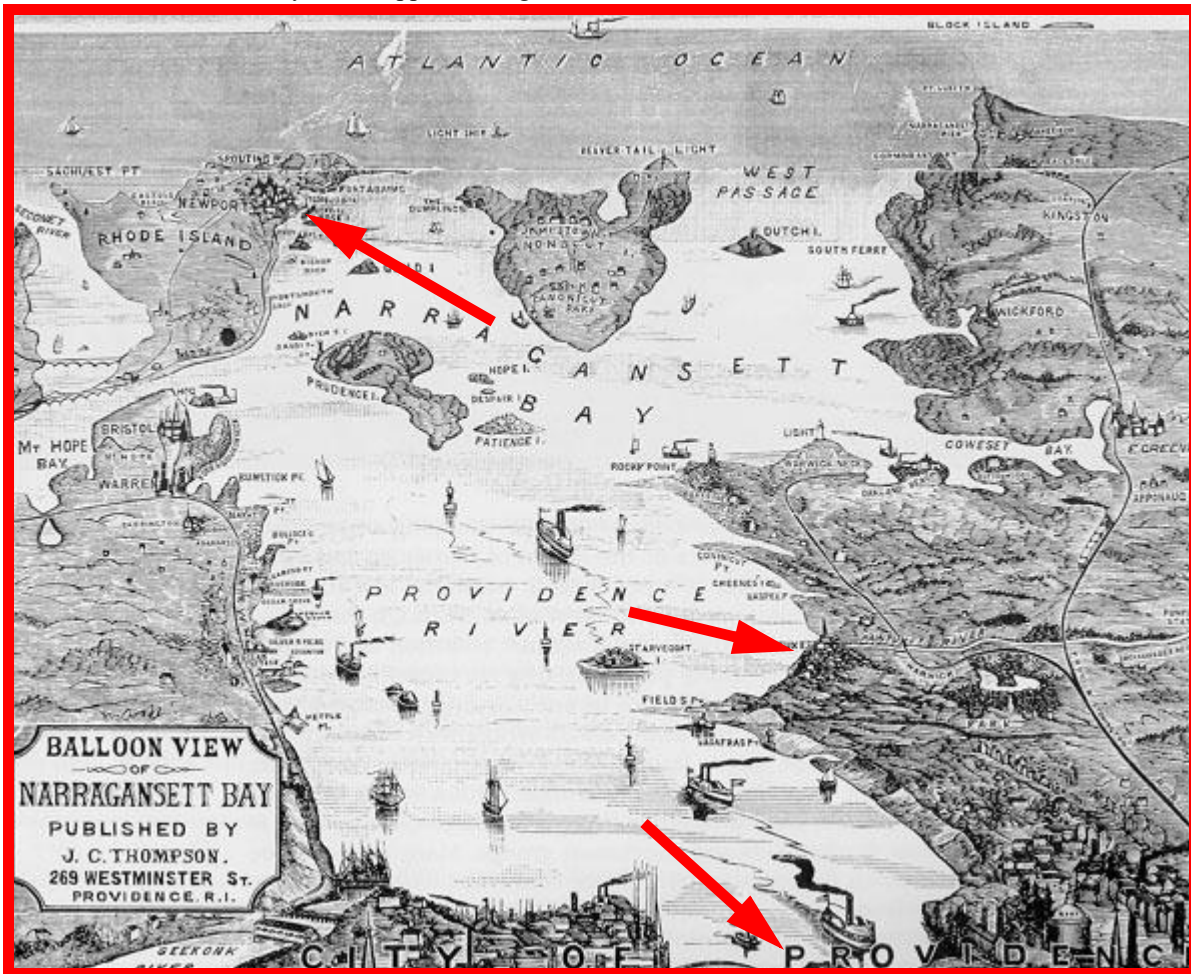


PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1648

The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly made provisions for the colony's sea captains to engage in [privateering](#) against "any enemies of ye Commonwealth of England." Such privateering commissions were issued to Captain John Underhill, William Dyer, and Edward Hull. The representatives from the towns of [Providence](#) and [Warwick](#) protested that such an activity was "tending to war" and therefore wrong. If the island towns of Rhode Island such as [Newport](#) proceeded with such schemes, they announced, "in the name of Providence Plantations," then they would appeal to England.



[Samuell Gorton](#) returned from England to New England, this time with a letter of protection from Robert Rich,

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

5th earl of Warwick:



Sam Gorton.

The Courte did consent that Samu: Gorton, now a shipboard, upon the request of the Earle of Warwick, hath one full weeke after the date hereof allowed him, for the transportation of himselfe & his goods through o^r iurisdiction, to the place of his dwelling, he demeaning himselfe inoffencively, according to the contents of the said Earles letter; & that the marshall, or some other, be appointed to shew him a cobby of this order, or to fix it to the maine mast of the ship, in w^{ch} he is.

1648.
10 May.

Joining his former companions at Shawomet, the settlement was renamed [Warwick](#) in honour of this protective earl. He would have three sons Samuel Gorton (2), John Gorton, and Benjamin Gorton, and six daughters Maher Gorton, who would marry Daniel Coles; Mary Gorton, who would marry, perhaps, Peter Greene, first, and, next, John Sanford; Sarah Gorton, who would marry William Mace; Ann Gorton, who would marry John Warner; Elizabeth Gorton, who would marry John Crandall, and Susanna Gorton, who would marry Benjamin Barton.



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1652

September 8, Wednesday (Old Style): The Jesuit Martino Martini had brought to Batavia the terrifying news that the [pirate](#) Cheng Cheng-kung or Zheng Chenggong, known to the Dutch as “Coxinga,” was planning to attack Zeelandia. On this day a ship sent by Governor-General Johan Maetsuyker arrived at Formosa (Taiwan) to warn governor Nicolaes Verburch, but was a day too late as the local peasants, led by Guo Haiyi (known to the Dutch as Fayet), revolted, and the [Chinese](#) captured the Dutch hamlet of Provintia.





PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1653

Edward Hull and Samuel Comstock helped fit out the bark *Swallow* as a [privateer](#). Their vessel sailed up the Connecticut River, where it captured the bark of Kempo Sebada and brought it to [Newport, Rhode Island](#) as their prize.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1654

Although some stories have [William Kidd](#) as being born to the family of a clergyman in 1645,⁵ he was probably born at this point in or around Dundee, on the east coast of [Scotland](#), because in 1695, when he testified under oath in the case of Jackson and Jacobs v. Noell in the High Court of the Admiralty of England, he would give his age as 41 years and his place of birth as Dundee — this is supported by an entry in the Dundee parish register of baptisms, plus the fact that he would name his black cabin boy “Dundee.” His father is listed in these records as a seaman. The surname “Kidd” occurs frequently in Fife. There is a small sea box inscribed “William Kidd — Leith,” and it is plausible that he would have joined his first ship as a young deck-hand sailing out of Leith, also on the east coast of Scotland.



PIRACY

5. There is only one factoid to support the idea that he had been born in the year 1645 — in the written statement of Paul Lorain, the Minister in Attendance at Kidd’s execution in 1701, his age was given at about 56.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1655

English and French forces led by Elias Watts occupied *Tortuga*, he having obtained from Colonel William Brayne, acting military Governor over Jamaica, a commission appointing him as Governor over that island just to the north of *Hispaniola* (this was possible because Admiral Sir William Penn (father of Friend William Penn) had just subjugated the Spanish island of Jamaica to the rule of Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, his force of 5,000 having met with but little resistance).

A

Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of
America, known to us by the name of NEW-
ENGLAND.*

Anno Dom.

1655. *Jamaica Taken by the English.*

As this kerfuffle of hegemony among the white folks was being transacted, with the island's Spanish settlers fleeing to Cuba, various of the slaves of the Spanish residents seized upon their one golden opportunity. Escaping into the mountains of the interior of the island, they there established their own "Maroon" settlements. Admiral Sir William Penn thus unwittingly freed more black slaves, than his high-principled Quaker son ever would! Robert Sedgwick, born in Woburn, Bedfordshire, England in about 1611 and baptized on May 6, 1613, who had settled at Charlestown in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635 and become a successful merchant there, for many years had represented Charlestown in the General Court and had helped organize the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, of which he had been the captain during 1640. He had during 1652 been the commander of all the Massachusetts militia, and had supervised the construction of the 1st fort at Boston. Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell had promoted him to major general, making him the first Major General of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. With John Winthrop, Jr., and others, he had established in 1643/1644 the first ironworks in the North America. In 1654 he had driven the French from the Penobscot region and Fort Pentagouet. In this year this Robert Sedgwick accompanied this British naval expedition against Jamaica, and would be made Governor General of the island (he would die there).

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

Within a few years Spain would have abandoned all efforts to recover this colony and the English settlers would be growing crops such as tobacco, cotton and cocoa, and logging off the indigo wood. However, it would be privateering and piracy that would help Port Royale (Kingston) become one of the richest towns in the Americas as well as most certainly the most notorious:



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1640-1713	seven slave revolts in the islands of the British West Indies
1655	With Jamaica in transition between Spanish control and English control, some 1,500 slaves escaped into the mountains to form maroon communities.
1656	Juan de Bolas led many of the escaped slaves in the maroon communities of the mountains of Jamaica down to the plains and the coast with a deal in which the English granted pardon and freedom. Many maroons, however, would elect to remain in the mountains.
1668	“Lobby’s rebellion” on Jamaica — several hundred black slaves escaped to the mountains.
1725-1740	1st Maroon War on Jamaica
March 1, 1738-1739	The 1st Maroon War on Jamaica ended in a treaty guaranteeing freedom for the maroons, the deal being that henceforward they would capture and turn in for a reward any new slave or bond-laborer escapees.
1760	slave uprising on Jamaica
1776	slave uprising on Jamaica
1784	slave uprising on Jamaica
1795-1796	2d Maroon War on Jamaica
1823	slave uprising on Jamaica
1824	slave uprising on Jamaica
1831	slave uprising on Jamaica

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

- 1610 Henry IV. is murdered at Paris by Ravaillac, a priest.
- 1611 Baronets first created in England by James I.
- 1614 Napier of Marcheston, in Scotland, invents the logarithms.
Sir Hugh Middleton brings the New River to London, from Ware.
- 1616 The first permanent settlement in Virginia.
- 1619 Dr. W. Harvey, an Englishman, discovers the doctrine of the circulation of the blood.
- 1620 The broad silk manufactory from raw silk introduced into England.
- 1621 New England planted by the Puritans.
- 1625 King James dies, and is succeeded by his son, Charles I.
The island of Barbadoes, the first English settlement in the West Indies, is planted.
- 1632 The battle of Lutzen, in which Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and head of the protestants in Germany, is killed,
- 1635 Province of Maryland planted by lord Baltimore.
Regular posts established from London to Scotland, Ireland, &c.
- 1640 King Charles disobliges his Scottish subjects, on which their army, under general Lesley, enters England, and takes Newcastle, being encouraged by the malcontents in England.
- 1641 The massacre in Ireland, when 40,000 English protestants were killed.
- 1642 King Charles impeaches five members, who had opposed his arbitrary measures, which begins the civil war in England.
- 1643 Excise on beer, ale, &c. first imposed by parliament.
- 1649 Charles I. beheaded at Whitehall, January 30, aged 49.
- 1654 Cromwell assumes the protectorship.
- 1655 The English, under admiral Penn, take Jamaica from the Spaniards.
- 1658 Cromwell dies, and is succeeded in the protectorship by his son Richard.
- 1660 King Charles II. is restored by Monk, commander of the army, after an exile of twelve years in France and Holland.

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1658

During this year and the following one, the war in Fujian between the Manchu and Cheng Cheng-kung or Zheng Chenggong, known to the Dutch as the pirate “Coxinga,” would cause large numbers of refugees to flee to the relative safety of Formosa (Taiwan). Governor Frederick Coyet would subsequently discover that Pinqua was secretly levying taxes in the name of the former [pirate](#) and send a ship to Batavia, requesting help in an anticipated invasion by this “Coxinga.” Although his fears were not entirely supported by the authorities, a ship with soldiers commanded by Jan van der Laan would be despatched with instructions that if their protection turned out not to be needed on Formosa they were to alter course and attack Portuguese [Macau](#).



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1664

Although the eastern end of the island of [Hispaniola](#) was being settled by the Spanish, on the western side of this landmass the French [pirates](#) who had their headquarters on the Cayman Islands had been able to achieve almost complete dominance. The pirates had been establishing plantations and in this year they founded the town of Port-de-Paix for which they placed the French West India Company in charge.

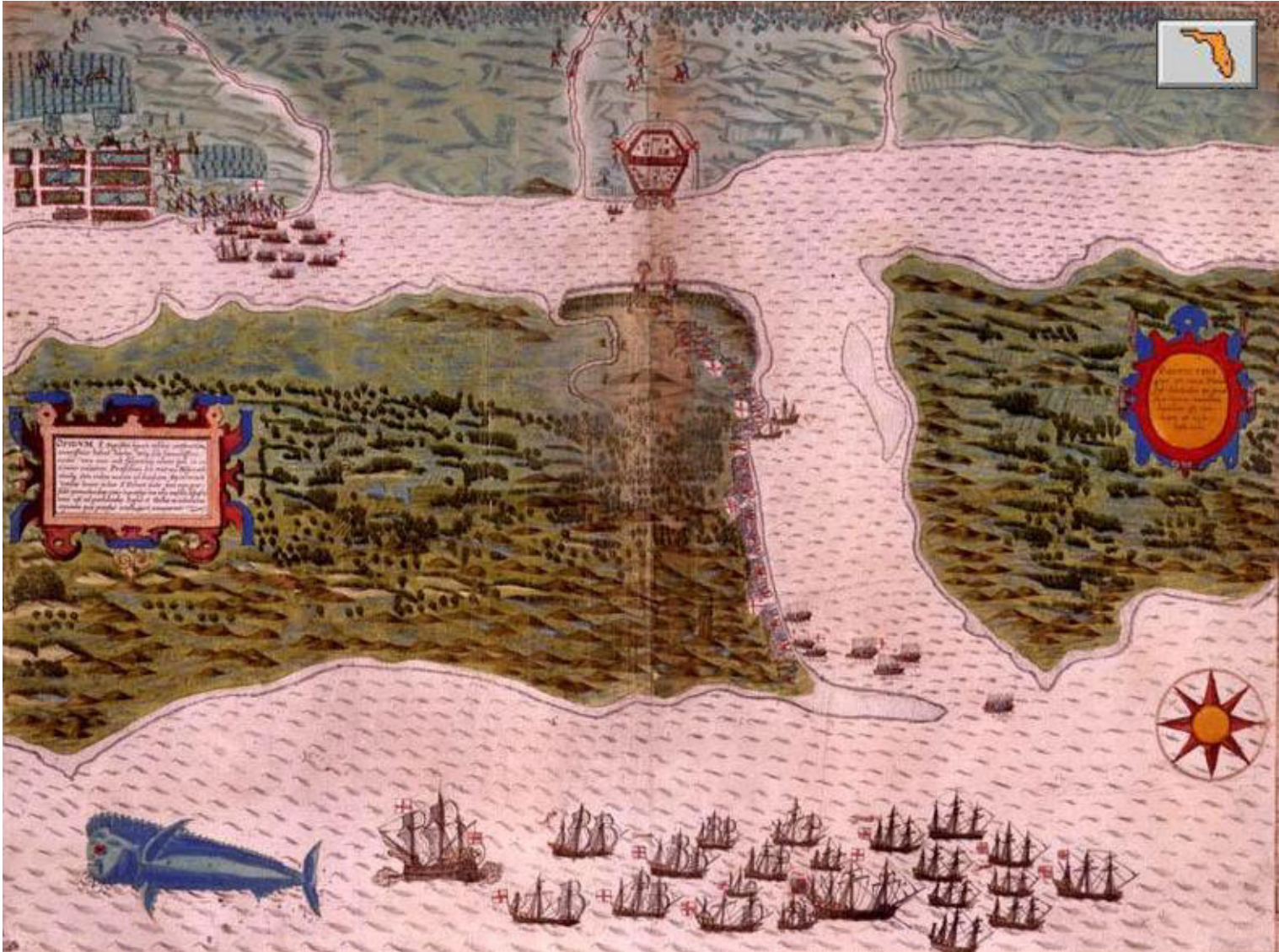


PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1665

In roughly this period the town of St. Augustine was sacked by [pirates](#).



FLORIDA

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1670

Henry (Harri) Morgan, a Welsh privateer, collected together the bands of pirates taking refuge on the island of Tortuga, who had fallen on such hard times that some of them were actually working for a living, and his group began to function as an auxiliary force for French naval forces in the Caribbean.



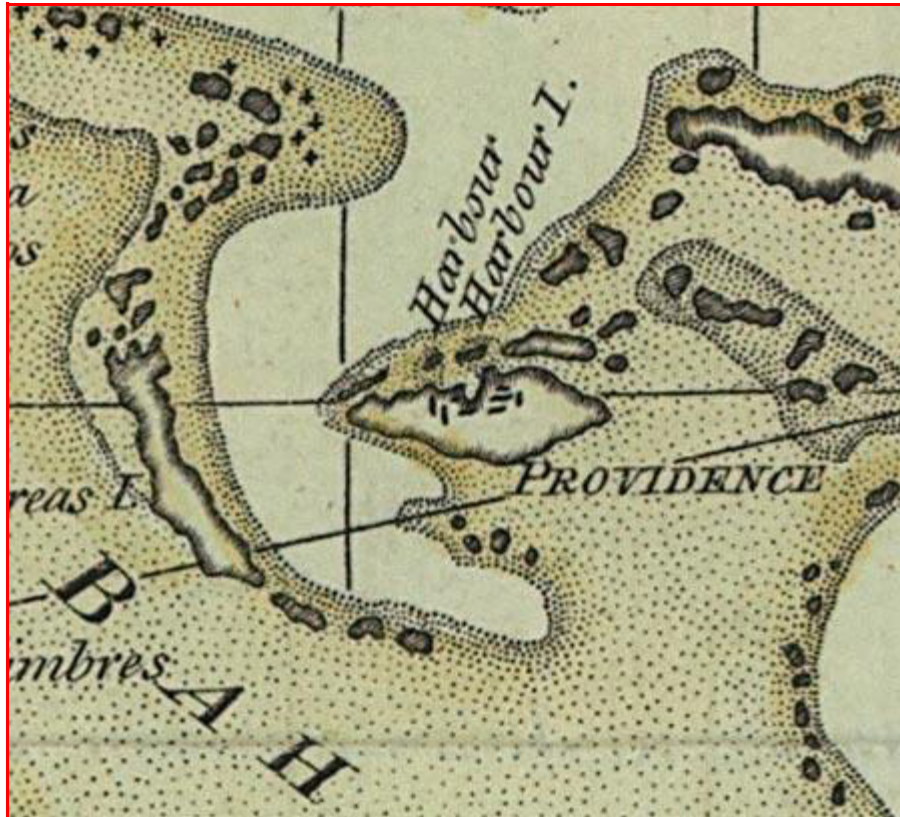
Helmsman Pedro Bravo do los Camerinos decided that he has had enough of Christian voyages of exploration, and settled in the Philippines where he would spend the remainder of his life planting cocoa — laying the foundations for one of the great plantations of that time.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1671

The Caribbean island that had been rechristened “New Providence Island” in 1666 had by this time some 900 British settlers, enough to establish an assembly, choose a governor, and apply to Jamaica for official recognition by that government.



King Charles II, ignoring previous grants of the Bahamas, had regifted these islands to six of the Lords Proprietors of the Carolinas. These proprietors were mostly uninterested in the islands, and tolerant of privateering or piracy, and as a result they would send to administer the islands only a series of incompetent, corrupt, and inefficient cronies. These governors would sell privateering commissions to known [pirates](#), offering them legitimacy in return for a share of the loot. The growth of piracy in New Providence would only be exacerbated by a crackdown on the pirates of Port Royal; many such men, fleeing a Jamaica that had become less hospitable, would settle in more lawless islands such as this one.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

January 18, Wednesday (1670, Old Style): [Henry \(Harri\) Morgan](#), a [pirate](#), captured Panama on behalf of England and despite deplorable techniques was knighted.





PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

Early in September: The fast but leaky vessel sailing from England for the New World with 13 [Quaker](#) preachers aboard including Friend [George Fox](#), the *Industry*, was at about this time threatened by a [pirate](#) vessel out of the Moorish port of Sallee.

** When we had been about three weeks at sea, one afternoon we spied a vessel about four leagues astern of us. Our master said it was a Sallee man-of-war, that seemed to give us chase. He said, "Come, let us go to supper, and when it grows dark we shall lose him." This he spoke to please and pacify the passengers, some of whom began to be very apprehensive of the danger. But Friends were well satisfied in themselves, having faith in God, and no fear upon their spirits.*

When the sun was gone down, I saw out of my cabin the ship making towards us. When it grew dark, we altered our course to miss her; but she altered also, and gained upon us.

At night the master and others came into my cabin, and asked me what they should do. I told them I was no mariner; and I asked them what they thought was best to do. They said there were but two ways, either to outrun him, or to tack about, and hold the same course we were going before. I told them that if he were a thief, they might be sure he would tack about too; and as for outrunning him, it was to no purpose to talk of that, for they saw he sailed faster than we. They asked me again what they should do, "for," they said, "if the mariners had taken Paul's counsel, they had not come to the damage they did." I answered that it was a trial of faith, and therefore the Lord was to be waited on for counsel.

So, retiring in spirit, the Lord showed me that His life and power were placed between us and the ship that pursued us. I told this to the master and the rest, and that the best way was to tack about and steer our right course. I desired them also to put out all their candles but the one they steered by, and to speak to all the passengers to be still and quiet.

About eleven at night the watch called and said they were just upon us. This disquieted some of the passengers. I sat up in my cabin, and, looking through the port-hole, the moon being not quite down, I saw them very near us. I was getting up to go out of the cabin; but remembering the word of the Lord, that His life and power were placed between us and them, I lay down again.

The master and some of the seamen came again, and asked me if they might not steer such a point. I told them they might do as they would.

By this time the moon was quite down. A fresh gale arose, and the Lord hid us from them; we sailed briskly on and saw them no more.

The next day, being the first day of the week, we had a public meeting in the ship, as we usually had on that day throughout the voyage, and the Lord's presence was greatly among us. I desired the people to remember the mercies of the Lord, who had delivered them; for they might have been all in the Turks' hands by that time, had not the Lord's hand saved them.

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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

About a week after, the master and some of the seamen endeavoured to persuade the passengers that it was not a Turkish pirate that had chased us, but a merchantman going to the Canaries. When I heard of it I asked them, "Why then did you speak so to me? Why did you trouble the passengers? and why did you tack about from him and alter your course?" I told them they should take heed of slighting the mercies of God. Afterwards, while we were at Barbadoes, there came in a merchant from Sallee, and told the people that one of the Sallee men-of-war saw a monstrous yacht at sea, the greatest that ever he saw, and had her in chase, and was just upon her, but that there was a spirit in her that he could not take. This confirmed us in the belief that it was a Sallee-man we saw make after us, and that it was the Lord that delivered us out of his hands.

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PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1674



The Dutch [privateer](#) *Flying Horse* attacked several merchantmen and fishing sloops off the coast of [Block Island](#). One of the prisoners finally convinced Captain Jurrian Aernous that the war between the British and Dutch was over, so he sailed to Boston and was welcomed. He hired a local named John Rhoades, nominally to assist him in raiding French vessels off the coast of Maine, and then continued to attack English and American vessels indiscriminately. Defeating a French garrison at Castine, Maine, these [pirates](#) built a fort at Machias and claimed the surrounding islands for Holland.





PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1675

At the age of 70, [Major Simon Willard](#) took charge of the Middlesex soldiers for "[King Phillip's War](#)" (it would be he who would rescue Captain Thomas Wheeler and Lieutenant Simon Davis from their predicament at Brookfield).

Captain Samuel Mosely was hired by the General Court of Massachusetts to hunt down Captain Jurrian Aernous and his assistant John Rhoades. With the help of a French [privateer](#), Mosely captured the *Flying Horse* and the Dutch fort at Machias and brought these men back to Boston. There's more than one way to skin a cat: after being condemned to death for [piracy](#) they volunteered to assist the colonists in "[King Phillip's War](#)".

William Okeley's EBENEZER; OR, A SMALL MONUMENT OF GREAT MERCY, APPEARING IN THE MIRACULOUS DELIVERANCE OF WILLIAM OKELEY:

H-NET BOOK REVIEW

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Reviewed for H-Albion by

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Daniel J. Vitkus, ed. [PIRACY, SLAVERY, AND REDEMPTION: BARBARY CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES FROM EARLY MODERN ENGLAND](#). Introduction by Nabil Matar. NY: Columbia UP, 2001

The story of Christian captivity in Islamic North Africa emerged as a written English genre during the early modern period in stunning personal accounts called Barbary captivity narratives. These historical narratives provided English readers with some of their first detailed impressions of North African culture, although the general story of Barbary abduction must certainly have been well known as captives' relatives pleaded for public ransom funds and redeemed captives recounted their experiences. [PIRACY, SLAVERY, AND REDEMPTION](#) collects seven of the twenty-three accounts that were written between 1577-1704, and Matar's nuanced introduction situates the narratives in the hostile context of the ancient Christian/Islam conflict.

The fact that until the end of the 1620s more Britons lived in North Africa than North America is largely overlooked, and historians have concentrated instead on the looming prizes of the New World rather than the allure and danger of the Barbary states. North African privateers -largely driven by western maritime technology and renegade captives from Europe- regularly captured English and colonial sailing vessels, and the captives were frequently exchanged for much needed hard currency. The slave traffic, of course, ran in both directions as British and Maltese corsairs captured "Barbary Pirates," and the exchange of captives became regularized and an important aspect of the



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Mediterranean economy. Matar theorizes that the North African conflict received little attention by contemporary writers simply because Europeans were often overpowered at sea and, as he has shown in his earlier work, Christians regularly converted to Islam.

The experience of the British Barbary captive was by no means monolithic. Many suffered terrible depredations -torture, malnourishment, backbreaking labor- but, as Matar points out, captives could also be well treated. They were, after all, valuable investments. William Okeley's Algerian master, for example, provided Okeley with a small market stand, and Okeley was expected to earn his keep as a merchant. After many years, Okeley would eventually escape Algiers in a collapsible boat he furtively constructed while out of his master's sight.

Okeley's narrative, what he calls an "Ebenezer," is heavily imbued with biblical overtones and scriptural references, and the account itself speaks to the ideological struggle between Christianity and Islam that the captivity scenario provokes. The captive's ordeal was not only physical, it was clearly spiritual, and a British captive had to actively resist the lure of conversion and the easier life promised to a renegade who "took the turban." His identity as a Christian and Briton was under attack, and those who survived to write their stories framed their accounts as titanic struggles in which the superiority of the West and Christianity won out over the decadent world of the infidel. For their part, Barbary privateers saw themselves as "religious warriors" and the slaves they captured as a righteous reward for fighting the Christian infidels.

In addition to expressing an extremely political view of North African Muslims, the British captives (like their American counterparts, incidentally) also critiqued their own government. Matar notes: "The narratives written during the Elizabethan period praised the queen and her government for arranging the release of captives or assisting them upon their return to England, while texts written under James obliquely criticized an indifferent monarch and an inefficient admiralty" (pages 34-5). These accounts, like most captivity or slave narratives, present a dual perspective of the complex foreign "other" and the altered view of the captives' home world. What emerges in Matar and Vitkus's anthology, then, is an intricate, sometimes even contradictory story of cross-cultural contact that influenced national identities.

In this anthology, as in his previous books, Matar's writing is extremely well researched, and he has brought to light new historical sources to balance these chiefly polemical accounts. His introduction goes a long way to explain the captor's perspective without diminishing the captives very real suffering. For instance, Matar suggests that many of the corsairs chased and captured Christians purely for financial gain and to support "faltering national economies" (page 12), while others believed themselves to be engaged in a holy conflict. Regardless of the motivation, Matar explains, many captives suffered terribly while others were treated with kindness or at least benign neglect. This measured perspective gives us a clearer sense of the varied nature of Barbary conflict. Daniel Vitkus performs an admirable service in his selection and annotation of these narratives as well as in the



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seven appendices. We currently have very little publishing information about these narratives, so Vitkus's bibliography is an important contribution to gauging the material reach of these accounts.

Absent from Matar's discussion, however, is a more detailed examination of how the Barbary conflict influenced British literary projects. He mentions that unlike Spain (as well as France, by the way) there is no British drama that concerns captivity. The anthology, however, includes two British ballads in the appendices, and one is left to wonder about the impact of these narratives on the formation of the early British novel. *Robinson Crusoe*, for example, had been a Barbary captive before he found his deserted island. Recently, Joe Snader, *CAUGHT BETWEEN WORLDS: BRITISH CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES IN FACT AND FICTION* (UP of Kentucky, 2000), advancing the work of Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, has suggested that the beginnings of the British novel can be traced to just the type of narratives that can be found in this collection. To fully appreciate the value of what Matar and Vitkus have done, we will eventually need further literary research and debate as to the significant impact these narratives likely had on the British imagination.

PIRACY, SLAVERY, AND REDEMPTION is an important and welcome addition to the growing body of research on early contact between North Africa and the West. Those studying the conflict between Islam and Christianity as well as the imperial battles between North Africa and Britain will find their work a useful starting point.

Fall: Captain Samuel Mosely took his gang of soldiers who had been convicted [pirates](#), escaped indentured servants, and transported convicts, with their mastiffs, into the Nashobah Plantation, rounding up everyone there without notice and without the opportunity to carry off any food supplies, and transferring them over the 11-mile trail to the *Musketaquid* which had become [Concord](#) town.

September: The ship conveying [Père Louis Hennepin](#) arrived in [Québec](#), after successfully holding off Turkish, Tunisian, and Algerian [pirates](#). His first experience in the New World would be to serve for 4 years as a preacher in Advent and Lent in the cloister of St. Augustine in the hospital in [Québec](#). He would employ his leisure time by traveling to regions within 20 or 30 leagues of that city—often on snow-shoes, his luggage being transported upon sledges drawn by dogs, sometimes traveling in a canoe—to learn the local languages and customs and thus prepare himself for mission work. He would be sent in company with Father Luke Buisset to take care of a mission on the north shore of Lake Ontario near the headwaters of the River St. Lawrence. The mission bore the Iroquois name Catarakouy and was the place at which Count Frontenac, Governor-General of Canada, had built in 1673 a fort which bore his name (this has become Kingston, Ontario). After remaining two years and a half at Fort Frontenac, where they built with their associates a large mission-house and labored assiduously for the conversion of the natives, the two missionaries would travel down the River St. Lawrence in a canoe. Upon reaching [Québec](#) [Hennepin](#) would enter the Récollet convent of St Mary's, in order to prepare and sanctify himself for the long expedition to the westward under the leadership of [René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle](#), then in process of preparation.

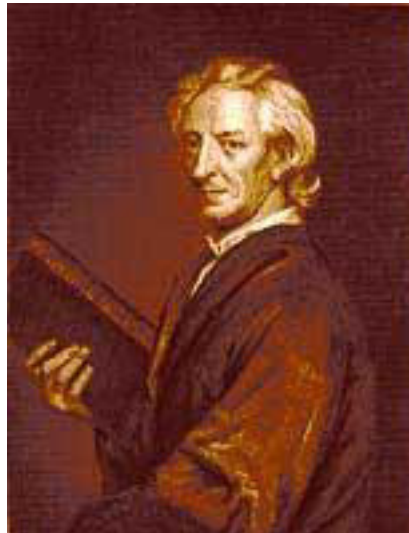
[CANADA](#)

1677

Lionel Wafer (*circa* 1660-1705), an English buccaneer and surgeon, began his nautical career when he set out for the East Indies as a servant to the surgeon on the *Great Anne*. His 2nd voyage would take him to the West Indies. In Jamaica, he would jump ship to live with his brother, who was working at a plantation on the island. During this time, he would practice as a surgeon in Port Royal. He would eventually join up with buccaneers in Jamaica to partake with the [buccaneers](#) Cook and Lynch in the plunder of shipping bound to and from the Spanish Main. Later he would join with [pirates](#) under the leadership of Bartholomew Sharp. He would meet William Dampier.

July 16, Monday (Old Style): [Daniel Hoar](#), the race-murderer nephew of the troublesome attorney [John Hoar](#) of [Concord](#), got married with Mary Stratton, daughter of Samuel Stratton, and they would have a son John Hoar, born on October 24, 1678 and named after its grandfather (he would become a [pirate](#) in the Persian/Arabian Gulf, and would be killed in the pirate haven of Saint Mary's Island in 1697, thus predeceasing the grandfather after whom he had been named, who would survive until 1794), Daniel Hoar, born about 1680, Leonard Hoar, Jonathan Hoar, Joseph Hoar, Benjamin Hoar, Mary Hoar, born on March 14, 1689, Samuel Hoar, born on April 6, 1691, Isaac Hoar, born on May 15, 1695, David Hoar, born on November 14, 1698; and Elizabeth Hoar, born on February 22, 1701. He would thus become a great-grandfather of Concord's righteous Squire Samuel Hoar and a great-great-grandfather of [Edward Sherman Hoar](#), George Frisbie Hoar, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, [Elizabeth Sherman Hoar](#), etc.

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



I went to Wotton to see my deare Brother.

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1678

In Amsterdam, [Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin](#) published, in the Dutch language, what we know as his [THE PIRATES OF PANAMA; OR, THE BUCCANEERS OF AMERICA](#). A TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE MOST REMARKABLE ASSAULTS COMMITTED OF LATE YEARS UPON THE COASTS OF THE WEST INDIES BY BUCCANEERS OF JAMAICA AND [TORTUGA](#) ... WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED MORE ESPECIALLY THE UNPARALLELED EXPLOITS OF [SIR HENRY MORGAN](#), AN ENGLISH JAMAICAN HERO WHO SACKED PORTO BELLO, BURNT PANAMA, ETC. It was issued under the title [PIRATICA AMERICANA, OF DEN AMERICAENCHEN ZEE-ROOVER](#). It would be translated into Spanish by a Dutch physician, Alonso de Bonne-Maison, in 1681. The English version, a translation of the Spanish version, would appear in 1684, with the author's name anglicized as "John Esquemeling." Born a Frenchman, most probably a native of Harfleur in Normandy, Exquemelin had it would seem come in 1666 to the New World as a indentured servant for the French West India Company. For 3 years he had served on the island of [Tortuga](#) off the coast of [Haiti](#), at the time a haven for [buccaneers](#). When he joined the buccaneers, it



was possibly as their barber-surgeon. He accompanied [Henry \(Harri\) Morgan](#), a legendary figure of [piracy](#) who would later become governor of Jamaica, on most of his expeditions. Governor Morgan would sue the publishers of the book, William Crooke and Thomas Malthus,⁶ for publishing the allegation that he had allowed his men to torture the citizens of a sacked city in order to confess to their hidden stashes of money and jewels, and would win the lawsuit and a retraction:

There have been lately printed and published two works, one by Wil. Crook, the other by Tho. Malthus, both intituled The History of the Bucaniers: both which books contained many false, scandalous and malicious reflection on the life and actions of Sir Henry Morgan, of Jamaica, Kt. The said Sir Henry Morgan hath by judgment had in the Kingsbench-Court, recovered against the said libel 200£ damages. And on the humble solicitation and request of William Crook, hath been pleased to withdraw his

6. Thomas Robert Malthus? No, I don't think so.

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action against Crook, and accept of his submission and acknowledgment in print.



May 11, night: Admiral Jean Comte d'Estrées, more experienced in land battle than sea battle, had assembled a potent French fleet in order to make an attempt to seize the last Dutch strongpoint in the West Indies, Curaçao, and render France the major power of the Caribbean Sea. He had "a Squadron of stout Ships, very well mann'd," amounting to 18 deep-draft men-of-war sporting a total of something like 700 brass cannon. To back this up the admiral had arranged for an entire armada of local [pirates](#) in lighter vessels to come along with his warships. The total force amounted to some 5,400 fighting men.

When the French fleet sighted a few shallow-draft Dutch vessels, somehow the entire fleet went in hot chase after them. Knowing the local waters, the Dutchmen sailed in the dark over extensive reefs associated with the island of Las Aves, where massive coral heads lurked at a depth of but ten feet. The French men-of-war sailed straight into this trap in the dark, ripping out their bottoms. Thousands perished and for all time France was finished as a major power in the Caribbean.



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1679

The English [buccaneer](#) Bartholomew Sharp (*circa* 1650-1690?) along with several other known [pirate](#) figures such as the Welsh pirate [Henry \(Harri\) Morgan](#) and Lionel Wafer (*circa* 1660-1705) staged a successful attack on the Spanish city of Porto Bello. He commanded a barque which plowed the way to a series of land battles which took the Spanish city. An expedition including William Dampier crossed the Isthmus of Darien and then returned to an island they called Drake's Island. There they split into two groups with Wafer leading one group back to the Isthmus.

July 2, Wednesday (Old Style): The King of England decided to pay the ransom imposed by Barbary [pirates](#), in order to free Seth Southell, the British subject whom he had chosen to be his new governor of the colony of Carolina. The king announced that at this point he was willing to sanction a prisoner swap in which HMS *Vice Admiral Herbert* released either or both of the Turks being held aboard her, one named "Buffalo Ball" and the other, named "Hodge Omar," who had been the commander of a captured pirate vessel named *Tiger of Argier* [Angier?]. Eventually, this Seth Southell would be freed and would assume the prerogatives of his new position as governor of the Carolina colony in America.



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1680

During this year and the following two years, Bartholomew Sharp (*circa* 1650-1690?) would be leading an English [buccaneering](#) expedition which would plunder several Spanish settlements along the Western coast of South America. Sharp, like Morgan and Rogers, would later transform himself into a [pirate](#) hunter. His account of this buccaneering expedition would become part of Esquemeling's BUCCANEERS OF AMERICA.

William Dampier joined a group of English [buccaneers](#) who crossed the Isthmus of Panama to raid Spanish settlements on the coast of South America. He would afterward cross the Pacific to the East Indies.



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1681

[Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin](#)'s 1678 *PIRATICA AMERICANA, OF DEN AMERICAENCHEN ZEE-ROOVER* was at this point translated into Spanish by a Dutch physician, Alonso de Bonne-Maison. The English version which would appear in 1684 (*THE PIRATES OF PANAMA; OR, THE BUCCANEERS OF AMERICA. A TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE MOST REMARKABLE ASSAULTS COMMITTED OF LATE YEARS UPON THE COASTS OF THE WEST INDIES BY BUCCANEERS OF JAMAICA AND TORTUGA ... WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED MORE ESPECIALLY THE UNPARALLELED EXPLOITS OF SIR HENRY MORGAN, AN ENGLISH JAMAICAN HERO WHO SACKED PORTO BELLO, BURNT PANAMA, ETC.*) would be based upon this Spanish volume.



May: The [buccaneer](#) Lionel Wafer (*circa* 1660-1705) was injured by an unexpected explosion of gunpowder and was cared for by the Cuna Indians. He would return to his group after regaining his health, and in 1699 would write his *NEW VOYAGE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA. GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR'S ABODE THERE, THE FORM AND MAKE OF THE COUNTRY, THE COASTS, HILLS, RIVERS, &C... TREES, FRUIT, BEASTS, BIRDS, FISH, &C. THE INDIAN INHABITANTS... THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS... HUNTING, COMPUTATION, LANGUAGE, &C. WITH REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES IN THE SOUTH SEA, AND ELSEWHERE.*



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1682

[Bartholomew Roberts](#) was born in Wales. He would begin as an honest merchantman.

When the ship on which he had sailed was ambushed by pirates, he would be taken hostage. A new career would begin for him when the pirate leader and several of the crew would get themselves killed in an ambush. Having led the pirates to safety, this former hostage would find himself elected to replace the dead captain. As "[Black Bart](#)" (he was one tall, dark, and handsome dude), he would plunder the coastlines of North and South America. For instance, a few weeks after taking command he would come upon, anchored unsuspectingly off the coast of Brazil, a fleet of 42 Portuguese treasure galleons accompanied by a couple of warships. The pirates would sail alongside the vessel that wallowed deepest in the water, fire off a broadside, and board (I think actually it is not possible to hold a full-size naval cutlass between your teeth). Capturing the prize, they would set sail and head for the open sea, where they would be able to outrun the pursuing warships, taking with them a rich load of furs, hogsheads of sugar and of tobacco, jewels, and 40,000 gold moidores. Roberts would discover aboard the vessel something that had been intended as a gift to the king of Portugal, a diamond-studded cross and heavy golden chain fit for a king — which, nifty dresser that he was, he would wear from then on. He would adorn himself in a rich waistcoat and breeches of red silk, and stick a red feather in his tricorne, tra-la. During battle, he would carry his two braces of pistols (that's four shots without reloading) in a red silk sling across his shoulder. Although his fellow pirates thought him something of a dandy, obviously none of them ever thought to attempt any subtle jests about his valor. It is said that at one point he sailed into the harbor at Trepassey, Newfoundland while there were 22 ships at anchor, in a sloop that carried only 10 guns and 60 men, with "colors flying, drums beating and trumpets sounding," and his reputation was such that all these seamen abandoned their vessels and fled to safety on shore. His reputation became so immense that guard ships stationed in the West Indies would noticeably sail away rather than risk any confrontation.

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Summer: The ship of Captain [Thomas Paine](#) arrived in Jamaica, bringing with it a crew of 80 men, and there its captain engaged to fight [pirates](#) rather than be one any longer. This deal with the island government was evidently for their own protection, as they wouldn't actually attempt to fight any pirates at this time.

Late in the year: The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) arrived at New Providence in the Bahamas, with the *Pearl*, a ship carrying 8 guns and 60 men. He joined in an unsuccessful [privateering](#) raid on St. Augustine.

1683

Taiwan (Formosa, the “shapely island”) became again Manchu [Chinese](#) territory after the final defeat of Cheng Cheng-kung or Zheng Chenggong, a former [pirate](#) in the Dutch service who had been known to the Westerners merely as “Coxinga.”



A few months after his unsuccessful raid on St. Augustine, Captain [Thomas Paine](#) showed up in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) bearing apparently forged sailing papers. Although allegedly he was a privateer with a commission from Sir Thomas Lynch, these papers described Lynch as a “Gentleman of the King’s Bed Chamber” rather than as a Gentleman of the King’s Privy Chamber, something that was a dead giveaway. Also, the signature on this proffered document evidently bore little resemblance to Lynch’s known signature.

PIRACY

March 8, Thursday (1682, Old Style): King [Charles II](#) of England wrote to “Governour” L. Jenkins of the “Connecticott” colony in regard to Privateers and “Pyrates”:

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well beloved, wee greet you well:— Whereas we are informed of great disorders and depredations, daily committed, to the prejudice of our allyes, contrary to treaty between us, and a good correspondence that ought to be maintained between Christian Princes and States. And we haveing already given strict order in our Island of Jamaica, against such illegall proceedings, by passing a law for restraining and punishing Privateers and Pyrates; our will and pleasure is, that you take care that such a law, (a copie where-with is sent you) be passed within our colony, under your Government, which you are to certifie unto us by the first opportunity. And so we bid you



PIRACY

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heartily farewell.
Given at our Court at New Markett, the 8th day of March, 1683.
By his Majesties Command,
L. JENKINS. To our trusty and well beloved, our Governour and
company of our colony of Connecticott, in New England, in
America.

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PRIVATEERS

December 1, Saturday (Old Style): Boston Deputy Collector Bernard Randolph allowed Captain [Thomas Paine](#)'s ship *Pearl* to proceed after being paid off with a sum equal to about a third of the vessel's value.

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1684

The 1681 Spanish translation of Alexander Oliver Exquemelin's 1678 *DE AMERICAENCHE ZEE-ROOVERS* at this point appeared in English as *THE BUCCANEERS OF AMERICA. A TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE MOST REMARKABLE ASSAULTS COMMITTED OF LATE YEARS UPON THE COASTS OF THE WEST INDIES BY BUCCANEERS OF JAMAICA AND TORTUGA ... WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED MORE ESPECIALLY THE UNPARALLELED EXPLOITS OF SIR HENRY MORGAN, AN ENGLISH JAMAICAN HERO WHO SACKED PORTO BELLO, BURNT PANAMA, ETC.)* with its author's Dutch name transliterated into English as "John Esquemeling."

Most of the Spaniards who had once inhabited the island of *Hispaniola* had been gone-to-Peru and gone-to-Mexico for something like the past three generations of human life — there being more perceived pelf on the mainland. The few who remained on the island had been induced to emigrate to its eastern half in 1605, to prevent them from having dealings with Dutch and French traders when they should be dealing only with Spanish traders, and it was from this power base on the eastern half of the island (now the Dominican Republic) that Spain was ruling its colonies in the Americas. With the Spaniards beginning to raise crops on the mainland with which to feed themselves, the last usefulness of the island to them had vanished. This had created a power vacuum on the western half of the island, into which the *buccaneers* and *pirates* of the Caribbean had flowed like water — this is what would eventually enable the French to conquer the western part of *Hispaniola* from its base on *L'île de la Tortue* (*Turtle Island* or *Tortuga*) and convert it into the colony of *Saint-Domingue*.



Tortuga, named for its outline, stands off the northern coast of the northern peninsula of *Haiti*. At the beginning of the 17th century the population lived on the coast facing Haiti. There were several anchorages along this coast, such as the one at Cayona, suitable for ships carrying up to 70 cannon. When the Spanish destroyed the English settlement in Nevis in 1629, Anthony Hilton, a shipmaster and leader of that colony, needing another place in which to combine planting with piracy, relocated his enterprise to Tortuga. There was also a steady flow of indentured servants running away from masters on St. Christopher and Barbados. The French who settled in Tortuga came from St. Christopher. Others arrived to engage in the business of provisioning the French and English pirates of the Caribbean. Tortuga was strategically situated to challenge the treasure galleons on their primary path to Europe from Central and South America. There was another path to the south of Puerto Rico, but it required the crossing of dangerous shallows. Anthony Hilton's colony had come under the control of the Providence Company in 1631. In 1633 the Audiencia of Santo Domingo had determined that it would clear out these desperadoes for once and all, and in 1635, while the English and French in Tortuga were fighting each other, the Spanish had pounced. The English governor had fled at the sight of these Spanish



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ships. The Spaniards killed most of the white men on the island, taking their women as slaves. A group of Frenchmen hid out in the woods and abandoned their women and children and sailed at night to Haiti, where they again sought refuge in the woods until they could reprovision themselves. After most of the Spanish had departed, they sailed back to Tortuga and defeated the few Spaniards who had been left in garrison. They applied to the French governor of St. Christopher to send them a governor who would help them defend themselves against the Spanish, and the new governor, Le Vasseur, ordered the rush construction of a fortress upon the highest rock on the island, with a battery of cannon to command the anchorage. Upon completion of this structure, he had the workers remove the access route to this fort. Then the Spanish again invaded Tortuga, this time in canoes carrying 800 men, and managed to get ashore before the French were able to mobilize and react. The Spanish force established itself atop a mountain and built a battery. The French solicited the assistance of nearby buccaneers and filibusters, who were brought onto the island at night to avoid observation by the Spanish atop their mountain. They then staged a successful surprise attack on the Spaniards just as the Spaniards were leaving their fortification to go down to attack the French. This fun and games had established the French on Tortuga, and from that island they would conduct their invasion of the western part of Hispanola and the creation of St. Domingue. With the Dutch more or less gone from the Caribbean, and English pirates such as [Henry \(Harri\) Morgan](#) centered at Jamaica, Tortuga came to be mainly occupied by French pirates. By the middle of the 17th century there were around 600 buccaneers on the island. The Governors of Tortuga had been proud possessors the island until, in 1664, the French West India Company had laid the foundations of a colony there under which the Spanish planters of Hispanola were subsumed as subjects. Bertrand D'Ogeron, who had been recommended to consolidate French power in the Antilles, had been appointed as Governor of Tortuga in 1665 and ordered to make the island a center from which to extend the French influence over Hispanola. At first Bertrand D'Ogeron had been unable to persuade the buccaneers to abandon their dealings with the Dutch and with any buccaneers or pirates who entered their harbors. By census, he had discovered that there were 450 whites, 60 slaves, and a few indentured servants in his colony. In 1665 he had reported to Louis XIV's Minister of Commerce, Colbert, that 700-800 Frenchmen were "scattered along the coasts of the Island of Hispanola in inaccessible places surrounded by mountains or by great rocks" and that it would be "necessary for his majesty to give an order to cause these people to leave the said island of Hispanola and betake themselves in two months into Tortuga which they would do without doubt if it were fortified and that would bring in a great revenue to the King if all captains of merchant ships and others were forbidden to buy or sell anything to the Frenchmen called buccaneers along the coast of Hispanola." Bertrand D'Ogeron had actively and successfully transformed Tortuga's mixed bag of adventurers into a stable French colonial population by mingling them with new colonists from France. Within a few years there were 2,000 French colonists in Western Hispanola, engaged in productive lives and purchasing more and more black slaves for forced labor in their plantation fields. Although there were still perhaps a hundred buccaneers, order of magnitude, lurking in the woods, he had found uses for the filibusters in the furtherance of French national policy, and had attracted French rovers from Port Royal, concentrating the French forces at the stronghold of Tortuga. His policies would result in the splitting of the island of [Hispaniola](#) into two colonies during the 17th and 18th Centuries — French St. Domingue on the west part of the island and Spanish Santo Domingo on the east (it would not be until the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, which settled a European war, that Spain would officially acknowledge that the western portion had come to pertain to France).

The Spanish raided the small settlement at New Providence Island, scattering the British into the depths of the island and razing their town. This displacement only made the pirate presence stronger – once the Spanish had left, there were few settlers left to oppose the [pirates](#).

April 13, Thursday: The King of England wrote to the governor of Jamaica and the governor and magistrates of Massachusetts, about extermination of [pirates](#), in particular mentioning "one Thomas Pain" as an evildoer and enemy of mankind.

[THOMAS PAINE](#)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

July: Gabriel Powell was fined £15 and his remaining cattle in Powell Valley on [St. Helena](#) were forfeit, for selling cows to “an interloper” (to wit, some [pirate](#) or [privateer](#) or [freebooter](#), or one or another vessel that lacked a British East India Company sanction). This Powell family would become one of the biggest landowners on the island, and a son would be acting governor before being deported for swindling the East India Company.

September: William Dyre, a Collector at [Boston](#), reported that he had caused to be “Secured Capt. Thomas Payn Arch [pirate](#)”

[THOMAS PAINE](#)



PIRACY

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1685

Captain Sampson Waters and 40 men were sent out to cruise the coast off New London CT in pursuit of the [pirates](#) Thomas Veal and Graham.⁷

7. One of four pirates who sought refuge in the Lynn Woods, Thomas Veal would avoid capture by hiding in Dungeon Rock — reportedly stashing his treasure trove in the cave there. Would you like to help me dig for it?

1686

On New Providence Island in the Bahamas, the [pirates](#) were stronger than ever. Their strength grew as the war between England and France drove pirates from [Hispaniola](#) to the north; these reinforcements were, in fact, welcomed by the Bahaman governors for the additional trade they brought with them.

A poor Carolina overseer of a plantation who had been taken prisoner by [pirates](#) escaped from them at Casco. Edward Randolph, the collector of the Boston port, referred this man to Erasmus Stevens, who evidently kept an inn in Boston, to be provided with necessary food and clothing.

Basil Ringrose, the English [buccaneer](#) and surgeon who had authored the account “The South Seas Waggoner” that had been added in its 2nd English edition to THE BUCCANEERS OF AMERICA, describing adventures with Bartholomew Sharp’s expedition across the Isthmus of Panama in 1680-1682, was killed during an attack on the Spanish city of Santiago in Mexico.

Clergymen such as the Reverend Increase Mather and his son the Reverend Cotton Mather were not merely opposed to English interference with their Puritan state but also of course opposed to [witches](#) and/or [Quakers](#) and/or [pirates](#). When the infamous James Morgan was [hanged](#) for piracy in this year in [Boston](#), the father, the Reverend Increase Mather, preached the execution sermon to a crowd of some 5,000 people who had assembled from afar to celebrate such a grand event — some of these people had been in town for a week waiting patiently, having journeyed from as far as the valley of the Connecticut River.





PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1687

At about this point the [Boston](#) pewtersmith [John Comer \(1\)](#) took as apprentice [John Comer \(2\)](#).

The pirate ketch *Sparrow* docked in Boston out of Barbados with Boston native Richard Narramore as its master. According to his tale, he had been hired by 18 pirates “at a cost of 40 pieces of eight each, to deliver them at different places” along the East Coast, from New-York to Newfoundland. These former [pirates](#) were returning home with their treasure. One had been dropped off at Gardner’s Island at the east end of Long Island with his two chests full of gold or dirty laundry, then Christopher Goff had been dropped off at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), and two men with small chests had been dropped off at Damaras Cove, and Thomas Scudder had gone to Salem, and John Danson and his hoard had wound up in [Boston](#). John Danson, Thomas Scudder, Christopher Goff, Edward Calley, and Thomas Dunston were collected and brought before the magistrates. In John Danson’s confiscated chest 900 pieces of eight were discovered, and these men made no bones about the fact that they had been pirates — but since the court had no witnesses, they were released to spend their treasures. “Go thou and sin no more.” Christopher Goff would be employed by the Massachusetts General Court to patrol the coast.

The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) owned land in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

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PIRACY

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1688

When a [pirate](#) named Peterson and his crew were brought before a court in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) during this year, a jury of their friends and neighbors of course found them not guilty. “What, my neighbor is a pirate? – I simply cannot credit that!”

The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) was residing at [Newport](#), and at about this time he married with Mercy Carr, daughter of Justice Caleb Carr (who would become governor of [Rhode Island](#)). He also served on a grand jury. (This makes one wonder whether he served on the grand jury that refused to indict the pirate Peterson.)



Samuel Mosely was one of a commission who treated with the [Narragansett](#), a late-life service in connection with which this former [pirate](#) (reprieved) and race murderer (celebrated) would come to be referred to, in our historic timeframe, uniformly throughout his life, as if he had been “Captain.”

PIRACY

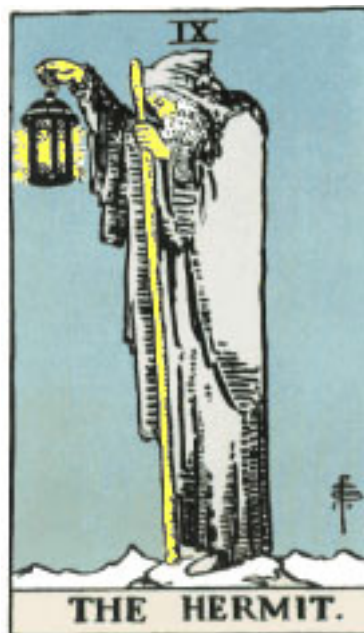
PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1689

In roughly this time period, a [hermit](#) of Braintree, Massachusetts called “Tom Revel” was being rumored to be a [regicide](#), or holy man gone crazy. He lived with a pig, in a habitation that seemed to other residents of the area to resemble a pigsty. Whitney’s *HISTORY OF QUINCY* offered the tale that, when the man died, the Governor of the Province and other distinguished men came out from Boston and served as his pall-bearers. Several facts point to this being sheer fantasy: we know of no regicide of this name, we know that government officials could not have dared to display such public honor to one of the regicides, and we know that they would have been unwilling to show public honor to a mere hermit.



In what would become Windham, New Hampshire a mystery man named John Cates or Kates, who had been around New England at least since 1686, built the initial house. There has been a report that he had come to New England from Virginia, and it was considered possible that he had been the passenger from London who appeared under that name in the manifest of the ship *Safety* as of 1635. He withdrew from society, living for some time as a [hermit](#) in a cave near Windsor. There has been the idle speculation that he was one of the [regicides](#), hiding out, but that seems implausible. The Boston genealogist James Savage has suggested that perhaps John Cates had been merely a “misanthropic humorist, perhaps had been a [buccaneer](#), and thought seclusion his safest course.” We know now that he had not always been an isolate, as it would be discovered upon his death on July 16, 1697 that in his will, filed on May 5, 1696, he mentioned offspring in England. In this will he donated land for a community school, and for the poor of Windham, and money to the church (the popular tale that he what he had donated to the church was a set of silver plate is not accurate).



The Sieur Raveneau de Lussan, apparently in debt to some creditors in Paris and unable to continue his fashionable life, had become involved in several [buccaneering](#) expeditions which had taken place in the West Indies and the Pacific coast of South America. In this year he published his *HISTOIRE DES FILIBUSTIERS DE LA MER DE SUD* which would later be translated into English as *JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE INTO THE SOUTH SEAS IN*

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1684 AND THE FOLLOWING YEARS WITH THE FILIBUSTERS.

When French [privateers](#) threatened [Block Island](#), a Captain [Thomas Paine](#) (later to become an associate of Captain [William Kidd](#)) sailed from [Newport, Rhode Island](#) and succeeded in driving them off. But where was Captain Kidd himself? In this year he was a member of a privateer crew that commandeered a French ship and brought it to the English colony on the island of Nevis in the Caribbean. Governor Christopher Codrington renamed this ship *Blessed William* in honor of King William III and appointed Kidd to be its captain, with a privateer appointment to defend the island against the French and an agreement that to pay for this service he would be entitled to anything he could seize from the French (it would be interpreting this commission very liberally that would get Kidd into beaucoup trouble as a [pirate](#), and lead to his hanging in irons).



In [Newport](#), the [Quakers](#) agreed that “the Yearly Men and Womens Meeting which useth to be at William Coddinton’s shall be ye first part at ye Meeting House and later part for ye affayers of ye Church to be at Walter Newberry’s.” The meetinghouse referred to would presumably have been the repurposed residence that had been donated by the governor, Friend Nicholas Easton.



GREAT MEETINGHOUSE

In [Rhode Island](#), Henry Bull was in charge. From this year into 1763, there would be intermittent colonial wars between England and France, a 75-year struggle for empire that would frequently involve this little colony’s men, money, and ships.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

October 4: Samuel Pease had command of a vessel [Boston](#) had fitted out for the pursuit of [pirates](#) and on this day, in the Vineyard Sound, although he himself was mortally wounded in the engagement, succeeded in capturing Thomas Pound the pirate and his ship. One of the Boston men who volunteered to go out on this expedition was Colburn Turell. Presumably Samuel Watts, who would be tried as a pirate in Boston in the following year, was captured aboard this vessel. Another of the pirates they captured on board this ship, who was later hanged, was a man named John Sicklerdam, who was perhaps a Dutch mariner and had taken part in the piracy in order to advance the cause of [William, Prince of Orange](#).



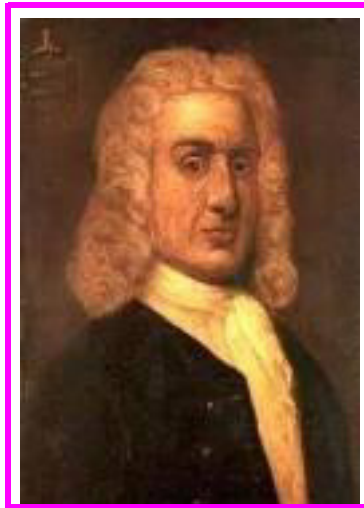
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December: In November 1687 a [St. Helena slave](#), Peter, who had poisoned his master, had been burned alive in the presence of all other slaves, each required to bring some of the kindling. The ceremony had apparently been less than totally effective for at this point it needed to be repeated in regard to a couple of additional slaves, Job and Derrick.⁸

Captain [William Kidd](#)'s *Blessed William* joined a Royal Navy squadron headed by Captain Thomas Hewetson to attack the French sugar plantation at Mariegalante in the Caribbean. The town was ransacked and Kidd was able to sail away with some £2,000 worth of booty stowed in his [privateer](#) vessel's hold. Hewetson, writing of this in his journal, had it that Kidd "was a mighty man who fought as well as any man I ever saw."

Shortly afterward the *Blessed William* joined another English squadron, intending to engage French warships at sea. Captain [William Kidd](#)'s crew refused, as in such an activity there would not be a whole lot of looting and pillaging, and Kidd went ashore on Nevis. In the middle of the night Robert Culliford led the crew to sail the vessel away, with Kidd's lion's share of the booty still in its hold. Although the governor of Nevis equipped Kidd with the sloop *Antigua* and a crew to seek out and recover the *Blessed William*, the effort would evidently prove unsuccessful.

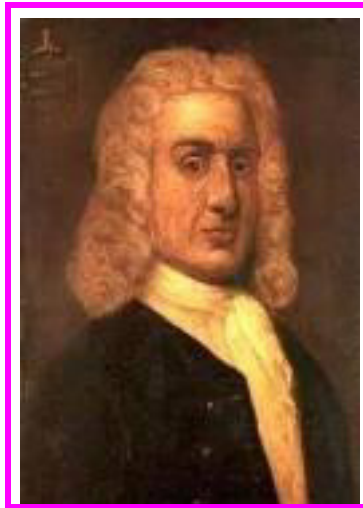


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8. There is also a record of a black slave who attempted to kill his master by putting ground glass on his supper. The sentence in this case was the same, being burned alive with wood supplied by other slaves, so I don't know whether this is a 4th instance, or merely an additional report of the punishment of Peter, or Job, or Derrick.

1690

Jacob Leisler was leading New-York in a rebellion against its newly appointed governor, Colonel Henry Sloughter. Captain [William Kidd](#) ferried guns and ammunition with which Governor Sloughter would discipline the city's citizens. The governor would provide Kidd with £150 and a commendation.



PIRACY

January: Samuel Watts was tried as a [pirate](#) in [Boston](#).

Matthew Pouncey, one of the [St. Helena](#) planters involved in the 1684 rebellion, offered his land to the government and escaped the death sentence, and was permitted to board ship for Bombay.

February: In [Boston](#), as part of an effort to fund a military expedition against [Canada](#) –one that would fail– the 1st paper money in the history of North America was issued.

A couple of men visiting [St. Helena](#) were noted to have a quantity of gold in their possession, and interrogated. When they admitted having been [pirates](#) and offered that they were attempting to retire, they were dispatched to a prison in England.

Summer: Three French [privateers](#) raided [Block Island](#). Captain [Thomas Paine](#) and Captain John Godfrey sailed from [Newport, Rhode Island](#) and fought them off.

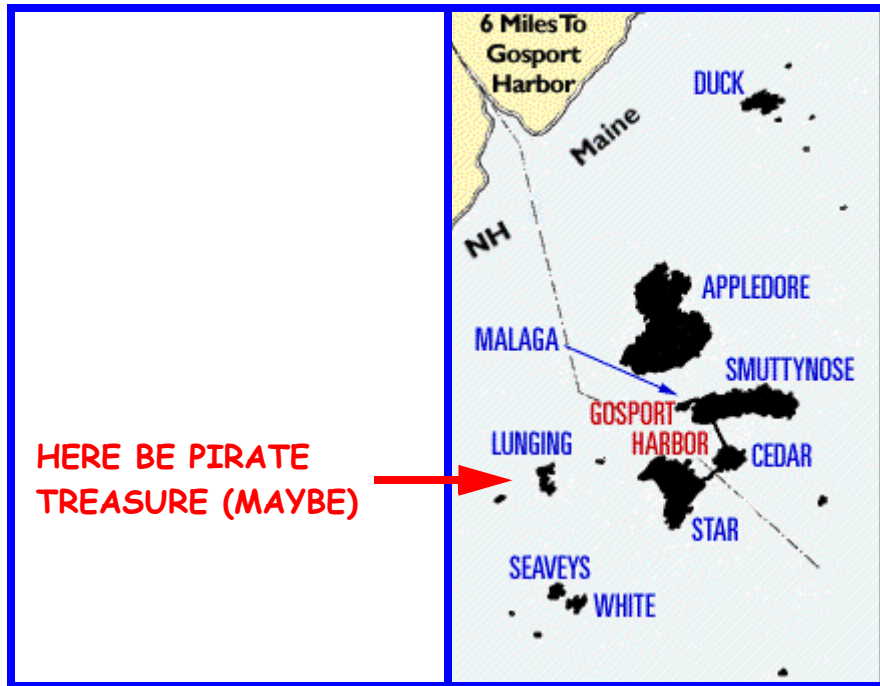
September: Captain [Thomas Paine](#) was on a commission appointed by the [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly to apportion the taxes of Jamestown. The former [pirate](#) owned a farm at the north end of Conanicut Island.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1691

It is said that during this year, Captain [Edward “Blackbeard” Teach](#) and a sizeable crew of [pirates](#) landed at Lunging Island (Londoner Island) in the Isles of Shoals and buried a large treasure of silver bars. If so, said trove has never been recovered.



[Rhode Island](#) born [Thomas Tew](#) purchased a share in the 70-ton sloop *Amity* from some merchants in Bermuda. Sailing with Captain Tew was another sloop commanded by George Drew. Unable to obtain a privateering commission from the Rhode Island Governor, Tew sailed the *Amity* from [Newport](#) to Bermuda and was sold, for £300 sterling, a commission “to attack French vessels,” by Governor Benjamin Fletcher there, who considered Captain Tew to be “a very pleasant man who tells wonderful stories.” Tew then sailed to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean to plunder local shipping. They had been fitted out and commissioned to sail with instructions to take the French factory at Garee on the river Gambia in West Africa. On the voyage out, a storm caused Drew’s sloop to spring her mast and the two vessels lost sight of each other. Captain Tew did not think much of raiding a factory with little or no hope of gold. He therefore proposed raiding other ships and his crew unanimously accepted the change in course. They sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and up the east coast of Africa to the Gulf of Aden at the Red Sea. Just as they reached the entrance to the Red Sea they saw a richly laden Arabian vessel full of soldiers, guns, and gold. She was taken without loss and £3,000 sterling was each

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BLACKBEARD:

OR,
THE PIRATE OF THE ROANOKE.



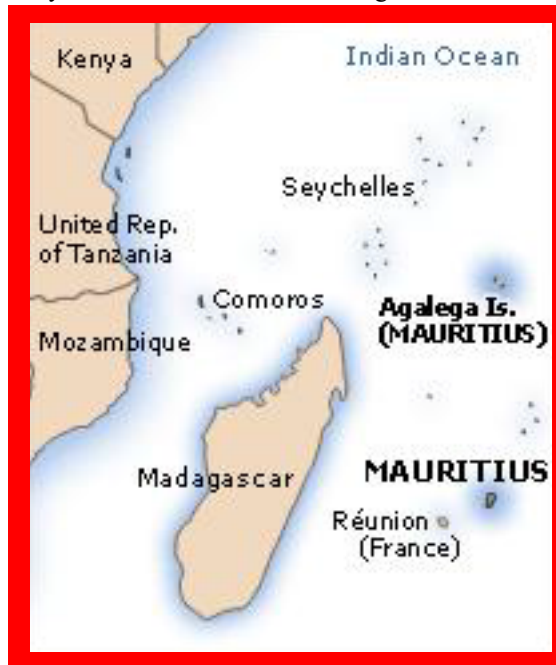
Portrait of Blackbeard, the Pirate of the Roanoke.

F. GLEASON'S PUBLISHING HALL,
CORNER OF TREMONT AND COURT STREETS, BOSTON.
S. FRENCH, 293 Broadway, New York. A. WINCH, 116 Chestnut St., Philadela.
STRATTON & BARNARD, 121 Main Street, Cincinnati. T. S. HAWKS,
Post Office Building, Buffalo. J. A. ROYS, 37 Woodward Avenue,
Detroit. WM. TAYLOR, North Street, Baltimore. FLETCH-
ER & SELLERS, Rue Champs Elysees, New Orleans.
1847.

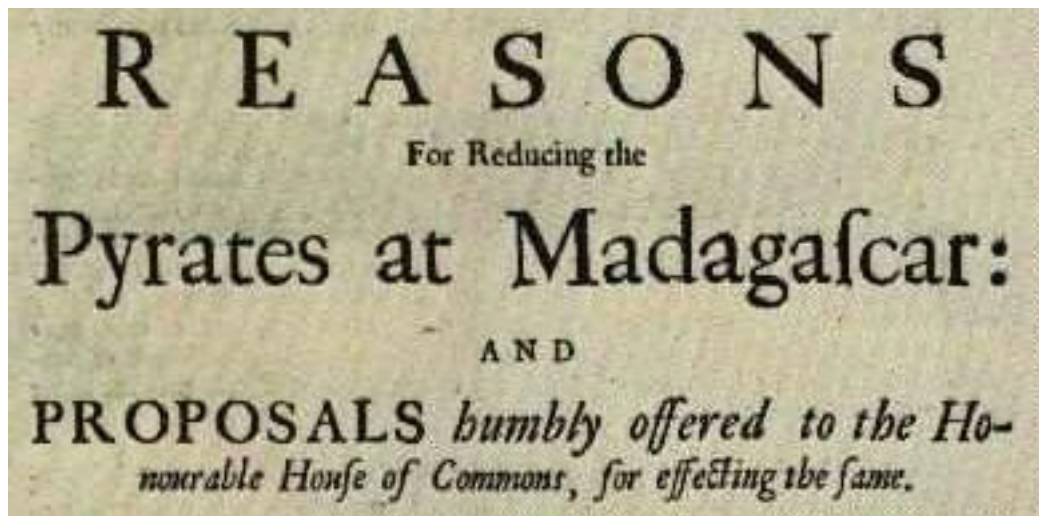
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man's share. From there they set sail to the island of Madagascar.



There 24 of the crew elected to retire and enjoy a life of ease in that delightful climate.



The rest of the company remained with Captain Tew and he set sail for America. Barely out of port he encountered a ship under command of Captain Mission, a famous [pirate](#) from France. Mission had earlier established a pirate haven and colony on Madagascar by the name of "Libertatia." Captain Tew and crew were welcome converts. Madagascar was ideally located and had no government. It is about three times the size of North Carolina. Captain Mission, desiring to strengthen his colony, decided to send a ship to Guinea to seize slave ships. He offered Tew the command of the expedition and gave him a crew of 200 men. After passing the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Tew captured a Dutch East Indianman with 18 guns. He lost one man but got several chests of English Crowns. Nine of the Dutchmen joined his company and the rest were put ashore. Off the coast of Angola, Thomas captured an English vessel with 240 slaves. They were returned to Libertatia after a short voyage around Madagascar, Thomas had the "Amity" refitted and set sail for America. From his New England home port he sent word to his partners in Bermuda to send for their share of the profits from his voyage. Captain Tew's share came to 8000 pounds sterling. Captain Tew applied to Sir William Phips, Governor of Massachusetts, for a new privateering commission, but was refused. However John Easton,

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Governor of [Rhode Island](#), for 500 pounds sterling issued such a commission. Captain Tew tied up with Frederick Phillips of New York. He backed a new venture and soon the ship *Frederick* was on its way around the Cape and anchored at Libertatia. Captain Tew and Mission each with a ship and 250 men, headed for the Red Sea. Off the coast of Arabia, they came upon a large ship with 1,000 pilgrims, bound for Mecca. They quickly took the ship and put all but 100 teenage girls ashore. They then headed back to Libertatia. The guns from the captured ship were used to help fortify the pirate colony. Not long after that, 5 tall ships from Portugal carrying 50 guns each attacked the pirate haven. Two of the ships were sunk, one was captured, and two escaped. Word of this battle with the pirates spread around Europe and America. Captain Tew was then made Admiral of the Pirate Fleet and at once sought to build up the level of manpower of this pirate Kingdom. First he sailed to his old shipmates on the other side of Madagascar. They said no thanks as they preferred their new way of life. While Thomas was ashore, a violent storm came up and wrecked his ship and all 300 men aboard drowned. Weeks later Mission came looking for Tew and once more the two were united. However the news went from bad to worse. Mission had sent out a 2nd ship, this left him with only a token force with women and children. Natives stormed the pirate fort during the night and Mission barely escaped with 45 men, 2 sloops, and a considerable treasure. They decided to go home. They split the treasure and each took a sloop and headed toward the Cape. Before reaching the Cape, Mission went down in a storm. [Thomas Tew](#) made it back to America and for the time being retired in [Rhode Island](#). His men took their share of loot and quietly dispersed. However it did not take long for the men to squander their shares and soon they were soliciting Tew to make another run.

PRIVATEERING

January: Local gunsmith Richard Griffin was one of the ordinary [pirates](#) who were executed in [Boston](#) along with the pirate chiefs Thomas Pound and Thomas Hawkins.

March: Captain [William Kidd](#) the Scotsman reclaimed a pressed seaman at [New-York](#).⁹



PIRACY

In the diary of [John Evelyn](#) for this month, we find:

March 11, Wednesday (Old Style): *At White-hall Dr. Wake 12 Rom:18: I went to visite Lo[rd]Clarendon, prisoner in the Tower, but was not suffered to come to him any neerer than the windowe &c:*

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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

May 16, Saturday (Old Style): In [New-York](#), Captain [William Kidd](#) and the grass widow Sarah Bradley Cox Oort applied for a marriage license. This was 2 days after the sudden and mysterious death of her husband John Oort — his body had hardly had a chance to grow cold. There were rumors, of course, but nothing provable, so William and Sarah and Sarah’s two daughters would be able to settle into domesticity. The [privateer](#) captain thus came into possession of grand properties overlooking the Hudson River, and the promise of a family box pew in Trinity Church when that structure would be erected in 1698.



PIRACY

Having been duly condemned to be hanged “by the Neck and being Alive their bodies be Cutt downe to Earth and Their Bowells to be taken out and they being Alive, burnt before their faces,” [Jacob Leisler](#) and his son-in-law [Jacob Milborne](#) were led to the gallows, which had been erected on the execution levels near the [New-York](#) City Hall, and hanged in a cold rain for treason before what seems to have been the largest crowd assembled in the colony to that date (6 others had been reprieved). Before being [strangle-hung](#) and then [beheaded](#) “halfe dead,” Leisler explained that his objective had been merely to protect the [New York](#) colony

9. [William Kidd](#) had gone to sea as a young man, on a merchant vessel sailing back and forth between New-York and London. He had made himself such an accomplished sailor and businessman that the king of England had said he was “well beloved.” He was hired by powerful political figures to stop marauding vessels from preying on commercial ships. He was a respected member of his church in Manhattan, who helped to pass the collection plate on a Sunday. By the mid-1690s, he and his family would be established in an elegant home on Pearl Street. In fact, there is a modern author, Richard Zacks, who has maintained that Captain Kidd was not a pirate, but the scourge of the pirates!

Look me in the eye ...



Would I lie to you?

The king’s commission to Kidd, while he affected to be a legal [privateersman](#), incidentally named the [pirates](#) whom he was intended to capture:

- Captain Thomas Too
- John Ireland
- Captain Thomas Wake
- Captain Maze, or Mace, &c.

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Pilgrim Costumes



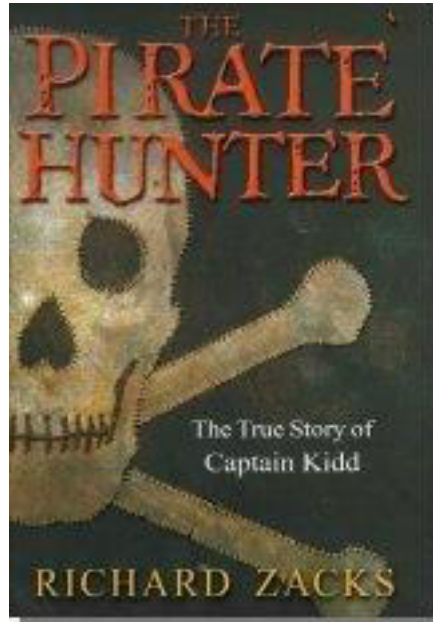
PIRACY

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from popery.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

August 17, Monday (Old Style): The legitimately commissioned [privateer](#) Captain [William Kidd](#) brought in a prize ship and duly paid, of the proceeds, to the king his 10th share, to the governor his 15th share.



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1692

The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) became Captain of the [Jamestown](#) militia.



By this year [Palsgrave Williams](#) was growing up in Boston, the son of John Williams, a merchant, and Ann Alcock Williams, the daughter of Dr. John Alcock and Sarah Palsgrave Alcock of Roxbury (so, presumably, this famous [Rhode Island pirate](#) is a remote relative of Bronson Alcott, who changed his name from Alcock). This family would relocate from Boston to [Rhode Island](#), and little Palsgrave would mature on [Block Island](#) and in [Newport](#).

A man named Babit, and others, stole a sloop from Philadelphia for purposes of [piracy](#), and also committed some thefts on that river.

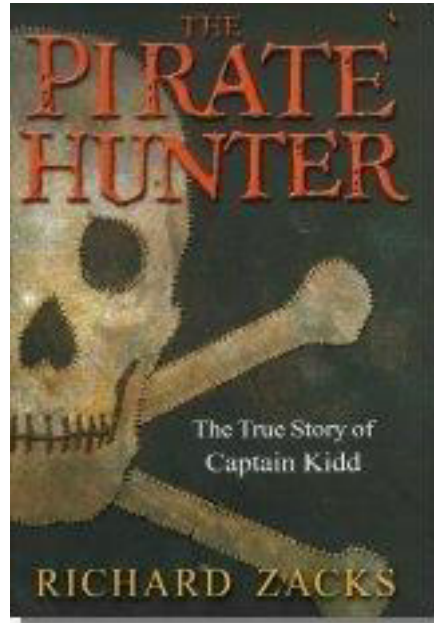
1693

October 19, Thursday (Old Style): Earlier in this year Lieutenant Governor Isaac Richier of Bermuda had commissioned [Thomas Tew](#)'s sloop *Amity* and another sloop to attack "Goory," a French factory on the Gambian Coast of Africa. On the way to this privateering, or soldier-of-fortuning, Tew had decided that he would be a [pirate](#) instead, and had made for the entrance of the Persian/Arabian Gulf, where he had captured an Indian vessel. On this day his *Amity* arrived at St. Mary's Island off Madagascar loaded with the loot.



1694

Colonel Robert Livingston of the [New-York](#) colonial government and Captain [William Kidd](#), who seems to have been a resident of New-York, with a wife and child there, were visiting London together, and Livingston was recommending Kidd to the crown officers as a [privateer](#). He also made a security guarantee or security deposit, so that Kidd could receive command of the *Adventure Galley*.



When Captain John Hore of [Rhode Island](#) (related to the Hoar family of Concord), under a [privateer](#)'s commission issued in Jamaica, captured a French ship and sailed his prize home, there was no legal body in that colony to certify the legitimacy his possession of this vessel and its cargo. In response to Captain Hore's petition, Rhode Island for the first time established an Admiralty Court which duly declared the seizure to have been legitimate. Captain Hore would rename his prize the *John and Rebecca* and refit it as a privateer — and in the following year would sail off to the Red Sea and the East Indies to engage in flat out [piracy](#).

Captain Hore's career as a pirate skipper aboard his *John and Rebecca* would not prove long and successful.

The *Pelican* would also originate in [Rhode Island](#) as a prize seized from the French, duly condemned and then refitted with 16 guns, some *pateraras* which fired stones, and a crew of 100. Rhode Island Governor Walter Clares would issue a customs commission for the ship to voyage to Jamaica. Captain Colly appointed the Deputy Collector of Customs, Gardiner, as legal attorney to take care of business for them. Several of the original sailors, who wanted to return to Jamaica, refused to sail on the vessel because they knew it wasn't actually heading for Jamaica. It seemed to be common knowledge locally, that Captain Colly and his crew intended "to cruise on the Moors, not intending to Pirate among the Europeans, but honestly and quietly to rob what Moors be in their way." When Captain Colly took the *Pelican* to sea, it headed for Madagascar and a career as a pirate vessel.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

- 1687 The palace of Versailles, near Paris, finished by Louis XIV.
- 1688 The Revolution in Great Britain begins; November 5, King James abdicates; and retires to France, December 3.
- 1689 King William and Queen Mary, daughter and son-in-law to James, are proclaimed, February 16.
 Viscount Dundee stands out for James in Scotland, but is killed by general Mackey, at the battle of Killycrankie; upon which the Highlanders, wearied with repeated misfortunes, disperse.
 The land-tax passed in England.
 The toleration act passed in ditto.
 Several bishops are deprived for not taking the oath to king William.
 William Fuller, who pretended to prove the prince of Wales spurious, was voted by the commons to be a notorious cheat, impostor, and false accuser.
- 1690 The battle of the Boyne gained by William against James in Ireland.
- 1691 The war in Ireland finished by the surrender of Limerick to William.
- 1692 The English and Dutch fleets, commanded by admiral Russel, defeat the French fleet off La Hogue.
- 1693 Bayonets at the end of loaded muskets first used by the French against the Confederates in the battle of Turin.
 The duchy of Hanover made the ninth electorate.
 Bank of England established by king William.
 The first public lottery was drawn this year.
 Massacre of Highlanders at Glenco, by king William's troops.
- 1694 Queen Mary dies at the age of 33, and William reigns alone.
 Stamp duties instituted in England.
- 1696 The peace of Ryswick.
- 1699 The Scots settled a colony at the isthmus of Darien, in America, and called it Caledonia.
- 1700 Charles XII. of Sweden begins his reign.



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Spring: Captain [Thomas Tew](#) and the 70-ton sloop *Amity* were back home at [Newport, Rhode Island](#) with “100,000 pounds sterling worth of ivory, gold, silver, and jewels,” and each of his sixty [privateers](#) “with 1,200 pounds apiece,” enough to retire on comfortably. Tew deposited his treasure, some suspect at Sakonnet Point or Patience Island, and recruited a new crew to return to Madagascar, an island known in those days as “[Pirates Kingdom](#).”



PIRACY

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September/October: One of the deadliest of Caribbean hurricanes hit off Barbados.



The [pirate Thomas Tew](#) was staffing his sloop *Amity* for another voyage. Meanwhile, John or Joseph Bankes of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was preparing the bark *Portsmouth Adventure* and William Mayes of Newport was preparing the brigantine *Pearl* and Captain Thomas Wake of Boston had brought his bark *Susanna* to Newport to join with them. Captain Want, also a Rhode Islander, would bring the brigantine *Dolphin* to join them. They were convinced that at their destination “the mony was as plenty as stones, & sand,” and that since the people there were Infidels who had no knowledge of God’s Truth, “it was no sin to kill them.”¹⁰

November 2, Friday (Old Style): By this date Captain [Thomas Tew](#)’s sloop *Amity* and Captain Thomas Wake’s bark *Susanna* had sailed from [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

PIRACY

November 8, Thursday (Old Style): For the sum of £300 sterling, Governor Benjamin Fletcher of [New-York](#),¹¹ who considered Captain [Thomas Tew](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) to be “a very pleasant man who tells wonderful stories,” offered him a privateering commission to use his *Amity* to harass French shipping. He would be joined by Captain Want of the Carolinas, and Captain Wake in another vessel, and –forgetting all that noise about being at war with the French– they would proceed directly to the mouth of the Red Sea.

PIRACY

10. These guys really understood Christianity, didn’t they?

11. Governor Benjamin Fletcher had been appointed in 1692, and would lose his office in April 1698 in part because of such dealings with [privateers](#). In his own defense he is reported to have commented “I was just trying to make them Christians and correct some of their bad language.”

1695

English officials were not only criticizing [Rhode Island](#) for failing to observe the customs laws, but also for serving as an actual base for [pirates](#). The Earl of Bellomont financed an expedition by Captain [William Kidd](#) against pirates “from New England, Rode Island, New York, and other parts in America.”

The [Rhode Island](#) legislature established an annual tax rate of 1s. 8d. for each negro man servant and 10s. for each negro woman servant. (That’s according to the published history book but this can only be a printer’s typo, for the tax on ownership of a female [slave](#) could not conceivably have been that much more than the tax on a male. More likely, the tax on a female slave would have been 10p., or perhaps 1s.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

In [Rhode Island](#), Governor Caleb Carr died, leaving land in [Newport](#) and a share in Gould Island to his daughter and her husband, the former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#).

February: A New-York friend, Colonel Robert Livingston,¹² schemed to set Captain [William Kidd](#) up as a privateerman in the Indian Ocean.



Kidd would sail his sloop *Antigua* to London to join Livingston. In London, Livingston would introduce Kidd to Richard Coote, the Earl of Bellomont who had the ear of the king, and as a member of Parliament had maneuvered to get himself named governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. (Later, he would be named governor also of the New York colony.) What Kidd really wanted for himself was a commission in the Royal Navy, but Bellomont and Livingston would throw their support behind a plan to make of Kidd a [privateer](#), with the booty to be divided among the principals. Bellomont persuaded King William to grant a royal commission — with the king as a “silent partner” since he was to receive a share of whatever loot Kidd collected from pirates he captured (shades of Enron). Under this privateering contract (a sort of officially sanctioned [piracy](#)) Kidd would sail out in command of the *Adventure Galley* from Plymouth, England to attack and loot French shipping.

William Rex, WILLIAM THE THIRD, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

12. Although an English political figure and entrepreneur, Livingston happened to be engaged in illegal trade with England’s enemy, the French.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

To our trusty and well beloved Capt. ROBERT KIDD, commander of the ship the Adventure galley, or to any other, the commander of the same for the time being,

Greeting:

Whereas we are informed, that Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake, and Capt. William Maze or Mace, and other subjects, natives or inhabitants of New-York, and elsewhere, in our plantations in America, have associated themselves with divers others, wicked and ill-disposed persons, and do, against the law of nations, commit many and great piracies, robberies and depredations on the seas upon the parts of America, and in other parts, to the great hindrance and discouragement of trade and navigation, and to the great danger and hurt of our loving subjects, our allies, and all others, navigating the seas upon their lawful occasions.

Now KNOW YE, that we being desirous to prevent the aforesaid mischiefs, and as much as in us lies, to bring the said pirates, free-booters and sea-rovers to justice, have thought fit, and do hereby give and grant to the said Robert Kidd, (to whom our commissioners for exercising the office of Lord High Admiral of England, have granted a commission as a private man-of-war, bearing date the 11th day of December, 1695,) and unto the commander of the said ship for the time being, and unto the officers, mariners, and others which shall be under your command, full power and authority to apprehend, seize, and take into your custody as well the said Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake, and Capt. Wm. Maze or Mace, as all such pirates, free-booters, and sea-rovers, being either our subjects, or of other nations associated with them, which you shall meet with upon the seas or coasts of America, or upon any other seas or coasts, with all their ships and vessels, and all such merchandizes, money, goods, and wares as shall be found on board, or with them, in case they shall willingly yield themselves; but if they will not yield without fighting, then you are by force to compel them to yield. And we also require you to bring, or cause to be brought, such pirates, free-booters, or sea-rovers, as you shall seize, to a legal trial, to the end they may be proceeded against according to the law in such cases. And we do hereby command all our officers, ministers, and other our loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting to you in the premises. And we do hereby enjoin you to keep an exact journal of your proceedings in execution of the premises, and set down the names of such pirates, and of their officers and company, and the names of such ships and vessels as you shall by virtue of these presents take and seize, and the quantities of arms, ammunition, provision, and lading of such ships, and the true value of the same, as near as you judge. And we do hereby strictly charge and command you, as you will answer the contrary at your peril, that you do not, in any manner, offend or molest our friends or allies, their ships or subjects, by colour or pretence of these presents, or the authority thereby granted.

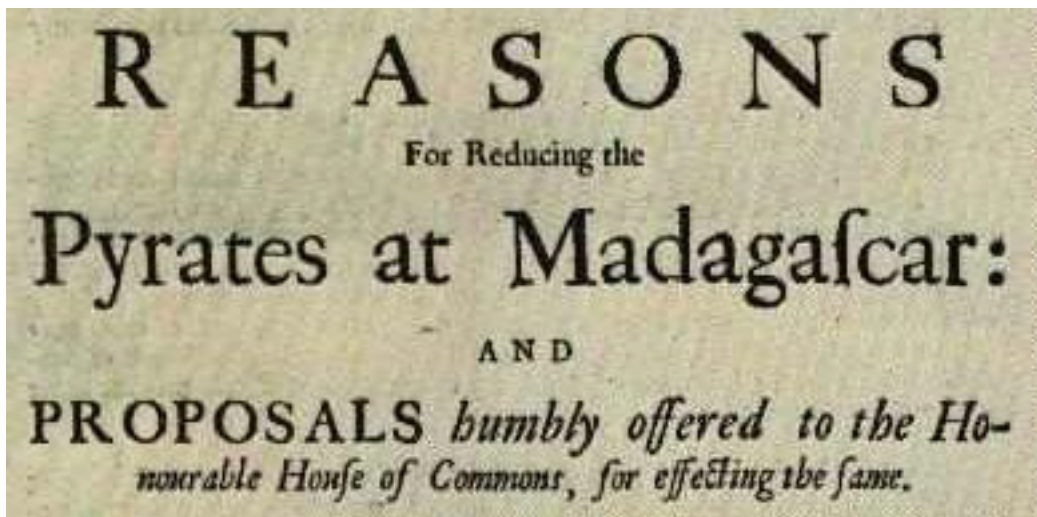
In witness whereof, we have caused our great seal of England to be affixed to these presents.

Given at our court in Kensington, the 26th day of January, 1695, in the 7th year of our reign.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

More than likely, during the recent war he had been a successful privateersman, and as such had acquired the friendship of Governor Benjamin Fletcher, Mr. Nicolls, and Livingston. In any case, it had been Livingston who had recommended him to the crown “as a bold and honest man to suppress the prevailing piracies in the American seas.” Other sleeping backers were the Earl of Romney, Master General of the Kings Ordinance, the Earl of Orford, 1st Lord of the Admiralty, Sir John Somers, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Secretary of State. Should Kidd fail to accede to their plan, they hinted, his sloop *Antigua* might be seized. Captain Kidd’s first stop would be [New-York](#), possibly to visit his wife and child, and while there he would loan equipment from his *Adventure Galley* to help in the building of Trinity Church in Lower Manhattan (which would open in 1698 under a royal grant),¹³ and from there he would go on to Madeira, to Madagascar, and to the Red Sea.



In the Red Sea he would capture several vessels, finally capturing a large prize, the 400-ton *Quedah Merchant*, to sail back to the West Indies. He would leave his prize there in the care of a man named Bolton while going in a sloop to Long Island sound. While in the sound he sent a man named Emmet to consult with the Earl of Bellermont (the Earl had been transferred from the government in New-York to the government in Boston) and negotiate terms of reconciliation. The Governor of the Bay Colony would send false assurances that he would be fairly treated.

Captain Henry Every/John Avery/Long Ben/Bridgman (whatever his name was) arrived at Johanna Island off Madagascar with the man-of-war *Fancy*. He would join up with the five pirate ships that had sailed from [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), the sloop *Amity*, the bark *Portsmouth Adventure*, the brigantine *Pearl*, the bark *Susanna*, and the brigantine *Dolphin*.

June: The American captains [Thomas Tew](#), Want, and Thomas Wake, whose charter had been to harass French shipping, had positioned their [privateers](#) at the mouth of the Red Sea. With not a French ship anywhere on the horizon, they pursued some ships of the Great Mogul of India. Captain Tew’s *Amity* was too slow to keep up but along the way he had a chance to capture another such ship — and in the process this [pirate](#) captain of the vessel *Amity* from [Rhode Island](#) got himself shot dead. His crew of 40 then surrendered, according to one story, or, according to another story, managed to seize the prize despite the death of their leader and despite being outnumbered 3 to 1.

13. To this day, Pew No. 16 bears the inscription: “Captain William Kidd, Commander Adventure Galley.”

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

October: Richard Coote, the Earl of Bellomont, Colonel Robert Livingston, and Captain [William Kidd](#) signed articles of agreement for their [privateering](#) venture into the Indian Ocean. Coote was to provide £6,000, which amounted to 80% of the cost of the enterprise, to be obtained actually from four sleeping backers, the Earl of Romney, England's Master General of the Kings Ordinance, the Earl of Orford, England's 1st Lord of the Admiralty, Sir John Somers, England's Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Duke of Shrewsbury, England's Secretary of State. The remaining 20%, or £1,500, was to be supplied by Livingston and Kidd. The profits were to be divided so that after 10% had been sent to the king's exchequer, the anonymous backers would take 54%, with 13.5% remaining for Kidd and Livingston and 22.5% for the crew. If the venture proved a failure, Kidd and Livingston were to repay the backers in full.



PIRACY

December: Captain [William Kidd](#)'s *Adventure Galley* was launched at Deptford on the Thames. This was a fast and highly maneuverable 34-gun galley with oars, a formidable privateering vessel. The nearly 70 seamen the captain hand-picked were mostly married, with families in England, because he supposed such men would be less likely to transform themselves into [pirates](#). The plan was to recruit 80 more such seamen in New-York before setting off toward the Indian Ocean.



Captain [John Hoar](#) received a [privateering](#) commission from Governor Benjamin Fletcher of New-York. He sailed from Boston harbor for the [pirate](#) haven of Madagascar and then the rich looting-grounds of the Red Sea.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

December 3, Tuesday (Old Style): The Sessions that began on this day would result in 7 men received death sentences of whom 4 were pardoned.

December 11, Wednesday (Old Style): We learn at this point that the *Amity* had no captain because Captain [Thomas Tew](#) had been “killed by a great Shott from a Moor’s Ship.”

[PIRACY](#)

December 13, Friday (Old Style): Richard Arrowsmith was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for burglary, John Macknoll for H/T clipping coin, and Thomas Reeves for highway robbery.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1696

Henry Every's crew members were [hanged](#) at Wapping.

[PIRACY](#)

In all, 68 men, 15 women and 8 unidentified people were sentenced to death during the Sessions of this year. 51 men, 1 woman and 3 of unknown sex were [hanged](#) at Tyburn. 1 man was [hanged](#) elsewhere. The fate of 5 men, 2 women, and 5 persons of unidentified gender is unknown.

Edward Randolph related that:

[T]he pirates have found out, a more profitable & less hazardous Voyage to the Red Sea, where they take from the Moors all they have, without Resistance, & bring it to Some one of the Plantations on the Continent of America or Islands adjacent where they are received & harbour and whence allso they fit out their Vessells to the Same Place.

(By "Red Sea" Randolph meant the Persian/Arabian Gulf, and by "Moors" he meant, of course, Muslims.

The American [pirates](#) were preying upon trade between the port of Surat on the west coast of India and Jidda and Mocha on the Arabian Peninsula, trade which utilized the monsoon winds which blew toward the east from late June to August and slacked during early June and in September.)

January 26, Sunday (1695, Old Style): Captain [William Kidd](#) received a commission from King William III of England to take his [privateer](#) vessel, the *Adventure Galley*, out from [New-York](#) to capture the notorious [Rhode Island pirates Thomas Tew](#), William Mayes, and Thomas Wake:

William the Third, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our trusty and well beloved – Capt. Robert Kidd, commander of the Adventure Galley with a crew of 80 men and mounting 30 guns.

Greeting: whereas we are informed, that Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake, and Capt. William Maze or Mace, and other subjects, natives or inhabitants of New-York, and elsewhere, in our plantations in America, have associated themselves with diverse others, wicked and ill-disposed persons, and do, against the law of nations, commit many and great piracies, robberies and depredations on the seas upon the parts of America, and in other parts, to the great hindrance and discouragement of trade and navigation, and to the great danger and hurt of our loving subjects, our allies, and all others, navigating the seas upon their lawful occasions.

Now know ye, that we being desirous to prevent the aforesaid mischief's, and as much as in us lies, to bring the said pirates, freebooters and sea-rovers to justice, have thought fit, and do hereby give and grant to the said Robert Kidd, to whom our commissioners for exercising the office of Lord High Admiral of England, have granted a commission as a private man-of-war, bearing date the 11th day of December, 1695, and unto the commander of the said ship for the time being, and unto the officers, mariners, and others which shall be under your command, full power and authority to apprehend, seize, and take into your custody as well the said Capt. Thomas Too, John



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake and Capt. Win. Maze or Mace, as all such pirates, free-booters, and searovers, being either our subjects, or of other nations associated with them, which you shall meet with upon the seas or coasts, with all their ships and vessels, and all such merchandises, money, goods, and wares as shall be found on board, or with them, in case they shall willingly yield themselves; but if they will not yield without fighting, then you are by force to compel them to yield.

And we also require you to bring, or cause to be brought, such pirates, freebooters, or sea-rovers, as you shall seize, to a legal trial, to the end they may be proceeded against according to the law in such cases. And we do hereby command all our officers, ministers, and other of our loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting to you in the premises.

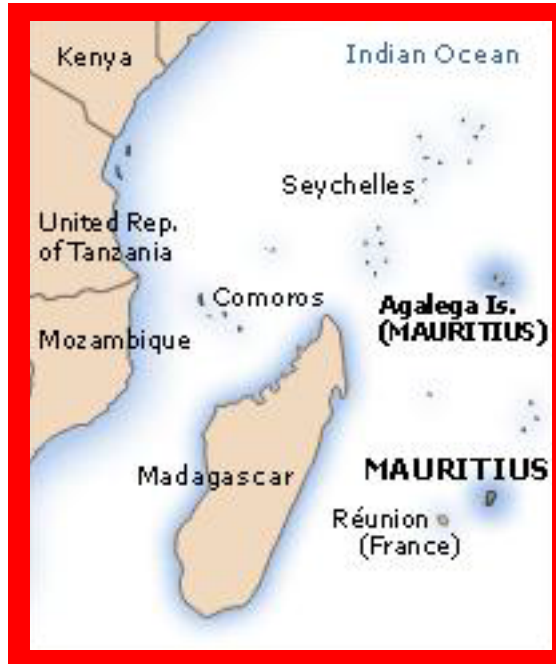
And we do hereby enjoin you to keep an exact journal of your proceedings in execution of the premises, and set down the names of such pirates, and of their officers and company, and the names of such ships and vessels as you shall by virtue of these presents take and seize, and the quantities of arms, ammunition, provision, and lading of such ships, and the true value of the same, as near as you can judge.

In witness whereof, we have caused our great seal of England to be affixed to these presents. Given at our court in Kensington, the 26th day of January, 1695, in the 7th year of our reign.

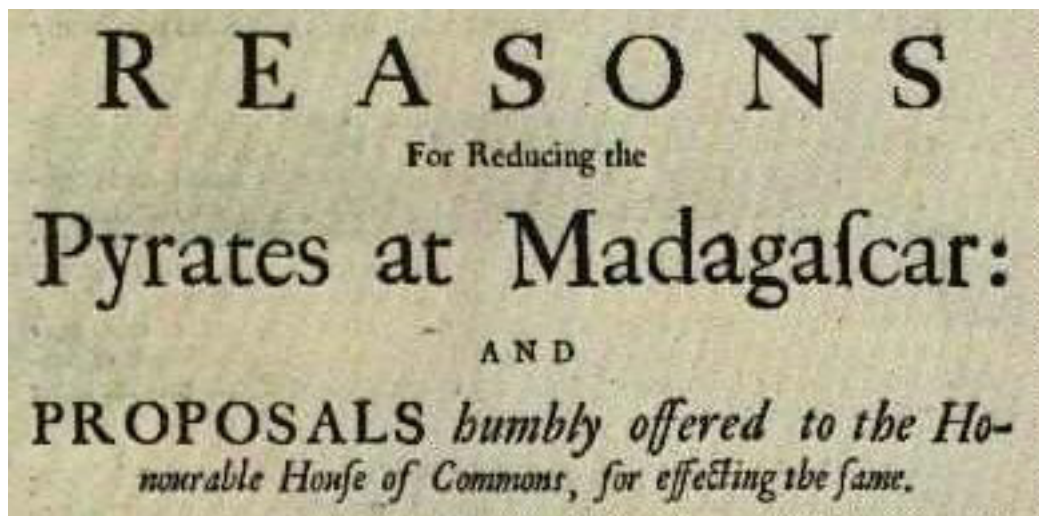
PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

After several months of no success, Captain [William Kidd](#) would take on new crewmembers and sail again. By the time they reached Madagascar they had been able to loot several ships, but not enough to pay the salaries the crew was demanding.



When Captain Kidd refused his gunner William Moore's demand that they attack any ship they came upon, Moore attempted mutiny and was killed by Kidd (he hit him on the head with a wooden bucket). When they reached Madagascar, 90 members of this 150-man crew deserted.



Three years later, upon his return, he would find he faced charges of [piracy](#) for the manner in which he had been interpreting this permission, and of murder for the killing of the mutineer. He would deposit some of his loot with the owner of Gardiners Island, which is at the eastern tip of Paumanok Long Island. Since British law required that all accused of piracy receive their trials in England, Kidd would be transported there. He would be found guilty of piracy and murder, and would [hang](#) on May 23, 1701. The only portion of his loot ever to be recovered would be that portion which had been listed on the witnessed manifest at Gardiners Island. Some assert that the bulk of his loot is still under the sands of Campobello Island, which is just across the Canadian boundary. Others assert, on the basis of some cryptic remarks that Kidd made just before the noose

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PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

choked off his breath, that the loot is buried somewhere near Old Saybrook, in Connecticut.



February 27, Thursday (1695, Old Style): 11 men and a woman were [condemned](#) at the February Sessions, of whom the woman found to be quick with child. Robert Maynard was respited to the 4th of May.

When Captain [William Kidd](#) set sail in his new [privateer](#) galley with oars, the *Adventure Galley* didn't get very far on the Thames estuary before it was stopped by a warship of the Royal Navy, and a major portion of Kidd's crew was "[crimped](#)", leaving him with barely enough men to handle the sails. He would proceed down the English Channel to recruit new crewmen at Plymouth.

[IMPRESSMENT](#)

April: Captain [John Hoar](#) made a stopover at Madagascar on his way to the Red Sea. There he joined Dirk Chivers to seize several Indian ships as well as European ships. One of these was the *Rouparelle*. He would then sail to the Persian Gulf and there capture a large Indian ship laden with cloth. He would then sail for Saint Mary's Island, a [pirate](#) haven, arriving in February 1696/97.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

July: After obtaining at Plymouth enough crewmembers to manage his ship, Captain [William Kidd](#) had set out for New-York. When he arrived in this month, he was severely pressed for time to obtain additional crewmembers there, for according to the terms of his privateering commission he would need to be returning to Boston with a cargo of booty no later than March 20, 1697.

To obtain the remainder of his crew in New-York, Kidd promised his recruits 60% of the prizes they would take, which was far in excess of the 25% he was entitled to offer under the terms contained in his Articles of Agreement with King William III of England, articles which specified that the profits were to be divided so that after 10% had been sent to the king's exchequer, the anonymous backers, the Earl of Romney, England's Master General of the Kings Ordinance, the Earl of Orford, England's 1st Lord of the Admiralty, Sir John Somers, England's Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Duke of Shrewsbury, England's Secretary of State, would take 54%, with 13.5% remaining for Kidd and Colonel Robert Livingston and only 22.5% for the crew. Even then, it would be necessary for the crew to wait and wait, until after the division of the spoils, before they would be able to receive their share, rather than having it handed to them immediately upon return to the home port! This sort of thing could hardly be kept secret, and Livingston would hear the dockside talk of Kidd's offer, grasp its implications, and inform Richard Coote, the Earl of Bellomont, in Boston. Kidd had already brought himself under suspicion. Perhaps he meant only to cheat his crewmen, but he had made his lordly sleeping partners afraid that he intended instead to cheat them!



PRIVATEERING

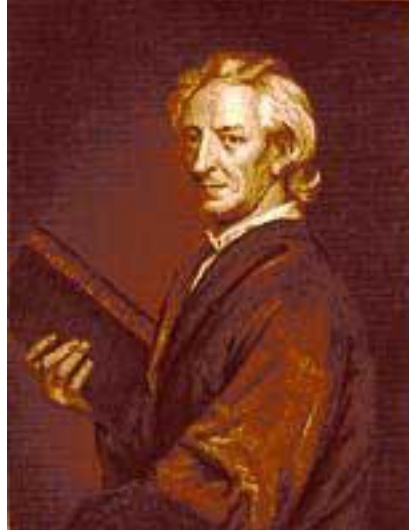
Here are the entries for this month in the diary of [John Evelyn](#):

July 4, Saturday (Old Style): *Note that my Lord Godolphin was the very first of the Subscriber[s] who payed any mony towards this noble fabric:*

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

July 26, Sunday (Old Style): ... *Mr. Benting came unexpectedly from the King, for supply of mony to pay his Army, exceedingly disturbed us, so little mony in the nation, that Exchequer Tallys (of which I had for 2000 pounds upon the best fonds in England the Post Office) nobody would accept for 30 pounds per Cent advantage.*



September 6, Sunday (Old Style): Captain [William Kidd](#)'s *Adventure Galley* set sail from [New-York](#) harbor for the Indian Ocean, with a royal commission to capture pirates.



PRIVATEERING

Fall: The trial in London for [piracy](#) of some members of Henry Every's crew resulted in such damaging information about [Rhode Island](#)'s governmental looseness that the Board of Trade began to wonder whether it might be necessary to revoke that colony's charter.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

December 12, Saturday (Old Style), early evening: Captain [William Kidd](#)'s *Adventure Galley* was making only slow progress because it had lost some of its sails in a storm. They were a hundred miles northwest of Capetown off the Cape of Good Hope when they encountered a Royal Navy squadron. Since his vessel was sailing on a royal [privateering](#) commission, Captain Kidd requested Commander Warren, in charge of the squadron, that he be provided with some new sails. When rebuffed, Kidd commented that he would need to seize new sails from the next merchant ship he encountered. The commander responded that on the following morning he was planning to impress 30 of Kidd's crewmen into the Royal Navy. That night, making use of his galley's oars, Kidd slipped away. Figuring that it might not be safe to stop in at Capetown harbor as planned, he continued toward the Indian Ocean.





PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1697

Alexander Oliver Exquemelin was present at the [pirate](#) attack on Cartagena.

February: When Captain [William Kidd](#)'s *Adventure Galley* stopped off at the island of Mehila in the Comoros for some urgently needed repairs, 50 crewmen were lost to fever and disease.

PRIVATEERING

When Captain [John Hoar](#) arrived at Saint Mary's Island, a [pirate](#) haven, the natives attacked and the Captain was killed (to keep these people of identical name straight, notice that this namesake of [John Hoar](#), a son of [Concord](#)'s race-murderer [Daniel Hoar](#), thus predeceased the grandfather after whom he had been named).

The Board of Trade wrote from England to [Rhode Island](#) to warn that "due care should be taken for the future, that no pirates or sea-robbers be anywhere sheltered or entertained, under the severest penalties." Their letter went on to explain that they were well aware of the sort of stunts that the Rhode Island settlement had been pulling off: "We are obliged, in giving you this notice, to recommend it so much the more particularly to your care, by reason that upon occasion of the late trials of some of Avery's crew here, several informations have been transmitted to us, wherein mention is made of Rhode Island as a place where pirates are ordinarily too kindly entertained; some of the expressions in those papers are as follows: 'William Mews, a pirate, fitted out at Rhode Island. Thomas Jones is concerned in the Old Bark, with Captain Want, and lives in Rhode Island. Want is gone into the Gulf of Persia, and in all probability is either at Rhode Island or Carolina by this time. Want's wife lives there. Want broke up there about three years ago, after a good voyage, and spent his money there, and in Pennsylvania.' These, and such like things, we say, obliges us to more strictly require of you that an extraordinary care be henceforwards taken in that Island for the preventing and suppressing such like practices; and particularly that all persons who are anyways involved in that guilt, be sought out and punished, according to the utmost severity of the law; of which we expect a particular account."

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

April: The Board of Trade considered a letter from Captain Benjamin Davis of [Boston](#) informing them of "such a bloody crew of privateers at [Rhode Island](#) that the Government cannot rule them, and the sober men are in fear of their lives." The governor, [Friend Walter Clarke](#), made no response.

PIRATE

Another letter of complaint was therefore sent out, this one in regard to [Rhode Island](#)'s persistent neglect to prosecute those who were evading payment of duties and customs. Although the colony had enacted during July 1696 that no vessel owner could procure a commission unless he provided a bond of a thousand pounds that he would "not proceed upon any unlawful act," the letter noted that for some reason this measure had been ineffectual. This letter went on, to warn the colony that it might well lose its charter unless it promptly cleaned up its act.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

April 27, Tuesday (Old Style): Captain [William Kidd](#)'s *Adventure Galley* had been repaired at the island of Mehila in the Comoros and new sailors had been recruited to fill the billets of those who had been lost to fever and disease. On this day, the vessel sailed north for the Malabar coast and the mouth of the "Red Sea" (what we know as the Arabian/Persian Gulf). Many of the vessel's joints had sprung and it was therefore necessary for the crew to keep the bilge pumps turning constantly.



PRIVATEERING

June: At the court in Philadelphia, in the presence of Governor Markham, and justices Edward Shippen, Charles Sanders, John Farmer, and Charles Sober, and Attorney General David Lloyd, and Thomas Robinson representing the Earl of Romney, the case of James Brown, member of assembly and son-in-law to Governor Markham, came to trial. Jan Mathias, a Swede, and Peter Clawson, a Dutchman, brought to testify against him, offered the court only long and vague tales of numerous voyages to distant places, with apparent intent to cover over any direct or voluntary piracies of their own. Neither witness alleged any positive culpability to Brown. As the court recorded no decision, it seems likely that Brown was dismissed without punishment. They alleged that in Africa, they had been forced into Captain Avery's pirate vessel and in it had subdued a great Turk in the Red sea, and had taken its money and let it go, but that other than that they had not met with much success. Being at length in the East Indies in 1693/1694, the accused, James Brown, had come on board from the "New Bark" out of Rhode Island, and asked for safe passage home to Rhode Island. The testimony was that after Brown had come on board, there had been no further [piracy](#). They had come across the Atlantic to Cat Island, and had thence gone to [Providence, Rhode Island](#), where they and some others had been discharged. Some of them had gone to New London and some to New-York, finally to West Jersey, and then to Philadelphia, where hearing that a man had come to seize Avery and all his men, and that there was also a proclamation of pardon, they had forthwith surrendered to the authorities, etc.

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PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1698

The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) became a freeman of [Rhode Island](#).



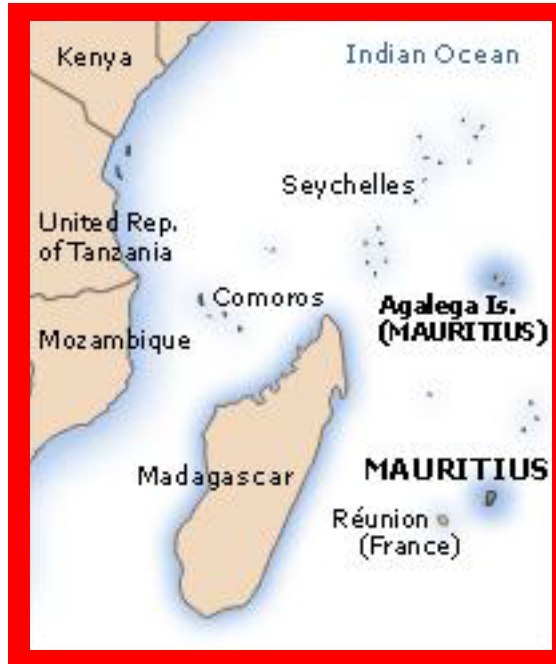
Thomas White of [Plymouth](#) found himself in Barbados after serving in the Royal Navy, in command of a ship as it was taken by French [pirates](#). Then the ship was captured by another pirate, John Bowen. White would refuse to join Bowen's crew and would find himself enslaved both to John Bowen and to Bowen's friend George Booth.

Robert Munday and George Cutler were arrested as [pirates](#) and a large sum of money was found in their ship *Fowy*, along with various East Indies commodities. Their trials indicate that the legal system of [Rhode Island](#) amounted to a money-laundering scheme for piracy — they were immediately set free on bail, with the rule of this legalistic pawnshop being that if no one showed up to claim the cash and goods and levy charges against them, they would of course be acquitted.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

January: Captain [William Kidd](#)'s *Adventure Galley* with its 150-man crew dropped anchor off Madagascar, where 90 of his men promptly deserted.



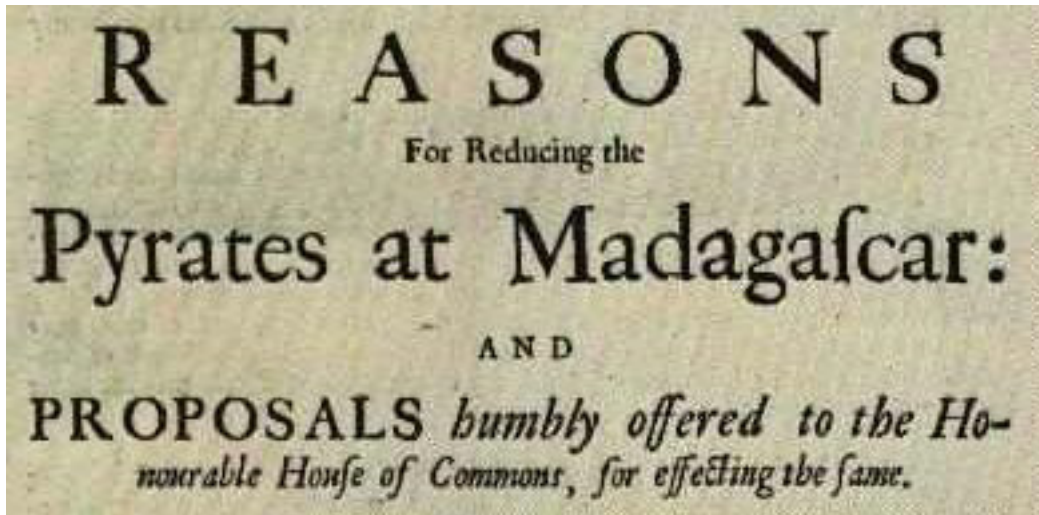
PRIVATEERING

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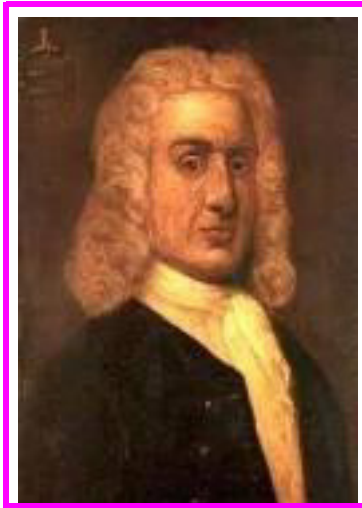
PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

February: Almost a year after the deadline on his commission document, the privateer [William Kidd](#) finally found a rich vessel, the *Quedagh Merchant*, laboring in heavy seas off the Indian coast, north of Cochin. This 500-ton Armenian merchant vessel was laden with nice-to-have items such as gold, jewels, silver, silks, muslins, calico, sugar, opium, iron, saltpeter, and guns, and it was allegedly sailing under a French pass — but the vessel itself was owned by Indians, the cargo it was carrying was owned by Persians, it was being sailed by a Moorish crew, and its captain was an Englishman named Wright.



Kidd considered that, since he had been sent out after French shipping, and since the pass under which this vessel was sailing was French, it must be a legitimate prize, and so he hoisted his English flag over its quarterdeck and renamed the vessel *Adventure Prize*.



PRIVATEERING

April: The accused local [pirate](#) William Downs escaped from the [Newport, Rhode Island](#) jail when the Under Sheriff let him out to “ease himself.” (Usually, in Newport, if a trial was not expected to clear the local citizen who had been accused of piracy, the prisoner would receive the advantage of a wonderfully negligent sheriff and jailer. No sheriff or under sheriff would ever be charged with negligence for having allowed a local-boy pirate type to escape from custody.)

[John Evelyn](#)’s diary for this month included the following entries:

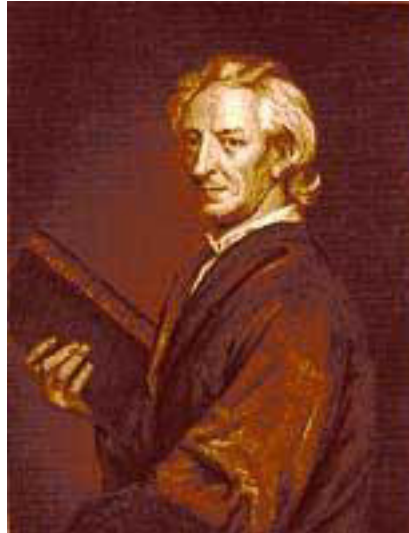
PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

April 17, Sunday (Old Style): *Mr. Morbus on: 3.Act:14. The holy Sacrament followed, at which I communicated with my Wife, being to go to Lond, to be with her D. Drapers lying in.*

April 19, Tuesday (Old Style): *My Wife went with my sick sonn &c to Lond[on]*

April 21, Thursday (Old Style): *The Czar of Mosco[vy] went from my house towards Russia, &c:*



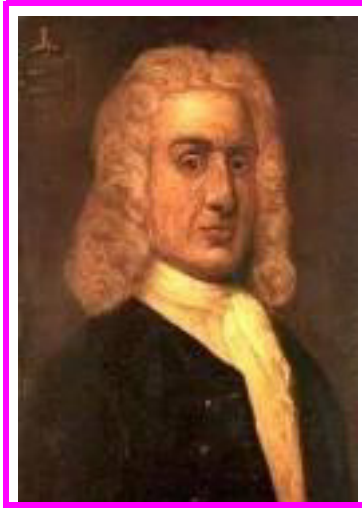
April 1, Friday (Old Style): Captain [William Kidd](#)'s *Adventure Galley* returned to Madagascar waters, leaking, with its prizes *Quedagh Merchant* which Kidd had renamed the *Adventure Prize* and *Rouparelle* (sometimes referred to as the *Maiden*, but which Kidd had renamed the *November*). On their arrival at Isle de St. Marie, they saw the *Mocha Frigate*, known to be a pirate vessel, lying unguarded at anchor. The main mast of the vessel had been sheared, and needed replacement.¹⁴ This ship's captain was the Robert Culliford who 10 years earlier had taken Kidd's *Blessed William* from the harbour in Nevis. The story Kidd would tell at his trial was that at this point all but 13 of his men deserted him to join this known pirate. He would tell the court that he and 13 who remained loyal had been forced to barricade themselves in his cabin, and were threatened with death, as the mutineers and their pirate allies sacked and set fire to Kidd's prize vessel *November*, stripped his prize vessel *Quedagh Merchant* and his privateer *Adventure Galley* of guns, powder, shot, smallarms, and hawsers, and

14. The *Mocha Frigate* had encountered the British ship *Dorrill* in the Malacca Straits, and its main mast had been sheared by a salvo of cannon fire.

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burned his log. What of this actually happened?



Well, we do know that while repairs were being made, the dashing (married, with a child) skipper met and fell in love with a woman from Barneget named Amanda, and decided to settle down with her. He stole treasure from his crew and buried it near Oyster Creek, and when his crew found out they were understandably upset. Some of the men made their way to [New-York](#) and informed. When Kidd headed for New-York aboard his newly commissioned *St. Antonio*, to clear his name with his documentary proof that all the ships he'd attacked were French and therefore legitimate, this victim of love would be arrested and shipped back to England to stand trial for [piracy](#), and it would turn out also for the murder of the William Moore whom he had hit in the head with a wooden bucket. The outcome of the trial would be influenced by political pressure (the British East India Company was demanding restitution and England was abandoning privateering in favour of legitimate trade). To secure a conviction, the prosecutor would illicitly sequester in his desk the ships' passes — which indeed were French precisely as was being claimed by the defendant.

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May: The new government of Governor Cranston in [Rhode Island](#) issued a general proclamation warning the citizenry that [pirates](#) were not to be harbored, nor were stolen goods to be received. It instructed its officers to detain anyone found to be flashing suspicious amounts of foreign coin or merchandise. Governor Cranston wrote a response to the Board of Trade's long letter of complaint of over a year earlier, claiming ignorance of the pirates they had enumerated and asserting that very much to the contrary, no Rhode Islander would ever countenance any fancy goings on. Then a few weeks later, Randolph, while at Newport upon his return from New-York, wrote to the Board of Trade citing that Rhode Island was an utterly lawless place and pointing out that "The Governor and his two uncles have been very great gainers by the pirates which have frequented Rhode Island. Three or four vessels have been fitted out from thence to the Red Sea. Walter Clarke, the late Governor, and his brother, now the Recorder of the place, have countenanced pirates and enriched themselves thereby."

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary for this month included the following entries:

May 8, Sunday (Old Style): *Extraordinary greate Snow, & frost, nipping & spoiling the Corne and other fruits universaly, & threatning famine, Corne at 9s. per bushell, & all thi[ng]s else extraordinary deare: The french K[ing] preparing a greate Fleete, and army at Land, as is thought ready to invade Spaine & his dominion, expecting the death of that valetudinary King: Poland still in Confusion: The Czar landed in Holland: My daugh[t]er Draper brought to bed of a fine Boy:...*

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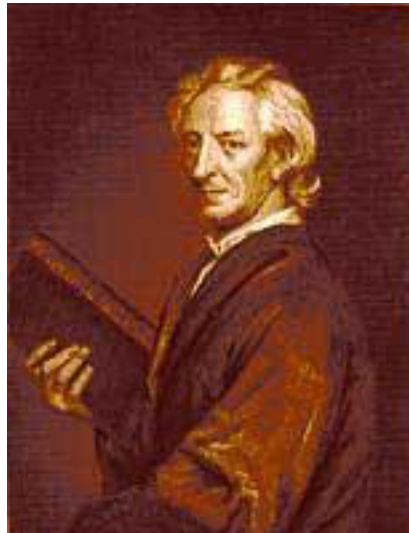
May 19, Thursday (Old Style): *Was my Grandson Draper Christn'd William; they would faine have had it Evelyn (making me Godfather as I was) but for some reasons I desired it might be William: Sir Jo: Conniers stood for me; The Godmother was one Mrs. Brent, a Relation of my Son in Laws, a very fine prudent Lady:*

The Weather was so very Cold, wett & unseasonable as had not ben known by any almost alive, not onely in this nation but most part of Europe: all tree fruits ruined, & threatning the rest with famine.

May 23, Monday (Old Style): *I came from Wotton to Lond[on] about suffering a Recovery, about a new, & unreasonable Settlement of the Estate in Surry, which I was advised not to do:*

May 29, Sunday (Old Style): *... E. India-Comp: like to be broken & dissolved, to set up another who offered to subscribe two Millions, to the greate alarme of the other.*

May 30, Monday (Old Style): *I dined at [Mr. Pepyss](#), where I heard that rare Voice, Mr. Pate, who was lately come from Italy, reputed the most excellent singer; ever England had: he sang indeede many rare Italian Recitatives, &c: & severall compositions of the last Mr. Pursal,¹⁵ esteemed the best composer of any Englishman hitherto:*



May 9: Richard, Earl of Bellomont, the royal administrator of England's New-York colony, issued a proclamation against [piracy](#).

[\[image on following screen\]](#)

By His Excellency

Richard Earl of Bellomont, Captain General and Governour in Chief of His Majesties Province of New-York, and Territories depending thereon in America, and Vice Admiral of the same, &c.

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS Several of his Majesties Subjects have of late years departed from the Allegiance they owe unto His Majesty, and have thereupon Confederated together, and in Hostile manner have fitted out Ships and Vessels of War, under pretence of going against the French. His Majesties late Enemies,

15.Henry Purcell (c. 1658-1695).

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By His Excellency

Richard Earl of Bellmont, Captain General and Governour in Chief of His Majestyes Province of New-York, and Territories depending thereon in America, and Vice Admiral of the same, &c.

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS Several of his Majestyes Subjects have of late years departed from the Allegiance they owe unto His Majesty, and have thereupon Confederated together, and in Hostile manner have fitted out Ships and Vessels of War, under pretence of going against the French His Majestyes late Enemies, but instead thereof they have Rovel in their said Vessels unto the Seas beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and upon the said Seas have Committed several Pyracies and Robberies upon the Subjects of Forreign Princes and States in Amity with His Majesty, to the great Discouragement of Trade, and to the open breach of such Treaties of Peace as have been made between His Majesty and his Allies. And whereas his most Excellent Majesty, upon the Consideration of the good of His Subjects, and for the Security of Trade, hath thought fit to signify unto me his Royal Will and Pleasure, by his Grace the Duke of *Shrovetbury*, His Majestyes Principal Secretary of State, That all Pyrates and Sea Rovers that shall come within the Jurisdiction of this Province, should be Suppressed, and that Effectual care might be taken to Arrest, Seize and secure the Ships, Persons and Effects of all such Pyrates and Sea Rovers, in order to the bringing of them to due punishment, as the Laws in such Cases do direct. And to the End that His Majestyes said Royal Will and Pleasure may be the better and the more effectually Executed, I have therefore thought fit, by and with the Advice of His Majestyes Council, strictly to Charge and Command all Justices, Sheriffs and other Commission Officers, in their several Precincts within this Province, upon his or their Knowledge or Notice given, That any Privateer, Pyrate or other Persons suspected to be upon any Unlawful Design, are kept and concealed in any place within their respective Precincts, that they thereupon issue their Warrants to seize, apprehend and carry such Persons to the common Goal of their respective Precincts, where they are to remain until they be from thence discharged by due course of Law. And all others His Majestyes Loyal Subjects are hereby strictly Required to be aiding and assisting to the Justices, Sheriffs, and other Commission Officers in their several Precincts accordingly, as they will answer the contrary at their Peril.

Provided always, That nothing herein mentioned shall be construed to extend unto any Person or Persons that have surrendered themselves and obtained Protections from the late Governour, until His Majestyes Pleasure be further known, any thing contained herein to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

Given at Fort William Henry the Ninth Day of May, 1698. and in the Tenth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord, WILLIAM the Third, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Bellmont,

God Save the KING.

Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, in the City of New-York, 1698.



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but instead thereof they have Roved in their said Vessels unto the Seas beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and upon the said Seas have Committed several Pyracyes and Robberies upon the Subjects of Foreign Princes and States in Amity with His Majesty, to the great Discouragement of Trade, and to the open breach of such Treaties of Peace as have been made between His Majesty and his Allies. And whereas his most Excellent Majesty, upon the Consideration of the good of His Subjects, and for the Security of Trade, hath thought fit to signifie unto me his Royal Will and Pleasure, by his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury, His Majesties Principal Secretary of State, That all Pyrates and Sea Rovers that shall come within the Jurisdiction of this Province, should be Suppressed, and that Effectual care might be taken to Arrest, Seize and secure the Ships, Persons and Effects of all such Pyrates and Sea Rovers, in order to the bringing of them to due punishment, as the Laws in such Cases do direct. And to the End that His Majesties said Royal Will and Pleasure may be the better and the more Effectually Executed, I have therefore thought fit, by and with the Advice of His Majesties Council, strictly to Charge and Command all Justices, Sheriffs and other Commission Officers, in their several Precincts within this Province, upon his or their Knowledge or Notice given, That any Privateer, Pyrate or other Persons suspected to be upon any Unlawful Design, are kept and concealed in any place within their respective Precincts, that they thereupon issue their Warrants to seize, apprehend and carry such Persons to the common Goal of their respective Precincts, where they are to remain until they be from thence discharged by due course of Law. And all others His Majesties Leige Subjects are hereby strictly Required to be aiding and assisting to the Justices, Sheriffs, and other Commission Officers in their several Precincts accordingly, as they will answer the contrary at their Peril.

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Bellomont.

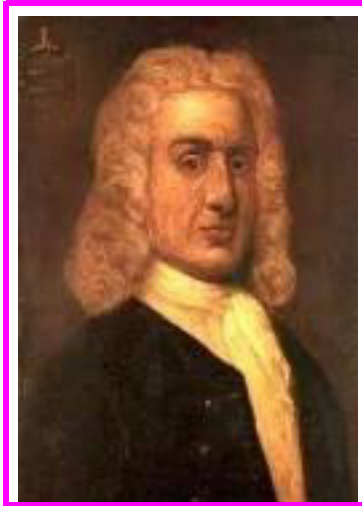
God Save the KING.

Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, in the City of New-York, 1698.

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June: Six weeks after the alleged confrontation with Captain Robert Culliford of the *Mocha Frigate* at Isle de St. Marie, according to the story that Captain [William Kidd](#) would tell the court, Captain Culliford set sail in the *Mocha Frigate*, abandoning the stripped *Adventure Galley* and *Quedagh Merchant*. The *Adventure Galley*, since it had been leaking like a sieve, was resting on the muddy bottom of the harbour. Kidd would allege that he moved what he could salvage to the *Quedagh Merchant* to equip her for an ocean voyage, and then burned the *Adventure Galley* and the *November* to the waterline. For the record, the court would believe none of this, preferring to put the construction on the situation that Kidd, whose [privateering](#) commission had instructed him to attack all [pirates](#), had instead been consorting with known pirates.¹⁶



[John Evelyn](#)'s diary for this month included the following entries:

June 8, Wednesday (Old Style): *[I went to congratulat the mariage of Mr. Godolphin to E Marborows daughter.]*

June 9, Thursday (Old Style): *I went to Deptford to view how miserably the Tzar of Moscovy had left my house after 3 moneths making it his Court, having gotten Sir Cr: Wren his Majesties Surveyor & Mr. London his Gardener to go down & make an estimat of the repairs, for which they allowed 150 pounds in their Report to the L[ord] of the Treasury:¹⁷ Then I went to see the foundations of the Hall & Chapell, wharfe & other parts of the Greenwich Hospital: & so returned:*

16. Pirate Captain Robert Culliford would surrender himself under the terms of the general amnesty, be tried on the same day as [William Kidd](#), and be sentenced to a year's imprisonment, after which he would be pardoned and released.

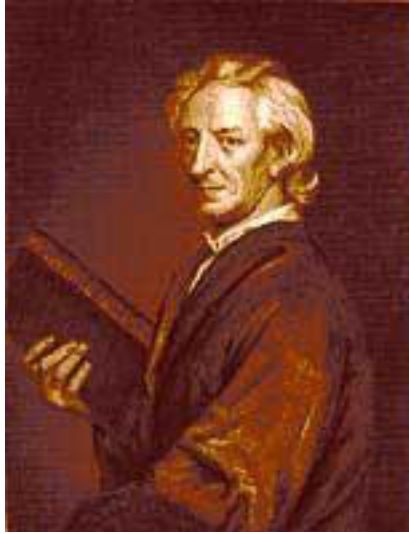
17. Peter the Great's ruinous tenancy at Sayes Court was brought to Evelyn's attention by his servant John Strickland who wrote to him on February 16th, 1697/98, "*There is a house full of people, and right nasty. The Tzar lies next your library, and dines in the parlour next your study. He dines at ten o'clock and six at night, is very seldom at home a whole day, very often in the King's yard, or by water, dressed in several dresses. The King is expected there this day, the best parlour is pretty clean for him to be entertained in. The King pays for all he has.*" Evelyn recorded the damage in *SYLVA*, 1706, page 182, "*Is there under Heaven a more glorious and refreshing Object of the kind, than an impregnable Hedge of about four hundred foot in length, nine Foot high, and five in diameter; which I can shew in my now ruin'd Gardens at Say's-Court, (thanks to the Czar of Moscovy) at any time of the Year, glitt'ring with its arm'd and varnish'd Leaves? The taller Standards at orderly distances, blushing with their natural Coral: It mocks at the rudest assaults of the Weather, Beasts or Hedge-breakers ...*". The Tzar, it seems, had made a habit of being pushed through the hedge in a wheelbarrow. A transcript of Wren's report can be found in Dews, 1884, 34-38 (see page 457).

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June 12, Sunday (Old Style): ... *Vote past for the New East India company, subscribing 2 millions, which was generally looked upon as a greate hardship to the old & to the ruine of many Adventurers who had put their whole stock into [the] old Company.*



August: The Board of Trade wrote to Governor Samuel Cranston of [Rhode Island](#), rejecting his defense of his colony's irregular trade and its toleration of [piracy](#) as "defensive." "You know better," they commented. They marveled at "how you could write that." They suspected that the governor of this colony was just stringing them along — but the best they could produce in response amounted to impotent sarcasm by letter (and we all know how much that's worth).

September 6, Tuesday (Old Style): One of Henry Avery or Every's [pirates](#), John Devin, was apprehended in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).





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September 20, Tuesday (Old Style): The [pirate](#) John Devin was taken before the magistrates of [Providence](#). According to his testimony the pirate captain Henry Avery or Every had come to that city after leaving Madagascar.



“In April of 1696, Capt. Every, alias Bridgemen, came to the harbor of Providence with the ship *Charles*, alias *Fancy*, where the captain and his ships crew, I being one of them, left the *Charles* behind and purchased other vessels to make their way to Ireland.” John Devin implied that the Governor of [Rhode Island](#) had assisted Avery in purchasing a vessel and supplies to escape. Devin would be held in the local jail for a couple of months and then set free to enjoy his treasure. Some believe that Henry Avery or Every took the name Tom Bridgeman in Ireland and lived for many comfortable years near Broadhaven on the island’s west coast.

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November 15, Tuesday (Old Style): Captain [William Kidd](#) left the Indian Ocean for America in the *Quedagh Merchant*, taking advantage of seasonal monsoons that would speed him around the cape and into the southern Atlantic. In about this period, a letter from the East India Company reached London, recounting numerous acts of piracy and attributing them to Kidd. Warren's Royal Navy squadron was dispatched from Capetown to the Indian Ocean to find, board and apprehend Kidd, whose reported actions was causing great embarrassment and alarm to his influential backers in London. Orders went out to the colonies to arrest Kidd on sight, should he turn up there. News of Kidd's pirate acts filtered down to the Houses of Parliament, where political opponents of Kidd's backers seized their opportunity to discredit and embarrass them. Kidd would be popularly regarded as a guilty man by the public before he had even been apprehended, let alone placed on trial.



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December: The Board of Trade complained to [King William III of England](#) that the irregular trade and piracy conducted out of [Rhode Island](#) ports “have been very notorious,” and recommended that he issue a writ of *quo warranto* for revocation of the colony's charter. The commission to investigate the situation reported 25 paragraphs of irregularities. Among these were the issuance by Deputy Governor Green of commissions to persons who then committed [piracy](#) in the seas of India, and the “countenancing and harbouring of pirates.” The Rhode Island government of course would promise to try hard to reform.

December: When the *Nassau* had arrived at [New-York](#) and [Newport, Rhode Island](#) from Madagascar, Captain Edward Coats had found that the £700 in silver he had given to Governor Fletcher was useless as Fletcher had been recalled in disgrace to England. In this month Colonel Baynard of New-York testified before the London Board of Trade that despite this setback, Captain Coats had gotten his treasure ashore, for “pieces of Arabian gold are common in New-York and Rhode Island, after the arrival there of [pirate](#) Captain Coats from the Red Sea.”

[Christmas](#): Theophilus Turner viewed, protruding from a Madagascar mud flat, “the ribs of Captain Hoar's ship, who sailed out of New England.” This was [pirate](#) Captain John Hore's *John and Rebecca*, which had fitted out in [Rhode Island](#) — the ship and its crew had been attacked by natives.



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1699

At some point during the 17th Century, I'm not sure in what year, a [pirate](#) vessel captained by one Assan Trompetter had been subdued by a Dutch man-of-war and he had been executed at sea.

[Rhode Island](#) had become the only New England colony to make extensive use of black [slaves](#) both for labor and as a commodity in trade. The major [international slave trade](#) markets in the American colonies were located (now hear this) at [Newport](#) and at [Bristol](#). This factoid has been so heavily papered over by the revisionist-history industry that we don't now have any idea where they had positioned their slave barracks. At least a few of the slave importers (now hear this) and at least a few of the [privateers](#) were [Quakers](#).

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The rigorous climate of New England, the character of her settlers, and their pronounced political views gave slavery an even slighter basis here than in the Middle colonies. The significance of New England in the African slave-trade does not therefore lie in the fact that she early discountenanced the system of slavery and stopped importation; but rather in the fact that her citizens, being the traders of the New World, early took part in the carrying slave-trade and furnished slaves to the other colonies. An inquiry, therefore, into the efforts of the New England colonies to suppress the slave-trade would fall naturally into two parts: first, and chiefly, an investigation of the efforts to stop the participation of citizens in the carrying slave-trade; secondly, an examination of the efforts made to banish the slave-trade from New England soil.

The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) of [Rhode Island](#) was involved with Captain [William Kidd](#) and with James Gillam, who sailed up the West Passage of the Narragansett Bay and anchored off his farm at the north end of Conanicut Island. They sent a boat and Captain Paine went aboard. He accepted some sums intended for the support of Mrs. Kidd in [Boston](#).



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The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) became one of the founding funders of the Anglican church, Trinity Church, in [Newport](#).



During the late 17th Century, [Rhode Island](#) had been more or less a safe haven for pirates, who brought in a lot of hard currency and were quite a support for the local economy. “When I was at Rhode Island, there was one Palmer a Pyrat who was out on Bail, for they cannot be persuaded to keep a Pyrat there in Gaol: they love em too well.” However, during the century to follow, Rhode Island would be developing its own extensive merchant fleet, at risk from the pirates, and in consequence, this benevolent indifference to [piracy](#) would gradually be changing in the direction of hostility. In the 17th Century, a retired pirate had married a Governor’s daughter and come to live next door to the Governor’s mansion; in the 18th, some pirates would actually be arrested and not allowed to walk out of unlocked jail cells. The government of Rhode Island would begin to put pressure on the local venturesome seamen, at least by 1714, to accept commissions and become “[privateers](#)” rather than pirates, and pledge to attack only French and Spanish vessels, and leave the English vessels alone. Some pirates would be [hanged](#) in Newport in 1723 (unprecedented), in 1738, and in 1760.



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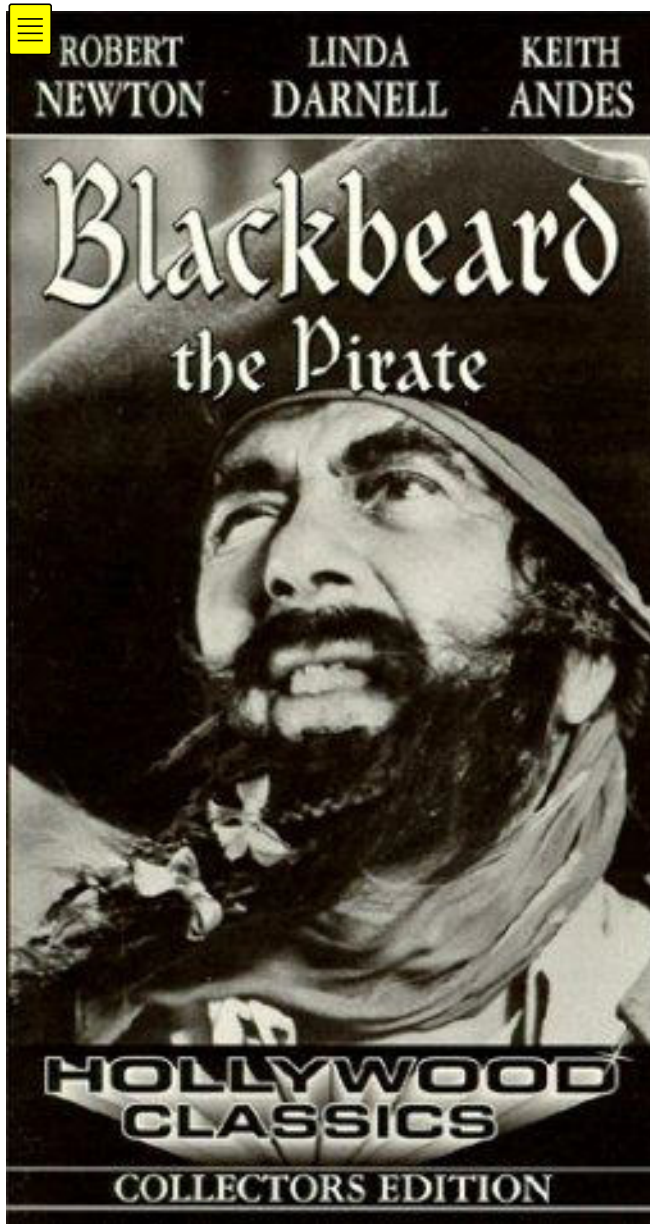
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I don't know when precisely the [pirate](#) Blackbeard was born, or for sure that his birth name was Edward Teach (another story has it that his proper name was Drummond), or that he actually was born in Bristol, England, but in spite of all these unknowns, I will arbitrarily record at this point (since this swinging pirate captain would in fact visit Providence, Rhode Island), that "Edward Teach, later known as Blackbeard, was born in Bristol, England, in this year or in some other year." He would be first a privateersman in the West Indies, against the French, and would begin his piracies in a ship of 40 guns called *Queen Anne's Revenge*. Captain [Edward "Blackbeard" Teach](#) often changed his vessels. To cherish his long jet-black beard, he twisted it up in portions with ribbon. In time of action he wore three braces of pistols in a sling, over his shoulders. At one time he came off Charleston SC, with his fellow pirate, Richards, and one or two other vessels. There they remained some days without the bar, capturing vessels and causing much terror to the inhabitants, and stopping all trade from leaving the port. While there, Teach sent in Captain Richards, with one of his prisoners, to demand of the governor medicines, on pain of his destroying his prisoners. It was granted, and Richards and his men actually

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walked the town audaciously and unmolested. After this he ran ashore upon North Carolina, and made his terms of surrender to the governor. “The gold of Blackbeard (it is said) rendered him comely in the governor’s eye, and through his aid he obtained a legal right to the great ship, the *Revenge*,” — “the governor condemning her at Bath Town Court, as a lawful prize to the captor!” While in North Carolina, Blackbeard married a young woman of good family, the governor being present at the ceremonies! She was said to have been his 14th wife — 12 of whom were still living. He is said to have sired some 40 children. He went off again to his piracies, and brought his captures into North Carolina, and had them again condemned — the governor and he sharing spoils! Blackbeard “passed several months in the river, giving and receiving visits from the planters” &c. — they probably not knowing his real character. In time they began to know it — and they and sundry captains of vessels made their representation to the governor of Virginia, as too much distrusting their own governor.



EDWARD “BLACKBEARD” TEACH

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THE LIFE, ATROCITIES, AND BLOODY DEATH OF BLACK BEARD¹⁸

Edward Teach was a native of Bristol, and having gone to Jamaica, frequently sailed from that port as one of the crew of a privateer during the French war. In that station he gave frequent proofs of his boldness and personal courage; but he was not entrusted with any command until Captain Benjamin Hornigold gave him the command of a prize which he had taken.

In the spring of 1717, Hornigold and Teach sailed from Providence for the continent of America, and on their way captured a small vessel with 120 barrels of flour, which they put on board their own vessel. They also seized two other vessels; from one they took some gallons of wine, and from the other, plunder to a considerable value. After cleaning upon the coast of Virginia, they made a prize of a large French Guineaman bound to Martinique, and Teach obtaining the command of her, went to the island of Providence, and surrendered to the king's clemency.

Teach now began to act an independent part. He mounted his vessel with forty guns, and named her "The Queen Anne's Revenge." Cruising near the island of St. Vincent, he took a large ship,

18. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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called the Great Allan, and after having plundered her of what he deemed proper, set her on fire. A few days after, Teach encountered the Scarborough man-of-war, and engaged her for some hours; but perceiving his strength and resolution, she retired, and left Teach to pursue his depredations. His next adventure was with a sloop of ten guns, commanded by Major Bonnet, and these two men co-operated for some time: but Teach finding him unacquainted with naval affairs, gave the command of Bonnet's ship to Richards, one of his own crew, and entertained Bonnet on board his own vessel. Watering at Turniff, they discovered a sail, and Richards with the Revenge slipped her cable, and ran out to meet her. Upon seeing the black flag hoisted, the vessel struck, and came-to under the stern of Teach the commodore. This was the Adventure from Jamaica. They took the captain and his men on board the great ship, and manned his sloop for their own service.

Weighing from Turniff, where they remained during a week, and sailing to the bay, they found there a ship and four sloops. Teach hoisted his flag, and began to fire at them, upon which the captain and his men left their ship and fled to the shore. Teach burned two of these sloops, and let the other three depart. They afterwards sailed to different places, and having taken two small vessels, anchored off the bar of Charleston for a few days. Here they captured a ship bound for England, as she was coming out of the harbor. They next seized a vessel coming out of Charleston, and two pinks coming into the same harbor, together with a brigantine with fourteen negroes. The audacity of these transactions, performed in sight of the town, struck the inhabitants with terror, as they had been lately visited by some other notorious pirates. Meanwhile, there were eight sail in the harbor, none of which durst set to sea for fear of falling into the hands of Teach. The trade of this place was totally interrupted, and the inhabitants were abandoned to despair. Their calamity was greatly augmented from this circumstance, that a long and desperate war with the natives had just terminated, when they began to be infested by these robbers.

Teach having detained all the persons taken in these ships as prisoners, they were soon in great want of medicines, and he had the audacity to demand a chest from the governor. This demand was made in a manner not less daring than insolent. Teach sent Richards, the captain of the Revenge, with Mr. Marks, one of the prisoners, and several others, to present their request. Richards informed the governor, that unless their demand was granted, and he and his companions returned in safety, every prisoner on board the captured ships should instantly be slain, and the vessels consumed to ashes.

During the time that Mr. Marks was negotiating with the governor, Richards and his associates walked the streets at pleasure, while indignation flamed from every eye against them, as the robbers of their property, and the terror of their country. Though the affront thus offered to the Government was great and most audacious, yet, to preserve the lives of so many men, they granted their request, and sent on board a chest valued at three or four hundred pounds.

Teach, as soon as he received the medicines and his fellow pirates, pillaged the ships of gold and provisions, and then dismissed the prisoners with their vessels. From the bar of Charleston they sailed to North Carolina. Teach now began to

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reflect how he could best secure the spoil, along with some of the crew who were his favorites. Accordingly, under pretence of cleaning, he ran his vessel on shore, and grounded; then ordered the men in Hands' sloop to come to his assistance, which they endeavoring to do, also ran aground, and so they were both lost. Then Teach went into the tender with forty hands, and upon a sandy island, about a league from shore, where there was neither bird nor beast, nor herb for their subsistence, he left seventeen of his crew, who must inevitably have perished, had not Major Bonnet received intelligence of their miserable situation, and sent a long-boat for them. After this barbarous deed. Teach, with the remainder of his crew, went and surrendered to the governor of North Carolina, retaining all the property which had been acquired by his fleet.

The temporary suspension of the depredations of Black Beard, for so he was now called, did not proceed from a conviction of his former errors, or a determination to reform, but to prepare for future and more extensive exploits. As governors are but men, and not unfrequently by no means possessed of the most virtuous principles, the gold of Black Beard rendered him comely in the governor's eyes, and, by his influence, he obtained a legal right to the great ship called "The Queen Anne's Revenge." By order of the governor, a court of vice-admiralty was held at Bath-town, and that vessel was condemned as a lawful prize which he had taken from the Spaniards, though it was a well-known fact that she belonged to English merchants. Before he entered upon his new adventures, he married a young woman of about sixteen years of age, the governor himself attending the ceremony. It was reported that this was only his fourteenth wife, about twelve of whom were yet alive; and though this woman was young and amiable, he behaved towards her in a manner so brutal, that it was shocking to all decency and propriety, even among his abandoned crew of pirates.

In his first voyage, Black Beard directed his course to the Bermudas, and meeting with two or three English vessels, emptied them of their stores and other necessaries, and allowed them to proceed. He also met with two French vessels bound for Martinique, the one light, and the other laden with sugar and cocoa: he put the men on board the latter into the former, and allowed her to depart. He brought the freighted vessel into North Carolina, where the governor and Black Beard shared the prizes. Nor did their audacity and villany stop here. Teach and some of his abandoned crew waited upon his excellency, and swore that they had seized the French ship at sea, without a soul on board; therefore a court was called, and she was condemned, the honorable governor received sixty hogsheads of sugar for his share, his secretary twenty, and the pirates the remainder. But as guilt always inspires suspicion, Teach was afraid that some one might arrive in the harbor who might detect the roguery: therefore, upon pretence that she was leaky, and might sink, and so stop up the entrance to the harbor where she lay, they obtained the governor's liberty to drag her into the river, where she was set on fire, and when burnt down to the water, her bottom was sunk, that so she might never rise in judgment against the governor and his confederates.

Black Beard now being in the province of Friendship, passed several months in the river, giving and receiving visits from the planters; while he traded with the vessels which came to



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that river, sometimes in the way of lawful commerce, and sometimes in his own way. When he chose to appear the honest man, he made fair purchases on equal barter; but when this did not suit his necessities, or his humor, he would rob at pleasure, and leave them to seek their redress from the governor; and the better to cover his intrigues with his excellency, he would sometimes outbrave him to his face, and administer to him a share of that contempt and insolence which he so liberally bestowed upon the rest of the inhabitants of the province.

But there are limits to human insolence and depravity. The captains of the vessels who frequented that river, and had been so often harassed and plundered by Black Beard, secretly consulted with some of the planters what measures to pursue, in order to banish such an infamous miscreant from their coasts, and to bring him to deserved punishment. Convinced from long experience, that the governor himself, to whom it belonged, would give no redress, they represented the matter to the governor of Virginia, and entreated that an armed force might be sent from the men-of-war lying there, either to take or to destroy those pirates who infested their coast.

Upon this representation, the Governor of Virginia consulted with the captains of the two men-of-war as to the best measures to be adopted. It was resolved that the governor should hire two small vessels, which could pursue Black Beard into all his inlets and creeks; that they should be manned from the men-of-war, and the command given to Lieutenant Maynard, an experienced and resolute officer. When all was ready for his departure, the governor called an assembly, in which it was resolved to issue a proclamation, offering a great reward to any who, within a year, should take or destroy any pirate.

Upon the 17th of November, 1717, Maynard left James's river in quest of Black Beard, and on the evening of the 21st came in sight of the pirate. This expedition was fitted out with all possible expedition and secrecy, no boat being permitted to pass that might convey any intelligence, while care was taken to discover where the pirates were lurking. His excellency the governor of Bermuda, and his secretary, however, having obtained information of the intended expedition, the latter wrote a letter to Black Beard, intimating, that he had sent him four of his men, who were all he could meet within or about town, and so bade him be on his guard. These men were sent from Bath-town to the place where Black Beard lay, about the distance of twenty leagues.

The hardened and infatuated pirate, having been often deceived by false intelligence, was the less attentive to this information, nor was he convinced of its accuracy until he saw the sloops sent to apprehend him. Though he had then only twenty men on board, he prepared to give battle. Lieutenant Maynard arrived with his sloops in the evening, and anchored, as he could not venture, under cloud of night, to go into the place where Black Beard lay. The latter spent the night in drinking with the master of a trading-vessel, with the same indifference as if no danger had been near. Nay, such was the desperate wickedness of this villain, that, it is reported, during the carousals of that night, one of his men asked him, "In case any thing should happen to him during the engagement with the two sloops which were waiting to attack him in the morning, whether his wife knew where he had buried his money?" when he impiously replied, "That

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nobody but himself and the devil knew where it was, and the longest liver should take all."

In the morning Maynard weighed, and sent his boat to sound, which coming near the pirate, received her fire. Maynard then hoisted royal colors, and made directly towards Black Beard with every sail and oar. In a little time the pirate ran aground, and so also did the king's vessels. Maynard lightened his vessel of the ballast and water, and made towards Black Beard. Upon this he hailed him in his own rude style, "D - n you for villains, who are you, and from whence come you?" The lieutenant answered, "You may see from our colors we are no pirates." Black Beard bade him send his boat on board, that he might see who he was. But Maynard replied, "I cannot spare my boat, but I will come on board of you as soon as I can with my sloop." Upon this Black Beard took a glass of liquor and drank to him, saying, "I'll give no quarter nor take any from you." Maynard replied, "He expected no quarter from him, nor should he give him any."

During this dialogue the pirate's ship floated, and the sloops were rowing with all expedition towards him. As she came near, the pirate fired a broadside, charged with all manner of small shot, which killed or wounded twenty men. Black Beard's ship in a little after fell broadside to the shore; one of the sloops called the Ranger, also fell astern. But Maynard finding that his own sloop had way, and would soon be on board of Teach, ordered all his men down, while himself and the man at the helm, who he commanded to lie concealed, were the only persons who remained on deck. He at the same time desired them to take their pistols, cutlasses, and swords, and be ready for action upon his call, and, for greater expedition, two ladders were placed in the hatchway. When the king's sloop boarded, the pirate's case-boxes, filled with powder, small shot, slugs, and pieces of lead and iron, with a quick-match in the mouth of them, were thrown into Maynard's sloop. Fortunately, however, the men being in the hold, they did small injury on the present occasion, though they are usually very destructive. Black Beard seeing few or no hands upon deck, cried to his men that they were all knocked on the head except three or four; "and therefore," said he, "let us jump on board, and cut to pieces those that are alive."

Upon this, during the smoke occasioned by one of these case-boxes, Black Beard, with fourteen of his men, entered, and were not perceived until the smoke was dispelled. The signal was given to Maynard's men, who rushed up in an instant. Black Beard and the lieutenant exchange shots, and the pirate was wounded; they then engaged sword in hand, until the sword of the lieutenant broke, but fortunately one of his men at that instant gave Black Beard a terrible wound in the neck and throat. The most desperate and bloody conflict ensued: - Maynard with twelve men, and Black Beard with fourteen. The sea was dyed with blood all around the vessel, and uncommon bravery was displayed upon both sides. Though the pirate was wounded by the first shot from Maynard, though he had received twenty cuts, and as many shots, he fought with desperate valor; but at length, when in the act of cocking his pistol, fell down dead. By this time eight of his men had fallen, and the rest being wounded, cried out for quarter, which was granted, as the ringleader was slain. The other sloop also attacked the men who remained in the pirate vessels, until they also cried out for quarter. And such was the desperation of Black Beard, that, having small hope of escaping,



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he had placed a negro with a match at the gunpowder door, to blow up the ship the moment that he should have been boarded by the king's men, in order to involve the whole in general ruin. That destructive broadside at the commencement of the action, which at first appeared so unlucky, was, however, the means of their preservation from the intended destruction.

Maynard severed the pirate's head from his body, suspended it upon his bowsprit-end, and sailed to Bath-town, to obtain medical aid for his wounded men. In the pirate sloop several letters and papers were found, which Black Beard would certainly have destroyed previous to the engagement, had he not determined to blow her up upon his being taken, which disclosed the whole villainy between the honorable governor of Bermuda and his honest secretary on the one hand, and the notorious pirate on the other, who had now suffered the just punishment of his crimes.

Scarcely was Maynard returned to Bath-town, when he boldly went and made free with the sixty hogsheads of sugar in the possession of the governor, and the twenty in that of his secretary.

After his men had been healed at Bath-town, the lieutenant proceeded to Virginia, with the head of Black Beard still suspended on his bowsprit-end, as a trophy of his victory, to the great joy of all the inhabitants. The prisoners were tried, condemned, and executed; and thus all the crew of that infernal miscreant, Black Beard, were destroyed, except two. One of these was taken out of a trading-vessel, only the day before the engagement, in which he received no less than seventy wounds, of all which he was cured. The other was Israel Hands, who was master of the Queen Anne's Revenge; he was taken at Bath-town, being wounded in one of Black Beard's savage humors. One night Black Beard, drinking in his cabin with Hands, the pilot, and another man, without any pretence, took a small pair of pistols, and cocked them under the table; which being perceived by the man, he went on deck, leaving the captain, Hands, and the pilot together. When his pistols were prepared, he extinguished the candle, crossed his arms, and fired at his company. The one pistol did no execution, but the other wounded Hands in the knee. Interrogated concerning the meaning of this, he answered with an imprecation, "That if he did not now and then kill one of them, they would forget who he was." Hands was eventually tried and condemned, but as he was about to be executed, a vessel arrived with a proclamation prolonging the time of his Majesty's pardon, which Hands pleading, he was saved from a violent and shameful death.

In the commonwealth of pirates, he who goes the greatest length of wickedness, is looked upon with a kind of envy amongst them, as a person of a most extraordinary gallantry; he is therefore entitled to be distinguished by some post, and, if such a one has but courage, he must certainly be a great man. The hero of whom we are writing was thoroughly accomplished in this way, and some of his frolics of wickedness were as extravagant as if he aimed at making his men believe he was a devil incarnate. Being one day at sea, and a little flushed with drink; "Come," said he, "let us make a hell of our own, and try how long we can bear it." Accordingly he, with two or three others, went down into the hold, and closing up all the hatches, filled several pots full of brimstone, and other combustible matter; they then set it on fire, and so continued till they were almost suffocated,



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when some of the men cried out for air; at length he opened the hatches, not a little pleased that he had held out the longest. Those of his crew who were taken alive, told a story which may appear a little incredible. That once, upon a cruise, 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 any account who he was, or from whence he came; but that he disappeared a little before they were cast away in their great ship, and, it seems, they verily believed it was the devil. One would think these things should have induced them to reform their lives; but being so many reprobates together, they encouraged and spirited one another up in their wickedness, to which a continual course of drinking did not a little contribute. In Black Beard's journal, which was taken, there were several memoranda of the following nature, all written with his own hand. – "Such a day, rum all out; – our company somewhat sober; – a d – d confusion amongst us! – rogues a plotting; – great talk of separation. So I looked sharp for a prize; – such a day took one, with a great deal of liquor on board; so kept the company hot, d----d hot, then all things went well again." We shall close the narrative of this extraordinary man's life by an account of the cause why he was denominated Black Beard. He derived this name from his long black beard, which, like a frightful meteor, covered his whole face, and terrified all America more than any comet that had ever appeared. He was accustomed to twist it with ribbon in small quantities, and turn them about his ears. In time of action he wore a sling over his shoulders with three brace of pistols. He stuck lighted matches under his hat, which appeared on both sides of his face and eyes, naturally fierce and wild, made him such a figure that the human imagination cannot form a conception of a fury more terrible and alarming; and if he had the appearance and look of a fury, his actions corresponded with that character.

February: When 20 [pirates](#) pardoned by [King William III of England](#) arrived at [St. Helena](#), 4 were allowed to remain because of an expectation of "considerable profit to the inhabitants."

March 18, Saturday (1698, Old Style): Joe Brodish had sailed under Captain Thomas Gulleck as boatswain aboard the 350-ton, 22-gun merchant ship *Adventure*, but when the ship appeared off the coast of Connecticut on this day, at [Block Island](#) and Gardiners Island, Gulleck was not to be seen and Brodish was in charge. The *Adventure* then sailed for the Caribbean and when it would return would attempt to deposit its gains at John Gardner's "[Pirate Bank](#)." A storm would prevent the crew of the *Adventure* from landing there, and the ship would go on to [Newport](#) where two of the men would be arrested while attempting to purchase a sloop. Brodish purchased a sloop from a passing fisherman and transferred some of his treasure from the *Adventure* to the sloop. Then the two vessels sailed to Montauk Point, where the *Adventure* sank in a raging sea, taking much treasure to the bottom. The crew manage to swim ashore, and later took the sloop and the remaining treasure on to Maine. Brodish and a one-eyed man named Tee Wetherly would be arrested in Boston, and nine other members also

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would be detained in various parts of [Rhode Island](#) and Massachusetts during April, with about £300 pounds sterling in their possession. Each crewman of the *Adventure* was said to have received 1,500 pieces of eight as his share. Some £3,000, with jewels, belonging to Brodish, would be seized by authorities at the home of Henry Pierson, Nassau Island, New York. Brodish and Wetherly would spend a couple of months in jail, and then on June 25, 1699 jailkeeper Caleb Ray would allege that they had escaped. Governor Bellmont suspected that this jailkeeper, who was a cousin or uncle of Brodish, had let the men go. Bellomont offered a reward of 200 pieces of eight for the capture of Brodish and 100 for the capture of Thee Wetherly. A bounty hunter named Essacambuit caught up with the duo in Saco, Maine. They escaped twice from this bounty hunter but each time were recaptured, and upon their arrival in Boston Governor Bellmont had them shipped to England, where they would be [hung](#).

March 28, Tuesday (Old Style): George Cutler was tried for [piracy](#) before the Court of General Tryalls at [Newport, Rhode Island](#) and guess what, no one showed up to claim the cash and goods and levy charges against him. Questioned as to how he had come into all that money, Cutler avowed that he picked it up in various places, included being willed some of it by a resident of Madagascar. Wink wink, nudge nudge. The jury of his peers then acquitted. A few months later, as one of the wealthy men of the town, Cutler would join with Captain [Thomas Paine](#) and others in signing a petition for the assignment of an Anglican minister to Newport — thus becoming, along with the wealthy [Huguenot](#) merchant [Gabriel Bernon](#), a founder of Trinity Church (Huguenots and pirates, assimilating with a vengeance).

April: Captain [William Kidd](#) arrived in the Caribbean, making landfall at Anguilla. Upon hearing that [King William III of England](#) had issued a Royal Warrant for their arrest for acts of [piracy](#), his crew wanted to scuttle the *Quedagh Merchant* and disband rather than surrender to the authorities. Kidd however, was so sure of his innocence, he convinced the majority of his crew to go with him to New-York to clear their names. On his way to New-York, Kidd stopped of at [Hispaniola](#) where he bought a small sloop named *St. Antonio*. He transferred most of his booty from the *Quedagh Merchant* to the *St. Antonio* and, with a crew of 12, set sail for New-York, leaving the remainder of his crew to guard the *Quedagh Merchant* and remainder of his plundered cargo in a small creek. Kidd would spend a couple of weeks with his wife and stepchildren in New-York before his meeting with Bellomont in Boston. The first thing Kidd did was contact John Emmot, his attorney from Oyster Bay and instruct him to approach Bellomont on his behalf. Kidd needed to know Bellomont's stance before meeting him face to face. Kidd gave Emmot the two French passes that would surely prove his innocence, to show to Bellomont — but these would be promptly confiscated. It would be the last time Kidd would see this exculpatory evidence, and this would prove to have been a fatal mistake.



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May: Bellomont wrote that the inhabitants of Long Island were “a lawless and unruly people” protecting [pirates](#) who had “settled among them.” The governor of the Bay Colony wasn’t going to put up with this, no he wasn’t.

July 1, Saturday (Old Style): Captain [William Kidd](#) had sailed the *Adventure Galley* from [New-York](#) three years earlier, with a commission to prey upon the enemies of England. When he learned that he had been declared a pirate, he transferred some of his loot to a sloop, the *St. Anthony*, and leaving the *Quedah Merchant* behind in the Caribbean, set sail for New England to clear his name. He seems to have gone directly to Oyster Bay, where he contacted an attorney, James Emmot, whom he asked to approach Bellomont. Bellomont wrote:

Captain Kidd in a sloop richly laden, came to Rhode Island, and sent one Emot to Boston to treat about his admission and security. He said Kidd had left the great Moorish ship he took in India, called the *Quedah Merchant*, in a creek on the coast of [Hispaniola](#), with goods to the value of 30,000 pounds.

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While safely harboring at [Block Island](#), which was under the jurisdiction of the colony of [Rhode Island](#) &



Providence Plantations, he negotiated at long range with the Governor of the Bay Colony, the Earl of Bellermont, cousin to the King of England, for a full pardon for the manner in which he had been interpreting this commission while upon the high seas, and received the promise “I make no manner of doubt but to obtain the King’s pardon to you.” Kidd gave the current owner of Gardiners Island, Jonathan Gardiner the grandson of Lion Gardiner, “four pieces of Arabian Gold” and asked him to accept custody of “three negroes, two boys and a girl, ashore, to keep till he, the said Kidd, should call for them.” Kidd also presented Gardiner with some



luxurious silk fabric — a piece hangs today on a wall of that island’s manor house. Gardiner would reveal to the authorities that during his visit to his island Captain Kidd had also buried “a chest and a box of Gold, a bundle of quilts, and four bales of goods” half a mile inland from the western coastline, marking the burial spot with a pile of rocks. (The trove was estimated at the time to be worth £20,000, which would be more than \$1,000,000 in our greenbacks today. Every item was on a witnessed manifest and this buried trove was not the total loot, but was merely the due share of the Earl of Bellermont. Some assert that the bulk of Kidd’s treasure is still under the sands of Campobello Island, which is just across the Canadian boundary. Others assert, on the basis of some cryptic remarks Kidd made just before the first noose took his breath away, that he had been able to bury something of substance somewhere near Old Saybrook in Connecticut. The vine-covered cairn still stands on Gardiners Island above the hole emptied by the governor, and nearby there is a granite marker

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erected during the 19th Century.)



Two members of Kidd's crew "who went by the names of Cook and Parrot" gave Gardiner "two bags of Silver ... which weighed thirty pounds ... a small bundle of gold, gold dust of about a pound weight ... a sash and a pair of worsted stockings." Kidd sent jewels to Boston care of his attorney, James Emmot, for presentation to Bellomont's wife. Then, with all his bargaining chips in place, Kidd ventured to Boston, carrying with him his documentary proofs that the ships he had seized were all of French registration in accordance with his contract of privateering. His best bet, as he must have realized, was his continued control over the *Quedah Merchant* back in the Caribbean. On this day, however, when he sailed into Boston harbor, he found himself unexpectedly taken under arrest by the officers of Governor Bellermont, facing charges of [piracy](#). Colonel Robert Livingston's own self-interest was at stake for, in concert with some other crown officers in England, he had had a 1/5th share in the enterprise, so he attempted to be of assistance, offering suggestions for a resolution of the difficulties. For some reason, however, Livingston's attempts at a resolution would fail.¹⁹ Isaac Norris, Senior would write that "We have four men in prison, taken up as pirates, supposed to be Kid's men. Shelly, of New York has brought to these parts some scores of them, and there is a sharp look out to take them. We have various reports of their riches, and money hid between this and the capes. There were landed about twenty men, as we understand, at each cape, and several are gone to York. A sloop has been seen cruising off the capes for a considerable time, but has not meddled with any vessel as yet, though she has spoken with several." Presumably these men had some hint that Kidd's treasure was greater than he had reported, and that he was holding something back from them? Since British law required that all accused of piracy receive trial in England, Kidd would be transported there. The ships' papers he had in his possession, documentary proof that all the ships he had captured had been sailing under French authority, would be sequestered from him by the prosecution, and he would be found guilty of piracy and murder and [hanged](#) on May 23, 1701.²⁰

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Joseph Bradish, probably a son of Joseph Bradish and a grandson of Robert Bradish of Cambridge, was sent to England with Captain [William Kidd](#) and also would hang in [London](#) for piracy.

19. Robert Livingston would settle in Albany, New York, becoming Lord of the 160,000-acre Manor of Livingston. In 1695 he would become Secretary of Indian Affairs, and from 1709 to 1711 he would be a prominent member of the New York Provincial Assembly, rising in 1716 to the post of Speaker of the Assembly. He would die in his bed in 1728 at the age of 74.

20. The Earl of Romney, the Earl of Orford, Sir John Somers, and the Duke of Shrewsbury would never acknowledge their involvement with [William Kidd](#) and would be protected behind the veil of appearances the court so carefully wove.

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August: The Earl of Bellomont accused Captain [Thomas Paine](#) of possession of some of Captain [William Kidd](#) pirate treasure, and searched his [Rhode Island](#) property. Producing some gold, Paine protested that it should not be seized, because it was his own, because his friend Willie-boy had offered it to him as a gift. (Will this piece of Rhode Island nonsense go down in history as the greatest inventive excuse ever offered?)



After arresting [William Kidd](#) and his crew, Bellomont also sent men to Gardiners Island to seize the concealed loot — estimated at the time to be worth £20,000 (around £2 million in today’s value). All the treasure Kidd deposited there was uncovered and removed. Gardiner, who some historians have suggested was in league with Kidd, gave a statement to Bellomont in which he said that on the day Kidd and his men concealed the treasure, Kidd told him to “take three Negroes, two boys and a girl, ashore, to keep till he, the said Kidd, should call for them” and was therefore away from the island and not party to Kidd’s seditious actions. Kidd gave Gardiner gifts of cloth and four pieces of Arabian Gold. Gardiner said Kidd also buried a chest and a box of Gold, a bundle of quilts, and four bales of goods. Two members of Kidd’s crew, named Cook and Parrot, gave Gardiner two bags of Silver which weighed thirty pounds, a small bundle of gold, gold dust of about a pound weight, a sash and a pair of worsted stockings. Bellomont’s manifest of the cargo brought back accounted for 1,111 ounces of gold, 2,353 ounces of silver, over a pound of precious stones (i.e. rubies and diamonds), 57 bags of sugar, and 41 bags of miscellaneous goods and artifacts.²¹

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21. The Earl of Bellomont would die in New-York in February 1701, three months prior to the execution of [William Kidd](#) — having in search of buried treasure driven himself to the point of insanity.



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October: The Earl of Bellomont complained to the Board of Trade that the government of [Rhode Island](#) “cannot be persuaded to keep a Pyrat there in Gaol: they love em too well.”²²

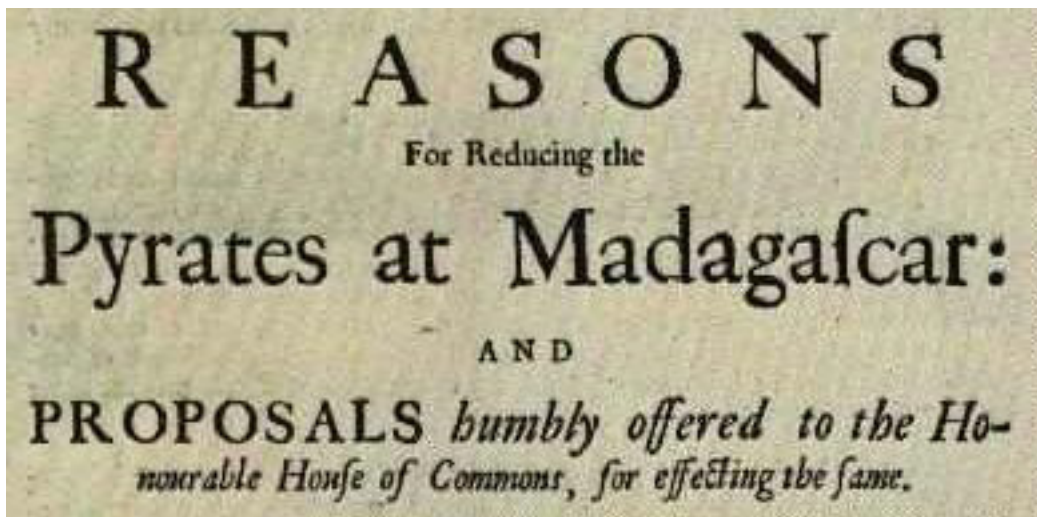
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READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

November 27, Monday (Old Style): The Earl of Bellomont presented to the Privy Council a report on the conduct of [Rhode Island](#) which bulleted a list of 25 irregularities. For instance, he reported that the Deputy Governor of the colony, John Greene, had been issuing [privateering](#) commissions to captains who would then go off to commit [piracy](#) in the sea of India. He reported that the colony had been “countenancing” and “harbouring” pirates by either allowing them to escape from jail or acquitting them when they were obviously guilty.²³

LORD BELLOMONT’S REPORT

November 29, Wednesday (Old Style): Governor Bellomont had been able to detain Captain James Gillam of the [pirate](#) ship *Mocha*. He reported to the Board of Trade that “reports of men lately of Madagascar, say the *Mocha* has taken above two million pounds sterling.” He suggested to the Board that “I am told that as Vice Admiral of these Provinces, I am Entitled to one-third of Gillam’s gold and jewels.”²⁴



12 month 6th: An item of olden time extracted from the minutes of the Pennsylvania assembly by John Fanning Watson: Adjourned to Isaac Norris’ house, by reason of the extreme cold, for an hour. Thomas Makin, voted to be clerk for this Assembly, at 4s. per day.²⁵ £21 was voted as a provincial charge for damage done by [privateers](#) plundering the town of Lewes.

22. The Earl of Bellomont would die in New-York in February 1701, three months prior to the execution of [William Kidd](#) — having in search of buried treasure driven himself to the point of insanity.

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24. The Earl of Bellomont would die in New-York in February 1701, three months prior to the execution of [William Kidd](#) — having in search of buried treasure driven himself to the point of insanity.

25. He was Latin teacher at [Friends’](#) Academy.



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During his voyage toward trial in England, [William Kidd](#) hinted of concealed “goods and treasure in the Indies.” His hints were reported but ignored. Kidd continued to drop hints of his buried goods in the Indies several more times during his incarceration, and even wrote to the House of Commons offering to take persons appointed by the House back to the Indies to recover the goods. In his first trial he would be charged with having murdered one of his crewmen, William Moore. Two crewmen who had deserted would testify against him, that he had struck the gunner on the head with a wooden bucket, and he would be convicted and sentenced to hang. That being accomplished, the officials would then try Kidd again, this time for [piracy](#). He would be able to testify truthfully that the ships he had seized in the Indian Ocean had been ships of French registry, in accordance with the privateering contract which he had been granted by the king of England, but would be prevented by the prosecutor from introducing the ship documents that would have demonstrated this to be factual and his testimony to be truthful. He would be again convicted.

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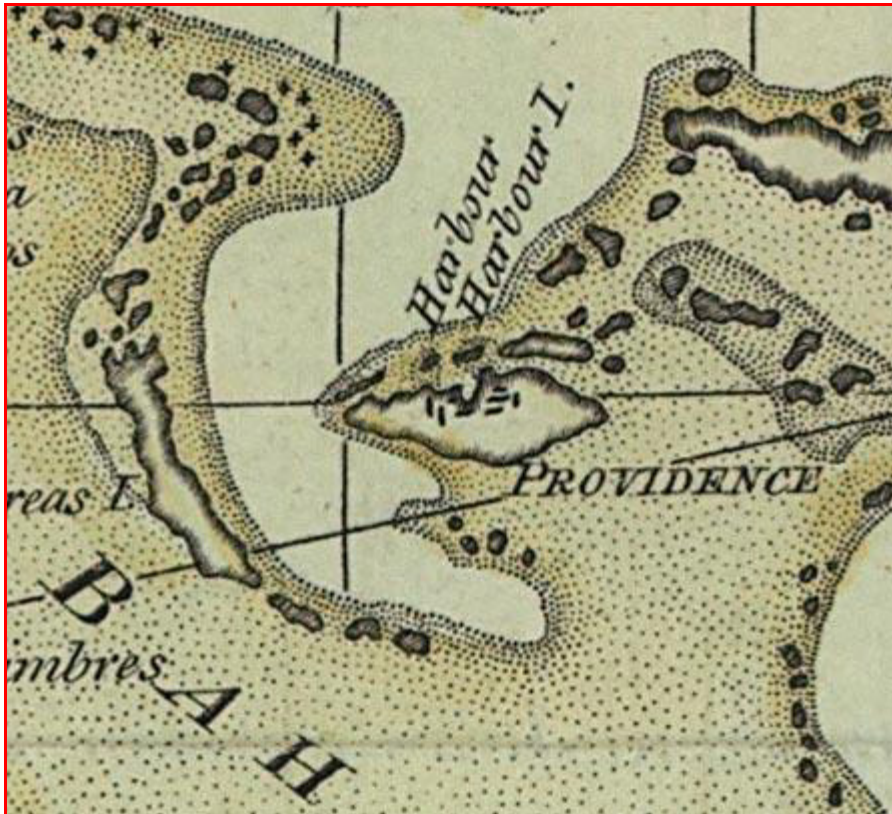
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18TH CENTURY

1700

New Providence Island is in the Bahamas, the town of Nassau being its principal settlement. Originally a base from which privateers sanctioned by the English government could harass the Spanish, by this point the law-abiding citizenry had been forced to flee to exile on Great Exuma and New Providence was subject to the “lawless riot and drunken revelry” of [pirates](#). A combined Spanish and French force struck New Providence a few years after the turn of the century, leaving the original settlers scattered beyond recovery and the pirates in complete control of the island. The first of these infamous pirates to call New Providence home was Henry Jennings, and he was only the first of a series of criminals to base themselves at the island. The most infamous, of course, was Edward Teach, known as Blackbeard, but Charles Vane, Calico Jack Rackham, Anne Bonny, and Stede Bonnet also called New Providence home. Edward “Blackbeard” Teach had his residence in Fort Nassau. The British Crown would need to send fellow privateer Woodes Rogers, as Governor, to bring order. Rogers would arrive in 1717 with three ships of the Royal Navy and quickly subdue the island. Charles Vane would fire his cannon at the arriving governor, while sailing away. Blackbeard would head for the Carolinas. Some of the remaining pirates would resist and be captured and hung, while a few would obtain the advantage of a Royal Pardon.



March 20, Wednesday (1699, Old Style): Amsterdam merchants William Banker and Hero May wrote to advise officers of the colony of [New York](#) that they would be arranging for the release of hostages of the [Barbary pirates](#), and that Trinity Church funds from the colony, sent for that purpose, would be returned.

HDT

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PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

BLACKBEARD:
OR,
THE PIRATE OF THE ROANOKE.



Portrait of Blackbeard, the Pirate of the Roanoke.

F. GLEASON'S PUBLISHING HALL,
CORNER OF TREMONT AND COURT STREETS, BOSTON.
S. FRENCH, 293 Broadway, New York. A. WINCH, 116 Chestnut St., Philadela.
STRATTON & BARNARD, 121 Main Street, Cincinnati. T. S. HAWKS,
Post Office Building, Buffalo. J. A. ROYS, 37 Woodward Avenue,
Detroit. WM. TAYLOR, North Street, Baltimore. FLETCH-
ER & SELLERS, Rue Champs Elysees, New Orleans.
1847.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

April: The Board of Trade recommended to [King William III of England](#) that he should instruct his law officers to draft a better form of government for the colony of [Rhode Island](#) — one under which it would no longer be able to make of itself a safe haven for malfactors in order to live off the proceeds of [piracy](#).

On [St. Helena](#) punishment for runaway [slaves](#) was to be:

- 1st offence: an iron collar for a year
- 2d offence: little finger cut off
- 3d offence: next finger cut off
- 4th offence: for a man, cut off the testicles, for a women, cut off the ears

May: The colony of [Rhode Island](#) pled with King William III of England that they had never had any intention “to shuffle with you.” They had fired their Deputy Governor John Greene, who had been issuing commissions to [pirates](#) and offering them succor. They promised that they would proceed to reform themselves. They threw themselves at their monarch’s feet and submitted themselves to the great wisdom of his Board of Trade. They would manage to stall and stall until other events, such as war, would seize London’s attention. It is difficult now to estimate just how close Rhode Island had come to losing its royal charter. (In the following century, the balance would tilt as Rhode Island developed more and more of a legitimate merchant fleet. Eventually this merchant fleet would suffer so much from piracy, that Rhode Island would flipflop and become hostile to pirates. In other words, we were utterly consistent: While support for piracy had been more profitable, Rhode Island had supported pirates and been a haven for them, and as soon as hostility toward piracy became more profitable, we became hostile to piracy.)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1701

Joseph Bradish and his crew were [hanged](#) at Wapping.

PIRACY

When the ship of the [pirate](#) John Bowen was wrecked, his crew went their various ways. Thomas White, who had been taken captive and then treated as the personal slave of John Bowen and George Booth, finding himself again free, signed on with Thomas Howard aboard the *Prosperous* and was elected as that ship's quartermaster.

Such were the depredations of [pirates](#) on the seacoast off Philadelphia, that watches were appointed in Sussex to sound the alarm.

From this year until 1719, the [pirate](#) Jan Andriessen would be captaining the yacht *Fortuyn*.

April: The Board of Trade recommended to [King William III of England](#) that he should instruct his law officers to draft a better form of government for the colony of [Rhode Island](#) — one under which it would no longer be able to make of itself a safe haven for malfactors in order to live off the proceeds of [piracy](#).

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May 23, Friday (Old Style): [William Kidd](#), after receiving the death penalty²⁶ for [piracy](#) and murder, and in his last desperate attempt to save his neck from the [gallows](#) in [London](#), wrote a letter from Newgate Prison to Robert Harley, Speaker of the House of Commons, offering to take persons appointed by the House to a place “that in my late proceedings in the Indies I have lodged goods and treasure to the value of one hundred thousand pounds.” Presumably he meant by “the Indies” some island in the Indian Ocean, as the islands we now know as the “West Indies” were then usually known as “the islands of the Caribbean.”

26. The first [capital punishment](#) enactments of which we have written record date to the legal code of King Hammurabi of Babylon, in the 18th Century BCE, which had specified the penalty of death for 25 distinct offenses. This had been carried forward in the 14th Century BCE in the Hittite code of laws, which also made use of capital punishment, and in the 7th Century BCE, in the legal code implemented by Draco of Athens, which had specified that the penalty was to be the same, capital punishment, for any crime regardless of what it was (this had been, of course, truly Draconian). In this century, the Roman Law of the Twelve Tablets also made use of capital punishment. Death might be by crucifixion, by burning alive, by being beaten to death, by drowning, or by impalement. In the 10th Century, the British code of laws had also made use of capital punishment, although the usual method of execution was hanging. The arrival of William the Bastard, become William the Conqueror, in the 11th Century, meant no capital punishment whatever of any of his British subjects, regardless of their crime, except in time of war. During the reign of King Henry VIII over England, however, we infer that as many as 72,000 people were executed. The common methods of execution in Henry's time were boiling, burning at the stake, hanging, beheading, and drawing and quartering. Treason was a capital offense — and the crime of trahison might extend even to whispering a jest about the monarch, or failing to raise one's glass during a toast, or having sex with a prince's nursemaid. For a non-Jew to marry a Jew was a capital offense. For an arrested person to refuse to confess to a crime meant that the penalty, if found guilty, regardless of the offense, was to be death. In subsequent centuries, the English lawmakers had continued to add to the list of crimes punishable by death. By the 1700s, 222 crimes were punishable by death in Britain, and this including stealing, the unauthorized cutting down of a tree, and pilfering from someone else's rabbit warren. Because they knew that a conviction meant an execution, where they did not consider the culprit's offense to be that serious many juries of Englishmen would issue a verdict of “not proven.”



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

S'r,

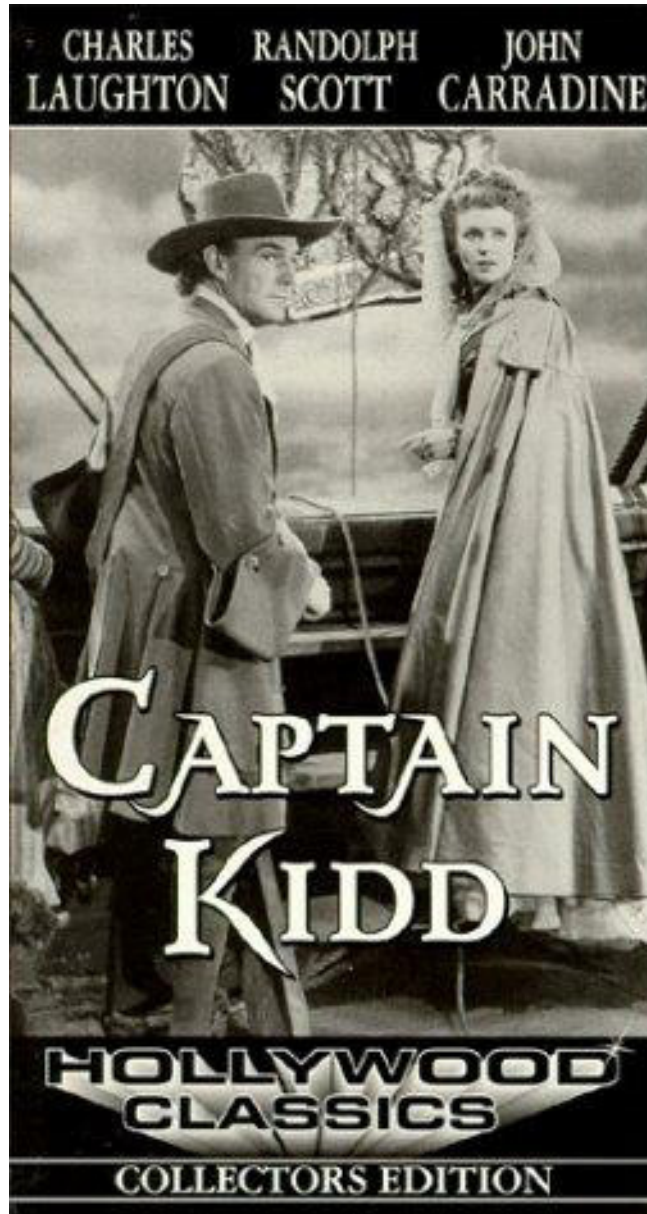
The sence of my present Condition (being under Condemnation) and the thoughts of having bene imposed on by such as seek't my destruction thereby to fulfill their ambitious desires makes me uncapable of Expressing my selfe in those terms as I ought, therefore due most humbly pray that you will be pleased to represent to the Hon'bl. house of Comons that in my late proceedings in the Indies I have lodged goods and Tresure to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, which I desire the Government may have the benefitt of, in order thereto, I shall desire no manner of liberty but to be kept prisoner on board such shipp as may be appointed for that purpose, and only give the necessary directions and in case I faile therin I desire no favour but to be forthwith Executed acording to my Sentence. If y'r honbl. house will please to order a Comittee to come to me, I doubt not but to give such satisfaction as may obtaine mercy, most Humbly submitting to the wisdom of your great assembly I am S'r Y'r Unfortunate humble servant

Wm Kidd

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

On this day he mounted the [gallows](#) on the mudflats of the Thames at Execution Dock in Wapping together with two condemned French pirates and Darby Mullins, the one crewman who had remained loyal to the end. The hangmen had gotten Kidd good and drunk on gin and rum, so drunk that he may well not have been able to pay much attention to what was going on. The 1st time, the famous pirate snapped the rope and landed in the filth and muck under the gallows, so if he had by this point gotten sober enough, he must have been hoping against hope that on the 2d try — it'd again snap.



Henceforth let honour's paths be trod,
Nor villains seek in vain
To mock the sacred laws of God,



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

To give their neighbour's pain.

After leaving the corpse hanging there until the requisite three tides had washed over it, the hangmen cut it down, slathered it with tar, and sent it to be gibbeted in a cage of iron straps at Tillberry Fort, Tilbury Point, Gravesend. His black corpse would be on display in that iron cage on the bank of the Thames for the next approximately two decades, until sea birds had picked it clean.



The names of other members of Kidd's crew, hanged with him on this day at Execution Dock in Wapping, were:

- Nicholas Churchill
- James How
- Gabriel Loff
- Hugh Parrott
- Abel Owens
- Darby Mullins

(Some members of the crew had been able to get off, by demonstrating that before their surrender they had been offered amnesty.)

Note well that Henry David Thoreau would make reference to "The Ballad Song of Captain Kid" in [WALDEN](#):

WALDEN: It was very pleasant, when I staid late in town, to launch myself into the night, especially if it was dark and tempestuous, and set sail from some bright village parlor or lecture room, with a bag of rye or Indian meal upon my shoulder, for my snug harbor in the woods, having made all tight without and withdrawn under hatches with a merry crew of thoughts, leaving only my outer man at the helm, or even tying up the helm when it was plain sailing. I had many a genial thought by the cabin fire "as I sailed." I was never cast away nor distressed in any weather, though I encountered some severe storms.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

CAPTAIN WILLIAM KIDD



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

The Ballad Song of Captain Kid

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
My name is Captain Kid,
And so wickedly I did,
God's laws I did forbid
When I sail'd, when I sail'd

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
I roam'd from sound to sound,
And many a ship I found,
And them I sunk or burn'd
When I sail'd, when I sail'd.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
I murdered William Moore,
And laid him in his gore,
Not many leagues from shore,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
Farewell to young and old,
All jolly seamen bold;
You're welcome to my gold,
For I must die, I must die.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
Farewell to Lunnon town,
The pretty girls all round;
No pardon can be found,
And I must die, I must die.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
Farewell, for I must die
Then to eternity,
In hideous misery,
I must lie, I must lie.

Otherwise:

My name is William Kidd, as I sailed, as I sailed
My name is William Kidd, as I sailed
My name is William Kidd, God's laws I did forbid
And most wickedly I did, as I sailed, as I sailed

Oh, my parents taught me well, as I sailed, as I sailed
My parents taught me well, as I sailed
My parents taught me well to shun the gates of Hell
But against them I rebelled, as I sailed, as I sailed

Oh, I murdered William Moore, as I sailed, as I sailed
I murdered William Moore, as I sailed
I murdered William Moore and I left him in his gore
Many leagues from shore, as I sailed, as I sailed

Oh, I steered from sound to sound, as I sailed, as I sailed
Oh I steered from sound to sound, as I sailed
I steered from sound to sound, and many ships I found
And all of them I burned as I sailed, as I sailed

And being cruel still, as I sailed, as I sailed
And being cruel still, as I sailed
And being cruel still my gunner I did kill



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

And his precious blood did spill, as I sailed, as I sailed

I was sick and nigh to death, as I sailed, as I sailed
I was sick and nigh to death, as I sailed
I was sick and nigh to death and I vowed with every breath
To walk in wisdom's ways when I sailed, when I sailed

My repentance lasted not, as I sailed, as I sailed
My repentance lasted not, as I sailed
My repentance lasted not, my vows I soon forgot
Damnation was my lot, as I sailed, as I sailed

To execution dock I must go, I must go
To execution dock I must go
To execution dock, while many thousands flock
But I must bear the shock and must die, and must die,

Take a warning now by me, for I must die, for I must die,
Take a warning now by me for I must die
Take a warning now by me and shun bad company,
Lest you come to hell with me, for I must die, I must die.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1702

The petition of 1699 by, among others, former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#), for an Anglican church in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), was successful, and Trinity Church was founded.²⁷

The Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) had some choice remarks to put on the record about [Rhode Island](#) in his *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA: OR, THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND, FROM ITS FIRST PLANTING IN THE YEAR 1620, UNTO THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1698*, published in this year in London.

REVEREND COTTON MATHER

William Clark commented that in this year “every man in [Newport](#) is either a [pirate](#) or [privateerman](#).”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

William Mayes received a license to sell strong drink in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). When his estate would be inventoried upon his death shortly afterward, nothing would appear to remain of any [pirate](#) treasure trove accumulated by his brigantine *Pearl*.

27. Episcopal worship had begun in [Rhode Island](#) in 1635 with the arrival in what is now [Cumberland](#) of the Reverend [William Blaxton](#) (or Blackstone), an Anglican priest. He had preached regularly to native Americans and to white settlers beneath the “Catholic Oak” in Lonsdale but had created no church edifices. He had simply ridden his white bull from settlement to settlement, preaching and administering the sacraments. This first edifice, in Newport, would be followed in 1707 by St. Paul’s of Narragansett, in 1720 by St. Michael’s of Bristol, and in 1722 by King’s Church, which is now St. John’s Cathedral, in Providence. The American Revolution would bring hard times to the four Rhode Island parishes of the Church of England. In [Wickford](#) and [Providence](#), when the congregations would seek to remove prayers for the king and royal family from their services, Rector Samuel Fayerweather and the Reverend John Graves would deconsecrate the church buildings. The Wickford church building would become a barracks for Continental soldiers who were watching the British in occupied Newport. In 1778, British warships would bombard and burn St. Michael’s in Bristol by mistake, because they had been informed that the town’s Congregational Church was being used as a store for gunpowder. After the Revolution, with the Loyalists departed, Trinity Church in [Newport](#) would be occupied for awhile by a [Baptist](#) congregation. On November 18, 1790, the Reverend William Smith of Trinity Church in Newport and the Reverend Moses Badger of St. John’s in Providence would meet in Newport to unite their various churches under the Reverend Samuel Seabury, D.D., Episcopal Bishop of Connecticut.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

*CAPTAIN KID'S FAREWEL TO THE SEAS; OR,
THE FAMOUS PIRATE'S LAMENT.*

- My name is Captain Kid, who has sail'd [who has sail'd],
My name is Captain Kid, who has sail'd ;
My name is Captain Kid.
What the laws did still forbid
Unluckily I did while I sail'd [while I sailed, etc.].
- Upon the ocean wide, when I sail'd, etc.,
Upon the ocean wide, when I sail'd,
Upon the ocean wide
I robbed on every side,
With most ambitious pride, when I sail'd.
- My faults I will display while I sail'd, etc.,
My faults I will display while I sail'd ;
My faults I will display,
Committed day by day
[A line lost.]
- Many long leagues from shore when I sail'd, etc.,
Many long leagues from shore when I sail'd,
Many long leagues from shore
I murdered William More,
And laid him in his gore, when I sail'd,
- Because a word he spoke when I sail'd, etc.,
Because a word he spoke when I sail'd,
Because a word he spoke :
I with a bucket broke
His scull at one sad stroke, while I sail'd.
- I struck with a good will when I sail'd, etc.,
I struck with a good will when I sail'd ;
I struck with a good will,
And did a gunner kill
As being cruel still when I sail'd.
- A Quida merchant then while I sail'd, etc.,
A Quida merchant then while I sail'd,
A Quida merchant then
I robbed of hundreds ten,
Assisted by my men, while I sailed.
- A banker's ship of France, while I sailed, etc.,
A banker's ship of France, while I sailed,
A banker's ship of France
Before us did advance :
I seized her by chance, while I sailed.
- Full fourteen ships I see when I sailed, etc.,
Full fourteen ships I see when I sailed ;
Full fourteen ships I see,
Merchants of high degree ;
They were too hard for me when I sailed.
- We steered from sound to sound while we sailed,
We steered from sound to sound while we sailed ;
We steered from sound to sound,
A Moorish ship we found ;
Her men we stript and bound while we sailed.
- Upon the ocean seas while we sailed, etc.,
Upon the ocean seas while we sailed,
Upon the ocean seas
A warlike Portuguese
In sport did us displease, while we sailed.
- At famous Malabar when we sailed, etc.,
At famous Malabar when we sailed,
At famous Malabar
We went ashore, each tar,
And robbed the natives there, when we sailed.
- Then after this we chased, while we sailed,
Then after this we chased, while we sailed,
Then after this we chased
A rich Armenian, graced
With wealth, which we embraced, while we sailed.
- Many Moorish ships we took while we sailed,
Many Moorish ships we took while we sailed,
Many Moorish ships we took ;
We did still for plunder look ;
All conscience we forsook while we sailed.
- I, Captain Cullifoord, while I sailed, etc.,
I, Captain Cullifoord, while I sailed,
I, Captain Cullifoord,
Did many merchants board,
Which did much wealth afford, while we sailed.
- Two hundred bars of gold, while we sail'd, etc.,
Two hundred bars of gold, while we sailed,
Two hundred bars of gold
And six dollars manifold
We seized uncontrolled, while we sailed.
- St. John*, a ship of fame, when we sailed, etc.,
St. John, a ship of fame, when we sailed,
St. John, a ship of fame,
We plundered when she came,
With more that I could name, when we sailed.
- We taken was at last, and must die, etc.,
We taken was at last, and must die ;
We taken were at last,
And into prison cast :
Now, sentence being past, we must die.
- Tho' we have reigned awhile we must die, etc.,
Tho' we have reigned awhile we must die ;
Tho' we have reigned awhile,
While fortune seemed to smile,
Now on the British Isle we must die.
- Farewel the ocean main, we must die, etc.,
Farewel the ocean main, we must die ;
Farewel the ocean main :
The coast of France or Spain
We ne'er shall see again ; we must die.
- From Newgate now in carts we must go, etc.,
[From Newgate now in carts we must goe ;]
From Newgate now in carts,
With sad and heavy hearts,
To have our due deserts we must go.
- Some thousands they will flock when we die,
Some thousands they will flock when we die,
Some thousands they will flock
To Execution Dock,
Where we must stand the shock and must die.
To the Tune of *Coming down*.

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PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

In about this year the friends of the Governor of the Bay Colony, the Earl of Bellermont, cousin to the King of England, prepared a pamphlet of facts in the case of the executed [pirate](#) Captain [William Kidd](#) whose corpse had been coated in tar and was hanging in chains in an iron cage from a gibbet on the bank of the Thames.



From such documents, more popular accounts have derived. Here is one such popular account, first published quite a bit more than a century later and never subsequently out of print:

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

*CAPTAIN KID'S FAREWEL TO THE SEAS; OR,
THE FAMOUS PIRATE'S LAMENT.*

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My name is Captain Kid.
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PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

THE ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN ROBERT KIDD²⁸



The easy access to the harbor of New-York, the number of hiding-places about its waters, and the laxity of its newly organized government, about the year 1695, made it a great rendezvous of pirates, where they might dispose of their booty and concert new depredations. As they brought home with them wealthy lading of all kinds, the luxuries of the tropics, and the sumptuous spoils of the Spanish provinces, and disposed of them with the proverbial carelessness of freebooters, they were welcome visitors to the thrifty traders of New-York. Crews of these desperadoes, therefore, the runagates of every country and every clime, might be seen swaggering in open day about the streets, elbowing its quiet inhabitants, trafficking their rich outlandish plunder at half or quarter price to the wary merchant; and then squandering their prize-money in taverns, drinking, gambling, singing, carousing and astounding the neighborhood with midnight brawl and revelry. At length these excesses rose to such a height as to become a scandal to the provinces, and to call loudly for the interposition of government. Measures were accordingly taken to put a stop to

28. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

this widely extended evil, and to drive the pirates out of the colonies.

Among the distinguished individuals who lurked about the colonies, was Captain Robert Kidd,²⁹ who in the beginning of King William's war, commanded a privateer in the West Indies, and by his several adventurous actions, acquired the reputation of a brave man, as well as an experienced seaman. But he had now become notorious, as a nondescript animal of the ocean. He was somewhat of a trader, something more of a smuggler, but mostly a pirate. He had traded many years among the pirates, in a little rakish vessel, that could run into all kinds of water. He knew all their haunts and lurking places, and was always hooking about on mysterious voyages.

Upon the good old maxim of "setting a rogue to catch a rogue," Capt. Kidd was recommended by the Lord Bellamont, then governor of Barbadoes, as well as by several other persons, to the government here, as a person very fit to be entrusted to the command of a government ship, and to be employed in cruising upon the pirates, as knowing those seas perfectly well, and being acquainted with all their lurking places; but what reasons governed the politics of those times, I cannot tell, but this proposal met with no encouragement here, though it is certain it would have been of great consequence to the subject, our merchants suffering incredible damages by those robbers.

Upon this neglect, the lord Bellamont and some others, who knew what great captures had been made by the pirates, and what a prodigious wealth must be in their possession, were tempted to fit out a ship at their own private charge, and to give the command of her to Captain Kidd; and to give the thing a greater reputation, as well as to keep their seamen under better command, they procured the king's commission for the said Capt. Kidd, of which the following is an exact copy:

William Rex,

"WILLIAM THE THIRD, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our trusty and well beloved Capt. ROBERT KIDD, commander of the ship the Adventure galley, or to any other, the commander of the same for the time being, *Greeting:* Whereas we are informed, that Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake, and Capt. William Maze or Mace, and other subjects, natives or inhabitants of New-York, and elsewhere, in our plantations in America, have associated themselves with divers others, wicked and ill-disposed persons, and do, against the law of nations, commit many and great piracies, robberies and depredations on the seas upon the parts of America, and in other parts, to the great hindrance and discouragement of trade and navigation, and to the great danger and hurt of our loving subjects, our allies, and all others, navigating the seas upon their lawful occasions. Now KNOW YE, that we being desirous to prevent the aforesaid mischiefs, and as much as in us lies, to bring the said pirates, free-booters and sea-rovers to justice, have thought fit, and do hereby give and grant to the said Robert Kidd, (to whom our commissioners for exercising the office of Lord High Admiral of England, have granted a commission as a

29. His real name was William Kidd.



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private man-of-war, bearing date the 11th day of December, 1695,) and unto the commander of the said ship for the time being, and unto the officers, mariners, and others which shall be under your command, full power and authority to apprehend, seize, and take into your custody as well the said Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake, and Capt. Wm. Maze or Mace, as all such pirates, free-booters, and sea-rovers, being either our subjects, or of other nations associated with them, which you shall meet with upon the seas or coasts of America, or upon any other seas or coasts, with all their ships and vessels, and all such merchandizes, money, goods, and wares as shall be found on board, or with them, in case they shall willingly yield themselves; but if they will not yield without fighting, then you are by force to compel them to yield. And we also require you to bring, or cause to be brought, such pirates, free-booters, or sea-rovers, as you shall seize, to a legal trial, to the end they may be proceeded against according to the law in such cases. And we do hereby command all our officers, ministers, and other our loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting to you in the premises. And we do hereby enjoin you to keep an exact journal of your proceedings in execution of the premises, and set down the names of such pirates, and of their officers and company, and the names of such ships and vessels as you shall by virtue of these presents take and seize, and the quantities of arms, ammunition, provision, and lading of such ships, and the true value of the same, as near as you judge. And we do hereby strictly charge and command you, as you will answer the contrary at your peril, that you do not, in any manner, offend or molest our friends or allies, their ships or subjects, by colour or pretence of these presents, or the authority thereby granted. *In witness whereof*, we have caused our great seal of England to be affixed to these presents. Given at our court in Kensington, the 26th day of January, 1695, in the 7th year of our reign."

Capt. Kidd had also another commission, which was called a commission of reprisals; for it being then war time, this commission was to justify him in the taking of French merchant ships, in case he should meet with any; but as this commission is nothing to our present purpose, we shall not burthen the reader with it.

Previous to sailing, Capt. Kidd buried his bible on the sea-shore, in Plymouth Sound; its divine precepts being so at variance with his wicked course of life, that he did not choose to keep a book which condemned him in his lawless career.

With these two commissions he sailed out of Plymouth in May, 1696, in the Adventure galley, of 30 guns, and 80 men; the place he first designed for was New-York; in his voyage thither, he took a French banker, but this was no act of piracy, he having a commission for that purpose, as we have just observed.

When he arrived at New-York, he put up articles for engaging more hands, it being necessary to his ship's crew, since he proposed to deal with a desperate enemy. The terms he offered, were, that every man should have a share of what was taken,

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reserving for himself and owners forty shares. Upon which encouragement he soon increased his company to 155 men.

With this company he sailed first for Madeira, where he took in wine and some other necessaries; from thence he proceeded to Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, to furnish the ship with salt, and from thence went immediately to St. Jago, another of the Cape de Verd Islands, in order to stock himself with provisions. When all this was done, he bent his course to Madagascar, the known rendezvous of pirates. In his way he fell in with Capt. Warren, commodore of three men of war; he acquainted him with his design, kept them company two or three days, and then leaving them, made the best of his way for Madagascar, where he arrived in February, 1696, just nine months from his departure from Plymouth.

It happened that at this time the pirate ships were most of them out in search of prey; so that according to the best intelligence Capt. Kidd could get, there was not one of them at that time about the island; wherefore, having spent some time in watering his ship and taking in more provisions, he thought of trying his fortune on the coast of Malabar, where he arrived in the month of June following, four months from his reaching Madagascar. Hereabouts he made an unsuccessful cruise, touching sometimes at the island of Mohila, and sometimes at that of Johanna, between Malabar and Madagascar. His provisions were every day wasting, and his ship began to want repair; wherefore, when he was at Johanna, he found means of borrowing a sum of money from some Frenchmen who had lost their ship, but saved their effects, and with this he purchased materials for putting his ship in good repair.

It does not appear all this while that he had the least design of turning pirate; for near Mohila and Johanna both, he met with several Indian ships richly laden, to which he did not offer the least violence, though he was strong enough to have done what he pleased with them; and the first outrage or depredation I find he committed upon mankind, was after his repairing his ship, and leaving Johanna; he touched at a place called Mabbee, upon the Red Sea, where he took some Guinea corn from the natives, by force. After this, he sailed to Bab's Key, a place upon a little island at the entrance of the Red Sea. Here it was that he first began to open himself to his ship's company, and let them understand that he intended to change his measures; for, happening to talk of the Mocha fleet, which was to sail that way, he said, "*We have been unsuccessful hitherto; but courage, my boys, we'll make our fortunes out of this fleet*"; and finding that none of them appeared averse to it, he ordered a boat out, well manned, to go upon the coast to make discoveries, commanding them to take a prisoner and bring him to him, or get intelligence any way they could. The boat returned in a few days, bringing him word, that they saw fourteen or fifteen ships ready to sail, some with English, some with Dutch, and some with Moorish colors.

We cannot account for this sudden change in his conduct, otherwise than by supposing that he first meant well, while he had hopes of making his fortune by taking of pirates; but now weary of ill success, and fearing lest his owners, out of humor at their great expenses, should dismiss him, and he should want employment, and be marked out for an unlucky man; rather, I say, than run the hazard of poverty, he resolved to do his business

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one way, since he could not do it another. He therefore ordered a man continually to watch at the mast head, lest this fleet should go by them; and about four days after, towards evening, it appeared in sight, being convoyed by one English and one Dutch man of war. Kidd soon fell in with them, and getting into the midst of them, fired at a Moorish ship which was next him; but the men-of-war taking the alarm, bore down upon Kidd, and firing upon him, obliged him to sheer off, he not being strong enough to contend with them. Now he had begun hostilities, he resolved to go on, and therefore he went and cruised along the coast of Malabar. The first prize he met was a small vessel belonging to Aden; the vessel was Moorish, and the owners were Moorish merchants, but the master was an Englishman; his name was Parker. Kidd forced him and a Portuguese that was called Don Antonio, which were all the Europeans on board, to take on with him; the first he designed as a pilot, and the last as an interpreter. He also used the men very cruelly, causing them to be hoisted up by the arms, and drubbed with a naked cutlass, to force them to discover whether they had money on board, and where it lay; but as they had neither gold nor silver on board, he got nothing by his cruelty; however, he took from them a bale of pepper, and a bale of coffee, and so let them go.

A little time after he touched at Carawar, a place upon the same coast, where, before he arrived, the news of what he had done to the Moorish ship had reached them; for some of the English merchants there had received an account of it from the owners, who corresponded with them; wherefore, as soon as Kidd came in, he was suspected to be the person who committed this piracy; and one Mr. Harvey and Mr. Mason, two of the English factory, came on board and asked for Parker, and Antonio, the Portuguese; but Kidd denied that he knew any such persons, having secured them both in a private place in the hold, where they were kept for seven or eight days, that is, till Kidd sailed from thence. However, the coast was alarmed, and a Portuguese man-of-war was sent out to cruise. Kidd met with her, and fought her about six hours, gallantly enough; but finding her too strong to be taken, he quitted her; for he was able to run away from her when he would. Then he went to a place called Porca, where he watered his ship and bought a number of hogs of the natives to victual his company.

Soon after this, he came up with a Moorish ship, the master whereof was a Dutchman, called Schipper Mitchell, and chased her under French colors, which they observing hoisted French colors too; when he came up with her, he hailed her in French, and they having a Frenchman on board, answered him in the same language; upon which he ordered them to send their boat on board; they were obliged to do so, and having examined who they were, and from whence they came, he asked the Frenchman who was a passenger, if he had a French pass for himself; the Frenchman gave him to understand that he had. Then he told the Frenchman that he must pass for captain, and by -----, says he, you are the captain; the Frenchman durst not refuse doing as he would have him. The meaning of this was, that he would seize the ship as fair prize, and as if she had belonged to French subjects, according to a commission he had for that purpose; though one would think, after what he had already done, he need not have recourse to a quibble to give his actions a color.

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In short, he took the cargo, and sold it some time after; yet still he seemed to have some fears upon him, lest these proceedings should have a bad end; for, coming up with a Dutch ship some time after, when his men thought of nothing but attacking her, Kidd opposed it; upon which a mutiny arose, and the majority being for taking the said ship, and arming themselves to man the boat to go and seize her, he told them, such as did, never should come on board him again; which put an end to the design, so that he kept company with the said ship some time, without offering her any violence. However, this dispute was the occasion of an accident, upon which an indictment was grounded against Kidd; for Moor, the gunner, being one day upon deck, and talking with Kidd about the said Dutch ship, some words arose between them, and Moor told Kidd, that he had ruined them all; upon which Kidd, calling him a dog, took up a bucket and struck him with it, which breaking his skull, he died next day.

But Kidd's penitential fit did not last long; for coasting along Malabar, he met with a great number of boats, all of which he plundered. Upon the same coast he also fell in with a Portuguese ship, which he kept possession of a week, and then having taken out of her some chests of India goods, thirty jars of butter, with some wax, iron and a hundred bags of rice, he let her go. Much about the same time he went to one of the Malabar islands for wood and water, and his cooper being ashore, was murdered by the natives; upon which Kidd himself landed, and burnt and pillaged several of their houses, the people running away; but having taken one, he caused him to be tied to a tree, and commanded one of his men to shoot him; then putting to sea again, he took the greatest prize which fell into his hands while he followed this trade; this was a Moorish ship of 400 tons, richly laden, named the *Queda Merchant*, the master whereof was an Englishman, by the name of Wright; for the Indians often make use of English or Dutchmen to command their ships, their own mariners not being so good artists in navigation. Kidd chased her under French colors, and having come up with her, he ordered her to hoist out her boat and send on board of him, which being done, he told Wright he was his prisoner; and informing himself concerning the said ship, he understood there were no Europeans on board, except two Dutch and one Frenchman, all the rest being Indians or Armenians, and that the Armenians were part owners of the cargo. Kidd gave the Armenians to understand, that if they would offer anything that was worth his taking for their ransom, he would hearken to it. Upon which, they proposed to pay him 20,000 rupees, not quite £3,000 sterling; but Kidd judged this would be making a bad bargain, wherefore he rejected it, and setting the crew on shore, at different places on the coast, he soon sold as much of the cargo as came to ten thousand pounds. With part of it he also trafficked, receiving in exchange provisions, or such other goods as he wanted; by degrees he disposed of the whole cargo, and when the division was made, it came to about £200 a man; and having reserved forty shares to himself, his dividend amounted to about £8,000 sterling.

The Indians along the coast came on board and trafficked with all freedom, and he punctually performed his bargains, till about the time he was ready to sail; and then thinking he should have no further occasion for them, he made no scruple of taking their goods and setting them on shore, without any payment in



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money or goods, which they little expected; for as they had been used to deal with pirates, they always found them men of honor in the way of trade; a people, enemies to deceit, and that scorned to rob but in their own way.

Kidd put some of his men on board the *Queda Merchant*, and with this ship and his own sailed for Madagascar. As soon as he had arrived and cast anchor, there came on board of him a canoe, in which were several Englishmen, who had formerly been well acquainted with Kidd. As soon as they saw him they saluted him, and told him they were informed he was come to take them, and hang them, which would be a little unkind in such an old acquaintance. Kidd soon dissipated their doubts, by swearing he had no such design, and that he was now in every respect their brother, and just as bad as they; and calling for a cup of bomboo, drank their captain's health.

These men belonged to a pirate ship, called the *Resolution*, formerly the *Mocha Merchant*, whereof one Capt. Culliford was commander, and which lay at anchor not far from them. Kidd went on board with them, promising them his friendship and assistance, and Culliford in his turn came on board of Kidd; and Kidd, to testify his sincerity in iniquity, finding Culliford in want of some necessaries, made him a present of an anchor and some guns, to fit him out for sea again.

The *Adventure* galley was now so old and leaky, that they were forced to keep two pumps continually going; wherefore Kidd shifted all the guns and tackle out of her into the *Queda Merchant*, intending her for his man-of-war; and as he had divided the money before, he now made a division of the remainder of the cargo; soon after which, the greatest part of the company left him, some going on board Capt. Culliford, and others absconding into the country, so that he had not above 40 men left.

He put to sea, and happened to touch at Amboyna, one of the Dutch spice islands, where he was told that the news of his actions had reached England, and that he was there declared a pirate.

The truth of it is, his piracies so alarmed our merchants that some motions were made in parliament, to inquire into the commission that was given him, and the persons who fitted him out. These proceedings seem to lean a little hard upon Lord Bellamont, who thought himself so touched thereby, that he published a justification of himself in a pamphlet, after Kidd's execution. In the meantime it was thought advisable, in order to stop the course of these piracies, to publish a proclamation, offering the king's free pardon to all such pirates as should voluntarily surrender themselves, whatever piracies they had been guilty of, at any time before the last day of April, 1699 – that is to say, for all piracies committed eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, to the longitude and meridian of Socatora, and Cape Cormorin; in which proclamation, Avery and Kidd were excepted by name.

When Kidd left Amboyna he knew nothing of this proclamation, for certainly had he had notice of his being excepted in it, he would not have been so infatuated, as to run himself into the very jaws of danger; but relying upon his interest with the lord Bellamont, and fancying that a French pass or two he found on board some of the ships he took, would serve to countenance the matter, and that part of the booty he got would gain him new friends – I say, all these things made him flatter himself that

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all would be hushed, and that justice would but wink at him. Wherefore he sailed directly for Boston laden with booty, with a crew of swaggering companions at his heels. But no sooner did he show himself in Boston, than the alarm was given of his reappearance, and measures were taken to arrest him. The daring character which Kidd had acquired, however, and the desperate fellows who followed like bull-dogs at his heels, caused a little delay in his arrest. He took advantage of this to bury the greater part of his immense treasure, which has never been found, and then carried a high head about the streets of Boston. He even attempted to defend himself when arrested, but was secured and thrown into prison. Such was the formidable character of this pirate and his crew, that a frigate was sent to convey them to England for trial.

Accordingly a sessions of Admiralty being held at the Old Bailey, in May 1701, Capt. Kidd, Nicholas Churchill, James How, Robert Lumly, William Jenkins, Gabriel Loff, Hugh Parrot, Richard Barlicorn, Abel Owens and Darby Mullins, were arraigned for piracy and robbery on the high seas, and all found guilty except three; these were Robert Lumly, William Jenkins and Richard Barlicorn, who proving themselves to be apprentices to some of the officers of the ship, and producing their indentures in court, were acquitted.

The three above mentioned, though they were proved to be concerned in taking and sharing the ship and goods mentioned in the indictment, yet, as the gentlemen of the long robe rightly distinguished, there was a great difference between their circumstances and the rest; for there must go an intention of the mind and a freedom of the will to the committing an act of felony or piracy. A pirate is not to be understood to be under constraint, but a free agent; for in this case, the bare act will not make a man guilty, unless the will make it so.

Now a servant, it is true, if he go voluntarily, and have his proportion, he must be accounted a pirate, for then he acts upon his own account, and not by compulsion: and these persons, according to the evidence, received their part, but whether they accounted to their masters for their shares afterwards, is the matter in question, and what distinguishes them as free agents, or men that did go under the compulsion of their masters; which being left to the consideration of the jury, they found them *not guilty*.

Kidd was tried upon an indictment of murder also, viz. for killing Moor, the gunner, and found guilty of the same. Nicholas Churchill, and James How pleaded the king's pardon, as having surrendered themselves within the time limited in the proclamation, and Col. Bass, governor of West Jersey, to whom they surrendered, being in court, and called upon, proved the same. However, this plea was overruled by the court, because there being four commissioners named in the proclamation, viz. Capt. Thomas Warren, Israel Hayes, Peter Delannoye, and Christopher Pollard, Esquires, who were appointed commissioners, and sent over on purpose to receive the submissions of such pirates as should surrender, it was adjudged no other person was qualified to receive their surrender, and that they could not be entitled to the benefit of the said proclamation, because they had not in all circumstances complied with the conditions of it.

Darby Mullins urged in his defence, that he served under the

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king's commission, and therefore could not disobey his commander without incurring great punishments; that whenever a ship or ships went out upon any expedition under the king's commission, the men were never allowed to call their officers to an account, why they did this, or why they did that, because such a liberty would destroy all discipline; that if any thing was done which was unlawful, the officers were to answer it, for the men did no more than their duty in obeying orders. He was told by the court, that acting under the commission justified in what was lawful, but not in what was unlawful. He answered, he stood in need of nothing to justify him in what was lawful, but the case of seamen must be very hard, if they must be brought into such danger for obeying the commands of their officers, and punished for not obeying them; and if they were allowed to dispute the orders, there could be no such thing as command kept up at sea. This seemed to be the best defence the thing could bear; but his taking a share of the plunder, the seamen's mutinying on board several times, and taking upon them to control the captain, showed there was no obedience paid to the commission; and that they acted in all things according to the custom of pirates and freebooters, which weighing with the jury, they brought him in guilty with the rest.

As to Capt. Kidd's defence, he insisted much on his own innocence, and the villainy of his men. He said, he went out in a laudable employment and had no occasion, being then in good circumstances, to go a pirating; that the men often mutinied against him, and did as they pleased; that he was threatened to be shot in the cabin, and that ninety-five left him at one time, and set fire to his boat, so that he was disabled from bringing his ship home, or the prizes he took, to have them regularly condemned, which he said were taken by virtue of a commission under the broad seal, they having French passes. The captain called one Col. Hewson to his reputation, who gave him an extraordinary character, and declared to the court, that he had served under his command, and been in two engagements with him against the French, in which he fought as well as any man he ever saw; that there were only Kidd's ship and his own against Monsieur du Cass, who commanded a squadron of six sail, and they got the better of him. But this being several years before the facts mentioned in the indictment were committed, proved of no manner of service to the prisoner on his trial.

As to the friendship shown to Culliford, a notorious pirate, Kidd denied, and said, he intended to have taken him, but his men being a parcel of rogues and villains refused to stand by him, and several of them ran away from his ship to the said pirate. But the evidence being full and particular against him, he was found guilty as before mentioned.

When Kidd was asked what he had to say why sentence should not pass against him, he answered, that *he had nothing to say, but that he had been sworn against by perjured and wicked people.* And when sentence was pronounced, he said, *My Lord, it is a very hard sentence. For my part, I am the most innocent person of them all, only I have been sworn against by perjured persons.*

Wherefore about a week after, Capt. Kidd, Nicholas Churchill, James How, Gabriel Loff, Hugh Parrot, Abel Owen, and Darby Mullins, were executed at Execution Dock, and afterwards hung up in chains, at some distance from each other, down the river, where their bodies hung exposed for many years.



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Kidd died hard, for the rope with which he was first tied up broke with his weight and he tumbled to the ground. He was tied up a second time, and more effectually. Hence came the story of Kidd's being twice hung.

Such is Captain Kidd's true history; but it has given birth to an innumerable progeny of traditions. The report of his having buried great treasures of gold and silver which he actually did before his arrest, set the brains of all the good people along the coast in a ferment. There were rumors on rumors of great sums of money found here and there, sometimes in one part of the country sometimes in another; of coins with Moorish inscriptions, doubtless the spoils of his eastern prizes.

Some reported the treasure to have been buried in solitary, unsettled places about Plymouth and Cape Cod; but by degrees, various other parts, not only on the eastern coast but along the shores of the Sound, and even Manhattan and Long Island were gilded by these rumors. In fact the vigorous measures of Lord Bellamont had spread sudden consternation among the pirates in every part of the provinces; they had secreted their money and jewels in lonely out-of-the-way places, about the wild shores of the sea coast, and dispersed themselves over the country. The hand of justice prevented many of them from ever returning to regain their buried treasures, which remain to this day thus secreted, and are irrecoverably lost. This is the cause of those frequent reports of trees and rocks bearing mysterious marks, supposed to indicate the spots where treasure lay hidden; and many have been the ransackings after the pirates' booty. A rocky place on the shores of Long Island, called Kidd's Ledge, has received great attention from the money diggers; but they have not as yet discovered any treasures.

March 8, Sunday (1701, Old Style): Accession of [Anne](#), the 2d-eldest child of the deposed and, conveniently, now dead [King James II](#), to the throne of England upon the demise of [King William III](#).³⁰

Per the diary of [John Evelyn](#):

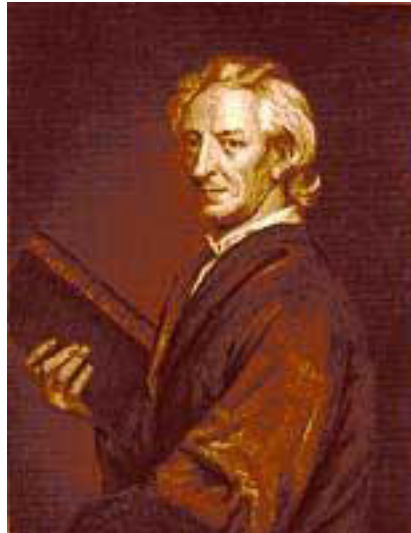
30. [King William III](#) had fallen off his horse. As Queen of England, Anne would be so keen to ensure that the royals be regarded as squeaky-clean that she would have the paltry remains of [William Kidd](#)'s booty and personal effects confiscated and sold at public auction. She would donate the sum of £6,473 and 1 shilling realized at this auction to the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich, for purchase of a structure now known as "The Queen's House."

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The King having had a fall from his horse as he was hunting, which broke his collar bone, & being himselfe much Indisposed before & Aguish, with his former long Cough & other weaknesse, put into a Feaver; died at Kensington this Sondag morning about 8 a clock, to the extraordinary disturbance of the whole Citty, & I feare, to the Interests of the whole nation, in this dangerous Coniuncture, without Gods Infinite mercy: Matters both abroad, & at home being in so loose a posture, & all Europe ready to breake out into the most dangerous Warr that it ever suffered, & this Nation especially being so unprovided of persons of the Experience, Conduct & Courage, just as we were concluding this Confederacy so long concerted with the Emp: & other Princes, to resist the deluge of the French: How this may concerne the measures hitherto taking: God onely knows: The Parliament sate all this day &, I think all last night, & Queene Ann Proclaym'd at the usual places, & Ceremonys: These two days have ben warm & bright as Summer, all people else, especialy the Souldiers holding downe their heads: God has some greate thing to do, grant it may be to our good, & his Glory &c...

I carried to the Committe of the house of Comm: appointed to the Examination of the Account of what had ben received, & payed by me as Treasurer, for the Building of the new Hospital at Greenwich for Sea-men &c: which amounted to neere 100000 pounds:



March 11, Wednesday, (1701, Old Style): ... There was orders published in print, after what manner the publique Mourning for the King was expected to be, as to the Clothes of persons of quality: In the meantime, there seemed to be no sort of alteration, or Concerne in the people, upon the Kings death but all things pass 't without any notice, as if he had still ben alive: Onely the Shopkeepers, who had provided store of Silke & other modish things, complained of the deadnesse of Trade they feared would insue: The Queene was proclaymed with the usual Ceremonies, the greate men, Lord Mayor & Aldermen &c: crouding to kisse the Q[ueen] hands & felicitate her Accession to the Crown: The Wind not favoring, tho the weather like summer, no Intelligence from abroad.

March 22, Sunday (1701, Old Style): ... Exceeding sharp weather: The Queene prescribed how all ranks should have their mourning clothes, for the death of the late King. The states of Holland &c resolve to adhere to the late Kings confederation with the rest of the Imperial & German princes, in prosecution of their defence of the libertys of Europe against the French: E. of Marlborow made Generalissimo & Knight of the Garte[r]: Ambassador Ext: to Holland: & they send Ambassador hither to confirme the alliance &c.

April [9, Thursday] (Old Style): I being surprized with a Vertiginous Indisposition; I tooke a Vomite & afterward letting Blood, found much reliefe, thro Gods greate mercy:...



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April 12, Sunday (Old Style): *This morning, after a very tedious languishing, departed this life my Bro[ther] in Law Glanvill, leaving a Son by my sister, & 2 Grand daughters: our Relation & friendship had been long & greate, but much interrupted by a displeasure he tooke both at me & my Wife, the Cause of which I could never learn or Imagin, unlesse my not concurring with him, as to his opinion of the Trinity: I hope yet he died in Charity & in a better persuasion: He was a man of Excellent parts. I pray God of his Infinite goodnesse pardon whatever pass'd between us during the late Settlement in Surry: Et Requiescat in Pace: This night is buried the Body of the Late King William the IIIId in Westminster Abbey. This night died my B[rother] in Law Glanvill after a tedious sicknesse: in the 84th yeare of his Age; & Willed his Body to be wrapt in Leade, and carried downe to Greenewich, where it was put on board in a yaght, and Buried in the Sea, between Dover & Calais about Godwin-Sands: which was don the Tuesday or Wednesday after, which made much discourse; he having no relation at all to the Sea. He was a Gent. of an Antient family in Devonshire, Married my Sister Jane, who left one Son: & by his prudent parcimony much improved his fortune: Was a greate friend when he tooke a fancy, & as greate an Enemy when he tooke displeasure: Subject to greate passions, positive: well spoken, of good natural parts; of a governing Spirit where he was intimate, Apt to take Exception, not easily reconciled, of greate authority with my Bro[ther] In person handsome, very Temperat: In his Judgement inclining to Socinianisme, upon which point we differing, he who till of late had much obliged me, on a suddaine withdrew his kindnesse to my greate prejudice. He died one of the [commissioners?] of the Alienation Office, & might have ben an extra-ordinary man, had he cultivated his parts:...*

(This 2d-eldest daughter of the deposed James, here becoming Queen Anne I of Britain, would find the American municipality of Annapolis being named in her honor.)



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1703

Some non-[Quakers](#) in Philadelphia had a slanderous publication issued in London, attempting to insinuate a link between the dominant religious and political group in the Pennsylvania colony and the [piracy](#) that was threatening the Atlantic sea-lanes of commerce:

These Quakers have a neat way of getting money, by encouraging of pirates when they bring in a good store of gold, so that his [[William Penn](#)'s] government hath been a sure retreat for that sort of people: — insomuch, that when several of Avery's men were here, the Quaking justices were for letting them live quietly, — and so pirates for the most part have been set at liberty, and admitted to bail one after another; nay, on the very frontiers of the country, [Lewistown] and at the mouth of the river [New Castle], a whole knot of them are settled securely.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

The [pirate](#) Thomas Howard's *Prosperous* took several prize vessels. Most of the crew used their shares of the booty to retire in India or on the island of Mauritius. The remainder of the crew, including Thomas White, sailed under Nathaniel North to Madagascar. The ship being blown off course toward Cape Dauphin in the south while White and 30 other crewmembers were ashore seeking provisions, North sailed away — abandoning them to their fate.

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THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN LEWIS³¹



Captain Lewis was at an early age associated with pirates. We first find him a boy in company with the pirate Banister, who was hanged at the yard arm of a man-of-war, in sight of Port Royal, Jamaica. This Lewis and another boy were taken with him, and brought into the island hanging by the middle at the mizen peak. He had a great aptitude for languages, and spoke perfectly well that of the Mosquil Indians, French, Spanish, and English. I mention our own, because it is doubted whether he was French or English, for we cannot trace him back to his origin. He sailed out of Jamaica till he was a lusty lad, and was then taken by the Spaniards at the Havana, where he tarried some time; but at length he and six more ran away with a small canoe, and surprised a Spanish periagua, out of which two men joined them, so that they were now nine in company. With this periagua they surprised a turtling sloop, and forced some of the hands to take on with them; the others they sent away in the periagua. He played at this small game, surprising and taking coasters and turtlers, till with forced men and volunteers he made up a company of 40 men. With these he took a large pink built ship,

31. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)

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bound from Jamaica to the bay of Campeachy, and after her, several others bound to the same place; and having intelligence that there lay in the bay a fine Bermuda built brigantine of 10 guns, commanded by Captain Tucker, he sent the captain of the pink to him with a letter, the purport of which was, that he wanted such a brigantine, and if he would part with her, he would pay him 10,000 pieces of eight; if he refused this, he would take care to lie in his way, for he was resolved, either by fair or foul means to have the vessel. Captain Tucker, having read the letter, sent for the masters of vessels then lying in the bay, and told them, after he had shown the letter, that if they would make him up 54 men, (for there were about ten Bermuda sloops,) he would go out and fight the pirates. They said no, they would not hazard their men, they depended on their sailing, and every one must take care of himself as well as he could. However, they all put to sea together, and spied a sail under the land, which had a breeze while they lay becalmed. Some said he was a turtler; others, the pirate, and so it proved; for it was honest Captain Lewis, who putting out his oars, got in among them. Some of the sloops had four guns, some two, some none. Joseph Dill had two, which he brought on one side, and fired smartly at the pirate, but unfortunately one of them split, and killed three men. Tucker called to all the sloops to send him men, and he would fight Lewis, but to no purpose; nobody came on board him. In the mean while a breeze sprung up, and Tucker, trimming his sails, left them, who all fell a prey to the pirate; into whom, however, he fired a broadside at going off. One sloop, whose master I will not name, was a very good sailer, and was going off; but Lewis firing a shot, brought her to, and he lay by till all the sloops were visited and secured. Then Lewis sent on board him, and ordered the master into his sloop. As soon as he was on board, he asked the reason of his lying by, and betraying the trust his owners had reposed in him, which was doing like a knave and coward, and he would punish him accordingly; *for*, said he, *you might have got off, being so much a better sailer than my vessel*. After this speech, he fell upon him with a rope's end, and then snatching up his cane, drove him about the decks without mercy. The master, thinking to pacify him, told him he had been out trading in that sloop several months, and had on board a good quantity of money, which was hid, and which, if he would send on board a black belonging to the owners, he would discover to him. This had not the desired effect, but one quite contrary; for Lewis told him he was a rascal and villain for this discovery, and he would pay him for betraying his owners, and redoubled his strokes. However, he sent and took the money and negro, who was an able sailor. He took out of his prizes what he had occasion for, forty able negro sailors, and a white carpenter. The largest sloop, which was about ninety tons, he took for his own use, and mounted her with 12 guns. His crew was now about eighty men, whites and blacks. After these captures, he cruised in the Gulf of Florida, laying in wait for the West India homeward bound ships that took the leeward passage, several of which, falling into his hands, were plundered by him, and released. From hence he went to the coast of Carolina, where he cleaned his sloop, and a great many men whom he had forced, ran away from him. However, the natives traded with him for rum and sugar, and brought him all he wanted, without the government's having any knowledge of him, for he had

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got into a very private creek; though he was very much on his guard, that he might not be surprised from the shore.

From Carolina he cruised on the coast of Virginia, where he took and plundered several merchantmen, and forced several men, and then returned to the coast of Carolina, where he did abundance of mischief. As he had now an abundance of French on board, who had entered with him, and Lewis, hearing the English had a design to maroon them, he secured the men he suspected, and put them in a boat, with all the other English, ten leagues from shore, with only ten pieces of beef, and sent them away, keeping none but French and negroes. These men, it is supposed, all perished in the sea.

From the coast of Carolina he shaped his course for the banks of Newfoundland, where he overhauled several fishing vessels, and then went into Trinity Harbor in Conception Bay, where there lay several merchantmen, and seized a 24 gun galley, called the Herman. The commander, Captain Beal, told Lewis, if he would send his quarter master ashore he would furnish him with necessaries. He being sent ashore, a council was held among the masters, the consequence of which was, the seizing the quarter master, whom they carried to Captain Woodes Rogers. He chained him to a sheet anchor which was ashore, and planted guns at the point, to prevent the pirate getting out, but to little purpose; for the people at one of these points firing too soon, Lewis quitted the ship, and, by the help of oars and the favor of the night, got out in his sloop, though she received many shot in her hull. The last shot that was fired at the pirate did him considerable damage.

He lay off and on the harbor, swearing he would have his quarter master, and intercepted two fishing shallops, on board of one of which was the captain of the galley's brother. He detained them, and sent word, if his quarter master did not immediately come off, he would put all his prisoners to death. He was sent on board without hesitation. Lewis and the crew inquired how he had been used, and he answered, very civilly. "It's well," said the pirate, "for had you been ill treated, I would have put all these rascals to the sword." They were dismissed, and the captain's brother going over the side, the quarter master stopped him, saying, he must drink the gentlemen's health ashore, particularly Captain Rogers' and, whispering him in the ear, told him, if they had known of his being chained all night, he would have been cut in pieces, with all his men. After this poor man and his shallop's company were gone, the quarter master told the usage he had met with, which enraged Lewis, and made him reproach his quarter master, whose answer was, that he did not think it just the innocent should suffer for the guilty.

The masters of the merchantmen sent to Capt. Tudor Trevor, who lay at St. John's in the Sheerness man-of-war. He immediately got under sail, and missed the pirate but four hours. She kept along the coast and made several prizes, French and English, and put into a harbor where a French ship lay making fish. She was built at the latter end of the war, for a privateer, was an excellent sailer, and mounted 24 guns. The commander hailed him: the pirate answered, *from Jamaica with rum and sugar*. The Frenchman bid him go about his business; that a pirate sloop was on the coast, and he might be the rogue; if he did not immediately sheer off, he would fire a broadside into him. He went off and lay a fortnight out at sea, so far as not to be



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descried from shore, with resolution to have the ship. The Frenchman being on his guard, in the meanwhile raised a battery on the shore, which commanded the harbor. After a fortnight, when he was thought to be gone off, he returned, and took two of the fishing shallops belonging to the Frenchman, and manning them with pirates, they went in. One shallop attacked the battery; the other surprised, boarded and carried the ship, just as the morning star appeared, for which reason he gave her that name. In the engagement the owner's son was killed, who made the voyage out of curiosity only. The ship being taken, seven guns were fired, which was the signal, and the sloop came down and lay alongside the ship. The captain told him he supposed he only wanted his liquor; but Lewis made answer he wanted his ship, and accordingly hoisted all his ammunition and provision into her. When the Frenchman saw they would have his ship, he told her trim, and Lewis gave him the sloop; and excepting what he took for provision, all the fish he had made. Several of the French took on with him, who, with others, English and French, had by force or voluntarily, made him up 200 men.

From Newfoundland he steered for the coast of Guinea, where he took a great many ships, English, Dutch and Portuguese. Among these ships was one belonging to Carolina, commanded by Capt. Smith. While he was in chase of this vessel a circumstance occurred, which made his men believe he dealt with the devil; his fore and main top-mast being carried away, he, Lewis, running up the shrouds to the maintop, tore off a handful of hair, and throwing it into the air used this expression, *good devil, take this till I come*. And it was observed, that he came afterwards faster up with the chase than before the loss of his top-masts.

Smith being taken, Lewis used him very civilly, and gave him as much or more in value than he took from him, and let him go, saying, he would come to Carolina when he had made money on the coast, and would rely on his friendship.

They kept some time on the coast, when they quarrelled among themselves, the French and English, of which the former were more numerous, and they resolved to part. The French therefore chose a large sloop newly taken, thinking the ship's bottom, which was not sheathed, damaged by the worms. According to this agreement they took on board what ammunition and provision they thought fit out of the ship, and put off, choosing one Le Barre captain. As it blew hard, and the decks were encumbered, they came to an anchor under the coast, to stow away their ammunition, goods, &c. Lewis told his men they were a parcel of rogues, and he would make them refund; accordingly he run alongside, his guns being all loaded and new primed, and ordered him to cut away his mast or he would sink him. Le Barre was obliged to obey. Then he ordered them all ashore. They begged the liberty of carrying their arms, goods, &c. with them, but he allowed them only their small arms and cartridge boxes. Then he brought the sloop alongside, put every thing on board the ship, and sunk the sloop.

Le Barre and the rest begged to be taken on board. However, though he denied them, he suffered Le Barre and some few to come, with whom he and his men drank plentifully. The negroes on board Lewis told him the French had a plot against him. He answered, he could not withstand his destiny; for the devil told him in the great cabin he should be murdered that night.



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In the dead of the night, the rest of the French came on board in canoes, got into the cabin and killed Lewis. They fell on the crew; but, after an hour and a half's dispute, the French were beaten off, and the quarter master, John Cornelius, an Irishman, succeeded Lewis.

– “He was the mildest manner'd man,
That ever scuttled ship or cut a throat;
With such true breeding of a gentleman,
You never could discern his real thought.
Pity he loved an adventurous life's variety,
He was so great a loss to good society.”



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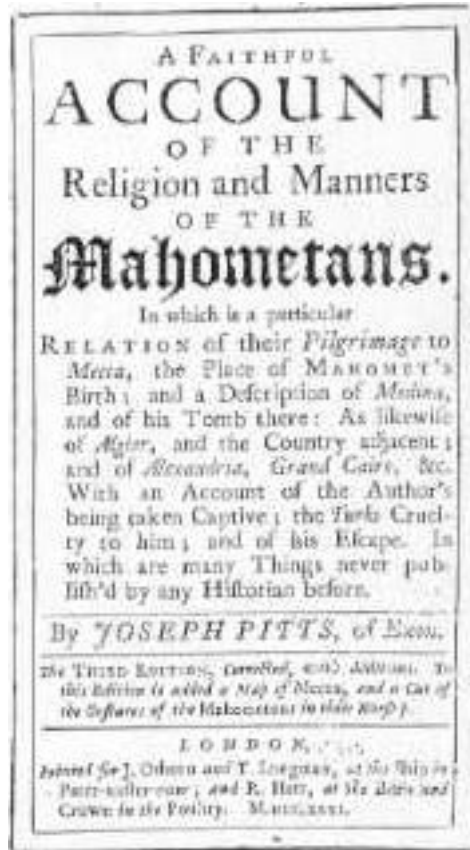
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1704

[Palsgrave Williams](#) became a freeman of [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

The [pirate](#) Thomas White, abandoned on the coast, found and seized a small ship and began to use it to plunder in the Red Sea.

Europeans were able to make a closer contact with Islam on the basis of the account of Joseph Pitts of Exeter (1663?-1739?), who after being captured by [pirates](#) had spent many years as a Muslim in North Africa and the Middle East. His report of his years of captivity, A FAITHFUL ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGION AND MANNERS OF THE MAHOMETANS, was printed in Exeter in this year by Samuel Farley. Here you can see the title page of the 3rd edition as it would be reprinted in London by J. Osborne in 1731:



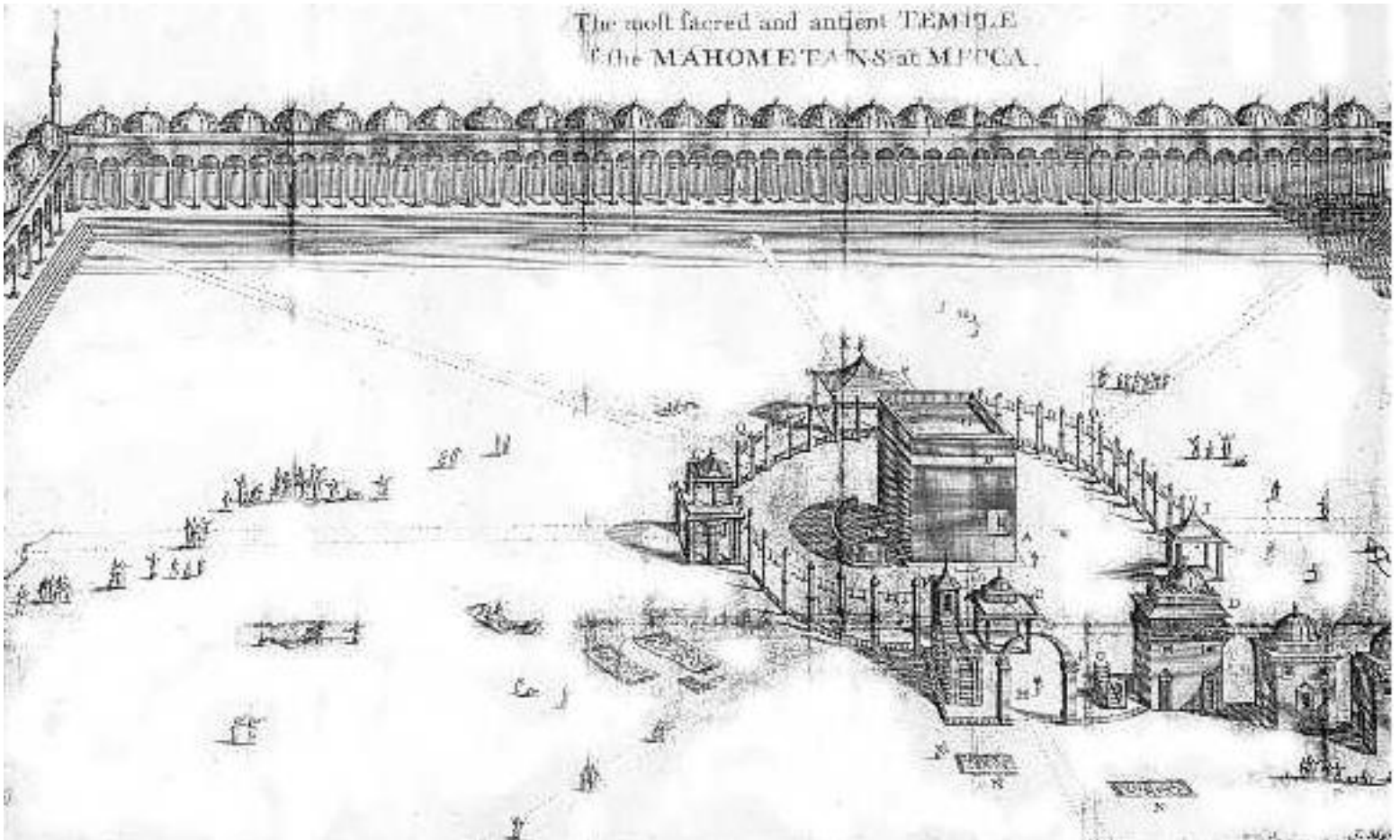
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June 30, Friday (Old Style): Jack Quelch had been elected as commander of the *Charles* after the crew had dumped their captain overboard at Half Way Rock outside Salem Harbor. Captain Jack had led his merry men in [pirate](#) raids off the coast of South America and then, upon returning to Marblehead, he and six of that crew had been taken prisoner by a force of volunteers led by Stephen Sewall of [Newbury](#). On the mud flats³² of the Charles River (*Quinobequin*), a [gallows](#) was erected and on this day Jack Quelch and the other 6 captured [pirates](#) of the *Charles* were turned off. This was not the olden savage times, during which a pirate's body would be left to twist slowly in the wind among the apple trees on Governors Island (now under Logan Airport's runway)



to offer a moral example to passing sailors — so, temporarily, there would be a surfeit of good specimens for dissection by [Boston](#)'s physicians.

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

Ye pirates who against God's laws did fight,
 Have all been taken which is right.
 Some of them were old and others young,
 And on the flats of Boston they were hung.



July 18, Tuesday (Old Style): The rector and trustees of Trinity Church in [New-York](#) petitioned royal governor Cornbury to regain for the church's building funds some unused money that had in 1697 been set aside for the ransom of people kidnapped by Barbary [pirates](#). This petition was referred to committee, and in August the committee would approve the petition.

[Benjamin Keach](#) died at the age of 64. His family was present when he died, and he had called his oldest daughter, a Quaker (he had effectively defended the [Baptist](#) doctrines among the members of her faith), desiring to talk to her, but had proved to be too feeble to state his message. He had pastored the same church for 36 years. The body would be placed in the Baptist cemetery.

32. Those condemned under Admiralty law were of course to be executed on ground over which the Admiralty held authority, which is to say, below the line of the high tide — you can't just up and hang someone in someone else's jurisdiction! However, the [pirates](#) could not be executed on mudflats on the Boston Harbor side, because on that side there was still 17 feet of water even at low tide, ergo no convenient mudflats at all.



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1706

June: When a French [privateer](#) captured a [Rhode Island](#) sloop off Block Island, the governor of the colony sent Captain John Wanton with two sloops “against Her Majesty’s enemies” and they recaptured the prize vessel and overcame the privateer and brought both ships into [Newport](#).

June 1, Saturday (Old Style): Two ships of the East India Company, the *Queen* and the *Dover*, were taken as they lay at anchor in the roads of [St. Helena](#) by two large ships firing cannonballs weighing 24 pounds and 32 pounds. The [privateers](#) had approached flying Dutch colors but afterward began to display French colors.

ST. HELENA RECORDS

August: The plunder of the [pirate](#) Thomas White included several Indian ships, a Portuguese merchantman, and, at this point, two British ships. There being honor among such thieves, when the booty was distributed his crewmen received about £1,200 each.

Further flooding brought damage to the fortifications at Rupert’s Valley in [St. Helena](#).



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1707

The [pirate](#) Thomas White sailed as quartermaster for John Halsey.

Julie de Maupin died. The novelist Thèophile Gautier made much of her alleged willingness to challenge anyone to a [duel](#), who was less than affirmative over her operatic talents. She had acquired her fencing prowess by training with a lover, Serane. (Other femmes fatale included Madame de la Prè-Abbè and Mademoiselle de la Motte, who in 1665 fired pistols at one another from horseback at a range of about 10 yards, then after missing twice, resorted to fighting with swords and, in 1868, the duelists Marie P. and Aimèe R. who discharged pistols at one another over the affections of a lucky youth from Bordeaux, with Marie P. taking a ball in the thigh and Aimèe R. being left in uncontested possession of the object of her desire.)

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.



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1708

The merchants of Bristol, England, whose ships were falling prey to Spanish [pirates](#), appointed one of their number, [Woodes Rogers](#), to the command of a retaliatory global expedition for the harassment of Spanish shipping, with [William Dampier](#) as his navigator. He set sail under a letter of marque as the captain of the 36-gun, 350-ton *Duke* and the 36-gun, 260-ton *Duchess*, crewed by 333 “tinkers, taylors, hay-makers, pedlers, fiddlers etc, one negro and about ten boys.” He would be at sea from this year into 1711.

Early in this year, Thomas White died on the island of Madagascar due to [pirate](#)-lifestyle issues such as excessive inebriation, etc. His obituary follows:

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THE LIFE, CAREER AND DEATH OF CAPTAIN THOMAS WHITE³³



He was born at Plymouth, where his mother kept a public house. She took great care of his education, and when he was grown up, as he had an inclination to the sea, procured him the king's letter. After he had served some years on board a man-of-war, he went to Barbadoes, where he married, got into the merchant service, and designed to settle in the island. He had the command of the Marygold brigantine given him, in which he made two successful voyages to Guinea and back to Barbadoes. In his third, he had the misfortune to be taken by a French pirate, as were several other English ships, the masters and inferior officers of which they detained, being in want of good artists. The brigantine belonging to White, they kept for their own use, and sunk the vessel they before sailed in; but meeting with a ship on the Guinea coast more fit for their purpose, they went on board her and burnt the brigantine.

It is not my business here to give an account of this French pirate, any farther than Capt. White's story obliges me, though I beg leave to take notice of their barbarity to the English prisoners, for they would set them up as a butt or mark to shoot

33. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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at; several of whom were thus murdered in cold blood, by way of diversion.

White was marked out for a sacrifice by one of these villains, who, for what reason I know not, had sworn his death, which he escaped thus. One of the crew, who had a friendship for White, knew this fellow's design to kill him in the night, and therefore advised him to lie between him and the ship's side, with intention to save him; which indeed he did, but was himself shot dead by the murderous villain, who mistook him for White.

After some time cruising along the coast, the pirates doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and shaped their course for Madagascar, where, being drunk and mad, they knocked their ship on the head, at the south end of the island, at a place called by the natives Elexa. The country thereabouts was governed by a king, named Mafaly.

When the ship struck, Capt. White, Capt. Boreman, (born in the Isle of Wight, formerly a lieutenant of a man-of-war, but in the merchant service when he fell into the hands of the pirates,) Capt. Bowen and some other prisoners got into the long-boat, and with broken oars and barrel staves, which they found in the bottom of the boat, paddled to Augustin Bay, which is about 14 or 15 leagues from the wreck, where they landed, and were kindly received by the king of Bavaw, (the name of that part of the island) who spoke good English.

They stayed here a year and a half at the king's expense, who gave them a plentiful allowance of provision, as was his custom to all white men, who met with any misfortune on his coast. His humanity not only provided for such, but the first European vessel that came in, he always obliged to take in the unfortunate people, let the vessel be what it would; for he had no notion of any difference between pirates and merchants.

At the expiration of the above term, a pirate brigantine came in, on board which the king obliged them to enter, or travel by land to some other place, which they durst not do; and of two evils chose the least, that of going on board the pirate vessel, which was commanded by one William Read, who received them very civilly.

This commander went along the coast, and picked up what Europeans he could meet with. His crew, however, did not exceed 40 men. He would have been glad of taking some of the wrecked Frenchmen, but for the barbarity they had used towards the English prisoners. However, it was impracticable, for the French pretending to lord it over the natives, whom they began to treat inhumanly, were set upon by them, one half of their number cut off, and the other half made slaves.

Read, with this gang, and a brigantine of 60 tons, steered his course for the Persian Gulf, where they met a grab, (a one masted vessel) of about 200 tons, which was made a prize. They found nothing on board but bale goods, most of which they threw overboard in search of gold, and to make room in the vessel; but as they learned afterwards, they threw over, in their search, what they so greedily hunted after, for there was a considerable quantity of gold concealed in one of the bales they tossed into the sea!

In this cruise Capt. Read fell ill and died, and was succeeded by one James. The brigantine being small, crazy and worm-eaten, they shaped their course for the island of Mayotta, where they took out the masts of the brigantine, fitted up the grab, and

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made a ship of her. Here they took in a quantity of fresh provisions, which are in this island very plentiful and very cheap, and found a twelve-oared boat, which formerly belonged to the Ruby East Indiaman, which had been lost there.

They stayed here all the monsoon time, which is about six months; after which they resolved for Madagascar. As they came in with the land, they spied a sail coming round from the east side of the island. They gave chase on both sides, so that they soon met. They hailed each other and receiving the same answer from each vessel, viz. *from the seas*, they joined company.

This vessel was a small French ship, laden with liquors from Martinico, first commanded by one Fourgette, to trade with the pirates for slaves, at Ambonavoula, on the east side of the island, in the latitude of 17 deg. 30 min. and was by them taken after the following manner.

The pirates, who were headed by George Booth, now commander of the ship, went on board, (as they had often done,) to the number of ten, and carried money with them under pretence of purchasing what they wanted. This Booth had formerly been gunner of a pirate ship, called the Dolphin. Capt. Fourgette was pretty much upon his guard, and searched every man as he came over the side, and a pair of pocket pistols were found upon a Dutchman, who was the first that entered. The captain told him that *he was a rogue, and had a design upon his ship*, and the pirates pretended to be so angry with this fellow's offering to come on board with arms, that they threatened to knock him on the head, and tossing him roughly into the boat, ordered him ashore, though they had before taken an oath on the BIBLE, either to carry the ship, or die in the undertaking.

They were all searched, but they however contrived to get on board four pistols, which were all the arms they had for the enterprise, though Fourgette had 20 hands on board, and his small arms on the awning, to be in readiness.

The captain invited them into the cabin to dinner, but Booth chose to dine with the petty officer, though one Johnson, Isaac and another, went down. Booth was to give the watchword, which was *hurrah*. Standing near the awning, and being a nimble fellow, at one spring he threw himself upon it, drew the arms to him, fired his pistol among the men, one of whom he wounded, (who jumping overboard was lost) and gave the signal.

Three, I said, were in the cabin, and seven upon deck, who with handspikes and the arms seized, secured the ship's crew. The captain and his two mates, who were at dinner in the cabin, hearing the pistol, fell upon Johnson, and stabbed him in several places with their forks, but they being silver, did him no great damage. Fourgette snatched his piece, which he snapped at Isaac's breast several times, but it would not go off. At last, finding his resistance vain, he submitted, and the pirates set him, and those of his men who would not join them, on shore, allowing him to take his books, papers, and whatever else he claimed as belonging to himself; and besides treating him very humanely, gave him several casks of liquor, with arms and powder, to purchase provisions in the country.

I hope this digression, as it was in a manner needful, will be excused. I shall now proceed.

After they had taken in the Dolphin's company, which were on the island, and increased their crew, by that means, to the number of 80 hands, they sailed to St. Mary's, where Capt. Mosson's



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ship lay at anchor, between the island and the main. This gentleman and his whole ship's company had been cut off at the instigation of Ort-Vantyle, a Dutchman of New-York.

Out of her they took water casks and other necessaries; which having done, they designed for the river Methelage, on the west side of Madagascar, in the lat. of 16 degrees or thereabouts, to salt up provisions and to proceed to the East Indies, cruise off the islands of St. John, and lie in wait for the Moor ships from Mocha.

In their way to Methelage they fell in (as I have said) with the pirate, on board of which was Capt. White. They joined company, came to an anchor together in the above named river, where they had cleaned, salted and took in their provisions, and were ready to go to sea, when a large ship appeared in sight, and stood into the same river.

The pirates knew not whether she was a merchantman or man-of-war. She had been the latter, belonging to the French king, and could mount 50 guns; but being taken by the English, she was bought by some London merchants, and fitted out from that port to slave at Madagascar, and go to Jamaica. The captain was a young, inexperienced man, who was put in with a nurse.

The pirates sent their boats to speak with them, but the ship firing at them, they concluded it a man of war, and rowed ashore; the grab standing in, and not keeping her wind so well as the French built ship, run among a parcel of mangroves, and a stump piercing her bottom, she sunk: the other run aground, let go her anchor, and came to no damage, for the tide of flood fetched her off.

The captain of the Speaker, for that was the name of the ship which frightened the pirates, was not a little vain of having forced these two vessels ashore, though he did not know whether they were pirates or merchantmen, and could not help expressing himself in these words: "How will my name ring on the exchange, when it is known I have run two pirates aground;" which gave handle to a satirical return from one of his men after he was taken, who said, "Lord! how our captain's name will ring on the exchange, when it is heard, he frightened two pirate ships ashore, and was taken by their two boats afterwards."

When the Speaker came within shot, she fired several times at the two vessels; and when she came to anchor, several more into the country, which alarmed the negroes, who, acquainting their king, he would allow him no trade, till the pirates living ashore, and who had a design on his ship, interceded for them, telling the king, they were their countrymen, and what had happened was through a mistake, it being a custom among them to fire their guns by way of respect, and it was owing to the gunner of the ship's negligence that they fired shot.

The captain of the Speaker sent his purser ashore, to go up the country to the king, who lived about 24 miles from the coast, to carry a couple of small arms inlaid with gold, a couple of brass blunderbusses, and a pair of pistols, as presents, and to require trade. As soon as the purser was ashore, he was taken prisoner, by one Tom Collins, a Welshman, born in Pembroke, who lived on shore, and had belonged to the Charming Mary, of Barbadoes, which went out with a commission but was converted to a pirate. He told the purser he was his prisoner, and must answer the damage done to two merchants who were slaving. The purser answered, that he was not commander; that the captain was

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a hot rash youth, put into business by his friends, which he did not understand; but however, satisfaction should be made. He was carried by Collins on board Booth's ship, where, at first, he was talked to in pretty strong terms; but after a while very civilly used, and the next morning sent up to the king with a guide, and peace made for him.

The king allowed them trade, and sent down the usual presents, a couple of oxen between twenty and thirty people laden with rice, and as many more with the country liquor, called toke.

The captain then settled the factory on the shore side, and began to buy slaves and provisions. The pirates were among them, and had opportunities of sounding the men, and knowing in what posture the ship lay. They found by one Hugh Man, belonging to the Speaker, that there were not above 40 men on board, and that they had lost the second mate and 20 hands in the long boat, on the coast, before they came into this harbor, but that they kept a good look out, and had their guns ready primed. However, he, for a hundred pounds, undertook to wet all the priming, and assist in taking the ship.

After some days the captain of the Speaker came on shore, and was received with great civility by the heads of the pirates, having agreed before to make satisfaction. In a day or two after, he was invited by them to eat a barbacued shoat, which invitation he accepted. After dinner, Capt. Bowen, who was, I have already said, a prisoner on board the French pirate, but now become one of the fraternity, and master of the grab, went out, and returned with a case of pistols in his hand, and told the Captain of the Speaker, whose name I won't mention, that he was his prisoner. He asked, upon what account? Bowen answered, "they wanted his ship, his was a good one, and they were resolved to have her, to make amends for the damage he had done them."

In the mean while his boat's crew, and the rest of his men ashore, were told by others of the pirates, who were drinking with them, that they were also prisoners: some of them answered, *Zounds, we don't trouble our heads what we are, let's have t'other bowl of punch.*

A watchword was given, and no boat to be admitted on board the ship. This word, which was for that night, *Coventry*, was known to them. At 8 o'clock they manned the twelve-oared boat, and the one they found at Mayotta, with 24 men, and set out for the ship. When they were put off, the captain of the Speaker desired them to come back, as he wanted to speak with them. Capt. Booth asked what he wanted! He said, "they could never take his ship." "Then," said Booth, "we'll die in or alongside of her." — "But," replied the captain, "if you will go with safety, don't board on the larboard side, for there is a gun out of the steerage loaded with partridge, which will clear the decks." They thanked him, and proceeded.

When they were near the ship they were hailed, and the answer was, *the Coventry*. "All well," said the mate, "get the lights over the side;" but spying the second boat, he asked what boat that was? One answered it was a raft of water, another that it was a boat of beef; this disagreement in the answers made the mate suspicious, who cried out — *Pirates, take to your arms my lads*, and immediately clapped a match to a gun, which, as the priming was before wet by the treachery of Hugh Man, only fizzed. They boarded in the instant, and made themselves masters of her, without the loss of a man on either side.

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The next day they put necessary provisions on board the French built ship, and gave her to the captain of the Speaker, and those men who would go off with him, among whom was Man, who had betrayed his ship; for the pirates had both paid him the 100*l* agreed, and kept his secret. The captain having thus lost his ship, sailed in that which the pirates gave him, for Johanna, where he fell ill and died with grief.

The pirates having here victualled, they sailed for the Bay of St. Augustine, where they took in between 70 and 80 men, who had belonged to the ship Alexander, commanded by Capt. James, a pirate. They also took up her guns, and mounted the Speaker with 54, which made up their number, and 240 men, besides slaves, of which they had about 20.

From hence they sailed for the East Indies, but stopped at Zanguebar for fresh provisions, where the Portuguese had once a settlement, but now inhabited by Arabians. Some of them went ashore with the captain to buy provisions. The captain was sent for by the governor, who went with about 14 in company. They passed through the guard, and when they had entered the governor's house, they were all cut off; and, at the same time, others who were in different houses of the town were set upon, which made them fly to the shore. The long-boat, which lay off a grappling, was immediately put in by those who looked after her. There were not above half a dozen of the pirates who brought their arms ashore, but they plied them so well, for they were in the boat, that most of the men got into her. The quarter-master ran down sword in hand, and though he was attacked by many, he behaved himself so well, that he got into a little canoe, put off, and reached the long-boat.

In the interim, the little fort the Arabians had, played upon the ship, which returned the salute very warmly. Thus they got on board, with the loss of Captain Booth and 20 men, and set sail for the East Indies. When they were under sail, they went to voting for a new captain, and the quarter-master, who had behaved so well in the last affair with the Arabians, was chosen; but he declining all command the crew made choice of Bowen for captain, Pickering to succeed him as master, Samuel Herault, a Frenchman, for quarter-master, and Nathaniel North for captain quarter-master.

Things being thus settled, they came to the mouth of the Red Sea, and fell in with 13 sail of Moor ships, which they kept company with the greater part of the day, but afraid to venture on them, as they took them for Portuguese men-of-war. At length part were for boarding, and advised it. The captain though he said little, did not seem inclined, for he was but a young pirate, though an old commander of a merchantman. Those who pushed for boarding, then desired Captain Boreman, already mentioned, to take the command; but he said he would not be a usurper; that nobody was more fit for it than he who had it; that for his part he would stand by his fuzil, and went forward to the fore-castle with such as would have him take the command, to be ready to board; on which the captain's quarter-master said, if they were resolved to engage, their captain, (whose representative he was) did not want resolution; therefore ordered them to get their tacks on board (for they had already made a clear ship) and get ready for boarding; which they accordingly did, and coming up with the sternmost ship, they fired a broadside into her, which killed two Moors, clapped her

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on board and carried her; but night coming on, they made only this prize, which yielded them £500 per man. From hence they sailed to the coast of Malabar. The adventures of these pirates on this coast are already set down in Captain Bowen's life, to which I refer the reader, and shall only observe, that Captain White was all this time before the mast, being a forced man from the beginning.

Bowen's crew dispersing, Captain White went to Methelage, where he lived ashore with the king, not having an opportunity of getting off the island, till another pirate ship, called the Prosperous, commanded by one Howard, who had been bred a lighterman on the river Thames, came in. This ship was taken at Augustin, by some pirates from shore, and the crew of their long-boat, which joined them, at the instigation of one Ranten, boatswain's mate, who sent for water. They came on board in the night and surprised her, though not without resistance, in which the captain and chief mate were killed, and several others wounded.

Those who were ashore with Captain White, resolving to enter in this ship, determined him to go also, rather than be left alone with the natives, hoping, by some accident or other, to have an opportunity of returning home. He continued on board this ship, in which he was made quarter-master, till they met with, and all went on board of Bowen, as is set down in his life, in which ship he continued after Bowen left them. At Port Dolphin he went off in the boats to fetch some of the crew left ashore, the ship being blown to sea the night before. The ship not being able to get in, and he supposing her gone to the west side of the island, as they had formerly proposed, he steered that course in his boat with 26 men. They touched at Augustin, expecting the ship, but she not appearing in a week, the time they waited, the king ordered them to be gone, telling them they imposed on him with lies, for he did not believe they had any ship: however he gave them fresh provision: they took in water, and made for Methelage. Here as Captain White was known to the king, they were kindly received, and staid about a fortnight in expectation of the ship, but she not appearing they raised their boat a streak, salted the provision the king gave them, put water aboard, and stood for the north end of the island, designing to go round, believing their ship might be at the island of St. Mary. When they came to the north end, the current, which sets to the N.W. for eight months in the year, was so strong they found it impossible to get round. Wherefore they got into a harbor, of which there are many for small vessels. Here they stayed about three weeks or a month, when part of the crew were for burning the boat, and travelling over land to a black king of their acquaintance, whose name was Reberimbo, who lived at a place called Manangaromasigh, in lat. 15 deg. or thereabouts. As this king had been several times assisted by the whites in his wars, he was a great friend to them. Captain White dissuaded them from this undertaking, and with much ado, saved the boat; but one half of the men being resolved to go by land, they took what provisions they thought necessary, and set out. Captain White, and those who staid with him, conveyed them a day's journey, and then returning, he got into the boat with his companions, and went back to Methelage, fearing these men might return, prevail with the rest, and burn the boat.

Here he built a deck on his boat, and lay by three months, in

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which time there came in three pirates with a boat, who had formerly been trepanned on board the Severn and Scarborough men-of-war, which had been looking for pirates on the east side; from which ships they made their escape at Mohila, in a small canoe to Johanna, and from Johanna to Mayotta, where the king built them the boat which brought them to Methelage. The time of the current's setting with violence to the N.W. being over, they proceeded together in White's boat (burning that of Mayotta) to the north end, where the current running yet too strong to get round, they went into a harbor and staid there a month, maintaining themselves with fish and wild hogs, of which there was a great plenty. At length, having fine weather, and the strength of the current abating, they got round; and after sailing about 40 miles on the east side, they went into a harbor, where they found a piece of a jacket, which they knew belonged to one of those men who had left them to go over land. He had been a forced man, and a ship carpenter. This they supposed he had torn to wrap round his feet; that part of the country being barren and rocky. As they sailed along this coast, they came to anchor in convenient harbors every night, till they got as far as Manangaromasigh, where king Reberimbo resided, where they went in to inquire for their men, who left them at the north end, and to recruit with provisions. The latter was given them, but they could get no information of their companions.

From hence they went to the island of St. Mary, where a canoe came off to them with a letter directed to any white man. They knew it to be the hand of one of their former shipmates. The contents of this letter was to advise them to be on their guard, and not trust too much to the blacks of this place, they having been formerly treacherous. They inquired after their ship, and were informed, that the company had given her to the Moors, who were gone away with her, and that they themselves were settled at Ambonavoula, about 20 leagues to the southward of St. Mary, where they lived among the negroes as so many sovereign princes. One of the blacks, who brought off the letter went on board their boat, carried them to the place called Olumbah, a point of land made by a river on one side, and the sea on the other, where twelve of them lived together in a large house they had built, and fortified with about twenty pieces of cannon.

The rest of them were settled in small companies of about 12 or 14 together, more or less, up the said river, and along the coast, every nation by itself, as the English, French, Dutch, &c. They made inquiry of their consorts after the different prizes which belonged to them, and they found all very justly laid by to be given them, if ever they returned, as were what belonged to the men who went over land. Captain White, hankering after home, proposed going out again in the boat; for he was adverse to settling with them; and many others agreed to go under his command; and if they could meet with a ship to carry them to Europe, to follow their old vocation. But the others did not think it reasonable he should have the boat, but that it should be set to sale for the benefit of the company. Accordingly it was set up, and Captain White bought it for 400 pieces of eight, and with some of his old consorts, whose number was increased by others of the ship's crew, he went back the way he had come to Methelage. Here he met with a French ship of about 50 tons, and 6 guns, which had been taken by some pirates who lived at Maratan, on the east side of the island, and some of the Degrave

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East-Indiaman's crew, to whom the master of her refused a passage to Europe; for as he had himself been a pirate, and quarter-master to Bowen, in the *Speaker*, he apprehended their taking away his ship. War then existing between England and France, he thought they might do it without being called in question as pirates. The pirates who had been concerned in taking *Herault's* ship, for that was his name, had gone up the country, and left her to the men belonging to the *Degrave*, who had fitted her up, cleaned and tallowed her, and got in some provision, with a design to go to the East-Indies, that they might light on some ship to return to their own country.

Captain White, finding these men proposed joining him, and going round to *Ambonavoula*, to make up a company, it was agreed upon, and they unanimously chose him commander. They accordingly put to sea, and stood away round the south end of the island, and touched at *Don Mascarenhas*, where he took in a surgeon, and stretching over again to *Madagascar*, fell in with *Ambonavoula*, and made up his complement of 60 men. From hence he shaped his course for the island of *Mayotta*, where he cleaned his ship, and waited for the season to go into the Red Sea. His provisions being taken in, the time proper, and the ship well fitted, he steered for *Babel-Mandeb*, and running into a harbor, waited for the *Mocha* ships.

He here took two grabs laden with provisions, and having some small money and drugs aboard. These he plundered of what was for his turn, kept them a fortnight by him, and let them go. Soon after they espied a lofty ship, upon which they put to sea; but finding her European built, and too strong to attempt, for it was a Dutchman, they gave over the chase, and were glad to shake them off, and return to their station. Fancying they were here discovered, from the coast of Arabia, or that the grabs had given information of them they stood over for the Ethiopian shore, keeping a good look out for the *Mocha* ships. A few days after, they met with a large ship of about 1000 tons and 600 men, called the *Malabar*, which they chased, kept company with her all night, and took in the morning, with the loss of only their boatswain, and two or three men wounded. In taking this ship, they damaged their own so much, by springing their foremast, carrying away their bowsprit, and beating in part of their upper works that they did not think her longer fit for their use. They therefore filled her away with prisoners, gave them provision and sent them away.

Some days after this, they espied a Portuguese man-of-war of 44 guns, which they chased, but gave it over by carrying away their maintopmast, so that they did not speak with her, for the Portuguese took no notice of them. Four days after they had left this man-of-war, they fell in with a Portuguese merchantman, which they chased with English colors flying. The chase, taking White for an English man-of-war or East-Indiaman, made no sail to get from him, but on his coming up, brought to, and sent his boat on board with a present of sweet-meats for the English captain. His boat's crew was detained, and the pirates getting into his boat with their arms, went on board and fired on the Portuguese, who being surprised, asked if war was broke out between England and Portugal? They answered in the affirmative, but the captain could not believe them. However they took what they liked, and kept him with them.

After two days they met with the *Dorothy*, an English ship,



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Captain Penruddock, commander, coming from Mocha. They exchanged several shots in the chase, but when they came along side of her, they entered their men, and found no resistance, she being navigated by Moors, no Europeans, except the officers being on board. On a vote, they gave Captain Penruddock (from whom they took a considerable quantity of money) the Portuguese ship and cargo, with what bale he pleased to take out of his own, bid him go about his business, and make what he could of her. As to the English ship, they kept her for their own use.

Soon after they plundered the Malabar ship, out of which they took as much money as came to £200 sterling a man, but missed 50,000 sequins, which were hid in a jar under a cow's stall, kept for the giving milk to the Moor supercargo, an ancient man. They then put the Portuguese and Moor prisoners on board the Malabar, and sent them about their business. The day after they had sent them away, one Captain Benjamin Stacy, in a ketch of 6 guns fell into their hands. They took what money he had, and what goods and provisions they wanted. Among the money were 500 dollars, a silver mug, and two spoons belonging to a couple of children on board, who were under the care of Stacy. The children took on for their loss, and the captain asked the reason of their tears, was answered by Stacy, and the above sum and plate was all the children had to bring them up. Captain White made a speech to his men, and told them it was cruel to rob the innocent children; upon which, by unanimous consent, all was restored to them again. Besides, they made a gathering among themselves, and made a present to Stacy's mate, and other of his inferior officers, and about 120 dollars to the children. They then discharged Stacy and his crew, and made the best of their way out of the Red Sea.

They came into the bay of Defarr, where they found a ketch at anchor, which the people had made prize of, by seizing the master and boat's crew ashore. They found a French gentleman, one Monsieur Berger, on board, whom they carried with them, took out about 2000 dollars, and sold the ketch to the chief ashore for provisions.

Hence they sailed for Madagascar, but touched at Mascarenhas, where several of them went ashore with their booty, about £1200 a man. Here taking in fresh provisions, White steered for Madagascar, and fell in with Hopeful Point where they shared their goods, and took up settlements ashore, where White built a house, bought cattle, took off the upper deck of ship, and was fitting her up for the next season. When she was near ready for sea, Captain John Halsey, who had made a broken voyage, came in with a brigantine, which being a more proper vessel for their turn, they desisted from working on the ship, and those who had a mind for fresh adventures, went on board Halsey, among whom Captain White entered before the mast.

At his return to Madagascar, White was taken ill of a flux, which in about five or six months ended his days. Finding his time was drawing nigh, he made his will, left several legacies, and named three men of different nations, guardian to a son he had by a woman in the country, requiring he might be sent to England with the money he left him, by the first English ship, to be brought up in the Christian religion, in hopes that he might live a better man than his father. He was buried with the same ceremony they used at the funerals of their companions, which is mentioned in the account of Halsey. Some years after, an English



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ship touching there, the guardians faithfully discharged their trust, and put him on board with the captain, who brought up the boy with care, acting by him as became a man of probity and honor.

September: On [St. Helena](#), a report made of the capture of some “runaway negroes” indicated that they had run away due to “their cruel usage beyond measure.” This would not result in anything being done to protect the [slaves](#) from cruelty — the result would be measures for prompter reporting of such runaways.

French [privateers](#) captured two vessels off [Martha’s Vineyard](#). Major William Wanton and Captain John Cranston sailed in pursuit, and in a 24-hour chase the privateers escaped without their prizes, which they scuttled.

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1709

When a French [privateer](#) had plundered Lewes' Town, and after several vessels had been plundered and burnt in the bay, the citizens of Philadelphia became concerned that their government protect them against such actions of war. The [Friends](#) generally held a majority in the civil rule of Pennsylvania and [New Jersey](#), and the "hot church party" in favor of a public defense petitioned the queen of England, declaring that these Quakers, due to their passive principles, were unfit to be civil rulers.

Friend Benjamin Clarke donated just shy of ten acres to the Religious Society of Friends in Princeton, [New Jersey](#) for a meetinghouse and burial ground. Use of the property for a burial ground would begin immediately, but for the time being the society would continue to meet in the homes of its members.

The [Friends](#) of Mountmellick in county Laois built their first meetinghouse. This is not it, but another meetinghouse that had been erected elsewhere in [Ireland](#), in Ballitore, in the previous year:



While attacking Spanish shipping along the west coast of America, the [privateer Woodes Rogers](#) succeeded in capturing the *Acapulco Galleon*.

February 1, Tuesday (1708, Old Style): The [hermit](#) castaway [Alexander Selkirk](#) sighted the sails of the *Duke* and *Duchess* of Captain [Woodes Rogers](#), two small British [privateering](#) vessels. He had been on Más á Tierra Island, husbanding his goats, for a lonely four years and four months.

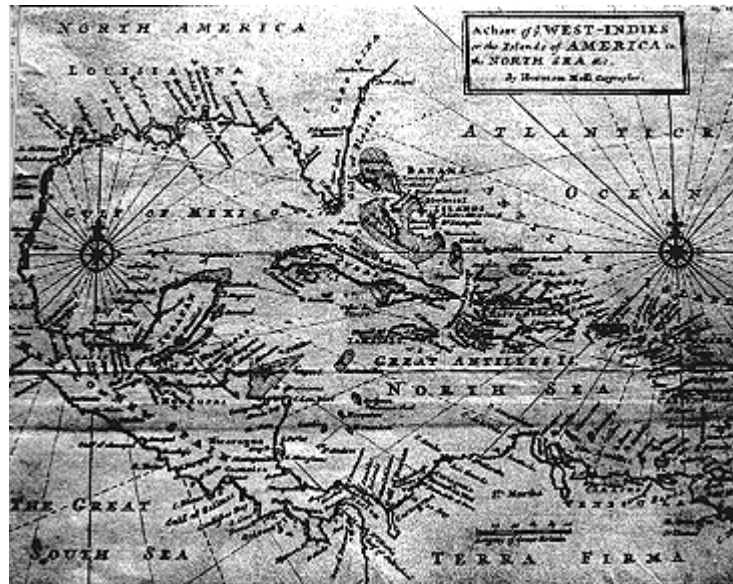
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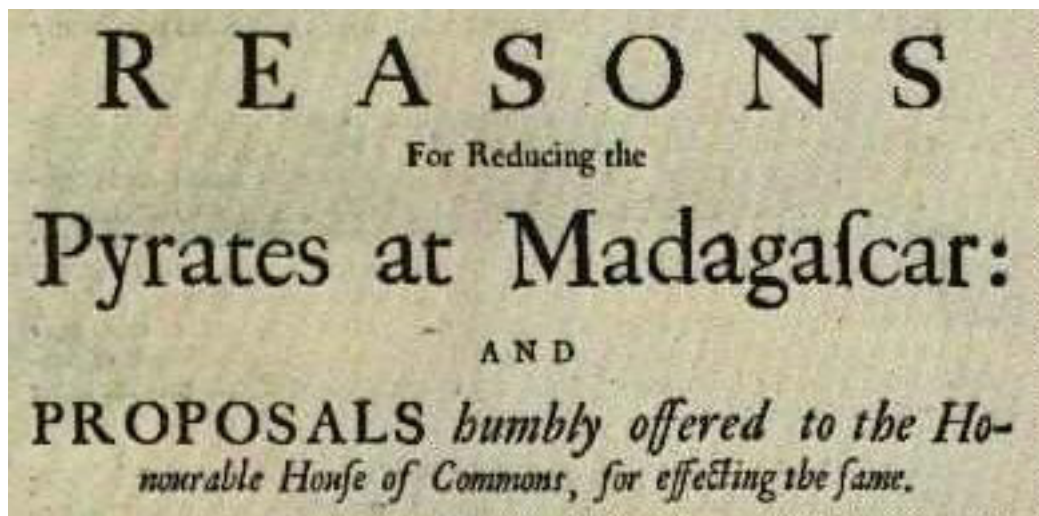
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1710

Between this year and 1720 Harman and Moll would be creating this map:



A supposed [pirate](#) journal entitled *A LONG TALE OF PIRACY* was published in England. The author stated himself to be Henry Avery or Every. After robbing many Portuguese and Spanish vessels in Peru and in the West Indies, this man wrote that he had retired to Madagascar, but then had gotten word that two ships of the Great Mogul were crossing the bay from Hoogly, carrying a grand-daughter who was to be married to the King of Pegu, with her dowry. Avery met the flotilla, a gunship and two passenger ships, with two sloops on the Bay of Bengal. They were able to destroy the gunship guarding the two ships with the women and treasure. They let the bride and her women the Indian soldiers go in one ship, but took the other with the loot back to Madagascar. He wrote "we never knew how rich we were." He claimed to have buried much of his treasure for he couldn't take it all back to England. He lamented not having preserved a little box of jewels the bride had given him since they were worthy of being placed in the King of England's crown.





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**PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING
ADVENTURES AND EXPLOITS OF CAPTAIN AVERY.**

**CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS CAPTURING ONE OF THE GREAT
MOGUL'S SHIP'S LADEN WITH TREASURE: AND AN INTERESTING
HISTORY OF A COLONY OF PIRATES ON THE ISLAND OF**

MADAGASCAR³⁴



During his own time the adventures of Captain Avery were the subject of general conversation in Europe. It was reported that he had married the Great Mogul's daughter, who was taken in an Indian ship that fell into his hands, and that he was about to

34. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)

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be the founder of a new monarchy – that he gave commissions in his own name to the captains of his ships, and the commanders of his forces, and was acknowledged by them as their prince. In consequence of these reports, it was at one time resolved to fit out a strong squadron to go and take him and his men; and at another time it was proposed to invite him home with all his riches, by the offer of his Majesty's pardon. These reports, however, were soon discovered to be groundless, and he was actually starving without a shilling, while he was represented as in the possession of millions. Not to exhaust the patience, or lessen the curiosity of the reader, the facts in Avery's life shall be briefly related.

He was a native of Devonshire (Eng.), and at an early period sent to sea; advanced to the station of a mate in a merchantman, he performed several voyages. It happened previous to the peace of Ryswick, when there existed an alliance between Spain, England, Holland, and other powers, against France, that the French in Martinique carried on a smuggling trade with the Spaniards on the continent of Peru. To prevent their intrusion into the Spanish dominions, a few vessels were commanded to cruise upon that coast, but the French ships were too strong for them; the Spaniards, therefore, came to the resolution of hiring foreigners to act against them. Accordingly, certain merchants of Bristol fitted out two ships of thirty guns, well manned, and provided with every necessary munition, and commanded them to sail for Corunna to receive their orders.

Captain Gibson commanded one of these ships, and Avery appears to have been his mate, in the year 1715. He was a fellow of more cunning than courage, and insinuating himself into the confidence of some of the boldest men in the ship, he represented the immense riches which were to be acquired upon the Spanish coast, and proposed to run off with the ship. The proposal was scarcely made when it was agreed upon, and put in execution at ten o'clock the following evening. Captain Gibson was one of those who mightily love their bottle, and spent much of his time on shore; but he remained on board that night, which did not, however, frustrate their design, because he had taken his usual dose, and so went to bed. The men who were not in the confederacy went also to bed, leaving none upon deck but the conspirators. At the time agreed upon, the long boat of the other ship came, and Avery hailing her in the usual manner, he was answered by the men in her, "Is your drunken boatswain on board?" which was the watchword agreed between them. Avery replying in the affirmative, the boat came alongside with sixteen stout fellows, who joined in the adventure. They next secured the hatches, then softly weighed anchor, and immediately put to sea without bustle or noise. There were several vessels in the bay, besides a Dutchman of forty guns, the captain of which was offered a considerable reward to go in pursuit of Avery, but he declined. When the captain awoke, he rang his bell, and Avery and another conspirator going into the cabin, found him yet half asleep. He inquired, saying, "What is the matter with the ship? does she drive? what weather is it?" supposing that it had been a storm, and that the ship was driven from her anchors. "No, no," answered Avery, "we're at sea, with a fair wind and a good weather." "At sea!" said the captain: "how can that be?" "Come," answered Avery, "don't be in a fright, but put on your clothes, and I'll let you into a secret. You must know that I am captain of this



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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 understand his meaning. However, his fright was as great as before, which Avery perceiving, desired him to fear nothing; "for," said he, "if you have a mind to make one of us, we will receive you; and if you turn sober, and attend to business, perhaps in time I may make you one of my lieutenants; if not, here's a boat, and you shall be set on shore." Gibson accepted of the last proposal; and the whole crew being called up to know who was willing to go on shore with the captain, there were only about five or six who chose to accompany him.

Avery proceeded on his voyage to Madagascar, and it does not appear that he captured any vessels upon his way. When arrived at the northeast part of that island, he found two sloops at anchor, which, upon seeing him, slipped their cables and ran themselves ashore, while the men all landed and concealed themselves in the woods. These were two sloops which the men had run off with from the East Indies, and seeing Avery's ship, supposed that he had been sent out after them. Suspecting who they were, he sent some of his men on shore to inform them that they were friends, and to propose a union for their common safety. The sloops' men being well armed, had posted themselves in a wood, and placed sentinels to observe whether the ship's men were landing to pursue them. The sentinels only observing two or three men coming towards them unarmed, did not oppose them. Upon being informed that they were friends, the sentinels conveyed them to the main body, where they delivered their message. They were at first afraid that it was a stratagem to entrap them, but when the messengers assured them that their captain had also run away with his ship, and that a few of their men along with him would meet them unarmed, to consult matters for their common advantage, confidence was established, and they were mutually well pleased, as it added to their strength.

Having consulted what was most proper to be attempted they endeavored to get off the sloops, and hastened to prepare all things, in order to sail for the Arabian coast. Near the river Indus, the man at the mast-head espied a sail, upon which they gave chase; as they came nearer to her, they discovered that she was a tall vessel, and might turn out to be an East Indiaman. She, however, proved a better prize; for when they fired at her she hoisted Mogul colors, and seemed to stand upon her defence. Avery only cannonaded at a distance, when some of his men began to suspect that he was not the hero they had supposed. The sloops, however attacked, the one on the bow, and another upon the quarter of the ship, and so boarded her. She then struck her colors. She was one of the Great Mogul's own ships, and there were in her several of the greatest persons in his court, among whom, it was said, was one of his daughters going upon a pilgrimage to Mecca; and they were carrying with them rich offerings to present at the shrine of Mahomet. It is a well known fact, that the people of the east travel with great magnificence, so that these had along with them all their slaves and attendants, with a large quantity of vessels of gold and silver, and immense sums of money to defray their expenses by land; the spoil therefore which they received from that ship was almost incalculable.



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Taking the treasure on board their own ships, and plundering their prize of every thing valuable, they then allowed her to depart. As soon as the Mogul received this intelligence, he threatened to send a mighty army to extirpate the English from all their settlements upon the Indian coast. The East India Company were greatly alarmed, but found means to calm his resentment, by promising to search for the robbers, and deliver them into his hands. The noise which this made over all Europe, gave birth to the rumors that were circulated concerning Avery's greatness.

In the mean time, our adventurers made the best of their way back to Madagascar, intending to make that place the deposit of all their treasure, to build a small fort, and to keep always a few men there for its protection. Avery, however, disconcerted this plan, and rendered it altogether unnecessary.

While steering their course, Avery sent a boat to each of the sloops, requesting that the chiefs would come on board his ship to hold a conference. They obeyed, and being assembled, he suggested to them the necessity of securing the property which they had acquired in some safe place on shore, and observed, that the chief difficulty was to get it safe on shore; adding that, if either of the sloops should be attacked alone, they would not be able to make any great resistance, and thus she must either be sunk or taken with all the property on board. That, for his part, his ship was so strong, so well manned, and such a swift-sailing vessel, that he did not think it was possible for any other ship to take or overcome her. Accordingly, he proposed that all their treasure should be sealed up in three chests; - that each of the captains should have keys, and that they should not be opened until all were present; - that the chests should be then put on board his ship, and afterwards lodged in some safe place upon land.

This proposal seemed so reasonable, and so much for the common good, that it was without hesitation agreed to, and all the treasure deposited in three chests, and carried to Avery's ship. The weather being favorable, they remained all three in company during that and the next day; meanwhile Avery, tampering with his men, suggested, that they had now on board what was sufficient to make them all happy; "and what," continued he, "should hinder us from going to some country where we are not known, and living on shore all the rest of our days in plenty?" They soon understood his hint, and all readily consented to deceive the men of the sloops, and fly with all the booty; this they effected during the darkness of the following night. The reader may easily conjecture what were the feelings and indignation of the other two crews in the morning, when they discovered that Avery had made off with all their property.

Avery and his men hastened towards America, and being strangers in that country, agreed to divide the booty, to change their names, and each separately to take up his residence, and live in affluence and honor. The first land they approached was the Island of Providence, then newly settled. It however occurred to them, that the largeness of their vessel, and the report that one had been run off with from the Groine, might create suspicion; they resolved therefore to dispose of their vessel at Providence. Upon this resolution, Avery, pretending that his vessel had been equipped for privateering, and having been unsuccessful, he had orders from the owners to dispose of her



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to the best advantage, soon found a merchant. Having thus sold his own ship, he immediately purchased a small sloop. In this he and his companions embarked, and landed at several places in America, where, none suspecting them, they dispersed and settled in the country. Avery, however, had been careful to conceal the greater part of the jewels and other valuable articles, so that his riches were immense. Arriving at Boston, he was almost resolved to settle there, but, as the greater part of his wealth consisted of diamonds, he was apprehensive that he could not dispose of them at that place, without being taken up as a pirate. Upon reflection, therefore, he resolved to sail for Ireland, and in a short time arrived in the northern part of that kingdom, and his men dispersed into several places. Some of them obtained the pardon of King William, and settled in that country.

The wealth of Avery, however, now proved of small service, and occasioned him great uneasiness. He could not offer his diamonds for sale in that country without being suspected. Considering, therefore, what was best to be done, he thought there might be some person at Bristol he could venture to trust. Upon this he resolved, and going into Devonshire, sent to one of his friends to meet him at a town called Bideford. When he had unbosomed himself to him and other pretended friends, they agreed that the safest plan would be to put his effects into the hands of some wealthy merchants, and no inquiry would be made how they came by them. One of these friends told him, he was acquainted with some who were very fit for the purpose, and if he would allow them a handsome commission, they would do the business faithfully. Avery liked the proposal, particularly as he could think of no other way of managing this matter, since he could not appear to act for himself. Accordingly, the merchants paid Avery a visit at Bideford, where, after strong protestations of honor and integrity, he delivered them his effects, consisting of diamonds and some vessels of gold. After giving him a little money for his present subsistence, they departed.

He changed his name, and lived quietly at Bideford, so that no notice was taken of him. In a short time his money was all spent, and he heard nothing from his merchants though he wrote to them repeatedly; at last they sent him a small supply, but it was not sufficient to pay his debts. In short, the remittances they sent him were so trifling, that he could with difficulty exist. He therefore determined to go privately to Bristol, and have an interview with the merchants himself, — where, instead of money, he met with a mortifying repulse; for, when he desired them to come to an account with him, they silenced him by threatening to disclose his character; the merchants thus proving themselves as good pirates on land as he was at sea.

Whether he was frightened by these menaces, or had seen some other person who recognised him, is not known; however, he went immediately to Ireland, and from thence solicited his merchants very strongly for a supply, but to no purpose; so that he was reduced to beggary. In this extremity he was determined to return, and cast himself upon the mercy of these honest Bristol merchants, let the consequence be what it would. He went on board a trading-vessel, and worked his passage over to Plymouth, from whence he travelled on foot to Bideford. He had been there but a few days, when he fell sick and died; not being worth so much as would buy him a coffin!



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We shall now turn back and give our readers some account of the other two sloops. Deceiving themselves in the supposition that Avery had outsailed them during the night, they held on their course to the place of rendezvous; but, arriving there, to their sad disappointment no ship appeared. It was now necessary for them to consult what was most proper to do in their desperate circumstances. Their provisions were nearly exhausted, and both fish and fowl were to be found on shore, yet they were destitute of salt to cure them. As they could not subsist at sea without salt provisions, they resolved to form an establishment upon land. Accordingly making tents of the sails, and using the other materials of the sloops for what purposes they could serve, they encamped upon the shore. It was also a fortunate circumstance, that they had plenty of ammunition and small arms. Here they met with some of their countrymen; and as the digression is short, we will inform our readers how they came to inhabit this place. Captain George Dew, and Thomas Tew, had received a commission from the Governor of Bermuda to sail for the river Gambia, in Africa, that, with the assistance of the Royal African Company, they might seize the French Factory situated upon that coast. Dew, in a violent storm, not only sprang a mast, but lost sight of his companion. Upon this returned to refit. Instead of proceeding in his voyage, Tew made towards the Cape of Good Hope, doubled that cape, and sailed for the straits of Babel-Mandeb. There he met with a large ship richly laden coming from the Indies, and bound for Arabia. Though she had on board three hundred soldiers, besides seamen, yet Tew had the courage to attack her, and soon made her his prize. It is reported, that by this one prize every man shared near three thousand pounds. Informed by the prisoners that five other ships were to pass that way, Tew would have attacked them, but was prevented by the remonstrances of his quarter-master and others. This difference of opinion terminated in a resolution to abandon the sea, and to settle on some convenient spot on shore; and the island of Madagascar was chosen. Tew, however, and a few others, in a short time went for Rhode Island, and obtained a pardon.

The natives of Madagascar are negroes, but differ from those of Guinea in the length of their hair and in the blackness of their complexion. They are divided into small nations, each governed by its own prince, who carry on a continual war upon each other. The prisoners taken in war are either rendered slaves to the conquerors, sold, or slain, according to pleasure. When the pirates first settled among them, their alliance was much courted by these princes, and those whom they joined were always successful in their wars, the natives being ignorant of the use of fire-arms. Such terror did they carry along with them, that the very appearance of a few pirates in an army would have put the opposing force to flight.

By these means they in a little time became very formidable, and the prisoners whom they took in war they employed in cultivating the ground, and the most beautiful of the women they married; nor were they contented with one, but married as many as they could conveniently maintain. The natural result was, that they separated, each choosing a convenient place for himself, where he lived in a princely style, surrounded by his wives, slaves and dependants. Nor was it long before jarring interests excited them also to draw the sword against each other, and they appeared at the head of their respective forces in the field of battle.



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In these civil wars their numbers and strength were greatly lessened.

The servant, exalted to the condition of a master, generally becomes a tyrant. These pirates, unexpectedly elevated to the dignity of petty princes, used their power with the most wanton barbarity. The punishment of the very least offence was to be tied to a tree, and instantly shot through the head. The negroes, at length, exasperated by continued oppression, formed the determination of extirpating them in one night; nor was it a difficult matter to accomplish this, since they were now so much divided both in affection and residence. Fortunately, however, for them, a negro woman, who was partial to them, ran twenty miles in three hours, and warning them of their danger, they were united and in arms to oppose the negroes before the latter had assembled. This narrow escape made them more cautious, and induced them to adopt the following system of policy: -

Convinced that fear was not a sufficient protection, and that the bravest man might be murdered by a coward in his bed, they labored to foment wars among the negro princes, while they themselves declined to aid either party. It naturally followed, that those who were vanquished fled to them for protection, and increased their strength. When there was no war, they fomented private discords, and encouraged them to wreak their vengeance against each other; nay, even taught them how to surprise their opponents, and furnished them with fire-arms, with which to dispatch them more effectually and expeditiously. The consequences were, that the murderer was constrained to fly to them for protection, with his wives, children, and kindred. These, from interest, became true friends, as their own safety depended upon the lives of their protectors. By this time the pirates were so formidable, that none of the negro princes durst attack them in open war.

Pursuing this system of policy, in a short time each chief had his party greatly increased, and they divided like so many tribes, in order to find ground to cultivate, and to choose proper places to build places of residence and erect garrisons of defence. The fears that agitated them were always obvious in their general policy, for they vied with each other in constructing places of safety, and using every precaution to prevent the possibility of sudden danger, either from the negroes or from one another.

A description of one of these dwellings will both show the fears that agitated these tyrants, and prove entertaining to the reader. They selected a spot overgrown with wood, near a river, and raised a rampart or ditch round it, so straight and steep that it was impossible to climb it, more particularly by those who had no scaling ladders. Over that 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 thought most secure, but so covered that it could not be discovered until you came near it. But the greatest ingenuity was displayed in the construction of the passage that led to the hut, which was so narrow, that no more than one person could go abreast, and it was contrived in so intricate a manner, that it was a perfect labyrinth; the way going round and round with several small crossways, so that a person unacquainted with it, might walk several hours without finding the hut. Along the sides of these paths, certain large thorns, which grew on a tree in that country, were stuck into



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the ground with their points outwards; and the path itself being serpentine, as before mentioned, if a man should attempt to approach the hut at night, he would certainly have struck upon these thorns.

Thus like tyrants they lived, dreading, and dreaded by all, and in this state they were found by Captain Woods Rogers, when he went to Madagascar in the *Delicia*, a ship of forty guns, with the design of purchasing slaves. He touched upon a part of the island at which no ship had been seen for seven or eight years before, where he met with some pirates who had been upon the island above twenty-five years. There were only eleven of the original stock then alive, surrounded with a numerous offspring of children and grandchildren.

They were struck with terror upon the sight of the vessel, supposing that it was a man-of-war sent out to apprehend them; they, therefore, retired to their secret habitations. But when they found some of the ship's crew on shore, without any signs of hostility, and proposing to treat with them for slaves, they ventured to come out of their dwellings attended like princes. Having been so long upon the island, their cloaks were so much worn, that their majesties were extremely out at elbows. It cannot be said that they were ragged, but they had nothing to cover them but the skins of beasts in their natural state, not even a shoe or stocking; so that they resembled 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 the human imagination could well conceive.

The sale of the slaves in their possession soon provided them with more suitable clothes, and all other necessaries, which they received in exchange. Meanwhile, they became very familiar, went frequently on board, and were very eager in examining the inside of the ship, talking very familiarly with the men, and inviting them on shore. Their design was to surprise the ship during the night. They had a sufficient number of men and boats to effect their purpose, but the captain suspecting them, kept so strong a watch upon deck, that they found it in vain to hazard an attempt. When some of the men went on shore, they entered into a plan to seize the ship, but the captain observing their familiarity, prevented any one of his men from speaking to the pirates, and only permitted a confidential person to purchase their slaves. Thus he departed from the island, leaving these pirates to enjoy their savage royalty. One of them had been a waterman upon the Thames, and having committed a murder, fled to the West Indies. The rest had all been foremastmen, nor was there one among them who could either read or write.



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1712

From 1708 until 1711, the [privateer](#) Captain [Woodes Rogers](#) had led an expedition which would circumnavigate the world while harassing Spanish shipping. William Dampier was his navigator. The expedition was quite profitable, returning with stolen gold bullion, precious stones, and exotic silks. Rogers at this point in London published about his voyage, in A CRUISING VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD: FIRST TO THE SOUTH SEAS, THENCE TO THE EAST INDIES, AND HOMEWARD BY THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE...CONTAINING A JOURNAL OF ALL THE REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS...AN ACCOUNT OF ALEXANDER SELKIRK'S LIVING ALONE FOUR YEARS AND FOUR MONTHS ON AN ISLAND. It had been Woodes Rogers who after navigating through Cape Horn rescued the [hermit](#) castaway [Alexander Selkirk](#) from the island of Juan Fernandez.



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1714

By the end of Queen Anne's War, the government of [Rhode Island](#) was firmly committed to the eradication of [piracy](#).



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1716

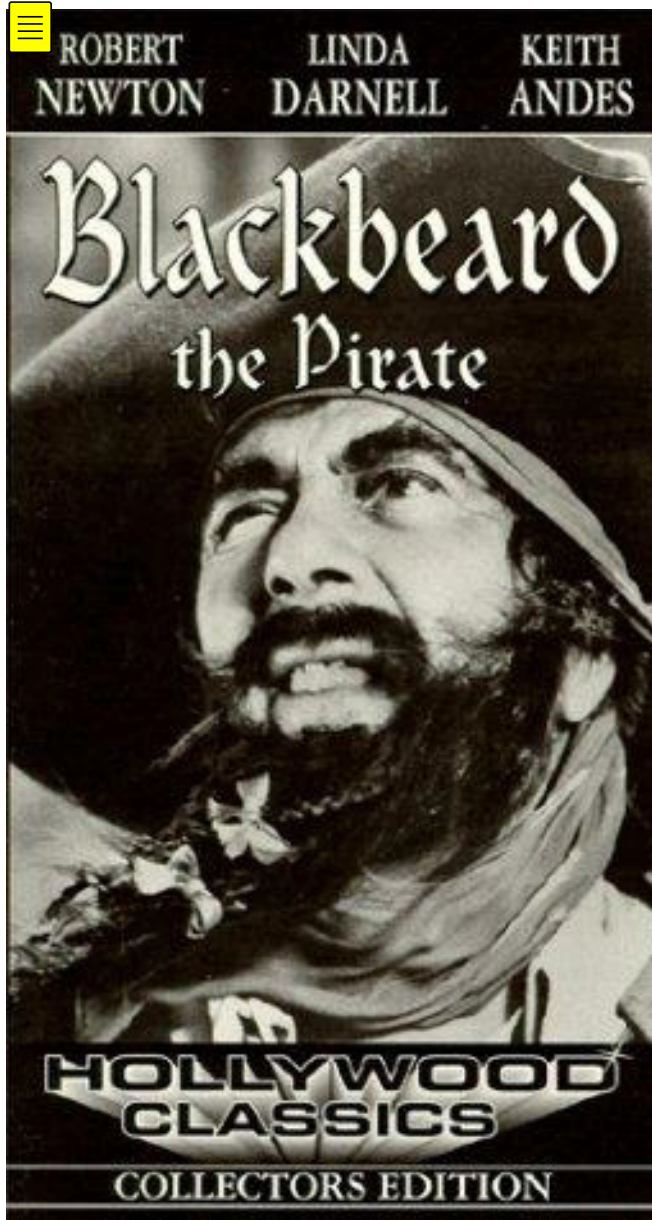
[Palsgrave Williams](#) was serving as quartermaster on Captain Samuel Bellamy's expedition to recover gold and silver from Spanish wrecks in the Gulf of Florida. He would thus be involved when this expedition turned from its fruitless search for treasure to direct [piracy](#). Williams would be made captain aboard a sloop which they captured.

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The [pirate](#) captain [Edward “Blackbeard” Teach](#) made a lengthy visit to [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



Captain John Dexter of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), who presumably was bringing his cargo of molasses and sugar up from the West Indies, fell victim to the small pox and put into the port of Saybrook, Connecticut, where he died. The inventory of his effects show that his vessel had been equipped with a Quadrant, a Gunter's scale, a Nocturnal, the "vaines of a fore staff," a pair of dividers, "2 Prosspect Glasses," and the standard work of navigation THE ENGLISH PILATT. His quadrant was presumably the one which had been designed by John Davis which had been in use since 1594, which would be superseded by a new one Captain John Hadley would demonstrate before the Royal Geographical Society in 1731. His forestaff was an instrument used as far back as the 15th Century which amounted simply to a four-sided straight staff of hardwood about three feet in length, having four crosspieces of different lengths to slide upon it. These four crosspieces "were called respectively the ten, thirty, sixty and ninety cross, and were placed singly upon the staff, according to the altitude of the sun or star at time of observation; the angle measured being shown by a scale of degrees and minutes intersected by a crosspiece on that side the staff to which it (the cross) belonged." Dexter would have used his Nocturnal in latitudes north of the line, to derive the hour of the night "by observing with it the hands



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of the great star clocks, Ursa Major and Minor, as they turned about the Pole Star.” He would have employed his dividers and his Gunter’s scale after his observations were complete, while making calculations.

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

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1717

Jonathan Dickinson of Philadelphia wrote to a correspondent that “The pirates have not yet quitted our coast, and have taken one of our vessels at the cape, in which you happily did not ship my wine.”

James Logan of Philadelphia wrote that “We have been extremely pestered with pirates, who now swarm in America [“America” would indicate the same continents and islands as the general expression “New World,” rather than be limited to the North American continent], and increase their numbers by almost every vessel they take. — If speedy care be not taken they will become formidable, being now at least fifteen hundred strong. They have very particularly talked of visiting this place; many of them being well acquainted with it, and some born in it, for they are generally all English and therefore know our government can make no defence.”

He also wrote to Colonel Hunter, the governor of New York, in October that “We have been very much disturbed the last week by the pirates. They have taken and plundered six or seven vessels to or from this place; some they took to their own use, and some they dismissed after plundering them. Some of our people having been several days on board of them, had much free discourse with them. They say they are about eight hundred strong at Providence [this would presumably be Providence Island in the Caribbean, rather than the town of Providence on Narragansett Bay], and I know not how many at Cape Fear, where they are making a settlement. Captain Jennings, they say, is their governor in chief, and heads them in their settlement. The sloop that came on our coast had about one hundred and thirty men, all stout fellows, all English, and doubly armed. They said they waited for their consort, of twenty-six guns, when they designed to visit Philadelphia! Some of our masters says they know almost every man on board — most of them having been lately in the river; their commander is Teach [Edward Teach, the infamous Blackbeard], who was here a mate from Jamaica about two years ago.”

In another letter he wrote that “They are now busy about us to lay in their stores of provisions for the winter.”





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New Providence Island is in the Bahamas, the town of Nassau being its principal settlement. Originally a base from which privateers sanctioned by the English government could harass the Spanish, by the beginning of the century the law-abiding citizenry had been forced to flee to exile on Great Exuma and New Providence was subject to the “lawless riot and drunken revelry” of [pirates](#). Edward Teach, the infamous Blackbeard, was in residence in Fort Nassau when the British Crown sent the privateer Woodes Rogers, as Governor, to bring order. Rogers arrived during this year with three ships of the Royal Navy and quickly subdued the island. Charles Vane fired his cannon at the arriving governor, but did so while sailing away. Blackbeard headed for the [Carolinas](#). Some of the remaining pirates resisted and were captured and hung, while a few obtained the advantage of a Royal Pardon. Captain Condent would wind up well, but Captain Davis would sail off to make trouble elsewhere as best he could, until finally he also would be laid low:

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THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN DAVIS

*WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS SURPRISING THE FORT AT GAMBIA*³⁵



Davis was born in Monmouthshire, and, from a boy, trained to the sea. His last voyage from England was in the sloop Cadogan from Bristol, in the character of chief mate. This vessel was captured by the pirate England, upon the Guinea coast, whose companions plundered the crew, and murdered the captain, as is related in England's life.

Upon the death of Captain Skinner, Davis pretended that he was urged by England to become a pirate, but that he resolutely refused. He added, that England, pleased with his conduct, had made him captain in room of Skinner, giving him a sealed paper, which he was not to open until he was in a certain latitude, and then expressly to follow the given directions. When he arrived in the appointed place, he collected the whole crew, and solemnly read his sealed instructions, which contained a generous grant of the ship and all her stores to Davis and his crew, requesting them to go to Brazil, and dispose of the cargo to the best advantage, and make an equal division of the money. Davis then commanded the crew to signify whether they were inclined to follow that mode of life, when, to his astonishment and chagrin, the majority positively refused. Then, in a

35. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)

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transport of rage, he desired them to go where they would. Knowing that part of the cargo was consigned to merchants in Barbadoes, they directed their course to that place. When arrived there, they informed the merchants of the unfortunate death of Skinner, and of the proposal which had been made to them. Davis was accordingly seized, and committed to prison, but he having never been in the pirate service, nothing could be proved to condemn him, and he was discharged without a trial. Convinced that he could never hope for employment in that quarter after this detection, he went to the island of Providence, which he knew to be a rendezvous for pirates. Upon his arrival there, he was grievously disappointed, because the pirates who frequented that place had just accepted of his majesty's pardon, and had surrendered.

Captain Rogers having equipped two sloops for trade, Davis obtained employment in one of these, called the Buck. They were laden with European goods to a considerable value, which they were to sell or exchange with the French and Spanish. They first touched at the island of Martinique, belonging to the French, and Davis knowing that many of the men were formerly in the pirate service, enticed them to seize the master, and to run off with the sloop. When they had effected their purpose, they hailed the other ship, in which they knew that there were many hands ripe for rebellion, and coming to, the greater part joined Davis. Those who did not choose to adhere to them were allowed to remain in the other sloop, and continue their course, after Davis had pillaged her of what things he pleased.

In full possession of the vessel and stores and goods, a large bowl of punch was made; under its exhilarating influence, it was proposed to choose a commander, and to form their future mode of policy. The election was soon over, and a large majority of legal votes were in favor of Davis, and no scrutiny demanded, Davis was declared duly elected. He then drew up a code of laws, to which he himself swore, and required the same bond of alliance from all the rest of the crew. He then addressed them in a short and appropriate speech, the substance of which was, a proclamation of war with the whole world.

They next consulted, what part would be most convenient to clean the vessel, and it was resolved to repair to Coxon's Hole, at the east end of the island of [Cuba](#), where they could remain in perfect security, as the entrance was so narrow that one ship could keep out a hundred.

They, however, had no small difficulty in cleaning their vessel, as there was no carpenter among them. They performed that laborious task in the best manner they could, and then made to the north side of [Hispaniola](#). The first sail they met with was a French ship of twelve guns, which they captured; and while they were plundering her, another appeared in view. Enquiring of the Frenchmen, they learned that she was a ship of twenty-four guns and sixty men. Davis proposed to his crew to attack her, assuring them that she would prove a rich prize. This appeared to the crew such a hazardous enterprise, that they were rather adverse to the measure. But he acquainted them that he had conceived a stratagem that he was confident would succeed; they might, therefore, safely leave the matter to his management. He then commenced chase, and ordered his prize to do the same. Being a better sailer, he soon came up with the enemy, and showed his black colors. With no small surprise at

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his insolence in coming so near them, they commanded him to strike. He replied, that he was disposed to give them employment until his companion came up, who was able to contend with them; meanwhile assuring them that, if they did not strike to him, it would most certainly fare the worse for them: then giving them a broadside, he received the same in return.

When the other pirate ship drew near, they, according to the directions of Davis, appeared upon deck in white shirts, which making an appearance of numbers, the Frenchman was intimidated, and struck. Davis ordered the captain with twenty of his men to come on board, and they were all put in irons except the captain. He then despatched four of his men to the other ship, and calling aloud to them, desired that his compliments should be given to the captain, with a request to send a sufficient number of hands to go on board their new prize, to see what they had got in her. At the same time, he gave them a written paper with their proper instructions, even to nail up the small guns, to take out all the arms and powder, and to go every man on board the new prize. When his men were on board her, he ordered the greater part of the prisoners to be removed into the empty vessels, and by this means secured himself from any attempt to recover their ship.

During three days, these three vessels sailed in company, but finding that his late prize was a heavy sailer, he emptied her of everything that he stood in need of, and then restored her to the captain with all his men. The French captain was so much enraged at being thus miserably deceived, that, upon the discovery of the stratagem, he would have thrown himself overboard, had not his men prevented him.

Captain Davis then formed the resolution of parting with the other prize-ship also, and soon afterwards steered northward, and took a Spanish sloop. He next directed his course towards the western islands, and from Cape de Verd islands cast anchor at St. Nicholas, and hoisted English colors. The Portuguese supposed that he was a privateer, and Davis going on shore was hospitably received, and they traded with him for such articles as they found most advantageous. He remained here five weeks, and he and half of his crew visited the principal town of the island. Davis, from his appearing in the dress of a gentleman, was greatly caressed by the Portuguese, and nothing was spared to entertain and render him and his men happy. Having amused themselves during a week, they returned to the ship, and allowed the other half of the crew to visit the capital, and enjoy themselves in like manner. Upon their return, they cleaned their ship and put to sea, but four of the men were so captivated with the ladies and the luxuries of the place, that they remained in the island, and one of them married and settled there.

Davis now sailed for Bonavista, and perceiving nothing in that harbor steered for the Isle of May. Arrived there, he found several vessels in the harbor, and plundered them of whatever he found necessary. He also received a considerable reinforcement of men, the greater part of whom entered willingly into the piratical service. He likewise made free with one of the ships, equipped her for his own purpose, and called her the King James. Davis next proceeded to St. Jago to take in water. Davis, with some others going on shore to seek water, the governor came to inquire who they were, and expressed his suspicion of their being pirates. Upon this, Davis seemed highly affronted, and expressed his displeasure in the most polite but



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determined manner. He, however, hastened on board, informed his men, and suggested the possibility of surprising the fort during the night. Accordingly, all his men being well armed, they advanced to the assault; and, from the carelessness of the guards, they were in the garrison before the inhabitants were alarmed. Upon the discovery of their danger, they took shelter in the governor's house, and fortified it against the pirates: but the latter throwing in some grando shells, ruined the furniture, and killed several people.

The alarm was circulated in the morning, and the country assembled to attack them; but, unwilling to stand a siege, the pirates dismounted the guns, pillaged the fort, and fled to their ships.

When at sea, they mustered their hands, and found that they were seventy strong. They then consulted among themselves what course they should steer, and were divided in opinion; but by a majority it was carried to sail for Gambia, on the coast of Guinea. Of this opinion was the captain, who having been employed in that trade, was acquainted with the coast; and informed his companions, that there was always a large quantity of money deposited in that castle, and he was confident, if the matter was entrusted to him, he should successfully storm that fort. From their experience of his former prudence and courage, they cheerfully submitted to his direction, in the full assurance of success.

Arrived at Gambia, he ordered all his men below, except just so many as were necessary to work the vessel, that those from the fort, seeing so few hands, might have no suspicion that she was any other than a trading vessel. He then ran under the fort and cast anchor, and having ordered out the boat, manned with six men indifferently dressed, he, with the master and doctor, dressed themselves like gentlemen, in order that the one party might look like foremastmen, and the other like merchants. In rowing ashore, he instructed his men what to say if any questions were put to them by the garrison.

On reaching land, the party was conducted by a file of musqueteers into the fort, and kindly received by the governor, who enquired what they were, and whence they came? They replied, that they were from Liverpool, and bound for the river Senegal, to trade for gum and elephants teeth; but that they were chased on that coast by two French men-of-war, and narrowly escaped being taken. "We were now disposed," continued Davis, "to make the best of our voyage, and would willingly trade here for slaves." The governor then inquired what were the principal articles of their cargo. They replied, that they were iron and plate, which were necessary articles in that place. The governor then said, that he would give them slaves for all their cargo; and asked if they had any European liquor on board. They answered, that they had a little for their own use, but that he should have a hamper of it. He then treated them with the greatest civility, and desired them all to dine with him. Davis answered, that as he was commander of the vessel, it would be necessary for him to go down to see if she were properly moored, and to give some other directions; but that these gentlemen might stay, and he would return before dinner, and bring the hamper with him.

While in the fort, his eyes were keenly employed to discover the position of the arms, and how the fort might most successfully



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be surprised. He discovered that there was a sentry standing near a guard-house, in which there were a quantity of arms heaped up in a corner, and that a considerable number of small arms were in the governor's hall. When he went on board, he ordered some hands on board a sloop lying at anchor, lest, hearing any bustle they should come to the aid of the castle; then desiring his men to avoid too much liquor, and to be ready when he should hoist the flag from the walls, to come to his assistance, he proceeded to the castle.

Having taken these precautions and formed these arrangements, he ordered every man who was to accompany him to arm himself with two pair of pistols, which he himself also did, concealed under their clothes. He then directed them to go into the guard-room, and fall into conversation, and immediately upon his firing a pistol out of the governor's window, to shut the men up, and secure the arms in the guard-room.

When Davis arrived, dinner not being ready, the governor proposed that they should pass the time in making a bowl of punch. Davis's boatswain attending him, had an opportunity of visiting all parts of the house, and observing their strength. He whispered his intelligence to his master, who being surrounded by his own friends, and seeing the governor unattended by any of his retinue, presented a pistol to the breast of the latter, informing him that he was a dead man, unless he should surrender the fort and all its riches. The governor, thus taken by surprise, was compelled to submit; for Davis took down all the pistols that hung in the hall, and loaded them. He then fired his pistol out of the window. His men flew like lions, presented their pistols to the soldiers, and while some carried out the arms, the rest secured the military, and shut them all up in the guard-house, placing a guard on the door. Then one of them struck the union flag on the top of the castle, which the men from the vessel perceiving, rushed to the combat, and in an instant were in possession of the castle, without tumult or bloodshed.

Davis then harrangued the soldiers, many of whom enlisted with him; and those who declined, he put on board the small ships, and to prevent the necessity of a guard, or the possibility of escape, carried off the sails, rigging and cables.

That day being spent in feasting and rejoicing, the castle saluting the ship, and the ship the castle, on the day following they proceeded to examine the contents of their prize. They, however, were greatly disappointed in their expectations, a large sum of money having been sent off a few days before. But they found money to the amount of about two thousand pounds in gold, and many valuable articles of different kinds. They carried on board their vessel whatever they deemed useful, gave several articles to the captain and crew of the small vessel, and allowed them to depart, while they dismantled the guns, and demolished the fortifications.

After doing all the mischief that their vicious minds could possibly devise, they weighed anchor; but in the mean time, perceiving a sail bearing towards them with all possible speed, they hastened to prepare for her reception, and made towards her. Upon her near approach they discovered that she was a French pirate of fourteen guns and sixty-four men, the one half French, and the other half negroes.

The Frenchman was in high expectation of a rich prize, but when



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he came nearer, he suspected, from the number of her guns and men, that she was a small English man-of-war; he determined, notwithstanding, upon the bold attempt of boarding her, and immediately fired a gun, and hoisted his black colors: Davis immediately returned the compliment. The Frenchman was highly gratified at this discovery; both hoisted out their boats, and congratulated each other. Mutual civilities and good offices passed, and the French captain proposed to Davis to sail down the coast with him, in order to look out for a better ship, assuring him that the very first that could be captured should be his, as he was always willing to encourage an industrious brother.

They first touched at Sierra Leone, where they espied a large vessel, and Davis being the swifter sailer, came first up with him. He was not a little surprised that she did not endeavor to make off, and began to suspect her strength. When he came alongside of her, she fired a whole broadside, and hoisted black colors. Davis did the same, and fired a gun to leeward. The satisfaction of these brothers in iniquity was mutual, at having thus acquired so much additional strength and ability to undertake more formidable adventures. Two days were devoted to mirth and song, and upon the third, Davis and Cochlyn, the captain of the new confederate, agreed to go in the French pirate ship to attack the fort. When they approached, the men in the fort, apprehensive of their character and intentions, fired all the guns upon them at once. The ship returned the fire, and afforded employment until the other two ships arrived, when the men in the fort seeing such a number on board, lost courage, and abandoned the fort to the mercy of the robbers.

They took possession, remained there seven weeks, and cleaned their vessels. They then called a council of war, to deliberate concerning future undertakings, when it was resolved to sail down the coast in company; and, for the greater regularity and grandeur, Davis was chosen Commodore. That dangerous enemy, strong drink, had well nigh, however, sown the seeds of discord among these affectionate brethren. But Davis, alike prepared for council or for war, addressed them to the following purport: "Hear ye, you Cochlyn and La Boise, (which was the name of the French captain) I find, by strengthening you, I have put a rod into your hands to whip myself; but I am still able to deal with you both: however, since we met in love, let us part in love; for I find that three of a trade can never agree long together." Upon this, the other two went on board of their respective ships, and steered different courses.

Davis held down the coast, and reaching Cape Appolonia he captured three vessels, two English and one Scottish, plundered them, and allowed them to proceed. In five days after he met with a Dutchman of thirty guns and ninety men. She gave Davis a broadside, and killed nine of his men; a desperate engagement ensued, which continued from one o'clock at noon until nine next morning, when the Dutchman struck.

Davis equipped her for the pirate service, and called her "The Rover." With his two ships he sailed for the bay of Anamaboa, which he entered about noon, and took several vessels which were there waiting to take in negroes, gold, and elephants' teeth. Davis made a present of one of these vessels to the Dutch captain and his crew, and allowed them to go in quest of their fortune. When the fort had intelligence that they were pirates, they



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fired at them, but without any effect; Davis fired also, and hoisted the black colors, but deemed it prudent to depart. The next day after he left Anamaboa, the man at the mast-head discovered a sail. It may be proper to inform our readers, that, according to the laws of pirates, the man who first discovers a vessel, is entitled to the best pair of pistols in the ship, and such is the honor attached to these, that a pair of them has been known to sell for thirty pounds.

Davis pursued that vessel, which, being between him and the shore, labored hard to run aground. Davis perceiving this, got between her and the land, and fired a broadside at her, when she immediately struck. She proved to be a very rich prize, having on board the Governor of Acra, with all his substance, going to Holland. There was in money to the amount of fifteen thousand pounds, besides a large quantity of merchant goods, and other valuable articles.

Before they reached the Isle of Princes, the St. James sprang a leak, so that the men and the valuable articles were removed into Davis's own ship. When he came in sight of the fort he hoisted English colors. The Portuguese, seeing a large ship sailing towards the shore, sent a sloop to discover her character and destination. Davis informed them, that he was an English man-of-war, sent out in search of some pirates which they had heard were in this quarter. Upon this, he was piloted into the port, and anchored below the guns at the fort. The governor was happy to have Englishmen in his harbor; and to do honor to Davis, sent down a file of musqueteers to escort him into the fort, while Davis, the more to cover his design, ordered nine men, according to the custom of the English, to row him on shore.

Davis also took the opportunity of cleaning and preparing all things for renewing his operations. He, however, could not contentedly leave the fort, without receiving some of the riches of the island. He formed a scheme to accomplish his purpose, and communicated the same to his men. His design was to make the governor a present of a few negroes in return for his kindness; then to invite him, with a few of the principal men and friars belonging to the island, to dine on board his ship, and secure them all in irons, until each of them should give a large ransom. They were accordingly invited, and very readily consented to go: and deeming themselves honored by his attention, all that were invited, would certainly have gone on board. Fortunately however, for them, a negro, who was privy to the horrible plan of Davis, swam on shore during the night, and gave information of the danger to the governor.

The governor occupied the whole night in strengthening the defences and posting the men in the most advantageous places. Soon after day-break, the pirates, with Captain Davis at their head were discovered landing from the boats; and quickly marched across the open space toward the fort. A brisk fire was opened upon them from the fort, which they returned in a spirited manner. At length, a hand grenade, thrown from the wooden veranda of the fort killed three of the pirates; but several of the Portuguese were killed. The veranda of the fort being of wood and very dry, it was set fire to by the pirates. This was a great advantage to the attacking party, who could now distinguish those in the fort without their being so clearly seen themselves; but at this moment Captain Davis fell, mortally



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wounded by a musket ball in his belly. The fall of their chief, and the determined resistance of those in the fort, checked the impetuosity of the assailants. They hesitated, and at last retreated, bearing away with them their wounded commander. The Portuguese cheered, and led on by the governor, now became the assailants. Still the pirates' retreat was orderly; they fired and retired rank behind rank successively. They kept the Portuguese at bay until they had arrived at the boats, when a charge was made and a severe conflict ensued. But the pirates had lost too many men; and without their Captain, felt dispirited. As they lifted Davis into the boat in his dying agonies he fired his pistols at his pursuers. They now pulled with all their might to escape from the muskets of the Portuguese, who followed them along the banks of the river, annoying them in their retreat to the vessel. And those on board, who expected to hoist in treasure had to receive naught but their wounded comrades and dead commander.

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THE ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN CONDENT³⁶



Captain Condent was a Plymouth man born, but we are as yet ignorant of the motives and time of his first turning pirate. He was one of those who thought fit to retire from Providence, on Governor Rogers' arrival at that island, in a sloop belonging to Mr. Simpson, of New York, a Jew merchant, of which sloop he was then quarter-master. Soon after they left the island, an accident happened on board, which put the whole crew into consternation. They had among them an Indian man, whom some of them had beaten; in revenge, he got most of the arms forward into the hold, and designed to blow up the sloop; upon which, some advised scuttling the deck, and throwing grenade shells down, but Condent said that was too tedious and dangerous, since the fellow might fire through the deck and kill several of them. He, therefore, taking a pistol in one hand, and his cutlass in the other, leaped into the hold. The Indian discharged a piece at him, which broke his arm; but, however, he ran up and shot the Indian. When he was dead, the crew hacked him to pieces, and the gunner, ripping up his belly and tearing out his heart, broiled and eat it.

36. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)

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After this, they took a merchantman called the Duke of York; and some disputes arising among the pirates, the captain, and one half of the company, went on board the prize; the other half, who continued in the sloop, chose Condent captain. He shaped his course for the Cape-de Verd Islands, and in his way took a merchant ship from Madeira, laden with wine, and bound for the West Indies, which he plundered and let go; then coming to the Isle of May, one of the said islands, he took the whole salt fleet, consisting of about 20 sail. Wanting a boom, he took out the mainmast of one of these ships to supply the want. Here he took upon himself the administration of justice, inquiring into the manner of the commanders' behaviour to their men, and those against whom complaint was made, he whipped and pickled. He took what provision and other necessaries he wanted, and having augmented his company by volunteers and forced men, he left the ships and sailed to St. Jago, where he took a Dutch ship, which had formerly been a privateer. This proved also an easy prize, for he fired but one broadside, and clapping her on board, carried her without resistance, for the captain and several men were killed, and some wounded by his great shot.

The ship proving for his purpose, he gave her the name of the Flying Dragon, went on board with his crew, and made a present of his sloop to a mate of an English prize, whom he had forced with him. From hence he stood away for the coast of Brazil, and in his cruize took several Portuguese ships, which he plundered and let go.

After these he fell in with the Wright galley, Capt. John Spelt, commander, hired by the South Sea company, to go to the coast of Angola for slaves, and thence to Buenos Ayres. This ship he detained a considerable time, and the captain being his townsman, treated him very civilly. A few days after he took Spelt, he made prize of a Portuguese, laden with bale goods and stores. He rigged the Wright galley anew, and put on board of her some of the goods. Soon after he had discharged the Portuguese, he met with a Dutch East Indiaman of 28 guns, whose captain was killed the first broadside, and took her with little resistance, for he had hoisted the pirate's colors on board Spelt's ship.

He now, with three sail, steered for the island of Ferdinando, where he hove down and cleaned the Flying Dragon. Having careened, he put 11 Dutchmen on board Capt. Spelt, to make amends for the hands he had forced from him, and sent him away, making him a present of the goods he had taken from the Portuguese ship. When he sailed himself, he ordered the Dutch to stay at Ferdinando 24 hours after his departure; threatening, if he did not comply, to sink his ship, if he fell a second time into his hands, and to put all the company to the sword. He then stood for the coast of Brazil, where he met a Portuguese man of war of 70 guns, which he came up with. The Portuguese hailed him, and he answered, *from London, bound to Buenos Ayres*. The Portuguese manned his shrouds and cheered him, when Condent fired a broadside, and a smart engagement ensued for the space of three glasses; but Condent finding himself over-matched, made the best of his way, and being the best sailer, got off.

A few days after, he took a vessel of the same nation, who gave an account that he had killed above forty men in the Guarda del Costa, beside a number wounded. He kept along the coast to the southward, and took a French ship of 18 guns, laden with wine

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and brandy, bound for the South Sea, which he carried with him into the River of Platte. He sent some of his men ashore to kill some wild cattle, but they were taken by the crew of a Spanish man-of-war. On their examination before the captain, they said they were two Guinea ships, with slaves belonging to the South Sea company, and on this story were allowed to return to their boats. Here five of his forced men ran away with his canoe; he plundered the French ship, cut her adrift, and she was stranded. He proceeded along the Brazil coast, and hearing a pirate ship was lost upon it, and the pirates imprisoned, he used all the Portuguese who fell into his hands, who were many, very barbarously, cutting off their ears and noses; and as his master was a papist, when they took a priest, they made him say mass at the mainmast, and would afterwards get on his back and ride him about the decks, or else load and drive him like a beast. He from this went to the Guinea coast, and took Capt. Hill, in the Indian Queen.

In Luengo Bay he saw two ships at anchor, one a Dutchman of 44 guns, the other an English ship, called the Fame, Capt. Bowen, commander. They both cut and ran ashore; the Fame was lost, but the Dutch ship the pirate got off and took with him. When he was at sea again, he discharged Captain Hill, and stood away for the East Indies. Near the Cape he took an Ostend East-Indiaman, of which Mr. Nash, a noted merchant of London, was supercargo. Soon after he took a Dutch East-Indiaman, discharged the Ostender, and made for Madagascar. At the Isle of St. Mary, he met with some of Capt. Halsey's crew, whom he took on board with other stragglers, and shaped his course for the East-Indies, and in the way, at the island of Johanna, took, in company with two other pirates he met at St. Mary's, the Cassandra East-Indiaman, commanded by Capt. James Macraigh. He continued his course for the East-Indies, where he made a very great booty; and returning, touched at the island of Mascarenhas, where he met with a Portuguese ship of 70 guns, with the viceroy of Goa on board. This ship he made prize of, and hearing she had money on board, they would allow of no ransom, but carried her to the coast of Zanguebar, where was a Dutch fortification, which they took and plundered, razed the fort, and carried off several men voluntarily. From hence they stood for St. Mary's, where they shared their booty, broke up their company, and settled among the natives. Here a snow came from Bristol, which they obliged to carry a petition to the governor of Mascarenhas for a pardon, though they paid the master very generously. The governor returned answer he would take them into protection if they would destroy their ships, which they agreed to, and accordingly sunk the Flying Dragon, &c. Condent and some others went to Mascarenhas, where Condent married the governor's sister-in-law, and remained some time; but, as I have been credibly informed, he is since come to France, settled at St. Maloes, and drives a considerable trade as a merchant.

February: Captain Samuel Bellamy and Captain [Palsgrave Williams](#) encountered the *Whydah* on its voyage from Jamaica bound for London. They chased her for three days in the Windward Passage, and finally she struck her colors. With the capture of the *Widow*, Captain Samuel Bellamy left his *Sultana* and took command of his new prize.

On [St. Helena](#), heavy surf smashed a boat with cargo to pieces.



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Early April: Off the coast of South Carolina, Captain [Palsgrave Williams](#) captured the Boston-owned sloop of Captain Beer of [Rhode Island](#), plundered it, and sank it. The [pirates](#) would drop Captain Beer off at [Block Island](#).

April 26, Friday night (Old Style): It was a dark and stormy night. Shipwreck of the [pirate Samuel Bellamy](#)'s prize ships *Whydah* and *Mary Anne* on Cape Cod.

[CAPE COD](#): In the year 1717, a noted pirate named Bellamy was led on to the bar off Wellfleet by the captain of a *snow* which he had taken, to whom he had offered his vessel again if he would pilot him into Provincetown Harbor. Tradition says that the latter threw over a burning tar-barrel in the night, which drifted ashore, and the pirates followed it. A storm coming on, their whole fleet was wrecked, and more than a hundred dead bodies lay along the shore. Six who escaped shipwreck were executed. "At times to this day" (1793), says the historian of Wellfleet, "there are King William and Queen Mary's coppers picked up, and pieces of silver called cob-money. The violence of the seas moves the sands on the outer bar, so that at times the iron caboose of the ship [that is, Bellamy's] at low ebbs has been seen." Another tells us that, "For many years after this shipwreck, a man of a very singular and frightful aspect used every spring and autumn to be seen travelling on the Cape, who was supposed to have been one of Bellamy's crew. The presumption is that he went to some place where money had been secreted by the pirates, to get such a supply as his exigencies required. When he died, many pieces of gold were found in a girdle which he constantly wore."

As I was walking on the beach here in my last visit, looking for shells and pebbles, just after that storm which I have mentioned as moving the sand to a great depth, not knowing but I might find some cob-money, I did actually pick up a French crown piece, worth about a dollar and six cents, near high-water mark, on the still moist sand, just under the abrupt, caving base of the bank. It was of a dark slate color, and looked like a flat pebble, but still bore a very distinct and handsome head of Louis XV., and the usual legend on the reverse, *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum* (Blessed be the Name of the Lord), a pleasing sentiment to read in the sands of the sea-shore, whatever it might be stamped on, and I also made out the date, 1741. Of course, I thought at first that it was that same old button which I have found so many times, but my knife soon showed the silver. Afterward, rambling on the bars at low tide, I cheated my companion by holding up round shells (*Scutellæ*) between my fingers, whereupon he quickly stripped and came off to me.

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The family of Cape Cod's [Samuel Bellamy](#) probably had originated in the Devonshire region of south-western England and may have been one of those families of peasants displaced by the enclosure of common lands. Possibly his family had been involved in Monmouth's failed rebellion of 1685 or had held sympathies for James II (VII of Scotland), overthrown in 1689. Whatever Bellamy's antecedents, he had been on Cape Cod in the summer of 1715 when a hurricane had sunk a dozen Spanish treasure galleons off the coast of Florida.



There had been a rush of adventurers headed for Florida to search out the remains and Bellamy had persuaded a local goldsmith, Palgrave Williams, to bear the cost of fitting out a vessel. Having failed to recover anything from any of the sunken treasure ships, Bellamy and Williams had gone “on the account” –had recourse to straightforward piracy– and in the course of 15 months had captured more than 50 ships including the recently commissioned *Whydah*, a 100-foot, 3-masted galley. The vessel's name, after a harbor on the Guinea coast of Africa, bespoke her involvement in the slave trade. Bellamy and Williams had taken the ship after it had disposed of its black cargo in the Caribbean, as it was heading out for England with a payload of ivory, [indigo](#), sugar, and coins. Late April 1717 had found Bellamy and Williams back in northern waters with a fleet of five ships. Palgrave Williams, in one of the vessels, had put into port at [Block Island](#) to visit relatives,



while Bellamy aboard the *Whydah* continued towards Cape Cod with the other four. We have no idea what drew Bellamy back to the Cape of his origin but folklore tells us there was an attractive local maid, Maria Hallet, to be impressed by the dashing pirate and his new pelf. The pirate flotilla was struck by a ferocious



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storm, complete with blinding rain, 70-mph winds, and crashing waves rising as high as 40 feet, during which the *Whydah* rammed a sandbar and broke her back. Of the other ships, the *Mary Anne* was run aground while the *Fisher* and the *Anne* survived but were severely damaged. Only nine men of the *Whydah* and *Mary Anne* would be still alive by the next morning, two of those being from the crew of 146 that had served on the *Whydah*. Eight would be brought to trial on charges of piracy and six would [hang](#) in chains on the admiralty mudflats of Boston Harbor (these mudflats were on Charlestown side, since on Boston side the depth of the water was 17 feet even at the lowest of the low tides, ergo no convenient mudflats at all). The 7th, *Mary Anne* survivor Thomas South, and *Whydah* survivor Thomas Davis, a Welsh carpenter, were allowed to have been pressed — they were sailors with special skills whom the pirates had forced into service. John Julian, an American native boy survivor who had been impressed to pilot the *Whydah* through the local shoals, we suspect would have been sold into slavery. Almost immediately the Governor sent Captain Cyprian Southack to the wreck site to report on the potential for a salvage operation, “mooncussers,” the wreck scavengers of Cape Cod, had already been working around the clock and within a couple of weeks the constantly moving sands had buried the *Whydah*.

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The more than 100,000 artifacts recovered from the rediscovered wreck of the *Whydah* since 1984 constitute the world’s only authenticated pirate treasure. This trove includes more than 2,000 coins, the majority of them Spanish silver Reales “pieces of eight.” The hoard includes denominations which date from the 1670s to 1715. There are nine Spanish gold Escudos, better known as “Doubloons,” which date from 1688 to 1712 and include denominations of 1, 2 and 8 Escudos. Some of the gold coins were minted in Mexico, others perhaps in Lima. A smattering of British and Scottish coins indicate capture of English and Scottish vessels. The British coins include a Charles II crown dated 1667 and a couple of William III half crowns dated 1697. There is a solitary Scottish bawbee coin but none of the coins recovered were French. Other precious materials include fine examples of Akan gold jewelry and a number of gold bars and ingots. The pieces of African jewelry recovered from the *Whydah* amount to the earliest known collection of this art but much of it had been broken up, and the gold bars and ingots bear score marks testifying to the manner in which the plunder had been apportioned among the members of the pirate band. The weapons recovered include elegant pistols. There are nautical instruments which probably had been seized from law-abiding master mariners. Leather goods also survived in the sands of the seabed and include a pouch, and a shoe and stocking last worn almost 300 years ago. The discovery of a teapot with a human shoulder bone wedged into it testifies to the terror of the storm.

While walking the sand cliffs of Wellfleet on or about October 11, 1849, [Henry Thoreau](#) would find a silver French coin in the sand and then, impishly, exercise his walking companion [Ellery Channing](#) with delusions of pirate treasure. The date on Thoreau’s coin was, however, 1741, indicating that it had not even been minted until a generation after this pirate was already drowned.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

April 29, Monday (Old Style): Learning of the wreck of Captain [Samuel Bellamy](#)’s *Whydah* on the shoals off Cape Cod, Captain [Palsgrave Williams](#) sailed from [Block Island](#) to the Cape Cod waters to see whether he could be of any assistance to his fellow [pirates](#). He could not, as those of Bellamy’s crew who had not drowned during the storm had been captured at Eastham Tavern by Deputy Sheriff Doane and a posse, and would be [hanged](#) in Boston.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

September 5, Thursday (Old Style): An “Act of Grace” was proclaimed, under which [pirates](#) could come in from the seas and not be prosecuted. One of the seamen who “came in” during this amnesty was the [Newport, Rhode Island](#) pirate Captain [Palsgrave Williams](#). Other pirates fled from their base in the Bahamas to Madagascar.

A List of such Pirates as Surrenderd themselves at Providence to Captain Vincent Pearse Commander of His Majesty’s Ship Phenix and accepted of his Majesties most Gracious Pardon and had Certificates from the said Commander to carry them to some



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Government

Note those that are marked with a cross X before their names are gone out Pirating againe.

Packer ADAMS	Thomas LAMB	Richard TAYLOR
Arthur ALLEN	John ALLEN	Martin TOWNSEND
James COATES	Martin CARRILL	[x]Michael SWEMSTONE
Jno DALRIMPLE	Thomas CLIES	Samuel RICHARDSON
Benjamin HORNOGOLD	Jno HIPPERSON	Robert BROWN
Josiah BURGESS	Jno CHARLTON	Henry CHICK
Francis LESLEY	Francis CHARNOCK	Robert HUNTER
Thomas NICHOLS	[x]David MERREDITH	James MOODEY
Palsgrave WILLIAMS	[x]Edward NORLAND	Richard KAINE
John LEWIS	[x]James GOODSIR	Thomas BIRDSELL
Richard NOWLAND	Dennis McCARTHY	Robert DRYBRO
John MARTIN	Rowland HARBIN	[x]Daniel CARMAN
William CONNER	George GATER	[x]John DUNKIN
Thomas GRAHAME	George MANN	George FEVERSHAM
Thomas TERRILL	Richard RICHARDS	John BARKER
John EALLING	Anthony JACOBS	Thomas CODD
Robert WISHART	Nabel CLARKE	William ROBERTS
James GATRICKS	Henry HAWKINS	John WATERS
Edward STACEY	Daniel WHITE	William AUSTIN
John TENNET	Edward SAVORY	Francis ROPER
John HUNT	Peter MARSHALL	Griffith WILLIAMS
John PEARSE	[x]Archibald MURRY	Edward GORMAN
James BRYAN	Daniel HILL	John CLARKE
Henry BERRY	William SAVOY	[x]Richard BISHOP

November 17: The governor of Virginia had hired two sloops, the *Ranger* and another, and given command of them to Lieutenant Robert Maynard, who sailed from the James River in quest of [Edward “Blackbeard” Teach](#) the [pirate](#). One of the sloops became disabled off the Outer Banks but the other persisted and would find him on the 21st, with but few of his men on board. They would discover, on their prize, letters and papers incriminated the governor of [North Carolina](#) and his secretary.

November 21: Lt. Robert Maynard, commanding the light sloop *Ranger*, entered Ocracoke Inlet in search of [Edward “Blackbeard” Teach](#)’s *Adventure*.

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November 22: Blackbeard was killed during a sword fight with Lieutenant Robert Maynard of the *Ranger*. “The [pirate](#) received a pistol shot while swinging his heavy cutlass and snapping his adversary’s sword like a twig. As Blackbeard was about to deliver the death blow, his throat was slashed by a stout Scot among Maynard’s crew. He struggled on until, while cocking his pistol, he fell down dead. He had sustained 25 wounds, five from pistol balls.” The Lieutenant would chop off the pirate captain’s head and hang it on the end of the *Ranger*’s bowsprit for its triumphal return to Virginia. Fable now has it that the headless corpse swam twice round the ship. The crewmen who had surrendered would be transported to Williamsburg to be tried and [hanged](#). Blackbeard’s head would be mounted on a pole at the entrance to Hampton River—a spot referred to as “Blackbeard’s Point,” hosting a seafood restaurant—until it disintegrated, and his skull would then be fashioned into part of a Raleigh Tavern drinking bowl in Williamsburg, Virginia (the bowl would be lost in the 1920s after being last seen in [North Carolina](#)).

EDWARD “BLACKBEARD” TEACH
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BLACKBEARD:

OR,

THE PIRATE OF THE ROANOKE.



Portrait of Blackbeard, the Pirate of the Roanoke.

F. GLEASON'S PUBLISHING HALL,
CORNER OF TREMONT AND COURT STREETS, BOSTON.
S. FRENCH, 293 Broadway, New York. A. WINCH, 116 Chestnut St., Philadela.
STRATTON & BARNARD, 121 Main Street, Cincinnati. T. S. HAWKS,
Post Office Building, Buffalo. J. A. ROYS, 37 Woodward Avenue,
Detroit. WM. TAYLOR, North Street, Baltimore. FLETCH-
ER & SELLERS, Rue Champs Elysees, New Orleans.
1847.



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November 24: An “Act to Encourage the Apprehending and Destroying of Pyrates” was passed by Virginia’s House of Burgesses and Governor Spotswood signed it. The governor –since it was unknown in Williamsburg that [Edward “Blackbeard” Teach](#)’s severed head had already for two days been decorating the *Ranger*’s bowsprit– offered £100 for his death or capture.

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1718

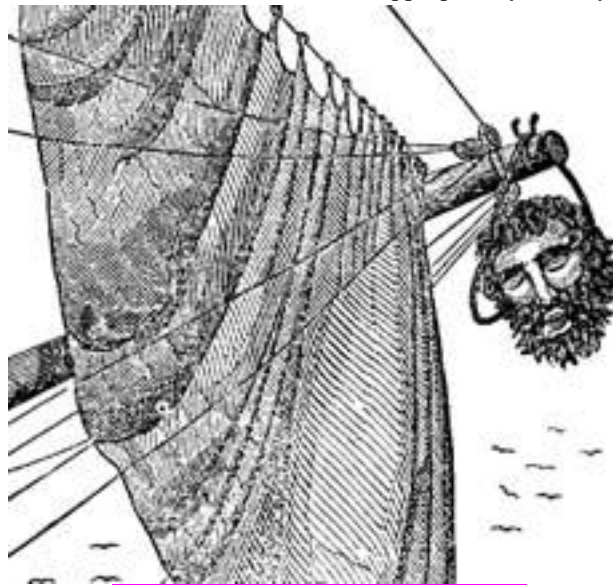
The grand jury in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania was asked to allow a charge of [piracy](#) to be brought against John Williams, Joseph Cooper, Michael Grace, William Asheton, George Gardner, Francis Royer, and Henry Burton, that they, with force of arms, viz., with swords, guns, cutlasses &c., forcibly took the sloop *Antelope* of twenty-two tons, riding in the Delaware River, and bore her off, &c. The grand jury, presumably for lack of evidence that would be needed to convict, marked this accusation “Ignoramus,” as not actionable. (This Joseph Cooper and his crew of [pirates](#) would be captured or killed in the bay of Honduras in 1725.)

The [buccaneer Woodes Rogers](#) became governor of the Bahamas. Like Henry Morgan, he received a commission to destroy other [pirates](#).

Blackbeard sailed into [Charles Town](#) harbor with four ships and took hostages for ransom.

Also during this year, the [pirate](#) Stede Bonnet was hanged at White Point.

March: Thirteen of the 15 [pirates](#) captured during Maynard’s expedition against Blackbeard at Ocracoke Inlet were [hanged](#) on what today is Capitol Landing Road. The jail in which these seamen were confined still stands in Colonial Williamsburg. We know the site of the gallows upon which they were hanged, but it is close to a busy city street and outside the Historic Area — and thus not appropriately touristy.



EDWARD “BLACKBEARD” TEACH

We can see in this period illustration something similar to the verbal description of Teach’s appearance, that his jet-black beard reached up almost to his eyes. The women must have appreciated this (or his hidden treasure) as it was said that during Teach’s life, he had had a total of 14 wives and sired a total of 40 children!

March 5, Wednesday: In Boston, a private prayer meeting took place at Captain Hill’s.



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Toward the end of May: Charles Vane and his [pirate](#) companions were heading for the Windward Islands when they came across a Spanish sloop bound from Puerto Rico to [Havana](#), and destroyed it, and then came across a brigantine and a sloop, from which they looted cargos and provisions.

July: Mr. [Woodes Rogers](#), a governor and vice-admiral of the Bahamas, went out to Nassau to grant pardon to a thousand [pirates](#) ashore there who were making their submission to the legitimate government, “they having for their Captains, Hornygold, Davis, Carter, Burgess, Current, Clark, and others.” To some of these people the official awarded civil commissions, and when the Spanish war came, many of these men would become [privateers](#).

An event would occur that would destroy piracy across the Caribbean. A group of men sent from New Providence Island by Governor Rogers to purchase supplies from another island reverted to piracy soon after departing. Governor Rogers offered a bounty to be paid to any pirate who captured and turned over another pirate, and these men were soon captured – by ex-pirates. Rogers chose to make an example of them and their trial was brief and decisive. Of the 13 who had fled 4 had been killed and 9 been brought back alive for trial. Of these 9, one was able to make a case that he had been under duress, and 8 were found guilty. Two days later 7 of these 8 were hung, with at the last moment the governor pardoning one. What no-one in the Caribbean could evade was that these 8 men who had been hanged as pirates had been captured by former pirates, had been tried before a jury of former pirates, and had been executed within days of their return to New Providence Island. What’s piracy coming to? Aside from isolated incidents, no major pirate would again arise in the West Indies, and no major new pirate haven. Free to turn his attention to the Spanish, Governor Rogers would set his men to work on the fort, and they would be able to complete its construction during January 1719/20. In February 1719/20, when the Spanish finally would attack, they would be easily repulsed, in one case by a couple of guys armed only with muskets. The Bahamas were securely British.

August 11: The council of Pennsylvania considered the case of a pirate vessel that was being surrendered by its crew. Among the artifacts of piracy surrendered were “10 great guns” and “9 peteraroes,” a doctor’s chest, a black flag, a red flag, a couple of ensigns, a jack, etc. Governor Keith remarked of the person we know as Captain [Edward “Blackbeard” Teach](#), that “one Teach, a noted pirate, had done the greatest mischief of any of the place, and was then said to be lurking for some time in and about this town,” and informed the council that he had granted a warrant for this man’s apprehension, as well as for several other similar persons who, although they had received certificates of pardon upon their surrender under the royal Act of Oblivion and Pardon to this and other governments, were suspected to be in active correspondence with other [pirates](#) still at large.

Toward the end of August: Charles Vane, his consort Yates, and their [pirate](#) companions reached the waters off South Carolina, and took a ship loaded with logwood, belonging to Ipswich and captained by Coggershall. After awhile they grew weary of their minor prize, and allowed him to proceed. Then they took a sloop from Barbadoes, a small ship from Antigua, a sloop belonging to Curaçoa, and a large brigantine from Guinea conveying more than 90 enslaved Africans, and plundered all their cargos, including the human cargo.

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THE EXPLOITS, ARREST, AND EXECUTION OF CAPTAIN CHARLES VANE³⁷



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 Gulf of Florida, and was at Providence [an island in the Caribbean] when governor Rogers arrived there with two men-of-war.

All the pirates who were then 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, slipped their cable, set fire to a prize they had in the harbor, sailed out with their piratical colors flying, and fired at one of the men-of-war, as they went off from the coast. Two days after, they met with a sloop belonging to Barbadoes, which they took, and kept the vessel for their own use, putting aboard five and twenty hands, with one Yeates the commander. In a day or two they fell in with a small interloping trader, with a quantity of Spanish pieces of eight aboard, bound for Providence, which they also took along with them. With these two sloops, Vane went to a small island and cleaned; where he shared the booty, and spent some time in a riotous manner.

About the latter end of May 1718, Vane and his crew sailed, and

37. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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being in want of provisions, they beat up for the Windward Islands. In the way they met with a Spanish sloop, bound from Porto Rico to the Havana, which they burnt, stowed the Spaniards into a boat, and left them to get to the island by the blaze of their vessel. Steering between St. Christopher's and Anguilla, they fell in with a brigantine and a sloop, freighted with such cargo as they wanted; from whom they got provisions for sea-store.

Sometime after this, standing to the northward, in the track the old English ships take in their voyage to the American colonies, they took several ships and vessels, which they plundered of what they thought fit, and then let them pass.

About the latter end of August, with his consort Yeates, came off South Carolina, and took a ship belonging to Ipswich, laden with logwood. This was thought convenient enough for their own business, and therefore they ordered their prisoners to work, and threw all the lading overboard; but when they had more than half cleared the ship, the whim changed, and they would not have her; so Coggershall, the captain of the captured vessel, had his ship again, and he was suffered to pursue his voyage home. In this voyage the pirates took several ships and vessels, particularly a sloop from Barbadoes, a small ship from Antigua, a sloop belonging to Curaçoa, and a large brigantine from Guinea, with upwards of ninety negroes aboard. The pirates plundered them all and let them go, putting the negroes out of the brigantine aboard Yeates' vessel.

Captain Vane always treated his consort with very little respect, and assumed a superiority over him and his crew, regarding the vessel but as a tender to his own: this gave them disgust; for they thought themselves as good pirates, and as great rogues as the best of them; so they caballed together, and resolved, 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 honorable than to be the servants to Vane: the putting aboard so many negroes, where there were so few hands to take care of them, aggravated the matter, though they thought fit to conceal or stifle their resentment at that time.

In a day or two, the pirates lying off at anchor, Yeates in the evening slipped 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. Vane's brigantine sailing best, he gained ground of Yeates, and would certainly have come up with them, had he had a little longer run; but just as he got over the bar, when Vane came within gun-shot of him, he fired a broadside at his old friend, and so took his leave.

Yeates came into North Eddisto river, about ten leagues to the southward of Charleston, and sent an express to the governor, to know if he and his comrades might have the benefit of his majesty's pardon; promising that, if they might, they would surrender themselves to his mercy, with the sloops and negroes. Their request being granted, they all came up, and received certificates; and Captain Thompson, from whom the negroes were taken, had them all restored to him, for the use of his owners. Vane cruised some time off the bar, in hopes to catch Yeates at his coming out again, but therein he was disappointed; however, he there took two ships from Charleston, which were bound home



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to England. It happened just at this time, that two sloops well manned and armed, were equipped to go after a pirate, which the governor of South Carolina was informed lay then in Cape Fear river 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 being taken by the pirate Vane, and also, that some of her men, while they were prisoners on board of him, had heard the pirates 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 pirate in Cape Fear river, turned to the southward after Vane, who had ordered such reports to be given out, on purpose to put any force that should come after him upon a wrong scent; for he stood away to the northward, so that the pursuit proved to be of no effect. Colonel Rhet's speaking with this ship was the most unlucky thing that could have happened, because it turned him out of the road which, in all probability, would have brought him into the company of Vane, as well as of the pirate he went after, and so they might have been both destroyed; 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, and lain six weeks together at Cape Fear, he would have missed him likewise; however, the Colonel having searched the rivers and inlets, as directed, for several days without success, at length sailed in prosecution of his first design, and met with the pirate accordingly, whom he fought and took.

Captain Vane went into an inlet to the northward, where he met with Captain Teach, otherwise Black Beard, whom he saluted (when he found who he was) with his great guns loaded with shot: it being the custom among pirates when they meet, to do so, though they are wide of one another: Black Beard answered the salute in the same manner, and mutual civilities passed between them some days, when, about the beginning of October, Vane took leave, and sailed farther to the northward.

On the 23d of October, off Long Island, he took a small brigantine bound from Jamaica to Salem in New England, besides a little sloop: they rifled the brigantine, and sent her away. From thence they resolved on a cruise between Cape Meise and Cape Nicholas, where they spent some time without seeing or speaking with any vessel, till the latter end of November; they then fell in with a ship, which it was expected would have struck as soon as their black colors were hoisted; but instead of this she discharged a broadside upon the pirate, and hoisted French colors, which showed her to be a French man-of-war. Vane desired to have nothing more to say to her, but trimmed his sails, and stood away from the Frenchman; however, Monsieur having a mind to be better informed who he was, set all his sails and crowded after him. During this chase the pirates were divided in their resolution what to do. Vane, the captain, was for making off as fast as he could, alleging that the man-of-war was too strong for them to cope with; but one John Rackam, their quartermaster, and who was a kind of check upon the captain, rose up in defence of a contrary opinion, saying, "that though she had more guns, and a greater weight of metal, 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,



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"that it was too rash and desperate an enterprise, the man-of-war appearing to be twice their force, and that their brigantine might be sunk by her before they could reach to board her." The mate, one Robert Deal, was of Vane's opinion, as were about fifteen more, and all the rest joined with Rackam the quartermaster. At length the captain made use of his power to determine this dispute, which in these cases is absolute and uncontrollable, by their own laws, viz., the captain's absolute right of determining in all questions concerning fighting, chasing, or being chased; in all other matters whatsoever the captain being governed by a majority; so the brigantine having the heels, as they term it, of the Frenchman, she came clear off. But the next day, the captain's conduct was obliged to stand the test of a vote, and a resolution passed against his honor and dignity, which branded him with the name of coward, deposed him from the command, and turned 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 endeavors, they let them have a sufficient quantity of provisions and ammunition.

John Rackam was voted captain of the brigantine in Vane's room, and he proceeded towards the Carribbee Islands, where we must leave him, till we have finished our history of Charles Vane.

The sloop sailed for the bay of Honduras, and Vane and his crew put her in as good a condition as they could by the way, that they might follow their old trade. They cruised two or three days off the northwest part of Jamaica, and took a sloop and two perriaguas, all the men of which entered with them: the sloop they kept, and Robert Deal was appointed captain.

On the 16th of December, the two sloops came into the bay, where they found only one vessel at anchor. She was called the Pearl of Jamaica, and got under sail at the sight of them; but the pirate sloops coming near Rowland, and showing no colors, 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 pirates took possession, and carried her away to a small island called Barnacho, where they cleaned. By the way they met with a sloop from Jamaica, as she was going down to the bay, which they also took.

In February, Vane sailed from Barnacho, for a cruise; but, some days after he was out, a violent tornado 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 staved to pieces, and most of her men were drowned: Vane himself was saved, but reduced to great straits for want of necessaries, having no opportunity to get any thing from the wreck. He lived here some weeks, and was supported chiefly by fishermen, who frequented the island with small crafts from the main, to catch turtles and other fish.

While Vane was upon this island, a ship put in there 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 Holford absolutely refused him, saying to him, "Charles, I shan't trust you aboard my ship, unless I carry you

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as a prisoner, for I shall have you caballing with my men, knocking me on the head, and running away with my ship pirating." Vane made all the protestations of honor 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 going down the bay," said 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 there hang you." "How can I get away?" answered Vane. "Are there not fishermen's dories upon the beach? Can't you take one of them?" replied Holford. "What!" said Vane, "would you have me steal a dory then?" "Do you make it a matter of conscience," replied Holford, "to steal a dory, when you have been a common robber and pirate, stealing ships and cargoes, and plundering all mankind that fell in your way! Stay here if you are so squeamish?" and he left him to consider of the matter.

After Captain Holford's departure, another ship put into the same island, in her way home, for water; none of the company knowing Vane, he easily passed for another man, and so was shipped for the voyage. One would be apt to think that Vane was now pretty safe, and likely to escape the fate which his crimes had merited; but here a cross accident happened that ruined all. Holford returning from the bay, was met by this ship, and the captains being very well acquainted with each other, Holford was invited to dine aboard, which he did. As he passed along to the cabin, he chanced to cast his eye down into the hold, and there saw Charles Vane at work: he immediately spoke to the captain, saying, "Do you know whom you have got aboard there?" "Why," said he, "I have shipped a man at such an island, who was cast away in a trading sloop, and he seems to be a brisk hand." "I tell you," replied Captain Holford, "it is Vane the notorious pirate." "If it be he," cried the other, "I won't keep him." "Why then," said Holford, "I'll send and take him aboard, and surrender him at Jamaica." This being agreed upon, Captain Holford, as soon as he returned to his ship, sent his boat with his mate, armed, who coming to Vane, showed him a pistol, and told him he was his prisoner. No man daring to make opposition, he was brought aboard and put into irons; and when Captain Holford arrived at Jamaica, he delivered up his old acquaintance to justice, at which place he was tried, convicted, and executed, as was some time before, Vane's consort, Robert Deal, who was brought thither by one of the men-of-war. It is clear from this how little ancient friendship will avail a great villain, when he is deprived of the power that had before supported and rendered him formidable.



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October: James Logan wrote to Colonel Robert Hunter, the Royal governor of New York, by express post, that “We are now sending down a small vessel to seize those rogues, if not strengthened from sea. We are in manifest danger here, unless the king’s ships (which seem careless of the matter) take some notice of us; they probably think a proprietary government no part of their charge. It is possible, indeed, that the merchants of New York, some of them I mean, might not be displeased to hear we are all reduced to ashes. Unless these [pirates](#) be deterred from coming up our rivers by the fear of men-of-war outside to block them in, there is nothing but what we may fear from them; for that unhappy pardon, (the same [Teach](#) before embraced) has given them a settled correspondence every where, and an opportunity of lodging their friends where they please, to come to their assistance; and no where in America I believe, so much as in this town. Remember too that one of the capes of Delaware, and half of our bay and river, are under thy government.”

Isaac Norton of Philadelphia wrote that “My son Harrison, moving from [Maryland](#), had all his household goods and a value of English goods and stores, on board of G. Grant’s shallop, taken between Apoquiminy and New Castle, and carried off, with two valuable negro men, by eight or ten [pirates](#) in an open boat — rogues that lately came in on the king’s proclamation! Grant (the owner of the shallop!) is suspected to be in the confederacy, and is in prison — having secreted goods belonging to R. Harrison, found with him, to the value of forty or fifty pounds.”

October 17: Governor Keith of Pennsylvania presented to the council a bill for £90, in reimbursement for expenses incurred in the expedition of two sloops to the capes, commanded by Captain Raymond and Captain Naylor, in pursuit of [pirates](#).

November 22, Saturday (Old Style): Off the coast of [North Carolina](#) or what was then Virginia, the English [pirate](#) generally known as “Blackbeard” was killed and then his massive head was severed to be suspended from a ship’s bowsprit:

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The massive skull would, evidently, be fashioned into a punchbowl, for the entertainment of many at the Raleigh tavern in Williamsburg:



Blackbeard, whose family name was given as Teach, was in reality named Drummond, a native of Bristol. I have learned this fact from one of his family and name, of respectable standing in Virginia, near Hampton. Captain Drummond was a half-crazed man, under high excitements, by his losses and imprisonment from the French. He had been a privateersman out of Liverpool, and had made several French captures, all of which he lost by their restoration at the peace. He then went again to sea and took all French vessels which he could, AS A PIRATE, and eventually, being an outlaw, he captured all kinds of whatever he came across. His surgeon, for a part of his time, was a Doctor Cabot, who became the ancestor of a family of respectability in Virginia. The name of Teach, it may be observed, seems to be a feigned name, because no such name can be found in the Philadelphia or New York Directories, just as I happen to know, that the names of Crowell, in this country, is an altered name, in 1675, from Cromwell, the Protector. When the vessel which captured Blackbeard returned to Virginia, they set up his head on a pike planted at “Blackbeard point,” then an island. Afterwards, when his head was taken down, his skull was made into the bottom part of a very large punch bowl, called the infant, which was long used as a drinking vessel at the Raleigh tavern at Williamsburg. It was enlarged with silver, or silver plated; and I have seen those whose forefathers have spoken of



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their drinking punch from it, with a silver ladle appurtenant to that bowl.

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1719

Captain George Shelvocke became active as a [pirate](#) while sailing with an English expedition to prey on Spanish shipping. He defied the orders of his superior officer and began to proceed on his own. After sailing up the coast of [California](#), he crossed over to China seas and eventually returned to England, where he would be tried but acquitted. His account A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD BY WAY OF THE GREAT SOUTH SEA would be created out of the apology he made to the proprietors for his conduct on his unauthorized expedition.

The failure of the Lords Proprietors to protect their colonists from various threats resulted in a Revolutionary Assembly in which the citizens of [Carolina](#) petitioned the King of England to take over the reins of government.

Captain Benjamin Norton sailed from [Providence](#) to the West Indies. John Menzies, then New England's Royal Secretary of the Admiralty, wrote that "Norton's vessel by observation is more suited for [piracy](#) than trade." Norton joined notorious pirate chief [Bartholomew Roberts](#) AKA "[Black Bart](#)" in the West Indies, and together they raided shipping.³⁸



The owner of Norton's ship, Joseph Whipple, would later become Deputy Governor of [Rhode Island](#). Both Whipple and Norton, wrote Admiral Menzies, "carried off rich cargo, with other traders of [Newport](#), in sloops to Providence ... yet when I went to the Governor of Rhode Island, he would not give up the goods."

38. This Welsh [pirate](#) from Pembrokeshire, ranging in a 2-year freebooting career from the African coast to South America and from the West Indies to Newfoundland, had seized more than 400 ships. "[Black Bart](#)" had been a teetotalter, drinking nothing but tea, had ordered his musicians to play hymns on a Sunday, and had sported a great diamond cross he had looted from a Portuguese man-of-war. His personal pennant had him attired in his fighting costume made entirely of red silk, holding in his right hand a flaming sword and in his left an hourglass, standing atop the severed heads of residents of the islands of Barbados (ABH="A Barbadian's Head") and Martinique (AMH="A Marinican's Head"):





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1720

November 16, day (Old Style): At Port Royal on the island of Jamaica, Captain John Rackam and 8 of his [pirate](#) crew were condemned and executed. The corpses of the captain and 2 others would hang in chains as a warning.

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THE ADVENTURES AND EXECUTION OF CAPTAIN JOHN RACKAM³⁹

This John Rackam, as has been reported in the foregoing pages, was quarter-master to Vane's company, till the crew were divided, and Vane turned out of it for refusing to board a French man-of-war, Rackam being voted captain of the division that remained in the brigantine. The 24th of November 1718, was the first day of his command; his first cruise was among the Carribbee Islands, where he took and plundered several vessels. We have already taken notice, that when Captain Woods Rogers went to the island of Providence with the king's pardon to such of the pirates as should surrender, this brigantine, which Rackam commanded, made its escape through another passage, bidding defiance to the mercy that was offered.

To the windward of Jamaica, a Madeira-man fell into the pirate's way, which they detained two or three days, till they had their market out of her, and then they gave her back to the master, and permitted one Hosea Tidsel, a tavern keeper at Jamaica, who had been picked up in one of their prizes, to depart in her, she being bound for that island.

After this cruise they went into a small island, and cleaned,

39. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)

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and spent their [Christmas](#) ashore, drinking and carousing as long as they had any liquor left, and then went to sea again for more. They succeeded but too well, though they took no extraordinary prize for above two months, except a ship laden with convicts from Newgate, bound for the plantations, which in a few days was retaken, with all her cargo, by an English man-of-war that was stationed in those seas.

Rackam stood towards the island of Bermuda, and took a ship bound to England from Carolina, and a small pink from New England, both of which he brought to the Bahama Islands, where, with the pitch, tar and stores they cleaned again, and refitted their own vessel; but staying too long in that neighborhood, Captain Rogers, who was Governor of Providence, hearing of these ships being taken, sent out a sloop well manned and armed, which retook both the prizes, though in the mean while the pirate had the good fortune to escape.

From hence they sailed to the back of [Cuba](#), where Rackam kept a little kind of a family, at which place they stayed a considerable time, living ashore with their Delilahs, till their money and provisions were expended, and they concluded it time to look out for more. They repaired their vessel, and were making ready to put to sea, when a guarda de costa came in with a small English sloop, which she had taken as an interloper on the coast. The Spanish guard-ship attacked the pirate, but Rackam being close in behind a little island, she could do but little execution where she lay; the Dons therefore warped into the channel that evening, in order to make sure of her the next morning. Rackam finding his case desperate, and that there was hardly any possibility of escaping, resolved to attempt the following enterprise. The Spanish prize lying for better security close into the land, between the little island and the Main, our desperado took his crew into the boat with their cutlasses, rounded the little island, and fell aboard their prize silently in the dead of the night without being discovered, telling the Spaniards that were aboard her, that if they spoke a word, or made the least noise, they were all dead men; and so they became masters of her. When this was done he slipped 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, they made a furious fire upon the empty sloop; but it was not long before they were rightly apprised of the matter, when they cursed themselves sufficiently for a company of fools, to be bit out of a good rich prize, as she proved 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, as it enabled them to continue some time longer in a way of life that suited their depraved minds. 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 crafts, which proved no great booty to the rovers; but they had but few men, and therefore were obliged to run at low game till they could increase their company and their strength.

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 to the French part of [Hispaniola](#), where they landed, and took the cattle away, with two or three Frenchmen whom they found near the water-side, hunting wild hogs in the



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evening. The Frenchmen came on board, whether by consent or compulsion is not certainly known. They afterwards plundered two sloops, and returned to Jamaica, on the north coast of which island, near Porto Maria Bay, they took a schooner, Thomas Spenlow, master, it being then the 19th of October. The next day Rackam seeing a sloop in Dry Harbour Bay, stood in and fired a gun; the men all ran ashore, and he took the sloop and lading; but when those ashore found that they were pirates, they hailed the sloop, and let them know they were all willing to come on board of them.

Rackam's coasting the island in this manner proved fatal to him; for intelligence of his expedition came to the governor by a canoe which he had surprised ashore in Ocho Bay: upon this a sloop was immediately fitted out, and sent round the island in quest of him, commanded by Captain Barnet, and manned with a good number of hands. Rackam, rounding the island, and drawing round the western point, called Point Negril, saw a small pettiaga, which, at the sight of the sloop, ran ashore and landed her men, when one of them hailed her. Answer was made that they were Englishmen, and begged the pettiaga's men to come on board and drink a bowl of punch, which they prevailed upon them to do. Accordingly, the company, in an evil hour, came all aboard of the pirate, consisting of nine persons; they were armed with muskets and cutlasses, but what was their real design in so doing we will not pretend to say. They had no sooner laid down their arms and taken up their pipes, than Barnet's sloop, which was in pursuit of Rackam's, came in sight.

The pirates, finding she stood directly towards them, feared the event, and weighed their anchor, which they had but lately let go, and stood off. Captain Barnet gave them chase, and, having advantage of little breezes of wind which blew off the land, came up with her, and brought her into Port Royal, in Jamaica. About a fortnight after the prisoners were brought ashore, viz. November 16, 1720, Captain Rackam and eight of his men were condemned and executed. Captain Rackam and two others were hung in chains.

But what was very surprising, was the conviction of the nine men that came aboard the sloop on the same day she was taken. They were tried at an adjournment of the court on the 24th of January, the magistracy waiting all that time, it is supposed, for evidence to prove the piratical intention of going aboard the said sloop; for it seems there was no act or piracy committed by them, as appeared by the witnesses against them, two Frenchmen, taken by Rackam off the island of [Hispaniola](#), who merely deposed that the prisoners came on board without any compulsion.

The court considered the prisoners' cases, and the majority of the commissioners being of opinion that they were all guilty of the piracy and felony they were charged with, viz. the going over with a piratical intent to John Rackam, &c. then notorious pirates, and by them known to be so, they all received sentence of death, and were executed on the 17th of February at Gallows Point at Port Royal.

Nor holy bell, nor pastoral bleat,
In former days within the vale.
Flapped in the bay the pirate's sheet,
Curses were on the gale;
Rich goods lay on the sand, and murdered men,

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Pirate and wreckers kept their revels there.

November 28: Anne Bonny and Mary Read were convicted of [piracy](#) at St. Jago de la Vega on the island of Jamaica.



Mary seems to have been hanged immediately, but Anne, the wayward daughter of a Carolina planter, asked that her execution be delayed on account of her health and this request seems to have been honored — if she was ever hanged we do not know of this.

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[South Carolina](#) was made a royal colony. General Sir Francis Nicholson became Governor.

A [Huguenot](#), [Gabriel Berton](#), settled at [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#) after trying out [Boston](#) and then [Newport](#). He would help a bunch of wealthy retired [pirates](#) there found Trinity Church.

THERE WAS A PORTRAIT AT THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN IN PROVIDENCE, BUT THEY LOST IT.

The American gazettes had advice that “Captain Edwards, the famous [pirate](#), is still in the West Indies, where they have done incredible damage” and that “A large sloop has been seen from hence (off Cape May) cruising on and off for ten days together, supposed to be a pirate.” Three weeks later the ship was mentioned as running ten leagues up the bay to capture a large prize.

Speaking of [pirates](#) — by about this point in time the sea birds had picked the bones of Captain [William Kidd](#) clean, and so they were removed from the chains of the gibbet beside the mouth of the Thames and, presumably, thrown into some hole in the ground.



A new generation of pirates was roaming the waves:

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LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN EDWARD ENGLAND⁴⁰



This adventurer was mate of a sloop that sailed from Jamaica, and was taken by Captain Winter, a pirate, just before the settlement of the pirates at Providence island. After the pirates had surrendered to his Majesty's pardon, and Providence island was peopled by the English government, Captain England sailed to Africa. There he took several vessels, particularly the Cadogan, from Bristol, commanded by one Skinner. When the latter struck to the pirate, he was ordered to come on board in his boat. The person upon whom he first cast his eye, proved to be his old boatswain, who stared him in the face, and accosted him in the following manner: "Ah, Captain Skinner, is it you? the only person I wished to see: I am much in your debt, and I shall pay you all in your own coin." The poor man trembled in every joint, and dreaded the event, as he well might. It happened that Skinner and his old boatswain, with some of his men, had quarrelled, so that he thought fit to remove them on board a man-of-war, while he refused to pay them their wages. Not long after, they found means to leave the man-of-war, and went on board a small ship in the West Indies. They were taken by a

40. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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pirate, and brought to Providence, and from thence sailed as pirates with Captain England. Thus accidentally meeting their old captain, they severely revenged the treatment they had received.

After the rough salutation which has been related, the boatswain called to his comrades, laid hold of Skinner, tied him fast to the windlass, and pelted him with glass bottles until they cut him in a shocking manner, then whipped him about the deck until they were quite fatigued, remaining deaf to all his prayers and entreaties; and at last, in an insulting tone, observed, that as he had been a good master to his men, he should have an easy death, and upon this shot him through the head.

Having taken such things out of the ship as they stood most in need of, she was given to Captain Davis in order to try his fortune with a few hands.

Captain England, some time after, took a ship called the Pearl, for which he exchanged his own sloop, fitted her up for piratical service, and called her the Royal James. In that vessel he was very fortunate, and took several ships of different sizes and different nations. In the spring of 1719, the pirates returned to Africa, and beginning at the river Gambia, sailed down the coast to Cape Corso, and captured several vessels. Some of them they pillaged, and allowed to proceed, some they fitted out for the pirate service, and others they burned.

Leaving our pirate upon this coast, the Revenge and the Flying King, two other pirate vessels, sailed for the West Indies, where they took several prizes, and then cleared and sailed for Brazil. There they captured some Portuguese vessels; but a large Portuguese man-of-war coming up to them, proved an unwelcome guest. The Revenge escaped, but was soon lost upon that coast. The Flying King in despair run ashore. There were then seventy on board, twelve of whom were slain, and the remainder taken prisoners. The Portuguese hanged thirty-eight of them.

Captain England, whilst cruising upon that coast, took the Peterborough of Bristol, and the Victory. The former they detained, the latter they plundered and dismissed. In the course of his voyage, England met with two ships, but these taking shelter under Cape Corso Castle, he unsuccessfully attempted to set them on fire. He next sailed down to Whydah road, where Captain La Bouche had been before England, and left him no spoil. He now went into the harbor, cleaned his own ship, and fitted up the Peterborough, which he called the Victory. During several weeks the pirates remained in this quarter, indulging in every species of riot and debauchery, until the natives, exasperated with their conduct, came to an open rupture, when several of the negroes were slain, and one of their towns set on fire by the pirates.

Leaving that port, the pirates, when at sea, determined by vote to sail for the East Indies, and arrived at Madagascar. After watering and taking in some provisions they sailed for the coast of Malabar. This place is situated in the Mogul Empire, and is one of its most beautiful and fertile districts. It extends from the coast of Canora to Cape Comorin. The original natives are negroes; but a mingled race of Mahometans, who are generally merchants, have been introduced in modern times. Having sailed almost round the one half of the globe, literally seeking whom they might devour, our pirates arrived in this hitherto untried and prolific field for their operations.



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Not long after their settlement at Madagascar, they took a cruise, in which they captured two Indian vessels and a Dutchman. They exchanged the latter for one of their own, and directed their course again to Madagascar. Several of their hands were sent on shore with tents and ammunition, to kill such beasts and venison as the island afforded. They also formed the resolution to go in search of Avery's crew, which they knew had settled upon the island; but as their residence was upon the other side of the island, the loss of time and labour was the only fruit of their search.

They tarried here but a very short time, then steered their course to Johanna, and coming out of that harbor, fell in with two English vessels and an Ostend ship, all Indiamen, which, after a most desperate action, they captured. The particulars of this extraordinary action are related in the following letter from Captain Mackra.

"Bombay, November 16th, 1720.

"We arrived on the 25th of July last, in company with the Greenwich, at Johanna, an island not far from Madagascar. Putting in there to refresh our men, we found fourteen pirates who came in their canoes from the Mayotta, where the pirate ship to which they belonged, viz. the Indian Queen, two hundred and fifty tons, twenty-eight guns, and ninety men, commanded by Captain Oliver de la Bouche, bound from the Guinea coast to the East Indies, had been bulged and lost. They said they left the captain and forty of their men building a new vessel, to proceed on their wicked designs. Captain Kirby and I concluding that 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 on the 17th of August, about eight o'clock in the morning, when we discovered two pirates standing into the bay Johanna, one of thirty-four, and the other of thirty-six guns. I immediately went on board the Greenwich, where they seemed very diligent in preparation for an engagement, and I left Captain Kirby with mutual promises of standing by each other. I then unmoored, 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 twenty-two 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 fired a shot at him, but to no purpose; for though we did not doubt but he would join us, because, when he got about a league from us he brought his ship to and looked on, yet both he and the Ostender basely deserted us, and left us engaged with barbarous and inhuman enemies, with their black and bloody flags hanging over us, without the least appearance of ever escaping, but to be cut to pieces. But God in his good providence determined otherwise; for, notwithstanding their superiority, we engaged them both about three hours; during which time the biggest of them received some shot betwixt wind and water, which



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made her keep off a little to stop her leaks. The other endeavored all she could to board us, by rowing with her oars, being within half a ship's length of us above an hour; but by good fortune we shot all her oars to pieces, which prevented them, and by consequence saved our lives.

"About four o'clock most of the officers and men posted on the quarter-deck being killed and wounded, the largest ship making up to us with diligence, being still within a cable's length of us, often giving us a broadside; there being now no hopes of Captain Kirby's coming to our assistance, we endeavored to run a-shore; and though we drew four feet of water more than the pirate, it pleased God that he stuck fast on a higher ground than happily we 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 the vessels, for we had one of them sure; but the other pirate (who was still firing at us,) seeing the Greenwich did not offer to assist us, 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 pirate that was afloat, seeing, got a warp out, and was hauling under our stern. "By this time many of my men being killed and wounded, and no hopes left us of escaping being all murdered by enraged barbarous conquerors, I ordered all that could to get into the long-boat, under the cover of the smoke of our guns; so that, with what some did in boats, and others by swimming, most of us that were able, got ashore by seven o'clock. When the pirates came aboard, they cut three of our wounded men to pieces. I with some of my people made what haste I could to King's-town, twenty-five miles from us, where I arrived next day, almost dead with the fatigue and loss of blood, having been sorely wounded in the head by a musket-ball.

"At this town I heard that the pirates 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. Meantime, 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 bring with us either a shirt or a pair of shoes, except what we had on. Having obtained leave to go on board the pirates with a promise of safety, several of the chief of them knew me, and some of them had sailed with me, which I found to be of great advantage; because, notwithstanding their promise, some of them would have



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cut me to pieces, and all that would not enter with them, had it not been for their chief captain, Edward England, and some others whom 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 the affair so well, that they made me a present of the said shattered ship, which was Dutch built, and called the Fancy; her burden was about three hundred tons. I procured also a hundred and twenty-nine bales of the Company's cloth, though they would not give me a rag of my own clothes.

"They sailed the 3rd of September; and I, with jury-masts, and such old sails as they left me, made a shift to do the like on the 8th, together with forty-three of my ship's crew, including two passengers and twelve soldiers; having no more than five tuns of water aboard. After a passage of forty-eight days, I arrived here on the 26th of October, almost naked and starved, having been reduced to a pint of water a-day, and almost in despair of ever seeing land, by reason of the calms we met with between the coast of Arabia and Malabar.

"We had in all thirteen men killed and twenty-four wounded; and we were told that we destroyed about ninety or a hundred of the pirates. When they left us, they were about three hundred whites, and eighty blacks, on 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 the loss of the Cassandra may justly be imputed to his deserting us. 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 extremely kind and civil to me, had ordered me home with the packet; but Captain Harvey, who had a prior promise, being come in with the fleet, goes in my room. The governor had promised me a country voyage to help to make up my losses, and would have me stay and accompany him to England next year."

Captain Mackra was certainly in imminent danger, in trusting himself and his men on board the pirate ship, and unquestionably nothing but the desperate circumstances in which he was placed could have justified so hazardous a step. The honor and influence of Captain England, however, protected him and his men from the fury of the crew, who would willingly have wreaked their vengeance upon them.

It is pleasing to discover any instance of generosity or honor among such an abandoned race, who bid defiance to all the laws of honor, and, indeed, are regardless of all laws human and divine. Captain England was so steady to Captain Mackra, that he informed him, it would be with no small difficulty and address that he would be able to preserve him and his men from the fury of the crew, who were greatly enraged at the resistance which had been made. He likewise acquainted him, that his influence and authority among them was giving place to that of Captain Taylor, chiefly because the dispositions of the latter were more savage and brutal. They therefore consulted between them what



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was the best method to secure the favor of Taylor, and keep him in good humor. Mackra made the punch to flow in great abundance, and employed every artifice to soothe the mind of that ferocious villain.

A single incident was also very favorable to the unfortunate captain. It happened that a pirate, with a prodigious pair of whiskers, a wooden leg, and stuck round with pistols, came blustering and swearing upon the quarter deck, inquiring "where was Captain Mackra." He naturally supposed that this barbarous-looking fellow would be his executioner; but, as he approached, he took the captain by the hand, swearing "that he was an honest fellow, and that he had formerly sailed with him, and would stand by him; and let him see the man that would touch him." This terminated the dispute, and Captain Taylor's disposition was so ameliorated with punch, that he consented that the old pirate ship, and so many bales of cloth, should be given to Mackra, and then sank into the arms of intoxication. England now pressed Mackra to hasten away, lest the ruffian, upon his becoming sober, should not only retract his word, but give liberty to the crew to cut him and his men to pieces.

But the gentle temper of Captain England, and his generosity towards the unfortunate Mackra, proved the organ of much calamity to himself. The crew, in general, deeming the kind of usage which Mackra had received, inconsistent with piratical policy, they circulated a report, that he was coming against them with the Company's force. The result of these invidious reports was to deprive England of his command, and to excite these cruel villains to put him on shore, with three others, upon the island of Mauritius. If England and his small company had not been destitute of every necessary, they might have made a comfortable subsistence here, as the island abounds with deer, hogs, and other animals. Dissatisfied, however, with their solitary situation, Captain England and his three men exerted their industry and ingenuity, and formed a small boat, with which they sailed to Madagascar, where they subsisted upon the generosity of some more fortunate piratical companions.

Captain Taylor detained some of the officers and men belonging to Captain Mackra, and having repaired their vessel, sailed for India. The day before they made land, they espied two ships to the eastward, and supposing them to be English, Captain Taylor ordered one of the officers of Mackra's ship to communicate to him the private signals between the Company's ships, swearing that if he did not do so immediately, he would cut him into pound pieces. But the poor man being unable to give the information demanded, was under the necessity of enduring their threats. Arrived at the vessels, they found that they were two Moorish ships, laden with horses. The pirates brought the captains and merchants on board, and tortured them in a barbarous manner, to constrain them to tell where they had hid their treasure. They were, however, disappointed; and the next morning they discovered land, and at the same time a fleet on shore plying to windward. In this situation they were at a considerable loss how to dispose of their prizes. To let them go would lead to their discovery, and thus defeat the design of their voyage; and it was a distressing matter to sink the men and the horses, though many of them were for adopting that measure. They, however, brought them to anchor, threw all the sails overboard, and cut one of the masts half through.



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While they lay at anchor, and were employed in taking in water, one of the above-mentioned fleet moved towards them with English colors, and was answered by the pirate with a red ensign; but they did not hail each other. At night they left the Muscat ships, and sailed after the fleet. About four next morning, the pirates were in the midst of the fleet, but seeing their vast superiority, were greatly at a loss what method to adopt. The Victory had become leaky, and their hands were so few in number, that it only remained for them to deceive, if possible, the English squadron. They were unsuccessful in gaining any thing out of that fleet, and had only the wretched satisfaction of burning a single galley. They however that day seized a galliot laden with cotton, and made inquiry of the men concerning the fleet. They protested that they had not seen a ship since they left Gogo, and earnestly implored their mercy; but, instead of treating them with lenity, they put them to the rack, in order to extort farther confession. The day following, a fresh easterly wind blew hard, and rent the galliot's sails; upon this the pirates put her company into a boat, with nothing but a try-sail, no provisions, and only four gallons of water, and, though they were out of sight of land, left them to shift for themselves.

It may be proper to inform our readers, that one Angria, an Indian prince, of considerable territory and strength, had proved a troublesome enemy to Europeans, and particularly to the English. Calaba was his principal fort, situated not many leagues from Bombay, and he possessed an island in sight of the port, from whence he molested the Company's ships. His art in bribing the ministers of the Great Mogul, and the shallowness of the water, that prevented large ships of war from approaching, were the principal causes of his safety.

The Bombay fleet, consisting of four grabs, the London and the Candois, and two other ships, with a galliot, having an additional thousand men on board for this enterprise, sailed to attack a fort belonging to Angria upon the Malabar coast. Though their strength was great, yet they were totally unsuccessful in their enterprise. It was this fleet returning home that our pirates discovered upon the present occasion. Upon the sight of the pirates, the commodore of the fleet intimated to Mr. Brown, the general, that as they had no orders to fight, and had gone upon a different purpose, it would be improper for them to engage. Informed of the loss of this favorable opportunity of destroying the robbers, the governor of Bombay was highly enraged, and giving the command of the fleet to Captain Mackra, ordered him to pursue and engage them wherever they should be found.

The pirates having barbarously sent away the galliot with her men, they arrived southward, and between Goa and Carwar they heard several guns, so that they came to anchor, and sent their boat to reconnoitre, which returned next morning with the intelligence of two grabs, lying at anchor in the road. They accordingly weighed, ran towards the bay, and in the morning were discovered by the grabs, who had just time to run under India-Diva castle for protection. This was the more vexatious to the pirates, as they were without water; some of them, therefore, were for making a descent upon the island, but that measure not being generally approved, they sailed towards the south, and took a small ship, which had only a Dutchman and two

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Portuguese on board. They sent one of these on shore to the captain, to inform him that, if he would give them some water and fresh provisions, he might have his vessel returned. He replied that, if they would give him possession over the bar, he would comply with their request. But, suspecting the integrity of his design, they sailed for Lacca Deva islands, uttering dreadful imprecations against the captain.

Disappointed in finding water at these islands, they sailed to Malinda island, and sent their boats on shore, to discover if there was any water, or if there were any inhabitants. They returned with the information, that there was abundance of water, that the houses were only inhabited by women and children, the men having fled at the appearance of the ships. They accordingly hastened to supply themselves with water, used the defenceless women in a brutal manner, destroyed many of their fruit-trees, and set some of their houses on fire.

While off the island, they lost several of their anchors by the rockiness of the ground; and one day, blowing more violently than usual, they were forced to take to sea, leaving several people and most of the water-casks; but when the gale was over, they returned to take in their men and water. Their provisions being nearly exhausted, they resolved to visit the Dutch at Cochin. After sailing three days, they arrived off Tellechery, and took a small vessel belonging to Governor Adams, and brought the master on board, very much intoxicated, who informed them of the expedition of Captain Mackra. This intelligence raised their utmost indignation. "A villain!" said they, "to whom we have given a ship and presents, to come against us! he ought to be hanged; and since we cannot show our resentment to him, let us hang the dogs his people, who wish him well, and would do the same, if they were clear." "If it be in my power," said the quarter-master, "both masters and officers of ships shall be carried with us for the future, only to plague them. Now, England, we mark him for this."

They proceeded to Calicut, and attempting to cut out a ship, were prevented by some guns placed upon the shore. One of Captain Mackra's officers was under deck at this time, and was commanded both by the captain and the quarter-master to tend the braces on the booms, in hopes that a shot would take him before they got clear. He was about to have excused himself, but they threatened to shoot him; and when he expostulated, and claimed their promise to put him on shore, he received an unmerciful beating from the quarter-master; Captain Taylor, to whom that duty belonged, being lame in his hands.

The day following they met a Dutch galliot, laden with limestone, bound for Calicut, on board of which they put one Captain Fawkes; and some of the crew interceding for Mackra's officer, Taylor and his party replied, "If we let this dog go, who has overheard our designs and resolutions, he will upset all our well-advised resolutions, and particularly this supply we are seeking for at the hands of the Dutch."

When they arrived at Cochin, they sent a letter on shore by a fishing-boat, entered the road, and anchored, each ship saluting the fort with eleven guns, and receiving the same number in return. This was the token of their welcome reception, and at night a large boat was sent, deeply laden with liquors and all kinds of provisions, and in it a servant of John Trumpet, one of their friends, to inform them that it would be necessary for



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them to run farther south, where they would be supplied both with provisions and naval stores.

They had scarcely anchored at the appointed place, when several canoes, with white and black inhabitants, came on board, and continued without interruption to perform all the good offices in their power during their stay in that place. In particular, John Trumpet brought a large boat of arrack, and sixty bales of sugar, as a present from the governor and his daughter; the former receiving in return a table-clock, and the other a gold watch, the spoil of Captain Mackra's vessel. When their provisions were all on board, Trumpet was rewarded with about six or seven thousand pounds, was saluted with three cheers, and eleven guns; and several handfull of silver were thrown into the boat, for the men to gather at pleasure.

There being little wind that night, they remained at anchor, and in the morning were surprised with the return of Trumpet, bringing another boat equally well stored with provisions, with chests of piece-goods and ready-made clothes, and along with him the fiscal of the place. At noon they espied a sail towards the south, and immediately gave chase, but she outsailed them, and sheltered under the fort of Cochin. Informed that they would not be molested in taking her from under the castle, they sailed towards her, but upon the fort firing two guns, they ran off for fear of more serious altercation, and returning, anchored in their former station. They were too welcome visitants to be permitted to depart, so long as John Trumpet could contrive to detain them. With this view he informed them, that in a few days a rich vessel, commanded by the Governor of Bombay's brother, was to pass that way.

That government is certainly in a wretched state, which is under the necessity of trading with pirates, in order to enrich itself; nor will such a government hesitate by what means an injury can be repaired, or a fortune gained. Neither can language describe the low and base principles of a government which could employ such a miscreant as John Trumpet in its service. He was a tool in the hands of the government of Cochin; and, as the dog said in the fable, "What is done by the master's orders, is the master's action;" or, as the same sentiment is, perhaps, better expressed in the legal axiom; "*Qui facit per alium facit per se.*"

While under the direction of Trumpet, some proposed to proceed directly to Madagascar, but others were disposed to wait until they should be provided with a store ship. The majority being of the latter opinion, they steered to the south, and seeing a ship on shore were desirous to get near her, but the wind preventing, they separated, the one sailing northward and the other southward, in hopes of securing her when she should come out, whatever direction she might take. They were now, however, almost entrapped in the snare laid for them. In the morning, to their astonishment and consternation, instead of being called to give chase, five large ships were near, which made a signal for the pirates to bear down. The pirates were in the greatest dread lest it should be Captain Mackra, of whose activity and courage they had formerly sufficient proof. The pirate ships, however, joined and fled with all speed from the fleet. In three hours' chase none of the fleet gained upon them, except one grab. The remainder of the day was calm, and, to their great consolation, the next day this dreaded fleet was entirely out



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of sight.

Their alarm being over, they resolved to spend the [Christmas](#) in feasting and mirth, in order to drown care, and to banish thought. Nor did one day suffice, but they continued their revelling for several days, and made so free with their fresh provisions, that in their next cruise they were put upon short allowance; and it was entirely owing to the sugar and other provisions that were in the leaky ship that they were preserved from absolute starvation.

In this condition they reached the island of Mauritius, refitted the Victory, and left that place with the following inscription written upon one of the walls: "Left this place on the 5th of April, to go to Madagascar for Limos." This they did lest any visit should be paid to the place during their absence. They, however, did not sail directly for Madagascar, but the island of Mascarius, where they fortunately fell in with a Portuguese of seventy guns, lying at anchor. The greater part of her guns had been thrown overboard, her masts lost, and the whole vessel disabled by a storm; she therefore, became an easy prey to the pirates. Conde de Ericeira, Viceroy of Goa, who went upon the fruitless expedition against Angria the Indian, and several passengers, were on board. Besides other valuable articles and specie, they found in her diamonds to the amount of four millions of dollars. Supposing that the ship was an Englishman, the Viceroy came on board next morning, was made prisoner, and obliged to pay two thousand dollars as a ransom for himself and the other prisoners. After this he was sent ashore, with an express engagement to leave a ship to convey him and his companions to another port.

Meanwhile, the pirates received intelligence that a vessel was to the leeward of the island, which they pursued and captured. But instead of performing their promise to the Viceroy, which they could easily have done, they sent the Ostender along with some of their men to Madagascar, to inform their friends of their success, with instructions to prepare masts for the prize; and they soon followed, carrying two thousand negroes in the Portuguese vessel.

Madagascar is an island larger than Great Britain, situated upon the eastern coast of Africa, abounding with all sorts of provisions, such as oxen, goats, sheep, poultry, fish, citrons, oranges, tamarinds, dates, cocoa-nuts, bananas, wax, honey, rice, cotton, indigo, and all other fruits common in that quarter of the globe; ebony of which lances are made, gums of several kinds, and many other valuable productions. Here, in St. Augustine's bay, the ships sometimes stop to take in water, when they make the inner passage to India, and do not intend to stop at Johanna.

When the Portuguese ship arrived there, they received intelligence that the Ostender had taken advantage of an hour when the men were intoxicated, had risen upon them, and carried the ship to Mozambique, from whence the governor ordered her to Goa.

The pirates now divided their plunder, receiving forty-two diamonds per man, or in smaller proportion according to their magnitude. A foolish jocular fellow, who had received a large diamond of the value of forty-two, was highly displeased, and so went and broke it in pieces, exclaiming, that he had many more shares than either of them. Some, contended with their



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treasure, and unwilling to run the risk of losing what they possessed, and perhaps their lives also, resolved to remain with their friends at Madagascar, under the stipulation that the longest livers should enjoy all the booty. The number of adventurers being now lessened, they burned the Viceroy, cleaned the Cassandra, and the remainder went on board her under the command of Taylor, whom we must leave for a little while, in order to give an account of the squadron which arrived in India in 1721.

When the commodore arrived at the Cape, he received a letter that had been written by the Governor of Pondicherry to the Governor of Madras, informing him that the pirates were strong in the Indian seas; that they had eleven sail, and fifteen hundred men; but adding, that many of them retired about that time to Brazil and Guinea, while others fortified themselves at Madagascar, Mauritius, Johanna, and Mohilla; and that a crew under the command of Condin, in a ship called the Dragon, had captured a vessel with thirteen lacks of rupees on board, and having divided their plunder, had taken up their residence with their friends at Madagascar.

Upon receiving this intelligence, Commodore Matthews sailed for these islands, as the most probable place of success. He endeavored to prevail on England, at St. Mary's, to communicate to him what information he could give respecting the pirates; but England declined, thinking that this would be almost to surrender at discretion. He then took up the guns of the Jubilee sloop that were on board, and the men-of-war made several cruises in search of the pirates, but to no purpose. The squadron was then sent down to Bombay, was saluted by the fort, and after these exploits returned home.

The pirate, Captain Taylor, in the Cassandra, now fitted up the Portuguese man-of-war, and resolved upon another voyage to the Indies; but, informed that four men-of-war had been sent after the pirates in that quarter, he changed his determination, and sailed for Africa. Arrived there, they put in a place near the river Spirito Sancto, on the coast of Monomotapa. As there was no correspondence by land, nor any trade carried on by sea to this place, they thought that it would afford a safe retreat. To their astonishment, however, when they approached the shore, it being in the dusk of the evening, they were accosted by several shot. They immediately anchored, and in the morning saw that the shot had come from a small fort of six guns, which they attacked and destroyed.

This small fort was erected by the Dutch East India Company a few weeks before, and committed to the care of 150 men, the one half of whom had perished by sickness or other causes. Upon their petition, sixteen of these were admitted into the society of the pirates; and the rest would also have been received, had they not been Dutchmen, to whom they had a rooted aversion.

In this place they continued during four months, refitting their vessels, and amusing themselves with all manner of diversions, until the scarcity of their provisions awakened them to industry and exertion. They, however, left several parcels of goods to the starving Dutchmen, which Mynheer joyfully exchanged for provisions with the next vessel that touched at that fort.

Leaving that place, they were divided in opinion what course to steer; some went on board the Portuguese prize, and, sailing for Madagascar, abandoned the pirate life; and others going on board

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the *Cassandra*, sailed for the Spanish West Indies. The Mermaid man-of-war, returning from a convoy, got near the pirates, and would have attacked them, but a consultation being held, it was deemed inexpedient, and thus the pirates escaped. A sloop was, however, dispatched to Jamaica with the intelligence, and the Lancaster was sent after them; but they were some days too late, the pirates having, with all their riches, surrendered to the Governor of Portobello.

January: Captain Benjamin Norton encountered [pirates](#) at St. Lucia and surrendered his brigantine to Captain [Bartholomew Roberts](#).



He evidently cut some sort of deal with this [pirate](#), known as "[Black Bart](#)", for he was given in exchange a Dutch prize loaded with sugar, cocoa, and slaves "of very considerable value." He was able to get this large vessel and its valued cargo safely back to [Rhode Island](#).



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THE ARTICLES OF BARTHOLOMEW ROBERTS

- Every man has a vote in affairs of moment; has equal title to the fresh provisions, or strong liquors at any time seized, and may use them at pleasure, unless a scarcity, makes it necessary, for the good of all, to vote a retrenchment.
- Every man to be called fairly in turn, by list, on board of prizes, because, (over and above their proper share) they were on these occasions allowed a shift of clothes but if they defrauded the company to the value of a dollar in plate, jewels or money, marooning was the punishment. If the robbery was only betwixt one another, they contented themselves with slitting the ears and nose of him that was guilty, and set him on shore, not in an uninhabited place, but somewhere, where he was sure to encounter hardships.
- No person to game at cards or dice for money.
- The lights and candles to be put out at eight o'clock at night: if any of the crew; after that hour still remained inclined for drinking, they were to do it on the open deck.
- To keep their piece, pistols, and cutlass clean and fit for service.
- No boy or woman to be allowed amongst them. If any man were to be found seducing any of the latter sex, and carried her to sea disguised, he was to suffer death.
- To desert the ship or their quarters in battle, was punished with death or marooning.
- No striking one another on board, but every man's quarrels to be ended on shore, at sword and pistol.
- No man to talk of breaking up their way of living until each had Shared. If in order to this, any man should lose a limb, or become a cripple in their service, he was to have 800 dollars, out of the public stock, and for lesser hurts proportionately.
- The captain and the quartermaster to receive two shares of a prize: the master, boatswain, and gunner, one share and a half, and other officers one and a quarter.
- The musicians to have rest on the Sabbath Day, but the other six days and nights, none without special favor.

July 21, Friday (Old Style): Walter Kennedy and John Bradshaw had been convicted of having been [pirates](#) on the high seas. Bradshaw was then reprieved, but on this day (or perhaps it was on the 19th) Kennedy was [hanged](#) on Execution Dock in Wapping, the port of London.⁴¹

Piracy was anciently in this kingdom considered as a petty treason at Common Law; but the multitude of treasons, or to speak more properly of offences construed into treason, becoming a very great grievance to the subject, this with many others was left out in the famous Statute of the 25th Edward the Third, for limiting what thenceforth should be deemed treason. From that time piracy was regarded in England only as a crime against the Civil Law, by which it was always capital; but there being some circumstances very troublesome, as to the proofs therein required for conviction, by a statute in the latter end of the reign of Henry the Eighth it was provided that this offence should be tried by commissioners appointed by the king, consisting of the admiral and certain of his officers, with such other persons as the reigning prince should think fit, after the common course of the laws of this realm for felonies and robberies committed on land, in which state it hath continued with very small alterations to this day.

Offenders of this kind are now tried at the Sessions-house in the Old Bailey, before the judge of the Court of Admiralty,

41. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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assisted by certain other judges of the Common Law by virtue of such a commission as was before mentioned, the silver oar (a peculiar ensign of authority belonging to the Court of Admiralty) lying on the table. As pirates are not very often apprehended in Britain, so particular notice is always given when a Court like this, called an Admiralty Sessions, is to be held, the prisoners until that time remaining in the Marshalsea, the proper prison of this Court.

On the 26th [sic, perhaps this intended 16th] of July, 1721, at such a sessions, Walter Kennedy and John Bradshaw were tried for piracies committed on the high seas, and both of them convicted. This Walter Kennedy was born at a place called Pelican Stairs in Wapping. His father was an anchor-smith, a man of good reputation, who gave his son Walter the best education he was able; and while a lad he was very tractable, and had no other apparent ill quality than that of a too aspiring temper. When he was grown up big enough to have gone out to a trade, his father bound him apprentice to himself, but died before his son was out of his time. Leaving his father's effects in the possession of his mother and brothers, Walter then followed his own roving inclinations and went to sea. He served for a considerable time on board a man-of-war, in the reign of her late Majesty Queen Anne, in the war then carried on against France; during which time he often had occasion to hear of the exploits of the pirates, both in the East and West Indies, and of their having got several islands into their possession, wherein they were settled, and in which they exercised a sovereign power.

These tales had wonderful effect on Walter's disposition, and created in him a secret ambition of making a figure in the same way. He became more than ordinarily attentive whenever stories of that sort were told, and sought every opportunity of putting his fellow sailors upon such relations. Men of that profession have usually good memories with respect, at least, to such matters, and Kennedy, therefore, without much difficulty became acquainted with the principal expeditions of these maritime desperadoes, from the time of Sir Henry Morgan's commanding the Buccaneers in America, to Captain Avery's more modern exploits at Madagascar⁴²; his fancy insinuating to him continually that he might be able to make as great a figure as any of these thievish heroes, whenever a proper opportunity offered.

It happened that he was sent with Captain Woodes Rogers,⁴³ Governor of Providence [Bahama Islands], when that gentleman first sent to recover that island by reducing the pirates, who then had it in possession. At the time of the captain's arrival these people had fortified themselves in several places, and with all the care they were able, had provided both for their safety and subsistence.

It happened that some time before, they had taken a ship, on board of which they found a considerable quantity of the richest brocades, for which having no other occasion, they tore them up,

42. Avery was one of the best known pirates of his time and told of his wonderful wealth, his capturing and marrying the daughter of the Great Mogul, and his setting up a kingdom in Madagascar. He was even the hero of a popular play—*The Successful Pirate*, produced at Dray Lane in 1712. The true story of his life and how he died in want, is related at length in Captain Charles Johnson's *HISTORY OF THE PIRATES* edited by me, and published in the same edition as the present volume.

43. Woodes Rogers (d. 1732) sailed on Dampier's voyages and made a large sum of money which he devoted to buying the Bahama Islands from the proprietors on a twenty-one years' lease. He was made governor, but found himself unable to cope with the pirates and Spaniards who infested the islands, and went back to England in 1721. He returned as governor in 1728, and remained there until his death.



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and tying them between the horns of their goats, made use of them to distinguish herds that belonged to one settlement and those that belonged to another, and sight of this, notwithstanding the miserable condition which in other respects these wretches were in, mightily excited the inclination Kennedy had to following their occupation.

Captain Rogers having signified to the chiefs of them the offers he had to make of free grace and pardon, the greater number of them came in and submitted very readily. Those who were determined to continue the same dissolute kind of life, provided with all the secrecy imaginable for their safety, and when practicable took their flight out of the island. The captain being made Governor, fitted out two sloops for trade, and having given proper directions to their commanders, manned them out of his own sailors with some of these reformed pirates intermixed. Kennedy went out on one of these vessels, in which he had not long been at sea before he joined in a conspiracy some of the rest had formed of seizing the vessel, putting those to death who refused to come into their measures, and then to go, as the sailors phrase it, "upon the account", that is in plain English, commence pirates.

This villainous design succeeded according to their wish. They emptied the other vessel of whatever they thought might be of use, and then turned her adrift, as being a heavy sailer, and consequently unfit for their purpose. A few days after their entering on this new course of life, they made themselves masters of two pretty large ships, having fitted which for their purpose, they now grew strong enough to execute any project that in their present circumstances they were capable of forming. Thus Kennedy was now got in to that unhappy state of living which from a false notion of things he had framed so fair an idea of and was so desirous to engage in.

Kennedy took a particular delight in relating what happened to him in these expeditions, even after they had brought him to misery and confinement. The account he gave of that form of rule which these wretches set up, in imitation of the legal government, and of those regulations there made to supply the place of moral honesty was in substance this.

They chose a captain from amongst themselves, who in effect held little more than that title, excepting in an engagement, when he commanded absolutely and without control. Most of them having suffered formerly from the ill-treatment of their officers, provided carefully against any such evil, now they had the choice in themselves. By their orders they provided especially against any quarrels which might happen among themselves, and appointed certain punishments for anything that tended that way; for the due execution thereof they constituted other officers besides the captain, so very industrious were they to avoid putting too much power into the hands of one man. The rest of their agreement consisted chiefly in relation to the manner of dividing the cargo of such prizes as they should happen to take, and though they had broken through all laws divine and human, yet they imposed an oath to be taken for the due observance of these, so inconsistent a thing is vice, and so strong the principles imbibed from education.

The life they led at sea was rendered equally unhappy from fear and hardship, they never seeing any vessel which reduced them not to the necessity of fighting, and often filled them with



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apprehensions of being overcome. Whatever they took in their several prizes could afford them no other pleasure but downright drunkenness on board, and except for two or three islands there were no other places where they were permitted to come on shore, for nowadays it was become exceedingly dangerous to land, either at Jamaica, Barbadoes, or on the islands of the Bermudas. In this condition they were when they came to a resolution of choosing one Davis⁴⁴ as captain, and going under his command to the coast of Brazil.

This design they put in execution, being chiefly tempted with the hopes of surprising some vessel of the homeward bound Portuguese fleet, by which they hoped to be made rich at once, and no longer be obliged to lead a life so full of danger. Accordingly they fell in with twenty sail of those ships and were in the utmost danger of being taken and treated as they deserved. However, on this occasion their captain behaved very prudently, and taking the advantage of one of those vessels being separated from the rest, they boarded her in the night without firing a gun. They forced the captain, when they had him in one of their own ships, to discover which of the fleet was the most richly laden, which he having done through fear, they impudently attacked her, and were very near becoming masters of her, though they were surrounded by the Portuguese ships, from whence they at last escaped, not so much by the swiftness of their own sailing, as by the cowardice of the enemy. In this attempt, though they miscarried as to the prize they had proposed, yet they accounted themselves very fortunate in having thus escaped from so dangerous an adventure.

Being some time after this in great want of water, Davis at the head of about fifty of his men, very well armed, made a descent in order to fill their casks, though the Portuguese governor of the port near which they landed easily discovered them to be pirates; but not thinking himself in a condition strong enough to attack them, he thought fit to dissemble that knowledge.

Davis and his men were no sooner returned on board than they received a message by a boat from shore, that the Governor would think himself highly honoured if the captain and as many as he pleased of his ship's company would accept of an entertainment the next day at the castle where he resided. Their commander, who had hitherto behaved himself like a man of conduct, suffered his vanity to overcome him so far as to accept of the proposal, and the next morning with ten of his sailors, all dressed in their best clothes, went on shore to this collation. But before they had reached half way, they were set upon by a party of Indians who lay in ambuscade, and with one flight of their poisoned arrows laid them all upon the ground, except Kennedy and another, who escaped to the top of a mountain, from whence they leaped into the sea, and were with much difficulty taken up by a boat which their companions sent to relieve them.

After this they grew tired of the coast of Brazil. However, in their return to the West Indies they took some very considerable prizes, upon which they resolved unanimously to return home, in order, as they flattered themselves, to enjoy their riches. The captain who then commanded them was an Irishman, who endeavoured to bring the ship into Ireland, on the north coast of which a storm arising, the vessel was carried into Scotland and there wrecked. At that time Kennedy had a considerable quantity of

44. This was Howel Davis, whose adventures are related at length in Johnson's HISTORY OF THE PIRATES, chap. ix.



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gold, which he either squandered away, or had stolen from him in the Highlands. He afterwards went over into Ireland, where being in a low and poor condition he shipped himself at length for England, and came up to London. He had not been long in town before he was observed by some whose vessel had been taken by the crew with whom he sailed. They caused him to be apprehended, and after lying a considerable time in prison, he was, as I have said before, tried and convicted.

After sentence, he showed much less concern for life than is usual for persons in that condition. He was so much tired with the miseries and misfortune which for some years before he had endured, that death appeared to him a thing rather desirable than frightful. When the reprieve came for Bradshaw, who was condemned with him, he expressed great satisfaction, at the same time saying that he was better pleased than if he himself had received mercy. *For, continued he, should I be banished into America as he is, 'tis highly probable I might be tempted to my old way of life, and so instead of reforming, add to the number of my sins.*

He continued in these sentiments till the time of his death, when, as he went through Cheapside to his execution, the silver oar being carried before him as is usual, he turned about to a person who sat by him in the cart, and said, *Though it is a common thing for us when at sea to acquire vast quantities both of that metal which goes before me, and of gold, yet such is the justice of Providence that few or none of us preserve enough to maintain us; but as you see in me, when we go to death, we have not wherewith to purchase a coffin to bury us.* He died at Execution Dock, the 21st⁴⁵ of July, 1721, being then about twenty-six years of age.

August 1, Tuesday (Old Style): Captain Benjamin Norton of [Newport](#) visited Governor John Cranston. He was a successful [pirate](#), yes, and [Rhode Island](#) was becoming hostile to pirates, yes, but he was also a Rhode Islander –he was one of our own –and money is money.⁴⁶

September 11, Monday (Old Style): John Meff, *alias* Merth, a housebreaker and a highwayman, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London, and with him was hanged James Reading, a robber one of whose crimes had led to a murder, and William Casey, another robber, and John Wigley, another highwayman.⁴⁷

The rigid execution of felons who return from transportation has been found so necessary that few or none who have been tried for such illegal returning have escaped, though 'tis very hard to convince those who suffer for that offence that there is any real crime in their evading their sentence. It was this which brought John Meff, *alias* Merth, of whom we are now to speak, to an ignominious death, after he had once before escaped it in a very extraordinary manner, as in the process of his story shall be related.

This unhappy man was born in London of French parents, who retired into England for the sake of their religion, when Louis XIV began his furious persecution against the Protestants in his dominions. This John Meff was educated with great care,

45. THE HISTORY OF THE PIRATES gives the date as 19th of July. This book gives an interesting account of Kennedy, pp. 178-81.

46. *Pecunia non olet.*

47. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward

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especially as to the principles of religion, by a father who had very just notions of that faith for which in banishment he suffered. When his son John grew up, he put him out apprentice to a weaver, whom he served with great fidelity, and after he

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



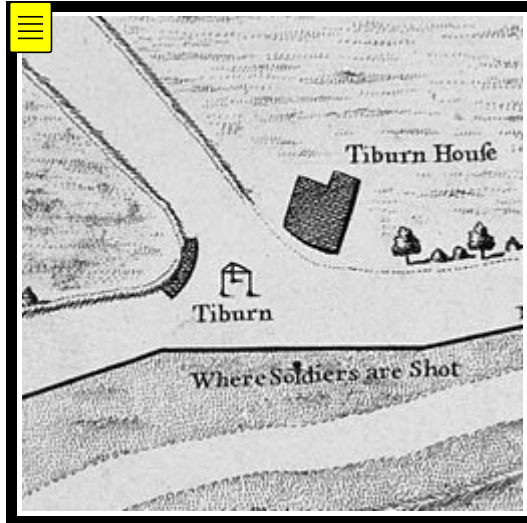
Proverbs Chap. I. Verſ. 27, 28.
*When fear cometh, as deſolation, and their
 deſtruction cometh as a whirlwind, when
 deſtreſs cometh upon them, then they ſhall
 call upon God, but he will not answer.*

came out of his time, married; but finding himself incapable to maintain his family by his labour, he unfortunately addicted himself to ill-courses. In this he was yet more unlucky, for having almost at his first setting out broke open a house, he was discovered, apprehended, tried, convicted, and put in the cart, in order to go to execution within the fortnight; but the hangman being arrested as he was going to Tyburn, he and the rest who were to have suffered with him were transported through

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the clemency of the Government.



On this narrow escape from death, Meff was full of many penitent resolutions, and determined with himself to follow for the future an honest course of life, however hard and laborious, as persons are generally inclined to believe all works in the plantations are. Yet no sooner was he at liberty (that is, on board the transport vessel, where he found means to make the master his friend) than much of these honest intentions were dissolved and laid aside, to which perhaps the behaviour of his companions and of the seamen on board the ship, did not a little contribute. At first their passage was easy, the wind fair and prosperous. They began to comfort one another with the hopes of living easily in the Plantations, greedily enquiring of the seamen how persons in their unhappy condition were treated by their masters, and whether all the terrible relations they had had in England were really facts, or invented only to terrify those who were to undergo that punishment.

But while these unhappy persons were thus amusing themselves a new and unlooked for misfortune fell upon them, for in the height of Bermuda they were surprised by two [pirate](#) sloops, who though they found no considerable booty on board, were very well satisfied by the great addition they made to their force, from most of those felons joining with them in their piratical undertakings. Meff, however, and eight others, absolutely refused to sign the paper which contained the pirate's engagement and articles for better pursuing their designs. These nine were, according to the barbarous practice of those kind of people, marooned, that is, set on shore on an uninhabited island. According to the custom of the people in such distress, they were obliged to rub two dry sticks together till they took fire, and with great difficulty gathered as many other sticks as made a fire large enough to yield them some relief from the inclemency of the weather. They caught some fowls with springes made of an old horsehair wig, which were very tough and of a fishy taste, but after three or four days, they became acquainted with the springes and were never afterwards to be taken by that means. Their next resource for food was an animal which burrowed in the ground like our rabbits, but the flesh of these proving unwholesome, threw them into such dangerous fluxes that five out of the nine were scarce able to go. They were then

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forced to take up with such fish as they were able to catch, and even these were not only very rank and unpleasant, but very small also, and no great plenty of them either.

At last, when they almost despaired of ever getting off that inhospitable island, they espied early one morning an Indian canoe come on shore with seven persons. They hid themselves behind the rocks as carefully as they could, and the Indians being gone up into the heart of the island, they went down and finding much salt provisions in the boat, they trusted themselves to the mercy of the waves.

By the providence of God they were driven in two days into an English settlement, where Meff, instead of betaking himself to any settled course, resolved to turn sailor, and in that capacity made several voyages, not only to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the rest of the British Islands, but also to New England, Virginia, South Carolina, and other plantations. On the main, there is no doubt but he led a life of no great satisfaction in this occupation, which probably was the reason he resolved to return home to England at all hazards. He did so, and had hardly been a month in this kingdom before he fell to his old practices, in which he was attended with the same ill-fortune as formerly; that is to say, he was apprehended for one of his first acts, and committed to Newgate. Out of this prison he escaped by the assistance of a certain bricklayer, and went down to Hatfield in Hertfordshire to remain in hiding, but as he affirmed and was generally believed, being betrayed by the same bricklayer he was retaken, conveyed again to Newgate and confined the utmost severity.

At his trial there arose a doubt whether the fact he had committed was not pardoned by the Act of Indemnity then lately granted. However, the record of his former conviction being produced, the Court ordered he should be indicted for returning without lawful cause, on which indictment he was convicted upon full proof, condemned and shortly after ordered for execution. During the space he lay under sentence he expressed much penitence for his former ill-spent life, and together with James Reading, who was in the same unhappy state with himself, read and prayed with the rest of the prisoners. This Reading had been concerned in abundance of robberies, and, as he himself owned, in some which were attended with murder; he acknowledged he knew of the killing of Mr. Philpot, the surveyor of the window-lights, at the perpetration of which fact Reading said there were three persons present, two of which he knew, but as to the third he could say nothing. This malefactor, though but thirty-five years of age, was a very old offender, and had in his lifetime been concerned with most of the notorious gangs that at that time were in England, some of whom he had impeached and hanged for his own preservation; but he was at last convicted for robbing (in company with two others) George Brownsworth of a watch and other things of a considerable value, between Islington and the turnpike, and for it was executed at Tyburn, the 11th of September, 1721, together with John Meff aforesaid,

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then in the fortieth year of his age.



It is an observation which must be obvious to all my readers, that few who addict themselves to robbing and stealing ever continue long in the practice of those crimes before they are overtaken by Justice, not seldom as soon as they set out.

This man had been bred a plasterer, but seems to have fallen very early into ill courses and felonious methods of getting money, in which horrid practice he spent his years, till taking up with an old woman who sold brandy upon Finchley Common, she sometimes persuaded him, of late years, to work at his trade. There has been great suspicions that he murdered the old husband to this woman, who was found dead in a barn or outhouse not far from Hornsey; but Wigley, though he confessed an unlawful correspondence with the woman, yet constantly averred his innocency of that fact, and always asserted that though the old man's death was sudden, yet it was natural. He used to account for it by saying that the deceased was a great brandy-drinker, by which he had worn out his constitution, and that being one evening benighted in his return home from London, he crawled into that barn where he was found dead next morning, and was currently reported to have been murdered.

Though this malefactor had committed a multitude of robberies, yet he generally chose to go on such expeditions alone, having always great aversion for those confederacies in villainy which we call gangs, in which he always affirmed there was little safety, notwithstanding any oaths, by which they might bind themselves to secrecy. For notwithstanding some instances of their neglecting rewards when they were to be obtained by betraying their companions, yet when life came to be touched, they hardly ever failed of betraying all they knew. Yet he once receded from the resolution he had made of never robbing in company, and went out one night with two others of the same occupation towards Islington, there they met with one Symbol Conyers, whom they robbed of a watch, a pair of silver spurs, and four shillings in money, at the same time treating him very ill, and terrifying him with their pistols.

For this fact, soon after it was done, Wigley was apprehended, and convicted at the ensuing sessions. When all hopes of life were lost, he seemed disposed to suffer with cheerfulness and resignation that death to which the Law had doomed him. He said, in the midst of his afflictions it was some comfort to him that he had no children who might be exposed by his death to the wide world, not only in a helpless and desolate condition, but also liable to the reflections incident from his crimes. He also observed that the immediate hand of Providence seemed to dissipate whatever wicked persons got by rapine and plunder, so as not only to prevent their acquiring a subsistence which might



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set them above the necessity of continuing in such courses, but that they even wanted bread to support them, when overtaken by Justice. He was near forty years of age at the time of his death, which happened on the same day as the malefactors last mentioned.

William Casey, whose life is the subject of our present discourse, was a son of one of the same name, a soldier who had served his Majesty long, and with good reputation. As is usual amongst that sort of people, the education he gave his son was such as might fit him for the same course of life, though at the same time he took care to provide him with a tolerable competency of learning, that is, as to writing and reading English. When he was about fifteen years of age, his father caused him to be enlisted in the same company in which he served for some small time before my Lord Cobham's expedition into Spain,⁴⁸ in which he accompanied him. That expedition being over, Casey returned into England, and did duty as usual in the Guards.

One night he, with some others, crossing the park a fray happened between them and one John Stone, which as Casey affirmed at his death, was occasioned by the prosecutor Stone offering very great indecencies to him, upon which they in a fury beat and abused him, from the abhorrence they pretended to have for that beastly and unnatural sin of sodomy. Whether this was really the case or no is hard to determine; all who were concerned in it with Casey being indicted (though not apprehended) with him, and their evidence consequently taken. However that matter was, Stone the prosecutor told a dreadful story on Casey's trial. He said the four men attacked him crossing the Park, who attacked, beat and cruelly trod upon and wounded him, taking from him at the same time his hat, wig, neck-cloth and five shillings in money; and that upon his arising and endeavouring to follow them, they turned back, stamped upon him, broke one of his ribs, and told him that if he attempted to stir, they would seize him and swear sodomy upon him. On this indictment Casey was convicted and ordered for execution, notwithstanding all the intercession his friends could make.

While under sentence he complained heavily of the pains a certain corporal had taken in preparing and pressing the evidence against him. He said his diligence proceeded not from any desire of doing justice, or for his guilt, but from an old grudge he owed their family, from Casey's father threatening to prosecute him for a rape committed on his daughter, then very young, and attended with very cruel circumstances; and which even the corporal himself had in part owned in a letter which he had written to the said Casey's father. However, while he lay in Newgate, he seemed heartily affected with sorrow for his misspent life, which he said was consumed as is too frequent among soldiers, either in idleness or vice. He added, that in Spain he had made serious resolutions of amendment with himself, but was hindered from performing them by his companions, who were continually seducing him into his old courses. When he found that all hopes of life were lost, he disposed himself to submit with decency to his fate, which disposition he preserved to the last.

At the place of execution he behaved with great composure and

48. Sir Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham, was a distinguished general who had served under Marlborough. In 1719 he led an expedition to the north coast of Spain and seized Vigo and the neighbouring towns and harbours.



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said that as he had heard he was accused in the world of having robbed and murdered a woman in Hyde Park, he judged it proper to discharge his conscience by declaring that he knew nothing of the murder, but said nothing as to the robbery. At the time of his death, which was on the 11th of September, 1721, he was about twenty years of age, and according to the character his officers gave him, a very quiet and orderly young man. He left behind him a paper to be published to the world, which as he was a dying man he averred to be the truth.

A copy of a paper left by William Casey.

Good People, I am now brought to this place to suffer a shameful and ignominious death, and of all such unhappy persons, 'tis expected by the world that they should either say something at their death, or leave some account behind them. And having that which more nearly concerns me, viz., the care of my immortal soul, I choose rather to leave these lines behind me than to waste my few precious moments in talking to the multitude. First, I declare, I die like a member, though a very unworthy one, of the Church of England as by Law established, the principles of which my now unhappy father took an early care to instruct me in. And next for the robbery of Mr. Stone, for which I am now brought to this fatal place. I solemnly do declare to God and the world, that I never had the value of one halfpenny from him, and that the occasion of his being so ill-used was that he offered to me that detestable and crying sin of sodomy.

I take this opportunity, with almost my last breath, to give my hearty thanks to the honourable Col. Pitts, and Col. Pagitt, for their endeavours to save my life, and indeed I had some small hopes that his Majesty, in consideration of the services of my whole family, having all been faithful soldiers and servants to the Crown of England, would have extended one branch of his mercy to me, and have sent me to have served him in another country. But welcome be the Grace of God, I am resigned to His will, and die in charity with all men, forgiving, hoping to be forgiven myself, through the merits of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. I hope, and make it my earnest request that nobody will be so little Christian as to reflect on my aged parents, wife, brother, or sisters, for my untimely end. And I pray God, into whose hands I commend my spirit, that the great number of sodomites in and about this City and suburbs, may not bring down the same judgement from Heaven as fell on Sodom and Gomorrah.

William Casey.

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Mention was being made in the American gazettes of a pirate brigantine which was appearing off and at Long Island — commanded by one Lowe, a Bostonian, whom nobody seemed able to catch. When Lowe's [pirates](#) found five women aboard one of the vessels they took, they sent the women to safety in another vessel. There was also mention of another pirate captain, named Evans.

February 5, Monday (1721, Old Style): Captain Chaloner Ogle of the *Swallow* found three of the ships of [Bartholomew Roberts](#) at anchor at Cape Lopez, West Africa. Supposing the *Swallow* to be a merchantman, "[Black Bart](#)" sent the *Ranger* out after her. The warship fled toward the open seas and then, once they were out of sight of the harbor, turned and went on the attack. Ten pirates were killed and twenty wounded before the survivors surrendered. Captain Ogle then sailed back to Cape Lopez to attack the remaining two pirate vessels.



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February 10, Saturday (1721, Old Style): [Bartholomew Roberts](#), finally recognizing that the *Swallow* was a warship rather than a merchantman, made a break in the *Royal Fortune* for the open seas. In his cabin, [“Black Bart”](#) prepared himself for battle, donning his red damask suit with a black tricorne and red feather, slipping the heavy gold chain with diamond-studded cross around his neck, and slinging his pistols over his shoulders. As he came on deck, the *Swallow* was closing on them. A broadside toppled his *Royal Fortune*’s mizzenmast and when the smoke cleared, the pirates found their intrepid leader was slumped dead over a cannon.⁴⁹ Their motto had been “I have dipped my hands in muddy water and I must be a pirate and a short one will be my motto,” yada yada yada, “we’ll all go merrily down together” — the plan was that if they were overpowered, these jolly Rogers would simply blow themselves up with their kegs of gunpowder. What actually happened was that they threw the body of their leader overboard attired in its finery (presumably someone had the wit to retrieve that diamond-studded cross and heavy gold chain), and then surrendered. More than 50 of the mixed bag of [pirates](#) and escaped slaves who had once known themselves as the proud “House of Lords” would be [hanged](#) all in the same ceremony, on the Guinea coast.⁵⁰



49. This Welsh [pirate](#) from Pembrokeshire, ranging in a 2-year freebooting career from the African coast to South America and from the West Indies to Newfoundland, had seized more than 400 ships. [“Black Bart”](#) had been a teetotalter, drinking nothing but tea, had ordered his musicians to play hymns on a Sunday, and had sported a great diamond cross he had looted from a Portuguese man-of-war. His personal pennant had him attired in his fighting costume made entirely of red silk, holding in his right hand a flaming sword and in his left an hourglass, standing atop the severed heads of residents of the islands of Barbados (ABH=“A Barbadian’s Head”) and Martinique (AMH=“A Marinican’s Head”):



50. Their nemesis, Captain Chaloner Ogle, would become an admiral and be knighted.



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THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN ROBERTS⁵¹



Bartholomew Roberts was trained to a sea-faring life. Among other voyages which he made during the time that he lawfully procured his maintenance, he sailed for the Guinea coast, in November, 1719, where he was taken by the pirate Davis. He was at first very averse to that mode of life, and would certainly have deserted, had an opportunity occurred. It happened to him, however, as to many upon another element, that preferment calmed his conscience, and reconciled him to that which he formerly hated.

Davis having fallen in the manner related, those who had assumed the title of Lords assembled to deliberate concerning the choice of a new commander. There were several candidates, who, by their services, had risen to eminence among their brethren, and each of them thought themselves qualified to bear rule. One addressed the assembled lords, saying, "that the good of the whole, and the maintenance of order, demanded a head, but that the proper authority was deposited in the community at large; so that if one should be elected who did not act and govern for the general good, he could be deposed, and another be substituted in his

51. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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place.”

“We are the original,” said he, “of this claim, and should a captain be so saucy as to exceed prescription at any time, why, down with him! It will be a caution, after he is dead, to his successors, to what fatal results any undue assumption may lead; however, it is my advice, while be are sober, to pitch upon a man of courage, and one skilled in navigation, – one who, by his prudence and bravery, seems best able to defend this commonwealth, and ward us from the dangers and tempests of an unstable element, and the fatal consequences of anarchy; and such a one I take Roberts to be: a fellow in all respects worthy of your esteem and favor.”

This speech was applauded by all but Lord Simpson, who had himself strong expectations of obtaining the highest command. He at last, in a surly tone, said, he did not regard whom they chose as a commander, provided he was not a papist, for he had conceived a mortal hatred to papists, because his father had been a sufferer in Monmouth’s rebellion.

Thus, though Roberts had only been a few weeks among them, his election was confirmed by the Lords and Commons. He, with the best face he could, accepted of the dignity, saying, “that since he had dipped his hands in muddy water, and must be a pirate, it was better being a commander than a private man.”

The governor being settled, and other officers chosen in the room of those who had fallen with Davis, it was resolved not to leave this place without revenging his death. Accordingly, thirty men, under the command of one Kennedy, a bold and profligate fellow, landed, and under cover of the fire of the ship, ascended the hill upon which the fort stood. They were no sooner discovered by the Portuguese, than they abandoned the fort, and took shelter in the town. The pirates then entered without opposition, set fire to the fort, and tumbled the guns into the sea.

Not satisfied with this injury, some proposed to land and set the town in flames. Roberts however, reminded them of the great danger to which this would inevitably expose them; that there was a thick wood at the back of the town, where the inhabitants could hide themselves, and that, when their all was at stake, they would make a bolder resistance: and that the burning or destroying of a few houses, would be a small return for their labor, and the loss that they might sustain. This prudent advice had the desired effect, and they contented themselves with lightening the French vessel, and battering down several houses of the town, to show their high displeasure.

Roberts sailed southward, captured a Dutch Guineaman, and, having emptied her of everything they thought proper, returned her to the commander. Two days after, he captured an English ship, and, as the men joined in pirating, emptied and burned the vessel, and then sailed for St. Thomas. Meeting with no prize, he sailed for Anamaboa, and there watered and repaired. Having again put to sea, a vote was taken whether they should sail for the East Indies or for Brazil. The latter place was decided upon, and they arrived there in twenty-eight days.

Upon this coast our rovers cruised for about nine weeks, keeping generally out of sight of land, but without seeing a sail; which discouraged them so, that they determined to leave the station, and steer for the West Indies; and, in order thereto, they stood in to make the land for the taking of their departure, by which

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means they fell in, unexpectedly, with a fleet of forty-two sail of Portuguese ships, off the Bay of Los Todos Santos, with all their lading in for Lisbon; several of them of good force, who lay there waiting for two men of war of seventy guns each for their convoy. However, Roberts thought it should go hard with him but he would make up his market among them, and thereupon he mixed with the fleet, and kept his men concealed till proper resolutions could be formed; that done, they came close up to one of the deepest, and ordered her to send the master on board quietly, threatening to give them no quarter, if any resistance or signal of distress was made. The Portuguese, being surprised at these threats, and the sudden flourish of cutlasses from the pirates, submitted without a word, and the captain came on board. Roberts saluted him in a friendly manner, telling him that they were gentlemen of fortune, and that their business with him was only to be informed which was the richest ship in that fleet; and if he directed them right, he should be restored to his ship without molestation, otherwise he must expect instant death.

He then pointed to a vessel of forty guns, and a hundred and fifty men; and though her strength was greatly superior to Roberts', yet he made towards her, taking the master of the captured vessel along with him. Coming alongside of her, Roberts ordered the prisoner to ask, "How Seignior Captain did?" and to invite him on board, as he had a matter of importance to impart to him. He was answered, "That he would wait upon him presently." Roberts, however, observing more than ordinary bustle on board, at once concluded they were discovered, and pouring a broadside into her, they immediately boarded, grappled, and took her. She was a very rich prize, laden with sugar, skins, and tobacco, with four thousand moidores of gold, besides other valuable articles.

In possession of so much riches, they now became solicitous to find a safe retreat in which to spend their time in mirth and wantonness. They determined upon a place called the Devil's Island upon the river Surinam, where they arrived in safety, and met with a kind reception from the governor and the inhabitants. In this river they seized a sloop, which informed them that she had sailed in company with a brigantine loaded with provisions. This was welcome intelligence, as their provisions were nearly exhausted. Deeming this too important a business to trust to foreign hands, Roberts, with forty men in the sloop, gave chase to that sail. In the keenness of the moment, and trusting in his usual good fortune, Roberts supposed that he had only to take a short sail in order to bring in the vessel with her cargo; but to his sad disappointment, he pursued her during eight days, and instead of gaining, was losing way. Under these circumstances, he came to anchor, and sent off the boat to give intelligence of their distress to their companions.

In their extremity of want, they took up part of the floor of the cabin, and patched up a sort of tray with rope-yarns, to paddle on shore to get a little water to preserve their lives. When their patience was almost exhausted, the boat returned, but instead of provisions, brought the unpleasing information, that the lieutenant, one Kennedy, had run off with both the ships. The misfortune and misery of Roberts were greatly aggravated by reflecting upon his own imprudence and want of foresight, as well as from the baseness of Kennedy and his crew. Impelled by



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the necessity of his situation, he now began to reflect upon the means he should employ for future support. Under the foolish supposition that any laws, oaths or regulations, could bind those who had bidden open defiance to all divine and human laws, he proceeded to form a code of regulations for the maintenance of order and unity in his little commonwealth.

But present necessity compelled them to action, and with their small sloop they sailed for the West Indies. They were not long before they captured two sloops, which supplied them with provisions, and a few days after, a brigantine, and then proceeded to Barbadoes. When off that island they met a vessel of ten guns, richly laden from Bristol; after plundering, and detaining her three days, they allowed her to prosecute her voyage. This vessel, however, informed the governor of what had befallen them, who sent a vessel of twenty guns and eighty men in quest of the pirates.

That vessel was commanded by one Rogers, who, on the second day of his cruise, discovered Roberts. Ignorant of any vessel being sent after them, they made towards each other. Roberts gave him a gun but instead of striking, the other returned a broadside, with three huzzas. A severe engagement ensued, and Roberts being hard put to it, lightened his vessel and ran off.

Roberts then sailed for the Island of Dominica, where he watered, and was supplied by the inhabitants with provisions, for which he gave them goods in return. Here he met with fifteen Englishmen left upon the island by a Frenchman who had made a prize of their vessel; and they, entering into his service, proved a seasonable addition to his strength.

Though he did not think this a proper place for cleaning, yet as it was absolutely necessary that it should be done, he directed his course to the Granada islands for that purpose. This, however, had well nigh proved fatal to him; for the Governor of Martinique fitted out two sloops to go in quest of the pirates. They, however, sailed to the above-mentioned place, cleaned with unusual despatch, and just left that place the night before the sloops in pursuit of them arrived.

They next sailed for Newfoundland, arriving upon the banks in June, 1720, and entered the harbor of Trepassi, with their black colors flying, drums beating, and trumpets sounding. In that harbor there were no less than twenty-two ships, which the men abandoned upon the sight of the pirates. It is impossible to describe the injury which they did at this place, by burning or sinking the ships, destroying the plantations, and pillaging the houses. Power in the hands of mean and ignorant men renders them wanton, insolent and cruel. They are literally like madmen, who cast firebrands, arrows and death, and say, "Are not we in sport?"

Roberts reserved a Bristol galley from his depredations in the harbor, which he fitted and manned for his own service. Upon the banks he met ten sail of French ships, and destroyed them all, except one of twenty-six guns, which he seized and carried off, and called her the Fortune. Then giving the Bristol galley to the Frenchman, they sailed in quest of new adventures, and soon took several prizes, and out of them increased the number of their own hands. The Samuel, one of these, was a very rich vessel, having some respectable passengers on board, who were roughly used, and threatened with death if they did not deliver up their money and their goods. They stripped the vessel of every

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article, either necessary for their vessel or themselves, to the amount of eight or nine thousand pounds. They then deliberated whether to sink or burn the Samuel, but in the mean time they discovered a sail, so they left the empty Samuel, and gave the other chase. At midnight they overtook her, and she proved to be the Snow from Bristol; and, because he was an Englishman, they used the master in a cruel and barbarous manner. Two days after, they took the Little York of Virginia, and the Love of Liverpool, both of which they plundered and sent off. In three days they captured three other vessels, removing the goods out of them, sinking one, and sending off the other two.

They next sailed for the West Indies, but provisions growing short, proceeded to St. Christopher's, where, being denied provisions by the governor, they fired on the town, and burnt two ships in the roads. They then repaired to the island of St. Bartholomew, where the governor supplied them with every necessary, and caressed them in the kindest manner. Satiated with indulgence, and having taken in a large stock of everything necessary, they unanimously voted to hasten to the coast of Guinea. In their way they took a Frenchman, and as she was fitter for the pirate service than their own, they informed the captain, that, as "a fair exchange was no robbery," they would exchange sloops with him; accordingly, having shifted their men, they set sail. However, going by mistake out of the track of the trade winds, they were under the necessity of returning to the West Indies.

They now directed their course to Surinam but not having sufficient water for the voyage they were soon reduced to a mouthful of water in the day; their numbers daily diminished by thirst and famine and the few who survived were reduced to the greatest weakness. They at last had not one drop of water or any other liquid, when, to their inexpressible joy, they anchored in seven fathoms of water. This tended to revive exhausted nature and inspire them with new vigour, though as yet they had received no relief. In the morning they discovered land, but at such a distance that their hopes were greatly dampened. The boat was however sent off, and at night returned with plenty of that necessary element. But this remarkable deliverance produced no reformation in the manners of these unfeeling and obdurate men. Steering their course from that place to Barbadoes, in their way they met with a vessel which supplied them with all necessaries. Not long after, they captured a brigantine, the mate of which joined their association. Having from these two obtained a large supply, they changed their course and watered at Tobago. Informed, however, that there were two vessels sent in pursuit of them, they went to return their compliments to the Governor of Martinique for this kindness.

It was the custom of the Dutch interlopers, when they approached this island to trade with the inhabitants, to hoist their jacks. Roberts knew the signal, and did so likewise. They, supposing that a good market was near, strove who could first reach Roberts. Determined to do them all possible mischief he destroyed them one by one as they came into his power. He only reserved one ship to send the men on shore, and burnt the remainder, to the number of twenty.

Roberts and his crew were so fortunate as to capture several vessels and to render their liquor so plentiful, that it was esteemed a crime against Providence not to be continually drunk.



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One man, remarkable for his sobriety, along with two others, found an opportunity to set off without taking leave of their friends. But a despatch being sent after them, they were brought back, and in a formal manner tried and sentenced, but one of them was saved by the humorous interference of one of the judges, whose speech was truly worthy of a pirate – while the other two suffered the punishment of death.

When necessity again compelled them, they renewed their cruising; and, dissatisfied with capturing vessels which only afforded them a temporary supply, directed their course to the Guinea coast to forage for gold. Intoxication rendered them unruly, and the brigantine at last embraced the cover of night to abandon the commodore. Unconcerned at the loss of his companion, Roberts pursued his voyage. He fell in with two French ships, the one of ten guns and sixty-five men, and the other of sixteen guns and seventy-five men. These dastards no sooner beheld the black flag than they surrendered. With these they went to Sierra Leone, constituting one of them a consort, by the name of the Ranger, and the other a store-ship. This port being frequented by the greater part of the traders to that quarter, they remained here six weeks, enjoying themselves in all the splendor and luxury of a piratical life.

After this they renewed their voyage, and having captured a vessel, the greater part of the men united their fortunes with the pirates. On board of one of the ships was a clergyman, whom some of them proposed taking along with them, for no other reason than that they had not a chaplain on board. They endeavored to gain his consent, and assured him that he should want for nothing, and his only work would be, to make punch and say prayers. Depraved, however, as these men were, they did not choose to constrain him to go, but displayed their civility further, by permitting him to carry along with him whatever he called his own. After several cruises, they now went into a convenient harbor at Old Calabar, where they cleaned, refitted, divided their booty, and for a considerable time caroused, to banish care and sober reflection.

According to their usual custom, the time of festivity and mirth was prolonged until the want of means recalled them to reason and exertion. Leaving this port, they cruised from place to place with varied success; but in all their captures, either burning, sinking, or devoting their prizes to their own use, according to the whim of the moment. The Swallow and another man-of-war being sent out expressly to pursue and take Roberts and his fleet, he had frequent and certain intelligence of their destination; but having so often escaped their vigilance, he became rather too secure and fearless. It happened, however, that while he lay off Cape Lopez, the Swallow had information of his being in that place, and made towards him. Upon the appearance of a sail, one of Roberts' ships was sent to chase and take her. The pilot of the Swallow seeing her coming, manoeuvred his vessel so well, that though he fled at her approach, in order to draw her out of the reach of her associates, yet he at his own time allowed her to overtake the man-of-war.

Upon her coming up to the Swallow, the pirate hoisted the black flag, and fired upon her; but how greatly were her crew astonished, when they saw that they had to contend with a man-of-war, and seeing that all resistance was vain, they cried out



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for quarter, which was granted, and they were made prisoners, having ten men killed and twenty wounded, without the loss or hurt of one of the king's men.

On the 10th, in the morning, the man-of-war bore away to round the cape. Roberts' crew, discerning their masts over the land, went down into the cabin to acquaint him of it, he being then at breakfast with his new guest, captain Hill, on a savoury dish of salmagundy and some of his own beer. He took no notice of it, and his men almost as little, some saying she was a Portuguese ship, others a French slave ship, but the major part swore it was the French Ranger returning; and they were merrily debating for some time on the manner of reception, whether they should salute her or not; but as the Swallow approached nearer, things appeared plainer; and though they who showed any apprehension of danger were stigmatized with the name of cowards, yet some of them, now undeceived, declared it to Roberts, especially one Armstrong, who had deserted from that ship, and knew her well. These Roberts swore at as cowards, who meant to dishearten the men, asking them, if it were so, whether they were afraid to fight or not? In short, he hardly refrained from blows. What his own apprehensions were, till she hauled up her ports and hoisted her proper colors, is uncertain; but then, being perfectly convinced, he slipped his cable, got under sail, ordered his men to arms without any show of timidity, dropping a first-rate oath, that it was a bite, but at the same time resolved, like a gallant rogue, to get clear or die.

There was one Armstrong, as was just mentioned, a deserter from the Swallow, of whom they enquired concerning the trim and sailing of that ship; he told them she sailed best upon the wind, and therefore, if they designed to leave her, they should go before it.

The danger was imminent, and the time very short, to consult about means to extricate himself; his resolution in this strait was as follows: to pass close to the Swallow with all their sails, and receive her broadside before they returned a shot; if disabled by this, or if they could not depend on sailing, then to run on shore at the point, and every one to shift for himself among the negroes; or failing these, to board, and blow up together, for he saw that the greatest part of his men were drunk, passively courageous, and unfit for service.

Roberts, himself, made a gallant figure at the time of the engagement, being dressed in a rich crimson damask waistcoat and breeches, a red feather in his hat, a gold chain round his neck, with a diamond cross hanging to it, a sword in his hand, and two pair of pistols hanging at the end of a silk sling flung over his shoulders, according to the custom of the pirates. He is said to have given his orders with boldness and spirit. Coming, according to what he had purposed, close to the man-of-war, he received her fire, and then hoisted his black flag and returned it, shooting away from her with all the sail he could pack; and had he taken Armstrong's advice to have gone before the wind, he had probably escaped; but keeping his tacks down, either by the wind's shifting, or ill steerage, or both, he was taken aback with his sails, and the Swallow came a second time very nigh to him. He had now, perhaps, finished the fight very desperately, if death, who took a swift passage in a grape shot, had not interposed, and struck him directly on the throat. He settled himself on the tackles of a gun; which one Stephenson, from the

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helm, observing, ran to his assistance, and not perceiving him wounded, swore at him, and bade him stand up and fight like a man; but when he found his mistake, and that his captain was certainly dead, he burst into tears, and wished the next shot might be his portion. They presently threw him overboard, with his arms and ornaments on, according to his repeated request in his life-time.

This extraordinary man and daring pirate was tall, of a dark complexion, about 40 years of age, and born in Pembroke-shire.



His parents were honest and respectable, and his natural activity, courage, and invention, were superior to his education. At a very early period, he, in drinking, would imprecate vengeance upon "the head of him who ever lived to wear a halter." He went willingly into the pirate service, and served three years as a second man. It was not for want of employment, but from a roving, wild, and boisterous turn of mind. It was his usual declaration, that, "In an honest service, there are commonly low wages and hard labor; in this, — plenty, satiety, pleasure and ease, liberty, and power; and who would not balance creditor on this side, when all the hazard that is run for it at worst, is only a sour look or two at choking? No, — a merry



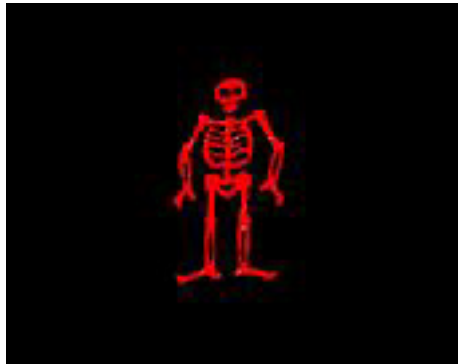
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life and a short one, shall be my motto!" But it was one favorable trait in his character, that he never forced any man into the pirate service.

The prisoners were strictly guarded while on board, and being conveyed to Cape Coast castle, they underwent a long and solemn trial. The generality of them remained daring and impenitent for some time, but when they found themselves confined within a castle, and their fate drawing near, they changed their course, and became serious, penitent, and fervent in their devotions. Though the judges found no small difficulty in explaining the law, and different acts of parliament, yet the facts were so numerous and flagrant which were proved against them, that there was no difficulty in bringing in a verdict of guilty.

June: Philip Ashton, a 19-year-old Marblehead fisherman (1703-1746), was captured off Nova Scotia by the [pirate](#) company of Edward Low.⁵² Beaten, whipped, kept in chains and threatened with death, he would refuse to sign the articles to become himself a pirate under Ned Low's terrifying "red armature" flag.⁵³



June 28, Thursday (Old Style): Peter Papillians or Papillon of [Boston](#), presumably a [Huguenot](#), was in command of a ship that the town was using to discourage [pirates](#) along the New England coast. Coming back into the harbor on this day after yet another fruitless search for the famous pirate Ned Low⁵⁴ who for long had been harassing the trade of New England, he was at least able to back in with him as a prize, a brigantine that had been in Ned Low's possession.

52. Ned Low was a Boston ship rigger who had turned to piracy. He had a reputation for cruelty and would be described by his own compatriots as a "maniac and a brute." For instance, upon capturing a Nantucket whaler, he sliced off the vessel's skipper's ears, sprinkled them with salt, and forced the man to eat them — and then he killing him. Then, when he captured the Spanish galleon *Montcova*, he took it upon himself to personally off, one after another, the vessel's 53 officers. Before killing one of these Spaniards, he forced him to eat the heart of another. Eventually his own crew had had enough of this and set him adrift without provisions. Two days later, a French ship came across his drifting open boat, and as soon as they had discovered who it was whom they had rescued, held a short trial at sea and [hanged](#) him from their yardarm.

53. Philip Ashton would keep a sea journal from June 15, 1722 to April 1, 1725. This would include an account of his stay of more than a year on a desert isle off the coast of Honduras.



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1723

Off New-York harbor, operating probably near Perth Amboy,

Captain Lowe, the pirate, and his consort, Harris, came near the Hook; there they got into action with his majesty's ship, the *Greyhound*. The two pirates bore the black flag, and were commanded by the celebrated Lowe.

Although Captain Solgard of HMS *Greyhound* was able to capture Harris's vessel, on board of which were 37 white pirates and 6 blacks who were being held prisoner, Captain Lowe was able to make his escape in his vessel with its reported £150,000 in gold and silver. After the trial, 44 men were hanged on Long Island all at the same time. According to their names, they appear to have been American or English. Captain Solgard was presented the freedom of the city of New-York, and a gold snuffbox. Captain Lowe would later be reported as making prizes of 20 French vessels at Cape Breton, and this close call near New-York seems to have caused him to take vengeance upon Englishmen — he began to slice noses and cut off ears.

(In this period we also have report of a pirate captain named Lowder on the banks.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

54. Ned Low was a Boston ship rigger who had turned to piracy. He had a reputation for cruelty and would be described by his own compatriots as a "maniac and a brute." For instance, upon capturing a Nantucket whaler, he sliced off the vessel's skipper's ears, sprinkled them with salt, and forced the man to eat them — and then he killing him. Then, when he captured the Spanish galleon *Montcova*, he took it upon himself to personally off, one after another, the vessel's 53 officers. Before killing one of these Spaniards, he forced him to eat the heart of another. Eventually his own crew had had enough of this and set him adrift without provisions. Two days later, a French ship came across his drifting open boat, and as soon as they had discovered who it was whom they had rescued, held a short trial at sea and hanged him from their yardarm.



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March: For 4 years on [St. Helena](#) the weather had not been “kind.” Although wood had become very scarce, the islanders still needed encouragement to plant trees.

Philip Ashton, a fisherman captured by [pirates](#) under Ned Low,⁵⁵ managed to get ashore on the island of



Roatan in the Bay of Honduras and hide in the dense jungle. He would survive on crabs, fish, and seabird eggs for 16 months, until the *Diamond*, a ship out of Salem, happened to stop by Roatan for water. He kept a journal of this period of his life.

55. Edward Lowe, Low, or Loe, also known as Ned Low, was a Boston ship rigger who had turned to piracy.



He had a reputation for cruelty and would be described by his own compatriots as a “maniac and a brute.” For instance, upon capturing a Nantucket whaler, he sliced off the vessel’s skipper’s ears, sprinkled them with salt, and forced the man to eat them, before killing him. Then, when he captured the Spanish galleon *Montcova*, he took it upon himself to personally slaughter, one after another, the vessel’s 53 officers. Before killing one of these Spaniards, he forced him to eat the heart of another. Eventually his own crew had had enough of this and set him adrift without provisions. Two days later, a French ship came across his drifting open boat, and as soon as they had discovered who it was whom they had rescued, they held a short trail at sea and [hanged](#) him from their yardarm.

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THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN EDWARD LOW⁵⁶



This ferocious villain was born in Westminster, and received an education similar to that of the common people in England. He was by nature a pirate; for even when very young he raised contributions among the boys of Westminster, and if they declined compliance, a battle was the result. When he advanced a step farther in life, he began to exert his ingenuity at low games, and cheating all in his power; and those who pretended to maintain their own right, he was ready to call to the field of combat.

He went to sea in company with his brother, and continued with him for three or four years. Going over to America, he wrought in a rigging-house at Boston for some time. He then came home to see his mother in England, returned to Boston, and continued for some years longer at the same business. But being of a quarrelsome temper, he differed with his master, and went on board a sloop bound for the Bay of Honduras.

While there, he had the command of a boat employed in bringing logwood to the ship. In that boat there were twelve men well armed, to be prepared for the Spaniards, from whom the wood was

56. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)

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taken by force. It happened one day that the boat came to the ship just a little before dinner was ready, and Low desired that they might dine before they returned. The captain, however, ordered them a bottle of rum, and requested them to take another trip, as no time was to be lost. The crew were enraged, particularly Low, who took up a loaded musket and fired at the captain, but missing him, another man was shot, and they ran off with the boat. The next day they took a small vessel, went on board her, hoisted a black flag, and declared war with the whole world.

In their roving, Low met with Lowther, who proposed that he should join him, and thus promote their mutual advantage. Having captured a brigantine, Low, with forty more, went on board her; and leaving Lowther, they went to seek their own fortune.



Their first adventure was the capture of a vessel belonging to Amboy, out of which they took the provisions, and allowed her to proceed. On the same day they took a sloop, plundered her, and permitted her to depart. The sloop went into Black Island, and sent intelligence to the governor that Low was on the coast. Two small vessels were immediately fitted out, but, before their arrival, Low was beyond their reach. After this narrow escape, Low went into port to procure water and fresh provisions; and then renewed his search of plunder. He next sailed into the harbor of Port Rosemary, where were thirteen ships, but none of them of any great strength. Low hoisted the black flag, assuring them that if they made any resistance they should have no quarter; and manning their boat, the pirates took possession of every one of them, which they plundered and converted to their own use. They then put on board a schooner ten guns and fifty men, named her the Fancy, and Low himself went on board of her, while Charles Harris was constituted captain of the brigantine. They also constrained a few of the men to join them, and sign their articles.

After an unsuccessful pursuit of two sloops from Boston, they steered for the Leeward Islands, but in their way were overtaken by a terrible hurricane. The search for plunder gave place to the most vigorous exertion to save themselves. On board the



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brigantine, all hands were at work both day and night; they were under the necessity of throwing overboard six of her guns, and all the weighty provisions. In the storm, the two vessels were separated, and it was some time before they again saw each other. After the storm, Low went into a small island west of the Carribbees, refitted his vessels, and got provision for them in exchange of goods. As soon as the brigantine was ready for sea, they went on a cruise until the Fancy should be prepared, and during that cruise, met with a vessel which had lost all her masts in the storm, which they plundered of goods to the value of 1000 l. and returned to the island. When the Fancy was ready to sail, a council was held what course they should next steer. They followed the advice of the captain, who thought it not safe to cruise any longer to the leeward, lest they should fall in with any of the men-of-war that cruised upon that coast, so they sailed for the Azores.

The good fortune of Low was now singular; in his way thither he captured a French ship of 34 guns, and carried her along with him. Then entering St. Michael's roads, he captured seven sail, threatening with instant death all who dared to oppose him. Thus, by inspiring terror, without firing a single gun, he became master of all that property. Being in want of water and fresh provisions, Low sent to the governor demanding a supply, upon condition of releasing the ships he had taken, otherwise he would commit them to the flames. The request was instantly complied with, and six of the vessels were restored. But a French vessel being among them, they emptied her of guns and all her men except the cook, who, they said, being a greasy fellow, would fry well; they accordingly bound the unfortunate man to the mast, and set the ship on fire.

The next who fell in their way was Captain Carter, in the Wright galley; who, because he showed some inclination to defend himself, was cut and mangled in a barbarous manner. There were also two Portuguese friars, whom they tied to the foremast, and several times let them down before they were dead, merely to gratify their own ferocious dispositions. Meanwhile, another Portuguese, beholding this cruel scene, expressed some sorrow in his countenance, upon which one of the wretches said he did not like his looks, and so giving him a stroke across the body with his cutlass, he fell upon the spot. Another of the miscreants, aiming a blow at a prisoner, missed his aim, and struck Low upon the under jaw. The surgeon was called, and stitched up the wound; but Low finding fault with the operation, the surgeon gave him a blow which broke all the stiches, and left him to sew them himself. After he had plundered this vessel, some of them were for burning her, as they had done the Frenchman; but instead of that, they cut her cables, rigging, and sails to pieces, and sent her adrift to the mercy of the waves.

They next sailed for the island of Madeira, and took up a fishing boat with two old men and a boy. They detained one of them, and sent the other on shore with a flag of truce, requesting the governor to send them a boat of water, else they would hang the other man at the yard arm. The water was sent, and the man dismissed.

They next sailed for the Canary Islands, and there took several vessels; and being informed that two small galleys were daily expected, the sloop was manned and sent in quest of them. They,



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however, missing their prey, and being in great want of provision, went into St. Michael's in the character of traders, and being discovered, were apprehended, and the whole crew conducted to the castle, and treated according to their merits. Meanwhile, Low's ship was overset upon the careen and lost, so that, having only the Fancy schooner remaining, they all, to the number of a hundred, went on board her, and set sail in search of new spoils. They soon met a rich Portuguese vessel, and after some resistance captured her. Low tortured the men to constrain them to inform him where they had hid their treasures. He accordingly discovered that, during the chase, the captain had hung a bag with eleven thousand moidores out of the cabin window, and that, when they were taken, he had cut the rope, and allowed it to fall into the sea. Upon this intelligence, Low raved and stormed like a fury, ordered the captain's lips to be cut off and broiled before his eyes, then murdered him and all his crew. After this bloody action, the miscreants steered northward, and in their course seized several vessels, one of which they burned, and plundering the rest, allowed them to proceed. Having cleaned in one of the islands, they then sailed for the bay of Honduras. They met a Spaniard coming out of the bay, which had captured five Englishmen and a pink, plundered them, and brought away the masters prisoners. Low hoisted Spanish colors, but, when he came near, hung out the black flag, and the Spaniard was seized without resistance. Upon finding the masters of the English vessels in the hold, and seeing English goods on board, a consultation was held, when it was determined to put all the Spaniards to the sword. This was scarcely resolved upon, when they commenced with every species of weapons to massacre every man, and some flying from their merciless hands into the waves, a canoe was sent in pursuit of those who endeavored to swim on shore. They next plundered the Spanish vessel, restored the English masters to their respective vessels, and set the Spaniard on fire.

Low's next cruise was between the Leeward Islands and the main land, where, in a continued course of prosperity, he successively captured no less than nineteen ships of different sizes, and in general treated their crews with a barbarity unequalled even among pirates. But it happened that the Greyhound, of twenty guns and one hundred and twenty men, was cruising upon that coast. Informed of the mischief these miscreants had done, the Greyhound went in search of them. Supposing they had discovered a prize, Low and his crew pursued them, and the Greyhound, allowing them to run after her until all things were ready to engage, turned upon the two sloops. One of these sloops was called the Fancy, and commanded by Low himself, and the other the Ranger, commanded by Harris; both hoisted their piratical colors, and fired each a gun. When the Greyhound came within musket shot, she hauled up her mainsail, and clapped close upon a wind, to keep the pirates from running to leeward, and then engaged. But when the rogues found whom they had to deal with, they edged away under the man-of-war's stern, and the Greyhound standing after them, they made a running fight for about two hours; but little wind happening, the sloops gained from her, by the help of their oars; upon which the Greyhound left off firing, turned all hands to her own oars, and at three in the afternoon came up with them. The pirates hauled upon a wind to receive the man-of-war, and the fight was

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immediately renewed, with a brisk fire on both sides, till the Ranger's mainyard was shot down. Under these circumstances, Low abandoned her to the enemy, and fled.

The conduct of Low was surprising in this adventure, because his reputed courage and boldness had hitherto so possessed the minds of all people, that he became a terror even to his own men; but his behaviour throughout this whole action showed him to be a base cowardly villain; for had Low's sloop fought half so briskly as Harris' had done (as they were under a solemn oath to do,) the man-of-war, in the opinion of some present, could never have hurt them.

Nothing, however, could lessen the fury, or reform the manners, of that obdurate crew. Their narrow escape had no good effect upon them, and with redoubled violence they renewed their depredations and cruelties. The next vessel they captured, was eighty miles from land. They used the master with the most wanton cruelty, then shot him dead, and forced the crew into the boat with a compass, a little water, and a few biscuits, and left them to the mercy of the waves; they, however, beyond all expectation, got safe to shore.

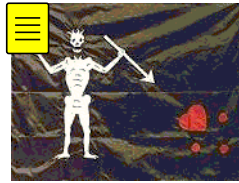
Low proceeded in his villainous career with too fatal success. Unsatisfied with satiating their avarice and walking the common path of wickedness, those inhuman wretches, like to Satan himself, made mischief their sport, cruelty their delight, and the ruin and murder of their fellow men their constant employment. Of all the piratical crews belonging to the English nation, none ever equalled Low in barbarity. Their mirth and their anger had the same effect. They murdered a man from good humor, as well as from anger and passion. Their ferocious disposition seemed only to delight in cries, groans, and lamentations. One day Low having captured Captain Graves, a Virginia man, took a bowl of punch in his hand, and said, "Captain, here's half this to you." The poor gentleman was too much touched with his misfortunes to be in a humor for drinking, he therefore modestly excused himself. Upon this Low cocked and presented a pistol in the one hand, and his bowl in the other, saying, "Either take the one or the other."

Low next captured a vessel called the Christmas, mounted her with thirty-four guns, went on board her himself, assumed the title of admiral, and hoisted the black flag. His next prize was a brigantine half manned with Portuguese, and half with English. The former he hanged, and the latter he thrust into their boat and dismissed, while he set fire to the vessel. The success of Low was unequalled, as well as his cruelty; and during a long period he continued to pursue his wicked course with impunity. All wickedness comes to an end and Low's crew at last rose against him and he was thrown into a boat without provisions and abandoned to his fate. This was because Low murdered the quarter-master while he lay asleep. Not long after he was cast adrift a French vessel happened along and took him into Martinico, and after a quick trial by the authorities he received short shift on a gallows erected for his benefit.

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Spring: Two [pirate](#) vessels that had been capturing ships off the Atlantic coast were intercepted when they mistakenly attempted to attack the HMS *Greyhound* under Captain Peter Solgard, supposing this to be just another merchant vessel. 36 of the pirates, including Edward Law and Charles Harris, were taken to [Newport](#) to be tried. In a 2-day trial, 26 of the 36 were sentenced to hang (2 were recommended for royal pardon and 8 were acquitted). Although 3 of the condemned 26 managed an escape from the jail, they were recaptured. For the very first time in [Rhode Island](#), a conviction was obtained in a case of [piracy](#) and the condemned pirates were [hanged](#). When the 26 men were hanged, on Gravelly Point below the highwater mark, their pirate “Blew Flag” was nailed to their scaffold. This pirate flag was described as depicting on its blue background “an Anatomy with an Hour-Glass in one hand and a dart in the heart with 3 drops of Blood proceeding from it, in the other” (an “Anatomy” was not exactly a depiction of a human skeleton, but filled approximately the same iconic function).



(It is a lot easier to hang strangers, than it is to hang one’s friends and neighbors! Despite the fact that Newport had been for like generations a pirate community, or at least a community in cahoots with pirates – a community with its hands deep in the pockets of pirates – only one of these 26 [hanged](#) men, 28-year-old William Blades, had been a [Rhode Island](#) native.)⁵⁷

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July 26: Captain John Massey, convicted as a [pirate](#), was [hanged](#) at high-water mark on Execution Dock in Wapping, the port of London.⁵⁸

The gentleman of whom we are now to speak, though he suffered for piracy, was a man of another turn of mind than any of whom we have hitherto had occasion to mention. Captain John Massey was of a family I need not dwell on, since he hath at present two brothers living who make a considerable figure in their respective professions.

This unhappy person had a natural vivacity in his temper, which sometimes rose to such a height that his relations took it for a degree of madness. They, therefore, hoping by a compliance with his humours to bring him to a better sense of things, sent him into the army then in Flanders, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough; and there he assisted at the several sieges which were undertaken by the Confederate army after his arrival, viz., Mons, Douai, Bouchain, and several others. Yet though he was bold there, even to temerity, he never received so much as one wound through the whole course of the war, in which, after the siege of Lille, he commanded as a lieutenant, and that with great reputation.

On his return into England he at first wholly addicted himself to a religious sober life, the several accidents of the war having disposed him to a more serious temper by making him plainly perceive the hand of Providence in protecting and

57. There is a great similarity between this Rhode Island hanging of 26 pirates and a hanging of seven [pirates](#) that had occurred in 1718 on New Providence Island in the Bahamas. That hanging of seven had once and for all destroyed piracy as based on islands in the Caribbean. This hanging of twenty-six would once and for all destroy piracy as based in the Narragansett Bay of New England.

58. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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destroying, according as its wisdom seeth fit. But after a short stay in London, he unhappily fell into the acquaintance of a lewd woman, who so besotted him that he really intended to marry her, if the regiment's going to Ireland had not prevented it. But there the case was not much mended, since Captain Massey gave too much way to the debaucheries generally practised in that nation.

On his coming back from thence, by the recommendation of the Duke of Chandois, he was made by the Royal African Company a lieutenant colonel in their service, and an engineer for erecting a fort on the Coast of Africa. He promised himself great advantage and a very honourable support from this employment, but he and the soldiers under his command being very ill used by the person who commanded the ship in which he went over (being denied their proportion of provisions and in all other respects treated with much indignity) it made a great impression on Captain Massey's mind, who could not bear to see numbers of those poor creatures perish, not only without temporal necessities, but wanting also the assistance of a divine in their last moments. For the chaplain of the ship remained behind in the Maderas, on a foresight perhaps, of the miseries he should have suffered in the voyage.

In this miserable condition were things when the Captain and his soldiers came into the River Gambia, where the designed fort was to be built. Here the water was so bad that the poor wretches, already in the most dreadful condition, were many of them deprived of life a few days after they were on shore. The Captain was excessively troubled at the sight of their misfortunes and too easily in hopes of relieving them gave way to the persuasion of a captain⁵⁹ of a lighter vessel than his own, who arrived in that port, and persuaded him to turn [pirate](#) rather than let his men starve.

After repeated solicitations, Captain Massey and his men went on board this ship, and having there tolerable good provisions, soon picked up their strength and took some very considerable prizes. At the plundering of these Massey was confused and amazed, not knowing well what to do, for though he was glad to see his men have meat, yet it gave him great trouble when he reflected on the methods by which they acquired it. In this disconsolate state his night was often so troublesome to him as his days, for, as he himself said, he seldom shut his eyes but he dreamt that he was sailing in a ship to the gallows, with several others round him.

After a considerable space, the ship putting into the island of Jamaica for necessary supply of water and provision, he made his escape to the Governor, and gave him such information that he took several vessels thereby; but not being easy there, he desired leave of Sir Nicholas Laws to return home. Sir Nicholas gave him letters of recommendation, but notwithstanding those, he no sooner returned in England but he was apprehended and committed for piracy. Soon after which he was bailed; but the persons who became security growing uneasy, he surrendered in their discharge, soon after which he was tried, convicted and condemned.

During the space he remained in prison under condemnation he behaved with so much gravity, piety and composedness, as

59. This was Captain George Lowther, a redoubtable [pirate](#). A more complete Story of Massey's adventures is given in Johnson's HISTORY OF THE PIRATES.



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surprised all who saw him, many of whom were inclined to think his case hard. No mercy was to be had and as he did not expect it, so false hopes never troubled his repose; but as death was to cut him off from the world, so he beforehand retired all his affections from thence and thought of nothing but that state whither he was going.

In his passage to execution he pointed to the African House,⁶⁰ said, *They have used me severely, but I pray God prosper and bless them in all their undertakings.*

Mr. Nicholson, of St. Sepulchre's, attended him in his last moments. Just before he died he read the following speech to the people.

Good People,

I beg of you to pray for my departing soul. I likewise pray God to forgive all the evidences that swore against me, as I do from my heart. I challenge all the world to say I ever did a dishonourable act or anything unlike a gentleman, but what might be common to all young fellows in this age. This was surely a rash action, but I did not designedly turn [pirate](#). I am sorry for it, and I wish it were in my power to make amends to the Honourable African Company for what they have lost by my means. I likewise declare upon the word of a dying man that I never once thought of molesting his Grace the Duke of Chandois, although it has been maliciously reported that I always went with two loaded pistols to dispatch his Grace. As for the Duke, I was always, while living, devoted to his service, for his good offices done unto me, and I humbly beg Almighty God, that He would be pleased to pour down His blessings upon his good family. Good people, once more I beg of you to pray for my departing soul. I desire my dying words to be printed, as for the truth and sincerity of it, I sign them as a man departing this world.

John Massey

After he had pronounced these words, he signified it as his last request that neither his wife, nor any of his relations might see his body after it was in the coffin. Then praying a few moments to himself he submitted to his fate, being at the time of his death twenty-eight years old. He suffered at high-water mark, Execution Dock, on the 26th of July, 1723, his unhappy death being universally pitied.

August 14, Saturday: Philip Roche, convicted as a [pirate](#), was [hanged](#) at high-water mark on Execution Dock in Wapping, the port of London.⁶¹

As in the life of Captain Massey, my readers cannot but take notice of those great evils into which men are brought by over-forwardness and inconsideration, so in the life of the malefactor we are now to speak of, they will discern what a prodigious pitch of wickedness, rapine and cruelty, human nature is capable of reaching unto, when people abandon themselves to a desire of living after their own wicked inclinations, without

⁶⁰ In Leadenhall Street, along which he would pass on the way to Wapping.

⁶¹ LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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considering the injuries they do others while they gratify their own lusts and sensual pleasures.

Philip Roche⁶² was the son of a person of the same name in Ireland. His father gave him all the education his narrow circumstances would permit which extended however to reading and writing a tolerable good hand, after which he sent him to sea. Philip was a lad of ingenious parts, and instead of forgetting, as many do, all they have learnt, he on the contrary took all imaginable care to perfect himself in whatsoever he had but a slight notion of before he went to sea. He made abundance of coasting voyages about his native island, went once or twice to Barbadoes, and being a saving and industrious young fellow, picked up money enough to become first mate in a trading vessel to Nantes in France, by which being suffered to buy goods himself, he got considerably, and was in a fair way to attaining as great a fortune as he could reasonably expect. But this slow method of getting money did by no means satisfy Roche; he was resolved to grow rich at once, and not wait till much labour and many voyages had made him so.

When men once form to themselves such designs, it is not long before they find companions fit for their purpose. Roche soon met with one Neal, a fisherman of no education, barbarous but very daring, a fellow who had all the qualities that could conspire to make a dangerous villain, and who had already inured himself to the commission of whatever was black or bloody, not only without remorse but without reluctance. Neal recommended him to one Pierce Cullen, as a proper associate in those designs they were contriving; for this Cullen, as Neal informed him, was a fellow of principles and qualifications much like himself, but had somewhat a better capacity for executing them, and with Neal had been concerned in sinking a ship, after insuring her both in London and Amsterdam. But Providence had disappointed them in the success of their wicked design for Cullen having been known, or at least suspected of doing such a thing before, those with whom they had insured at London, instead of their paying the money, caused him to be seized and brought to a trial, which demolished all their schemes for cheating insurance offices.

Cullen brought in his brother to their confederacy, and after abundance of solicitation induced Wise to come in likewise. The project they had formed was to seize some light ship, and turn pirates in her, conceiving it no difficult matter afterwards to obtain a stronger vessel, and one better fitted for their purpose.

The ship they pitched on to execute this their villainous purpose was that of Peter Tartoue, a Frenchman of a very generous disposition, who on Roche and his companions telling him a melancholy story, readily entertained them; and perceiving Roche was an experienced sailor, he entrusted him upon any occasion with the care and command of the ship. Having done so one night, himself and the chief mate with the rest of the French who were on board went to rest, except a man and a boy, whom Roche commanded to go up and furl the sails. He then called the rest of his Irish associates to him upon the quarter-deck. There Roche, perceiving that Francis Wise began to relent, and fearing he should persuade others in the same measures, he told them that if every Irishman on board did not assist in destroying the French, and put him and Cullen in a capacity of retrieving the

62. A detailed account of this villain is given in Johnson's HISTORY OF THE PIRATES.

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losses they had had at sea, they would treat whoever hesitated in obeying them with as little mercy as they did the Frenchmen; but if they would all assist, they should all fare alike, and have a share in the booty.

Upon this the action began, and two of them running up after the Frenchman and boy, one tossed the lad by the arm into the water, and the other driving the man down upon the deck he there had his brains dashed out by Roche and his companions. They fell next upon those who were retired to their rest, some of whom, upon the shrieks of the man and boy who were murdered, rising hastily out of their beds and running up upon deck to see what occasioned those dismal noises, were murdered themselves before they well knew where they were. The mate and the captain were next brought up, and Roche went immediately to binding them together, in order to toss them overboard, as had been consulted. 'Twas in vain for poor Tartoue to plead the kindness he had done them all and particularly Roche. They were deaf to all sentiments, either of gratitude or pity, and though the poor men entreated only so much time as to say their prayers, and recommend themselves to God, yet the villains (though they could be under no apprehensions, having already murdered all the rest of the men) would not even yield to this, but Cullen hastened Roche in binding them back to back, to toss them at once into the sea. Then hurrying down into the cabin, they tapped a little barrel of rum to make themselves good cheer, and laughed at the cries of the two poor drowned men, whom they distinctly heard calling upon God, until their voices and their breaths were lost in the waves.

After having drunk and eaten their fill, with as much mirth and jollity as if they had been at a feast, they began to plunder the vessel, breaking open the chests, and taking out of them what they thought proper. Then to drinking they went again, pleasing themselves with the barbarous expedition which they resolved to undertake as soon as they could get a ship proper to carry them into the West Indies, intending there to follow the example the buccaneers had set them, and rob and plunder all who fell into their hands. From these villainies in intention, the present state of their affairs called upon them to make some provision for their immediate safety. They turned therefore into the Channel, and putting the ship into Portsmouth, there got her new painted and then sailed for Amsterdam, Roche being unanimously recognised their captain, and all of them promising faithfully to submit to him through the course of their future expeditions.

On their arrival in Holland, they had the ship a second time new painted, and thinking themselves now safe from all discovery began to sell off Captain Tartoue's cargo as fast as they could. No sooner had they completed this, but getting one Mr. Annesley to freight them with goods to England (himself also going as a passenger) they resolved with themselves to make prize of him and his effects, as they had also done with the French captain. Mr. Annesley, poor man, little dreaming of their design, came on board as soon as the wind served; and the next night a brisk gale blowing, they tore him suddenly out of his bed and tossed him over. Roche and Cullen being with others in the great cabin, he swam round and round the ship, called out to them, and told them they should freely have all his goods if they would take him in and save his life, for he had friends and fortunes enough



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in England to make up that loss. But his entreaties were all vain to a set of wretches who had long ago abandoned all sentiments of humour and mercy. They therefore caroused as usual, and after sharing the booty, steered the vessel for England.

Some information of their villainies had by that time reached thither, so that upon a letter being stopped at the post office, which Roche, as soon as they had landed, had written to his wife, a messenger was immediately sent down, who brought Philip up in custody. Being brought to the Council table, and there examined, he absolutely denied either that himself was Philip Roche, or that he knew of any one of that name. But his letters under his own hand to his wife being produced, he was not able any longer to stand in that falsehood.

Yet those in authority knowing that there was not legal proof sufficient to bring these abominable men to justice, offered Roche his life, provided he gave such information that they might be able to apprehend and convict any three of his companions more wicked than himself; but he was so far from complying therewith that he suffered those of his crew who were taken to perish in custody rather than become an evidence against them. This was the fate of Neal, who perished of want in the Marshalsea, having in vain petitioned for a trunk in which was a large quantity of money, clothes and other things to a considerable value, which had been seized in Ireland by virtue of a warrant from the Lord Justice of that Kingdom, on the account of the detention of which, while he perished for want of necessaries and clothes, Neal most heavily complained, forgetting that these very things were the plunder of those unhappy persons whom they had so barbarously murdered, after having received so much kindness and civility from them.

In the meanwhile Roche, being confined in Newgate, went constantly to the chapel and appeared of so obliging a temper that many persuaded themselves he could not be guilty of the bloody crimes laid to his charge; and taking advantage of these kind thoughts of theirs, he framed a new story in defence of himself. He said that there happened a quarrel on board the ship between an Irishman and a Frenchman, and that Tartou taking part with his own nation, threatened to lash the Irishman severely, though he was not in any way in the wrong. This, he pretended, begat a general quarrel between the two nations, and the Irish being the stronger, they overpowered and threw the French overboard in the heat of their anger, without considering what they did.

Throughout the whole time he lay in Newgate, he very much delighted himself with the exercise of his pen, continually writing upon one subject or other, and often assisting his fellow prisoners in writing letters or whatever else they wanted in that kind. When he was told that Neal, who died in the Marshalsea, gushed out at all parts of his body with Wood, so that before he expired he was as if he had been dipped in gore, Roche replied, it was a just judgment that he who had always lived in blood, should die covered with it.

Sometime afterwards, being told that one of his companions had poisoned himself he said, Alas! that so evil an end should follow so evil a life; for his part he would suffer Providence to take its course with him, and rather die the most ignominious death than to his other crimes add that of self-murder. The rest who



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had been apprehended dying one by one in the same dreadful condition with Neal, that is, with the blood gushing from every part of their body, which looked so much like a judgment that all who saw it were amazed, he (Roche) began to think himself perfectly safe after the death of his companions, supposing that now there was nobody to bear any testimony against him; and therefore, instead of appearing in any way dismayed, he most earnestly desired the speedy approach of an Admiralty sessions. It was not long before it happened and when he found what evidence would be produced against him, he appeared much less solicitous about his trial than anybody in his condition would have been expected to be, for he very well knew it was impossible for them to prove him guilty of the murders and as impossible for him to be acquitted of the piracy.

After receiving sentence of death, he declared himself a Papist, and said that he could no longer comply with the service of the Church of England, and come to the chapel. He did not, however, think that he was in any danger of death, but supposed that the promises which had been made him on this first examination would now take place and prevent the execution of his sentence. When, therefore, the messenger returned from Hanover⁶³, and brought an express order that he should die, he appeared exceedingly moved thereat, and without reflecting at all on the horrid and barbarous treatment with which he had used others, he could not forbear complaining of the great hardship he suffered in being put into the death warrant, after a promise had been made him of life, though nothing is more certain than that he never performed any part of those conditions upon which it was to have taken place.

At the place of execution he was so faint, confused, and in such a consternation that he could not speak either to the people, or to those who were nearer at hand, dying with the greatest marks of dejection and confusion that could possibly be seen in any criminal whatever. He was about thirty years old at the time of his execution, which was at high-water mark, Execution Dock, on the 14th of August, 1723.

63. Where the warrant had evidently been taken for the signature of the king or a minister.



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1724

It was announced that a Captain Smith had brought word from Captain “Sprigg, the [pirate](#)” at Honduras in the 24-gun *Bachelor’s Delight*, along with Captain Skipton in the 24-gun *Royal Fortune* which had been commanded by Captain Lowe. They were promising to visit the continental coasts in the spring. Captain Skipton was said to be a north countryman, with a tendency toward mercy. Captain Lowe, in the 30-gun *Merry Christmas*,⁶⁴ with an escort of another vessel, had come upon and plundered a Portuguese ship, but then his mutinous crew had set him ashore.

A vessel commanded by Captain Ellison of New-York was taken by Captain “Sprigg the [pirate](#)” in his *Old Squirrel*,⁶⁵ within sight of the island of Barbadoes, and was plundered and politely released. Soon after, the *Gazette* carried the information that Sprigg’s pirate vessel *Old Squirrel* was going to careen somewhere along the East Coast for repairs. The paper reported that Captain Sprigg was saying that as soon as he got some more men he was going to attack Captain Solgard’s *Greyhound*, with which he had fought off the *Hook*, and which was at this time again cruising along the coast for pirates.

December: The [Rhode Island](#) vessel *John and Mary* was taken by [pirates](#).⁶⁶

64. Pirates tended to continually switch from ship to ship as they captured better vessels.

65. This was an antique man-of-war that had been sold by the government for a merchantman, had been taken by Captain Lowe, and had then been run away with by Sprigg and others of Lowe’s crew.

66. Jonathan Barlow, a Rhode Islander caught up in this way, has kept a sea journal from June 1724 to January 30, 1725, that is in our hands. He was captured while on a voyage from London bound for Africa, had experiences aboard pirate vessels such as Captain Edward Low’s *Merry Christmas*, and went to [Cuba](#) and Florida before making his way back home to [Rhode Island](#) aboard the *John and Mary*.



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1725

The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly voted to reward five men £10 each for helping at the recapture of the *John and Mary* from [pirates](#).

It was being reported that Sprigg the pirate had been put ashore by his men in the West Indies, and had been taken prisoner to Jamaica. From Barbadoes it was reported that Line, who was commander of his consort, had been taken into Curracoa. These captured [pirates](#) were then paraded to the prison behind their black silk pirate flag, and it was noted during the procession that their wounds stank. Line, who had lost his nose and an eye, was boasting that he had killed the masters of 37 vessels.

It seems that the [pirate](#) Skipton, with 80 of his men, was taken by the HMS *Diamond* in the bay of Honduras, together with the *Joseph Cooper*,⁶⁷ another pirate vessel, but that when one of these pirate vessels saw the necessity to surrender, the captain and many of his men had gone into the cabin and blown themselves up.

May: Philip Ashton arrived home in Marblehead MA, finally safe from the [pirates](#) and rescued from the desert isle on which he had been stranded. He brought with him his journal of this period of great excitement in his life, a writing which we still have.

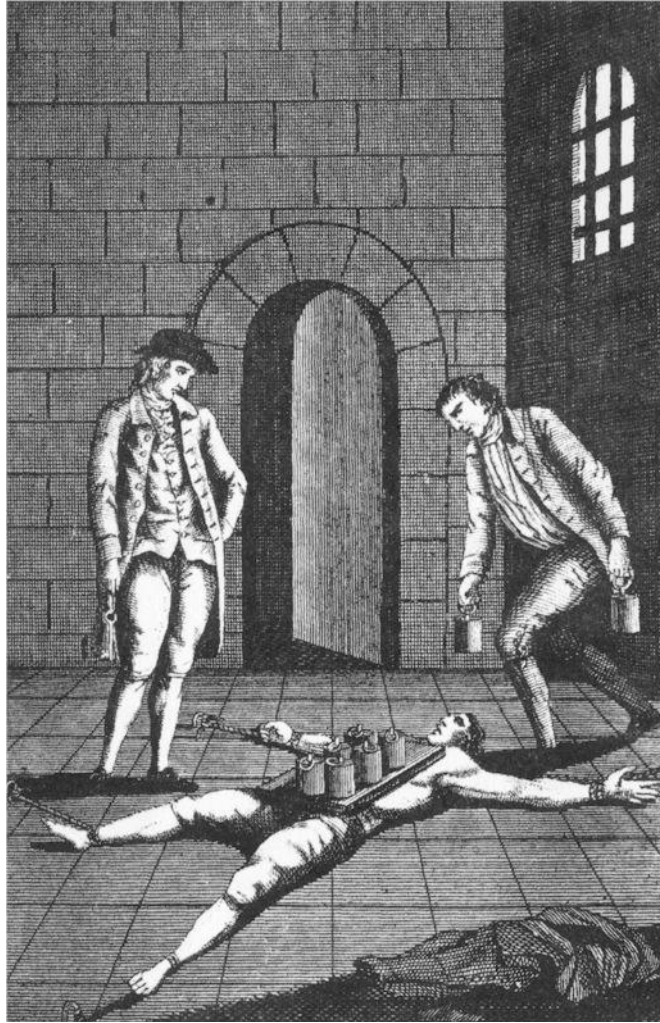
Planters imported furze to [St. Helena](#) to mark their boundaries — yet another invasive species to play hell with the native ecology.

67. Joe Cooper was before mentioned as a [pirate](#), known and presented by the grand jury at Philadelphia, in 1718.

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May: A Court of Admiralty in [London](#) tried various pirates captured in the Orkney Islands. Captain Gow refused to plead either Guilty or Not Guilty to the indictment, so the Court had him [tortured](#) by tying his thumbs with whipcord. The executioner and another officer of the court drew the cord several times until it snapped, but this had no persuasive effect on the prisoner. The court therefore ordered that he “be taken back to prison, and there pressed to death” the following morning by the gaoler.



The court then turned to the trials of the other prisoners, his companion [pirates](#). The following morning, as the gaoler prepared the press pursuant to the order of the Court the day before, Captain Gow requested that he be allowed to send a humble petition to the Court, that he might be granted a second opportunity to enter a plea. The Court of Admiralty granted this request and he was brought again to the bar and arraigned, and pleaded Not Guilty. After hearing again the depositions that the court had received against the other prisoners, he was convicted and sentenced to hang, a fate which he then suffered in company with Captain Weaver and William Ingham.



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THE ADVENTURES, TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CAPTAIN GOW⁶⁸

Captain Gow sailed from Amsterdam in July 1724, on board the *George*, galley, for Santa Cruz, where they took in bees'-wax. Scarcely had they sailed from that place, when Gow and several others, who had formed a conspiracy, seized the vessel. One of the conspirators cried, "There is a man overboard." The captain instantly ran to the side of the vessel, when he was seized by two men, who attempted to throw him over; he however so struggled, that he escaped from their hands. One Winter, with a knife, attempted to cut him in the throat, but missing his aim, the captain was yet saved. But Gow coming aft shot him through the body and throwing him over the rail he caught hold of the main sheet; but Gow taking up an axe, with two blows so disabled him that he fell into the sea and was drowned. The conspirators proceeded to murder all who were not in their horrid plot, which being done, James Williams came upon deck, and striking one of the guns with his cutlass, saluted Gow in the following words: "Captain Gow, you are welcome, welcome to your command." Williams was declared lieutenant, and the other officers being appointed, the captain addressed them, saying: "If, hereafter, I see any of you whispering together, or if any of you refuse to obey my orders, let every such man depend upon it, that he shall certainly go the same way as those that are just gone before."

Their first prize was the *Sarah Snow*, of Bristol. After they had rifled the vessel and received one man from it, they allowed her to prosecute her voyage. The *Delight*, of Poole, was the next vessel that fell into their hands; but they not long after captured two others, from one of which they received a quantity of fish, and from the other bread, beef, and pork. They also forced two men from the latter ship. A French ship, not long after, furnished them with wine, oil, figs, oranges, and lemons, to the value of 500*l*. In a short time after, they captured their last prize, and, as she made no resistance, they plundered and dismissed her.

They next sailed for the Orkney Isles to clean, but were apprehended by a gentleman of that country, brought up to London, and tried before a Court of Admiralty, in May 1725. When the first indictment was read, Gow obstinately refused to plead, for which the Court ordered his thumbs to be tied together with whipcord. The punishment was several times repeated by the executioner and another officer, they drawing the cord every time till it broke. But he still being stubborn, refusing to submit to the court, the sentence was pronounced against him, which the law appoints in such cases; that is, "That he should be taken back to prison, and there pressed to death." The gaoler was then ordered to conduct him back, and see that the sentence was executed the next morning; meanwhile the trials of the prisoners, his companions, went forward.

But the next morning, when the press was prepared, pursuant to

68. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)

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the order of the Court the day before, he was so terrified with the apprehension of dying in that manner, that he sent his humble petition to the Court, praying that he might be admitted to plead. This request being granted, he was brought again to the bar, and arraigned upon the first indictment, to which he pleaded Not guilty. Then the depositions that had been given against the other prisoners were repeated, upon which he was convicted, and received the sentence of death accordingly, which he suffered in company with Captain Weaver and William Ingham. The stories of these two men are so interwoven with others, that it will be impossible to distinguish many of their particular actions. They were, however, proved to have been concerned, if not the principal actors, in the following piracies: first, the seizing a Dutch ship in August 1722, and taking from thence a hundred pieces of Holland, value 800 l.; a thousand pieces of eight, value 250 l. Secondly, the entering and pillaging the Dolphin of London, William Haddock, out of which they got three hundred pieces of eight, value 75 l.; forty gallons of rum, and other things, on the twentieth of November in the same year. Thirdly, the stealing out of a ship called the Don Carlos, Lot Neekins, master, four hundred ounces of silver, value 100 l. fifty gallons of rum, value 30 s. a thousand pieces of eight, a hundred pistoles, and other valuable goods. And fourthly, the taking from a ship called the England, ten pipes of wine, value 250 l. The two last charges both in the year 1721. Weaver returned home, and came to Mr. Thomas Smith, at Bristol, in a very ragged condition; and pretending that he had been robbed by pirates, Smith, who had been acquainted with him eight or nine years before, provided him with necessaries, and he walked about unmolested for some time. But Captain Joseph Smith, who knew him when a pirate, one day met him, and asked him to go and take a bottle with him; when they were in the tavern he told him that he had been a considerable sufferer by his boarding his vessel "therefore," said he, "as I understand that you are in good circumstances, I expect that you will make me some restitution; which if you do, I will never hurt a hair of your head, because you were very civil to me when I was in your hands." But as this recompense was never given, Weaver was apprehended and executed.

PIRATE'S SONG.

To the mast nail our flag it is dark as the grave,
 Or the death which it bears while it sweeps o'er the
 wave;
 Let our deck clear for action, our guns be prepared;
 Be the boarding-axe sharpened, the scimeter bared:
 Set the canisters ready, and then bring to me,
 For the last of my duties, the powder-room key.
 It shall never be lowered, the black flag we bear;
 If the sea be denied us, we sweep through the air.
 Unshared have we left our last victory's prey;
 It is mine to divide it, and yours to obey:
 There are shawls that might suit a sultana's white
 neck,
 And pearls that are fair as the arms they will deck;
 There are flasks which, unseal them, the air will
 disclose
 Diametta's fair summers, the home of the rose.



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I claim not a portion: I ask but as mine –
'Tis to drink to our victory – one cup of red wine.
Some fight, 'tis for riches – some fight, 'tis for
fame:

The first I despise, and the last is a name.
I fight, 'tis for vengeance! I love to see flow,
At the stroke of my sabre, the life of my foe.
I strike for the memory of long-vanished years;
I only shed blood where another shed tears,
I come, as the lightning comes red from above,
O'er the race that I loathe, to the battle I love.

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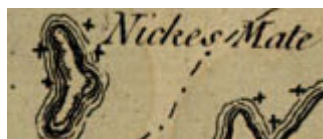
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1726

July 4: In Boston, Governor William Dummer and his council condemned William Fly and his men Samuel Cole and Henry Grenville as [pirates](#). Two days before their execution they would be taken to Mr. Coleman’s church in Boston — but would find they cared little for his sermon. (At about this same point in time, Captain Bellamy and seven others were coming ashore at Eastham, and were similarly being captured, condemned, and executed.)⁶⁹

69. This William Fly had been a boatswain aboard a negrero engaged in the slave trade and had led a mutiny killing the captain, renaming his ship *Fame’s Revenge*. For about a month he had pirated vessels along the New England coast, until captured off of the coast of Newburyport. Fly was known during his short career to whip his captives with up to 100 lashes. He would go to be [hanged](#) on Nix’s Mate island in Boston Harbor with a nosegay in his hand, and fix the noose around his own neck while chiding the hangman for not knowing his craft.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE





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H-NET REVIEW:

**KEVIN P. McDONALD ON VILLAINS OF ALL NATIONS:
ATLANTIC PIRATES IN THE GOLDEN AGE**

**MARCUS REDIKER.
VILLAINS OF ALL NATIONS:
ATLANTIC PIRATES IN THE GOLDEN AGE.
BOSTON: BEACON PRESS, 2004.⁷⁰**

Devils on the Deep Blue Sea

Accounts of pirates and piracy, ranging from the fantastical to the historical and everywhere in between, have been recorded since antiquity, when trading vessels were first constructed to move people and goods via waterways. Pirates plundered periodically throughout the ancient Aegean, but it was Roman jurisprudence that first characterized the watery brigands as *hostes humani generis*, enemies of all mankind, in a bid to protect a claim of imperial sovereignty upon the seas that linked their cross-continental empire. This legal designation, notably absent in the Hellenic era, was re-invoked two millennia later by the courts of the early modern mercantile empires for similar imperial objectives. As these latter-day maritime empires expanded beyond their familiar home waters, their desire to control the seas and the jurisdictional claims of sovereignty followed in the wakes of their carracks, caravels, fly-boats, and frigates. Regulating and enforcing this tenuous authority was a herculean task, however, and pirates from all regions demonstrated over time that they were indeed not enemies of all humankind; instead, they nearly always found friendly ports of call in which to trade their looted cargoes, spend their equitably divided shares, and debauch themselves in drunken orgies. This socioeconomic aspect of piracy was de rigueur until the peak of the golden age of piracy, roughly 1716 to 1726, the decade explored under the revealing historical lens of Marcus Rediker. In this fine collection of essays, Professor Rediker has provided a welcome addition to the growing subfield of pirate studies and created a worthy companion volume to his landmark maritime labor history, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*.⁷¹ In the admirable tradition of the late E.P. Thompson, Rediker fashions his social and cultural histories from below, with special thematic emphasis placed upon work, class, and power. The author posits mariners as proto-industrial laborers,

70. Reviewed by: Kevin P. McDonald, Department of History, University of California – Santa Cruz. Published by: H-Atlantic (December 2005)

71. Rediker's initial foray into the field of piratology was his seminal article, "'Under the Banner of King Death': The Social World of Anglo-American Pirates, 1716 to 1726," *William and Mary Quarterly*, ser. 3, 38 (1981): pp. 203-227. See also, Rediker, *BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP BLUE SEA: MERCHANT SEAMEN, PIRATES, AND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN MARITIME WORLD, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987); and Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *THE MANY-HEADED HYDRA: SAILORS, SLAVES, COMMONERS, AND THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ATLANTIC* (Boston: Beacon Press; London: Verso, 2000). [2]. David Starkey, "Pirates and Markets," in *BANDITS AT SEA: A PIRATES READER*, ed. C.R. Pennell (NY: New York UP, 2001).



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the ship as a factory at sea, and pirates as libertarian heroes and anarchic rebels who fought against the brutality and hierarchy of the navy, but most especially against authoritarian merchant captains and the injustices of the wage labor regime. Readers familiar with Rediker's scholarship will find similar content in *Villains of All Nations*, as many of the same protagonists, arguments, sources, and illustrations materialize in these pages. Memorable themes of hierarchy and Libertalia are recounted, as the class antagonisms of terra firma are turned upside down in the wooden world of the pirate ship, and a dialectic of violence and terror develops between these pirates and the ruling classes of the emerging nation-states, especially Great Britain. The eight chapters are arranged thematically and can be read in any order, though the first essay serves as an introduction and sets the tone of the volume, beginning with the execution of the Anglo-American pirate, William Fly, upon the Boston gallows. Chapter 2 explains the circumstances that gave rise to the peak period of pirate activity, particularly from the perspective of the sailors who "went on the account." The next chapter describes the social origins and demographics of pirate crews--overwhelmingly poor working seamen--who either mutinied and seized a merchant vessel, or more commonly, volunteered to join when a pirate boarded their vessel. Chapter 4 details the democratic and egalitarian culture of the pirate ship, including the election of captains and quartermasters, the drawing up and signing of articles, the equitable division of plunder, and an early modern version of health and life insurance, all of which can be traced to the seventeenth-century practices of Caribbean freebooters. The fifth essay elucidates upon the "distribution of justice" meted out by pirate crews upon their victims and the social contempt they held "for the merchant captain, the royal official, and the system of authority those figures represented and enforced" (p. 85). Chapter 6, revised from a previously published essay, engages the infamous women pirates, Anne Bonny and Mary Read, and is derived mostly from Captain Charles Johnson's contemporary account. Chapter 7 describes the rhetorical, military, and legal campaign initiated by the ruling classes to "extirpate [pirates] out of the world," and the final essay explores the symbolic origins of the Jolly Roger and "the interrelated themes of death, apocalypse, hell, and self-destruction--fundamental matters of life and death and what they might have meant to these poor, motley, seafaring people in the early eighteenth century" (p. 153). An epigrammatic conclusion ends the volume, leaving the reader somewhat dangling, like one of the many condemned pirates described in such fascinating detail throughout the preceding pages. The essays are strongly supported by the author's skillful use of metropolitan and colonial newspaper articles, travel accounts, religious sermons, official correspondence, state papers, admiralty records, and other court documents. Rediker also leans heavily on the contemporary *General History of the Pyrates* (1724) by Captain Charles Johnson, though some scholars, as well as library catalogues, have continued to maintain [Daniel Defoe](#) as its true author. The most imaginative use of sources occurs in chapter 6, where the author juxtaposes an early eighteenth-century allegorical painting of piracy with Eugène Delacroix's 1830 masterpiece, *Liberty Leading the People*, claiming that its inspiration lies



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in the illustration on the frontispiece of the Dutch translation of Johnson's General History. In addition, the author has compiled a database of 778 pirates -the best available to date- that he draws upon for statistical purposes, especially in chapters 2 and 3. While endlessly engaging, there are some questionable aspects. The heroic stature granted these violent villains is somewhat disconcerting, as many pirates consistently engaged in the brutal torture of victims for sadistic purposes and the pursuit of personal wealth as much as for any alleged political agenda. Furthermore, while pirates undoubtedly came from all nations, the ones described herein are decidedly anglocentric, as are the majority of sources. In addition, the author's reasonable contention that piracy made a major impact on the Atlantic trade is based mainly on anecdotal evidence and would greatly benefit from more detailed quantitative data compiled from a wider range of sources, especially Spanish, Dutch, French, and Portuguese archival materials. Finally, Rediker's insistence that pirates "ruptured the Middle Passage" elides the more fundamentally complicit role played by pirates -from the Elizabethan era onward- in building up the slave trade (p. 145). Careful periodization is the key to explaining these generational aspects of a long and complex history, and in the decade following the War of the Spanish Succession, when thousands of seamen and legally commissioned privateers suddenly found themselves unemployed, Rediker's anti-authoritarian characterization of pirates is certainly well founded. The limited temporal scope, illuminating in its focus, at the same time obfuscates the more complex and often contradictory roles played by pirates and privateers -often one and the same- at the behest of merchants and colonial administrators throughout most of the early modern era. Indeed, the overall process of early European colonizing efforts, beginning with the induction by the Portuguese of the extortionate cartaze system in the Indian Ocean region, might properly be framed as state-sponsored piracy. In the Atlantic world, the conspicuous exploits of Drake, Raleigh, Cavendish, and Hawkins, as well as the abandoned privateer staging post at Roanoke, are only the most obvious evidence of this, while less notable but equally revealing markers include the French settlement attempt at Fort Caroline in La Florida, the Scots effort in Darien, and the Puritan scheme of settling Old Providence Island near the Spanish Main. Throughout the seventeenth century, moreover, French, English, and Dutch buccaneers operated, with tacit support, if not official sponsorship, throughout the Caribbean basin, attacking Spanish ships and towns while selling their plunder in bustling pirate havens like Port Royal, Jamaica. As the lucrative sugar trade began to take hold, merchants and administrators became less tolerant toward the freebooters, and the buccaneers shifted their bases accordingly, forum-shopping for friendly ports along the North Atlantic seaboard and finding refuge in places like Charleston, New York, and Newport, while expanding their hunting grounds and networks to the South Sea and the rich trading world of the Indian Ocean region.

Indeed, over the *longue durée*, cyclical patterns of piracy can be identified, as David J. Starkey has noted, with a marked increase in piratical activities following periods of European warfare, for example, from 1603 to 1616, 1714 to 1726, and 1815 to 1825.[2] These short-wave cycles, as transient phases, might



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otherwise undermine any wider historical significance of Rediker's anti-statist villains if not for the deep and lasting impact these particular pirates have maintained in the popular culture. The recent Disney blockbuster *Pirates of the Caribbean*, with a sequel planned for release next summer, has demonstrated a continuing popular fascination with pirates, and this is translating into more and more serious scholarly attention. As historians of Marcus Rediker's caliber and imagination continue to unveil the fascinating societies, vibrant cultures, and remarkable lives of pirates, the history of this generation of pirates must now be integrated into a longer history, in which we will see significant changes over time. In so doing, the history of the Atlantic, indeed, of the globe, can only come more sharply into focus, and the seas, along with the islands, ports, and littorals that adjoin them, will continue to be recognized in their proper context as spaces of cultural, political, economic, and social interaction.

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1728

Mid-September: [George Berkeley](#) of the Church of England embarked for America, where he would land at [Newport](#) in the [Rhode Island](#) colony as the mainland port most convenient to the island of Bermuda, attempting to induce the course of empire westward to wend its weary way to that Shakespearean isle. On arrival he would purchase farmland near Newport and build “Whitehall,” named grandiloquently after the English palace.⁷² The shoreline about a mile from the house had a cleft in the rocks which would become his retreat for writing and reflection. Either while aboard ship on his way here, or at some point previous to 1726, the peripatetic coal-tar philosopher/theologian penned his famous poem “On the Prospects of Planting Arts and Learning in America.” A great university in Bermuda he would not succeed in founding, nor would he make it across the isthmus of Panama or around the Horn to Berkeley in California, which anyway didn’t exist yet, but while here in Rhode Island, marking time until into the year 1731, waiting for royally promised funds, waiting for his ship to come in, he would help to form a philosophical (which is to say, scientific) society at Newport⁷³ and would preach regularly in the old wooden Trinity Church that had been established by, among others, the former

72. You can visit this building to see a portrait of the personage. You can visit only from July 1 to Labor Day; the stricture is that the structure is presently being utilized by the National “Help, I’ve descended and can’t get up!” Society of the Colonial Dames.

73. [Newport, Rhode Island’s Redwood Library](#) at 50 Bellevue Avenue, the oldest library building in continuous use in the USA, would be a legacy of this Philosophical Society.

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pirate Captain [Thomas Paine](#).



Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.



A LIFE OF GEORGE BERKELEY

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Bishop George Berkeley in his alcove by the Rhode Island shore



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1729

May 16: John Upton, a [pirate](#) under Captain Cooper of the *Night Rambler*, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.⁷⁴

No laws in any civilized nations are more severe than those against piracy, nor are they less severely executed, and the criminals who suffer by them are usually the least pitied, or rather the most detested of all who come to die an ignominious death by the sentence of the Law. Of old they were styled *hostes humani generis*, and the oldest systems we have of particular institutions have treated them with a rigor suitable to their offence. With respect to those who fall into the hands of British justice, it must be remarked that they usually plead as an excuse for what they have done their being forced into [pirates'](#) service, and as it is well known that numbers are really forced into crimes they detest, so the lenience of our judicators generally admit whatever proofs are probable in such a case. But where the contrary appears, and the acts of piracy plainly arise from the wicked dispositions of the offenders, the Royal Mercy is less frequently extended to them than to any other sort of criminal whatever.

As to the prisoner of whom we are to speak, John Upton was born at Deptford, of very honest parents who gave him such an education as fitted their station, and that in which they intended to breed him. When grown up to be a sturdy youth, they put him out apprentice to a waterman, with whom he served out his time faithfully, and with a good character. Afterwards he went to sea and served for twenty-eight years together on board a man-of-war, in the posts of either boatswain or quartermaster. Near the place of his birth he married a woman, took a house and lived very respectably with her during the whole course of her life, but she dying while he was at sea, and finding at his return that his deceased wife had run him greatly in debt, clamours coming from every quarter, and several writs being issued out against him, he quitted the service in the man-of-war, and went immediately in a merchantman to Newfoundland. There by agreement he was discharged from the ship and entered himself for eighteen pounds *per annum* into the service of a planter in that country in order to serve him in fishing and furring, the chief trade of that place; for Newfoundland abounding with excellent harbours, there is no country in the world which affords so large and so plentiful a fishery as this does. However its climate renders it less desirable, it being extremely hot in the summer and as intensely cold in the winter, when the wild beasts roam about in great numbers, and furnish thereby an opportunity to the inhabitants of gaining considerably by falling them, and selling their furs.

Upton having served his year out was discharged from his master, and going to New England, he there, in the month of July, 1725, shipped himself on board the *Perry* merchantman bound for Barbadoes. The ship was livred and loaded again, the captain designing them to sail for England, whereupon Upton desired

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leave to go on board his Majesty's ship *Lynn*, Captain Cooper. But Captain King absolutely refusing to discharge him in order thereto, on the ninth of November, 1725, he sailed in the aforesaid vessel for England.

On the twelfth of the same month, off Dominica, they were attacked by a [pirate](#) sloop called the *Night Rambler*, under the command of one Cooper. The pirate immediately ordered the captain of the *Perry* galley to come on board his ship, which he and four of his men did, and the pirate immediately sent some of his crew on board the *Perry* galley, who effectually made themselves masters thereof, and as Upton said, used him and the rest of the persons they found on board with great inhumanity and baseness, a thing very common amongst those wretches. Upton also insisted that as to himself, one of the pirate's crew ran up to him as soon as they came on board and with a cutlass in his hand, said with an oath, *You old son of a bitch, I know you and you shall go along with us or I'll cut out your liver*, and thereupon fell to beating him fore and aft the deck with his cutlass.

The same evening he was carried on board the pirate sloop, where, according to his journal, three of the [pirates](#) attacked him; one with a pistol levelled at his forehead demanded whether he would sign their articles, another with a pistol at his right ear, swore that if he did not they would blow out his brains, while a third held a couple of forks at his breast, and terrified him with the continual apprehensions of having them stabbed into him. Whereupon he told them that he had four young infants in England, to whom he thought it his duty to return, and therefore begged to be excused as having reason to decline their service, as well as a natural dislike to their proceedings. Upon which, he said, he called his captain to take notice that he did not enter voluntarily amongst them. Upon this the pirate said they found out a way to satisfy themselves by signing for him, and this, he constantly averred, was the method of his being taken into the crew of the *Night Rambler*, where he insisted he did nothing but as he was commanded, received no share in the plunder, but lived wholly on the ship's allowance, being treated in all respect as one whom force and not choice had brought amongst them.

But to return to the *Perry* galley, which the pirates carried to the Island of Aruba, a maroon or uninhabited island, or rather sand bank, where they sat the crew ashore and left them for seventeen days without any provision, except that the surgeon of the pirate now and then brought them something in his pocket by stealth. On the tenth of December the pirates saw a sail which proved to be a Dutch sloop, which they took, and on board this Upton and two others who had been forced as well as himself were put, from whence as he said, they made their escape. After abundance of misfortunes and many extraordinary adventures, he got on board his Majesty's ship *Nottingham*, commanded by Captain Charles Cotterel, where he served for two years in the quality of quartermaster. He was then taken up and charged with piracy, upon which he was indicted at an Admiralty sessions held in the month of May, 1729, when the evidence at his trial appeared so strong that after a short stay the jury found him guilty.

But his case having been very differently represented, I fancy my readers will not be displeased if I give them an exact account of the proofs produced against him.



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The first witness who was called on the part of the Crown was Mr. Dimmock, who had been chief mate on board the *Perry galley*, and he deposed in the following terms:

On the twelfth of November, 1725, we sailed from Barbadoes on the *Perry galley* bound for England. On the 14th, about noon, we were taken by the *Night Rambler*, [pirate](#) sloop, one Cooper commander. Our captain and four men were ordered on board the pirate sloop, part of the pirate's crew coming also on board the *Perry*. Wherein they no sooner entered, but the prisoner at the bar said, *Lads, are ye come? I'm glad to see ye; I have been looking out for ye for a great while.* Whereupon the pirates saluted him very particularly, calling him by his name, and the prisoner was as busy as any of the rest in plundering and stripping the ship on board of which he had served, and the rest who belonged to it, the very next day after being made boatswain of the pirate. The same day I was carried on board the pirate sloop, tied to the gears and received two hundred lashes with a cat o' nine tails which the prisoner Upton had made for that purpose; after which they pickled me, and the prisoner Upton stabbed me in the head near my ear with a knife, insomuch that I could not lay my head upon a pillow for fourteen days, but was forced to support it upon my hand against the table; and when some of the pirate's crew asked me how I did, upon my answering that I was as bad as a man could be and live, the prisoner, Upton, said *D—n him, give him a second reward.*

It was also further deposed by the same gentleman that at the island of Aruba, the prisoner was very busy in stripping the *Perry galley* of the most useful and valuable parts of her rigging, carrying them on board the pirate, and making use of them there. He had also in his custody several things of value, and particularly wearing apparel, belonging to one Mr. Furnell, a passenger belonging to the said *Perry galley*; and when it was debated amongst the [pirates](#), and afterwards put to the vote, whether the crew of the said galley should have their vessel again or no, John Upton was not only against them, but also proposed burning the said vessel, and tying the captain and mate to one of the masts in order to their being burnt too.

Mr. Eaton, the second mate of the ship, was the next witness called. He confirmed all that had been sworn by Mr. Dimmock, adding that the day they were taken the pirates asked if he would consent to sign their articles, which he refused. Whereupon they put a rope about his neck, and hoisted him up to the yard's arm, so that he totally lost his senses. He recovered them by some of the pirate's crew pricking him in the fleshy parts of his body, while others beat him with the flat of their swords. As soon as they perceived he was a little come to himself they put the former question to him, whether he would sign their articles. He answered, *No*, a second time. One of the crew thereupon snatched up a pistol, and swore he would shoot him through the head; but another of them said, *No, d—n him, that's too honourable a death; he shall be hanged.* Upon this they pulled him up by the rope again, and treated him with many other indignities, and at last in the captain's cabin, pulled a cap over his eyes and clapped a pistol to his head; then he expected

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nothing but immediate death, a person having almost jabbed his eye out with the muzzle of the pistol, but at last they did let him go. He swore, also, that when the pirates' articles were presented to him to sign, he saw there the name of John Upton, he being well acquainted with his hand.

Mr. Furnell, a passenger in the ship, was the third evidence against the prisoner. He deposed to the same effect with the other two, adding that John Upton was more cruel and barbarous to them than any of the other pirates, insomuch that when they were marooned, and under the greatest necessities for food, Upton said, *D—n them, let them be starved*, and was the most active of all the rest in taking the goods, and whatever he could lay his hands on out of the *Perry* galley.

In his defence the prisoner would fain have suggested that what the witnesses had sworn against him was chiefly occasioned by a malicious spleen they had against him. He asserted that he was forced by the pirates to become one of their number and was so far from concerned with them voluntarily that he proposed to the mate, after they were taken, to regain the ship, urging that there were but thirteen of the pirates on board, and they all drunk, and no less than nine of their own men left there who were all sober; that the mate's heart failed him, and instead of complying with his motion, said, *This is a dangerous thing to speak of; if it should come to the pirates' ears we shall be all murdered*, and therefore entreated the prisoner not to speak of it any more. The mate denied every syllable of this, and so the prisoner's assertions did not weigh at all with the jury. After they had brought in their verdict, Mr. Upton said to those who swore against him, *Lord! What have you three done?*

Under sentence of death he behaved himself with much courage, and yet with great penitence. He denied part of the charge, viz., that he was willingly one of the [pirates](#), but as to the other facts, he confessed them with very little alteration. He averred that the course of his life had been very wicked and debauched, for which he expressed much sorrow, and to the day of his death behaved himself with all outward mark of true repentance. At the place of execution, he was asked whether he had not advised the burning of the *Perry* galley, with Captain King and the chief mate on board. He averred that he did not in any shape whatsoever either propose or agree to an act of such a sort. Then, after some private devotions, he submitted to his sentence, and was turned off on the 16th day of May, 1729, being then about fifty years of age.



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1730

December 23, Wednesday (Old Style): Abraham White, Francis Sanders, John Mines, *alias* Minsham, *alias* Mitchell, Constance Buckle, and Joshua Cornwall, thieves and housebreakers, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.⁷⁵

Of these unfortunate lads, Abraham White was born of mean parents who had it not in their power to give him much education, but taught him, however, the business of a bricklayer, which was his father's trade, and by which, doubtless, if he had been careful, he might have got his bread. But he unfortunately addicting himself from childhood to drinking and lewd company, soon plunged himself into all manner of wickedness, and quickly brought on a fatal necessity of stepping into the road of the gallows; and associating himself with Sanders and Minsham, they had all gone together upon the road for about six weeks before they were taken.

Francis Sanders was a young fellow of very tolerable arts and education. He had been put out apprentice to a stay-maker, attained to a great proficiency in his trade; and by the help of his friends, who were very willing to lend him their assistance, he might have done very well in the world if it had not been for that unfortunate inclination to roving, which continually possessed him. His acquaintance with a certain bad woman was in all probability the first cause of his addicting himself to ill-courses, and as in the papers I have before me relating to him, her history is also contained, I thought it would not be unentertaining to my readers if I ventured to insert it. This woman's true name was Mary Smith. She was brought up, while young, from her native country of Yorkshire to London, where getting into the service of an eminent shopkeeper, she might, had she been honest and industrious, have lived easily and with credit; but unfortunately both for herself and her master's apprentice, the young man took a liking to her, and one night, having first taken care to make himself master of the key of her door, he came out of his chamber into hers, where after a faint resistance, he got to bed to her. Their correspondence was carried on for a good while without suspicion, but the young man having one night stole a bottle of rum with a design that it should make his mistress and he merry together before they went to bed, they inconsiderately drank so heartily of it that the next morning they slept so sound that their master and mistress came upstairs at ten o'clock, and found them in bed together. Upon this, the wench, without more ado, was turned out of doors, and was forced to live at an alehouse of ill-repute, where Sanders used to come of an evening, and so got acquainted with her.

John Minsham was an unfortunate wretch, born of mean parents, and equally destitute of capacity or education. From the time he had been able to crawl alone, he had known scarce any other home than the street. Shoe-blacks and such like vagabonds were his constant companions, and the only honest employment he ever pretended to was that of a hackney-coachman, which the brethren

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of the whip had taught him out of charity. Thus furnished with bad principles, and every way fitted for those detestable practices into which they precipitated themselves, they first got into one another's company at a dram-shop near St. Giles in the Fields, much frequented by Constance Buckle, a most lewd and abandoned strumpet, and one Rowland Jones, a fellow of as bad principles as themselves. One night, having intoxicated themselves with the vile manufacture of the house, they went out, after they had spent their money, and in Bloomsbury Square attacked one John Ross, from whom they took away a hat value five shillings, and fourpence halfpenny in money. This man, it seems, lived the very next door to the gin-shop where they frequented. Going there the next day, to make complaint, he was immediately told that the people who had robbed him had sold his hat, and were coming thither by and by to drink the money out in gin. Upon this information Ross procured proper assistance, and the people keeping their appointment pretty exactly, were all surprised and taken.

In the confusion they were under when first apprehended, Minsham and Sanders in part owned the fact, but Rowland Jones making a full and frank discovery, was accepted as an evidence, and produced against them at their trial at the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey, where, upon full evidence, they were all convicted of this fact, and Francis Sanders, Constance Buckle, and Robert Tyler, were indicted for assaulting Richard Smith on the highway, putting him in fear, and taking from him a hat value five shillings.

Rowland Jones, the evidence, deposed that the night the robbery was committed he was in company with the prisoners at a brandy shop, where having drunk until they were all pretty much elevated, they went out in order to see what they could pick up. And not far from the place they went from, overtaking a man whom they saw had a pretty good hat on, Sanders hit him a blow in the face, and that not doing the business, he repeated it, and at the second blow, the hat fell off from his head, whereupon Constance Buckle caught it and clapped it under her coat. The constable deposed that by the information of Rowland Jones, he apprehended the prisoners. Constance Buckle acknowledged that she was in their company when the man was knocked down and the hat taken, whereupon the jury, without withdrawing, found them guilty, and they received sentence of death.

The woman Constance Buckle pleaded her being with child, and a jury of matrons being impannelled, they found she was quick, and thereby procured her a respite of execution, and soon after her sentence was changed to transportation. The rest, under conviction, behaved themselves very indifferently, and manifested sufficiently that though custom and an evil disposition might make them bold in the commission of robberies, yet when death looked them steadily and unavoidably in the face, all that resolution forsook them, and in their last moments they behaved with all the appearances of terror which are usually seen in souls just awakened to a due sense of their guilt. They died on the 23rd of December, 1730; White being eighteen,

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Sanders near eighteen, and Minsham sixteen years of age.



Though vices are undoubtedly the chief instruments that bring unhappy persons to that ignominious death which the Law hath appointed for enormous offences, yet it very often happens that folly rather than wickedness brings them first into the road of ruin; in which, led on by delusive hopes, they continue to run until a disastrous fate overtakes them, and puts an end at once to their vicious race, and to their lives. The criminal whose memoirs at present employ our pen is such an example as I hope, while it entertains, may also instruct my readers to avoid his errors.

This unfortunate man was the son of reputable and honest parents in the town of Brigg in the county of Lincoln. Their circumstances were such as enabled them to give him an education; and the desire they had of doing everything that was possible for their son inclined them not to be wanting in this particular. His mother, was fond of him to a fault, and being permitted by her indulgence to run up and down amongst young people of his own age, riding across the country to friends and other diversions of a like nature, he lost all liking to things of a serious nature, and without thinking how to procure the necessaries of life, was altogether taken up in enjoying those pleasures to which he had the greatest inclination. In the midst of this pleasant situation of things (at least as it appeared to him at that time) the prospect was darkened by the death of his mother. His friends retained for him a due paternal affection, but had no notion of permitting him to go on the life he led, and therefore to break him of that as well as to make him acquainted with an honest method of getting his living, his

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father put him out apprentice to a baker in Hull.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



Proverbs Chap. I. Verſ. 27, 28.
When poverty and discipline, and their
deſtruction cometh as a whirlwind, when
deſtreſs cometh upon them, then they ſhall
call upon God, but he will not answer.

But as kindness seemed of all things the most fatal to this unhappy man, so the acquaintance and friendship which his master had for Cornwall's family became a new means of leading him into misfortune, for treating the young man rather with a tenderness due to a son than that severity which is usually practised towards apprentices and servants, it gave him an opportunity of renewing his old course of life. Instead of inclining him to behave in a manner which might deserve such lenity, it gave him, on the contrary, occasion frequently to abuse it by running from one dancing bout and merry-making to another, without the least care of his master's business, who out of downright affection forbore to restrain his follies with that harshness which they deserved, and which any other person would have used.

At length, having acquired so great a habit of laziness and so strong an aversion to business that he found it impossible for him to live longer in the country, he came up to London, that great receptacle of those who are either unable or unwilling to live anywhere else. Here he got into service as a footman with several persons of worth, and discharged his duty well (as



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indeed it was a kind of life which of all others suited him best), so that he obtained a tolerable reputation whereby he got into the service of one Mr. Fenwick, a gentleman of affluent fortune. Here it was that through desire of abounding in money he either drew in others, or was drawn in himself to commit that crime which cost him his life.

It seems that in Mr. Fenwick's family there was a great deal of plate used, which stood on a buffet. This tempted Cornwall, and it is highly likely gave him the first notion of attempting to rob the house. When he had once formed this project he resolved to take in one Rivers, a debauched companion of his, as a partner in the designed theft.

This Rivers was certainly easy enough prevailed on to join in the commission of this fact, and after several meetings to consult upon proper measures, Rivers at last proposed that their scheme should be put in execution as soon as possible; and that he might the more perfectly conceive how it was to be managed, he went home with Cornwall, and looked upon the house. Soon after this they held their last consultation, and Cornwall saying to Rivers that he must bring some other persons to assist him, Rivers made choice of one Girst, and coming with him at the appointed hour, Cornwall in his shirt opened the door and let them in. In the buffet there stood a lighted candle in a silver candle-stick, by which they were directed to the rest of the plate, which as soon as they had taken out, they placed all together upon the carpet, and fell next to rifling Mr. Fenwick's bureau, and took out a great quantity of linen, a lady's lace, the tea equipage, and two silver canisters. Then making it up in a bundle, it was carried to River's lodgings in Vinegar Yard, Drury Lane.

All this could not be performed with so little noise as not to disturb the family. Mr. Fenwick himself heard the noise, being awakened by his wife, who had heard it for some time, but it ceasing they fell asleep again until one of the servants came up in the morning, and told his master that the house had been robbed, the plate taken away, and a window in the back parlour left open, about which, as he could observe no marks of violence, he was led to suspect it was opened by somebody in the family; upon which Cornwall and a maid in the house were immediately thought to have a hand in. However, as there was no sort of proof, Mr. Fenwick forbore seizing them at that time, and contented himself with advertizing his plate; which advertisement coming into the hands of a pawnbroker, to whom a part of it had been pledged, he immediately gave notice that it was pawned to him by Rivers. A warrant being upon this obtained for the searching of River's lodging, a note was there found, directed to Thomas Rivers, Glover, in Guy's Court, Vinegar Yard, Drury Lane, in which were these words:

Dear Tom,

Let me see you at seven o'clock to-morrow morning, at the Postern Spring, Tower Hill, be sure.

Joshua Cornwall.

Upon this Cornwall was immediately taken up and Girst readily offered himself an evidence. In a few days after, sessions coming on, Joshua Cornwall and Thomas Rivers were indicted for burglariously breaking the house of Nicholas Fenwick, Esq., and taking thence divers pieces of plate, to the value of eighty-



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five pounds nineteen shillings, holland shirts to the value of twenty pounds, and other goods of the said Mr. Fenwick, on the 8th day of September, 1730. This indictment being fully proved, the jury found Thomas Rivers guilty thereof. But being dubious whether Joshua Cornwall, as a servant within the house of Mr. Fenwick, could be properly convicted of burglariously breaking into his said master's house, they found their verdict as to him special; which the judges having considered, they were unanimously of opinion that the crime was in its nature a burglary. Whereupon, at the following sessions at the Old Bailey, the criminal was brought to the bar, and being acquainted with their lordships' opinion, received sentence of death.

Under conviction, he behaved himself with great penitence, said he had not been guilty of many of those atrocious crimes commonly practised by such as come to that fatal end whither his folly had led him. At the place of execution he, with great fervency, justified the character of a young woman who had lived fellow-servant with him at Mr. Fenwick's. He declared, as he was a dying man, that she was not in the least privy to the injury done her master, and that he had no other than an acquaintance with her, without either having, or attempting any criminal conversation with her. Having done this justice, he seemed to die with much composure, in the twenty-second year of his age, on the 23rd of December, 1730.



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THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND SURPRISING ADVENTURES OF

JOHN GOW, ALIAS SMITH,

A MOST NOTORIOUS PIRATE AND MURDERER⁷⁶

The principal use to which a work of this nature can be applied is to engage persons to refuse the first stirrings of their passions, and the slighted emotions of vice in their breasts, since they see before their eyes so many sad examples of the fatal consequences which follow upon rash and wicked enterprises, of which the following history exhibits as extraordinary an instance as perhaps is anywhere to be found.

In giving an account of this malefactor, we are obliged to begin with his embarking on board the vessel which he afterwards seized and went a-pirating in. It was called the *George* galley, and was of about two hundred tons burden, commanded by Oliver Ferneau, a Frenchman, but a subject of the Crown of England, who entertained this Gow as a private seaman only, but afterwards, to his great misfortune, preferred him to be the second mate in the voyage of which we are next to speak.

Captain Ferneau being a man of reputation among the merchants of Amsterdam, got a voyage for his ship from thence to Santa Cruz on the coast of Barbary, to load beeswax, and to carry it to Genoa, which was his delivering port; and as the Dutch, having war with the Turks of Algiers, were willing to employ him as an English ship, so he was as willing to be manned with English seamen, and accordingly among the rest, he unhappily took on board this Gow with his wretched gang, such as MacCauly, Melvin, Williams and others. But not being able to man themselves wholly with English or Scots, he was obliged to take some Swedes, and other seamen to make his complement, which was twenty-three in all. Among the latter sort, one was named Winter, and another Peterson, both of them Swedes by nation, but wicked as Gow and his other fellows were. They sailed from the Texel in the month of August, 1724, and arrived at Santa Cruz on the second of September following, where having a super-cargo on board, who took charge of the loading, and four chests of money to purchase it, they soon got the beeswax, on board, and on the third of November they appointed to set sail to pursue the voyage.

That day the ship having lain two months in the road at Santa Cruz, taking in her lading, the captain made preparations to put to sea, and the usual signals for sailing having been given, some of the merchants from on shore, who had been concerned in furnishing the cargo, came on board in the forenoon to take their leave of the captain, and wish him a good voyage, as is usual on such occasions. Whether it was concerted by the whole gang beforehand, we know not, but while the captain was treating and entertaining the merchants under the awning upon the quarter

76. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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deck, as is the custom in those hot countries, three of the seamen, viz., Winter and Peterson, two Swedes, and MacCauly a Scotchman, came rudely upon the quarter deck as if they took the opportunity because the merchants were present, believing the captain would not use any violence with them in the presence of the merchants.

They made a long complaint of all their ill-usage, and particularly of their provisions and allowance, as they said, being not sufficient nor such as was ordinarily made in other merchant ships, seeming to load the captain, Monsieur Ferneau, with being the occasion of it, and that he did it for his private gain, which however had not been true. If the fact had been true, the overplus of provisions (if the stores had been more than sufficient) belonged to the owners, not to the captain, at the end of the voyage, there being also a steward on board to take the account. In making this complaint they seemed to direct their speech to the merchants as well as to the captain, as if they had been concerned in the ship, or as if desiring them to intercede for them with the captain, that they might have redress and a better allowance.

The captain was highly provoked at this rudeness, as indeed he had reason, it being a double affront to him as it was done in the view of the merchants who were come on board to him, to do him an honour at parting. However, he restrained his passion, and gave them not the least angry word, only that if they were aggrieved they had no more to do but to let him have know of it; that if they were ill-used it was not by his order that he would enquire into it and if anything was amiss it should be rectified, with which the seamen withdrew, seemingly well satisfied with his answer.

About five the same evening they unmoored the ship and hove short upon their best bower anchor, awaiting the land breeze (as is usual on that coast) to carry them out to sea; but instead of that, it fell stark calm, and the captain fearing the ship would fall foul of her own anchor, ordered the mizen top-sail to be furled. Peterson, one of the malcontent seamen, being the nearest man at hand seemed to go about it, but moved so carelessly and heavily that it appeared plainly he did not care whether it was done or no, and particularly as if he had a mind the captain should see it and take notice of it. Which the captain did, for perceiving how awkwardly he went about it, he spoke a little tartly to him, and asked him what was the reason he did not stir a little and furl the sail. Peterson, as if he had waited for the question, answered in a surly tone, and with a kind of disdain, *So as we eat, so shall we work*. This he spoke aloud, so that he might be sure the captain heard him and the rest of the men also, and it was evident that as he spoke in plural numbers, *We*, so he spoke their minds as well as his own, and words which they all agreed to before.

The captain, however, though he heard plain enough what he said, took not the least notice of it, or gave him the least reason to believe he had heard him, being not willing to begin a quarrel with the men and knowing that if he took any notice at all of it, he must resent it and punish it too.

Soon after this, the calm went off, and the land breeze sprang up, and they immediately weighed and stood out to sea; but the captain having had these two bustles with his men just at their putting to sea, was very uneasy in his mind, as indeed he had



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reason to be; and the same evening, soon after they were under sail, the mate being walking on the quarter deck, he went, and taking two or three turns with him, told him how he had been used by the men, particularly how they affronted him before the merchants, and what an answer Peterson had given him on the quarter deck, when he ordered him to furl the mizen top sail. The mate was as surprised at these things as the captain, and after some other discourse about it, in which it was their unhappiness not to be so private as they ought to have been in a case of such importance, the captain told him he thought it was absolutely necessary to have a quantity of small arms brought immediately into the great cabin, not only to defend themselves if there should be occasion, but also that he might be in a posture to correct those fellows for their insolence, especially should he meet with any more of it. The mate agreed that it was necessary to be done, and had they said no more, or said this more privately, all had been well, and the wicked design had been much more difficult, if not the execution of it effectually prevented.

But two mistakes in this part was the ruin of them all. First, that the captain spoke it without due caution, so that Winter and Peterson, the two principal malcontents, who were expressly mentioned by the captain to be corrected, overheard it, and knew by that means what they had to expect if they did not immediately bestir themselves to prevent it. The other mistake was that when the captain and mate agreed that it was necessary to have arms got ready, and brought into the great cabin, the captain unhappily bid him go immediately to Gow, the second mate and gunner, and give him orders to get the arms cleared and loaded for him, and to bring them up to the great cabin; which was in short to tell the conspirators that the captain was preparing to be too strong for them, if they did not fall to work with him immediately.

Winter and Peterson went immediately forward, where they knew the rest of the mutineers were, and to whom they communicated what they had heard, telling them that it was time to provide for their own safety, for otherwise their destruction was resolved on, and the captain would soon be in such a posture that there would be no muddling with him. While they were thus consulting, as they said, only for their own safety, Gow and Williams came into them with some others to the number of eight, and no sooner were they joined by these two, but they fell downright to the point which Gow had so long formed in his own mind, viz., to seize upon the captain and mate, and all those that they could not bring to join with them; in short, to throw them into the sea, and to go upon the account. All those who are acquainted with the sea language know the meaning of that expression, and that it is, in few words, to run away with the ship and turn [pirates](#).

Villainous designs are soonest concluded; as they had but little time to consult upon what measures they should take, so very little consultation served for what was before them, and they came to this short but hellish resolution, viz., that they would immediately, that very night, murder the captain and such others as they named, and afterwards proceed with the ship as they should see cause. And here it is to be observed that though Winter and Peterson were in the first proposal, namely to prevent their being brought to correction by the captain, yet



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Gow and Williams were the principal advisers in the bloody part, which however the rest came into soon; for, as I said before, as they had but little time to resolve in, so they had but very little debate about it but what was first proposed was forthwith engaged in and consented to.

It must not be omitted that Gow had always had the wicked game of pirating in his head, and that he had attempted it, or rather tried to attempt it before, but was not able to bring it to pass; so he and Williams had also several times, even in this very voyage, dropped some hints of this vile design, as they thought there was room for it, and touched two or three times at what a noble opportunity they had of enriching themselves, and making their fortunes, as they wickedly called it. This was when they had the four chests of money on board and Williams made it a kind of jest in his discourse, how easily they might carry it off, ship and all. But as they did not find themselves seconded, or that any of the men showed themselves in favour of such a thing, but rather spoke of it with abhorrence they passed it over as a kind of discourse that had nothing at all in it, except that one of the men, viz., the surgeon, once took them up short for so much as mentioning such a thing, told them the thought was criminal and it ought not to be spoken of among them, which reproof was supposed cost him his life afterwards.

As Gow and his comrade had thus started the thing at a distance before, though it was then without success, yet they had the less to do now, when other discontents had raised a secret fire in the breasts of the men; for now, being as it were mad and desperate with apprehensions of their being severely punished by the captain, they wanted no persuasions to come into the most wicked undertaking that the devil or any of his angels could propose to them. Nor do we find that upon any of their examinations they pretended to have made any scruples or objections to the cruelty of the bloody attempt that was to be made, but came to it at once, and resolved to put it in execution immediately, that is to say, the very same evening.

It was the captain's constant custom to call all the ship's company into the great cabin every night at eight o'clock to prayers, and then the watch being set, one went upon deck, and the other turned in, or, as the seamen phrase it, went to their hammocks to sleep; and here they concerted their devilish plot. It was the turn of five of the conspirators to go to sleep, and of these Gow and Williams were two. The three who were to be upon the deck were Winter, Rowlinson, and Melvin, a Scotchman. The persons they immediately designed for destruction were four, viz., the captain, the mate, the super-cargo, and the surgeon, whereof all but the captain were gone to sleep, the captain himself being upon the quarter deck.

Between nine and ten at night, all being quiet and secure, and the poor gentlemen that were to be murdered fast asleep, the villains that were below gave the watch-word, which was, *Who fires next?* At which they all got out of their hammocks with as little noise as they could, and going in the dark to the hammocks of the chief mate, super-cargo and surgeon, they cut all their throats. The surgeon's throat was cut so effectually that he could struggle very little with them, but leaping out of his hammock, ran up to get upon the deck, holding his hand upon his throat. But he stumbled at the tiller, and falling down had no breath, and consequently no strength to raise himself, but died



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where he lay.

The mate, whose throat was cut but not his windpipe, struggled so vigorously with the villain who attacked him that he got away from him and into the hold; and the super-cargo, in the same condition, got forwards between decks under some deals and both of them begged with the most moving cries and entreaties for their lives. And when nothing could prevail, they begged with the same earnestness for but a few moments to pray to God, and recommend their souls to mercy. But alike in vain, for the wretched murderers, heated with blood, were past pity, and not being able to come at them with their knives, with which they had begun the execution, they shot them with their pistols, firing several times upon each of them until they found they were quite dead.

As all this, even before the firing, could not be done without some noise, the captain, who was walking alone upon the quarter-deck, called out and asked what was the matter. The boatswain, who sat on the after bits, and was not of the party, answered he could not tell, but he was afraid there was somebody overboard; upon which the captain stepped towards the ship's side to look over. Then Winter, Rowlinson and Melvin, coming that moment behind him, laid hands on him, and lifting him up, attempted to throw him overboard into the sea; but he being a nimble strong man, got hold of the shrouds and struggled so hard with them that they could not break his hold. Turning his head to look behind him to see who he had to deal with, one of them cut his throat with a broad Dutch knife; but neither was that wound mortal, for the captain still struggled with them, and seeing he should undoubtedly be murdered, he constantly cried up to God for mercy, for he found there was none to be expected from them. During this struggle, another of the murderers stabbed him with a knife in the back, and that with such a force that the villain could not draw the knife out again to repeat his blow, which he would otherwise have done.

At this moment Gow came up from the butchery he had been at between decks, and seeing the captain still alive, he went close up to him and shot him, as he confessed, with a brace of bullets. What part he shot him in could not be known, though they said he had shot him in the head; however, he had yet life enough (though they threw him overboard) to take hold of a rope, and would still have saved himself but they cut that rope and then he fell into the sea, and was seen no more.

Thus they finished the tragedy, having murdered four of the principal men in command in the ship, so that there was nobody now to oppose them; for Gow being second mate and gunner, the command fell to him, of course, and the rest of the men having no arms ready, not knowing how to get at any, were in utmost consternation, expecting they would go on with the work and cut their throats. In this fright everyone shifted for himself. As for those who were upon deck, some got up in the round tops, others got into the ship's head, resolving to throw themselves into the sea rather than be mangled with knives and murdered as the captain and mate, etc., had been. Those who were below, not knowing what to do, or whose turn it should be next, lay still in their hammocks expecting death every moment, and not daring to stir lest the villains should think they did it in order to make resistance, which however they were in no way capable of doing, having no concert one with another, not knowing anything



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in particular of one another, as who was alive or who was dead. Had the captain, who was himself a bold and stout man, been in his great cabin with three or four men with him, and his fire-arms, as he intended to have had, those eight fellows had never been able to have done their work. But every man was taken unprovided, and in the utmost surprise, so that the murderers met with no resistance; and as for those what were left, they were less able to make resistance than the other, so that, as has been said, they were in the utmost terror and amazement, expecting every minute to be murdered as the rest had been. But the villains had done. The persons who had any command were dispatched, so they cooled a little as to blood. The first thing they did afterwards, was to call up all the eight upon the quarter deck, where they congratulated one another, and shook hands together, engaging to proceed by joint consent in their resolved design, that is, of turning [pirates](#). In order to which, they unanimously chose Gow to command the ship, promising all subjection and obedience to his orders, so that we must now call him Captain Gow, and he, by the same consent of the rest, named Williams his lieutenant. Other officers they appointed afterwards.

The first orders they issued was to let all the rest of the men know that if they continued quiet and offered not to meddle with any of their affairs, they should receive no hurt, but chiefly forbade any man to set a foot abaft the main mast, except they were called to the helm, upon pain of being immediately cut to pieces, keeping for that purpose one man at the steerage door, and one upon the quarter deck with drawn cutlasses in their hands. But there was no need for it, for the men were so terrified with the bloody doings they had seen, that they never offered to come in sight until they were called.

Their next work was to throw overboard the three dead bodies of the mate, the surgeon, and the super-cargo, which they said lay in their way; that was soon done, their pockets being first searched and rifled. From thence they went to work with the great cabin and with all the lockers, chests, boxes and trunks. These they broke open and rifled, that is, such of them as belonged to the murdered persons, and whatever they found there they shared among themselves. When they had done this, they called for liquor, and sat down to drinking until morning, leaving the men, as above, to keep guard, and particularly to guard the arms, but relieved them from time to time as they saw occasion.

By this time they had drawn in four more of the men to approve of what they had done, and promised to join with them, so that now there were twelve in number, and being but twenty-four at first, whereof four were murdered, they had but eight men to be apprehensive of, and those they could easily look after. So the next day, they sent for them all to appear before their new captain, where they were told by Gow what his resolution was, viz., to go a-cruising or to go upon the account. If they were willing to join with them and go into their measures, they should be well used, and there should be no distinction among them but they should all fare alike; he said that they had been forced to do what they had done by the barbarous usage of Ferneau, but that there was now no looking back; and therefore, as they had not been concerned in what was past, they had nothing to do but to act in concert, do their duty as sailors, and obey orders for the good of the ship, and no harm should come to any of them.

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As they all looked like condemned prisoners brought up to the bar to receive sentence of death, so they all answered by a profound silence, which Gow took as they meant it, viz, as a consent because they durst not refuse. So they were then permitted to go up and down everywhere as they used to do, though such of them as sometimes afterwards showed any reluctance to act as principals, were never trusted, always suspected and very often severely beaten. Some of them were in many ways inhumanly treated and that particularly by Williams, the lieutenant, who was in his nature a merciless, cruel, and inexorable wretch, as we shall have occasion to take notice of again in its place.

They were now in a new circumstance of life, and acting upon a different stage of business, though upon the same stage as to the element, the water. Before they were a merchant ship, laden upon a good account, with merchants' goods from the coast of Barbary, and bound to the coast of Italy; but they were now a crew of pirates, or as they call them in the Levant, Corsairs, bound nowhere but to look out for purchase and spoil wherever they could find it. In pursuit of this wicked trade they first changed the name of the ship, which was before called the *George galley*, and which they called now the *Revenge*, a name, indeed, suitable to the bloody steps they had taken. In the next place they made the best of the ship's forces. The ship had but twelve guns mounted when they came out of Holland, but as they had six more good guns in the hold with cartridges and everything proper for service (which they had in store through being freighted for the Dutch merchants, and the Algerians being at war with the Dutch), they supposed they might want them for defence. Now they took care to mount them for a much worse design, so that now they had eighteen guns, though too many for the number of hands they had on board. In the third place, instead of pursuing their voyage to Genoa with the ship's cargo, they took a clear contrary course, and resolved to station themselves upon the coasts of Spain and Portugal, and to cruise upon all nations; but what they chiefly aimed at was a ship with wine, if possible, for that they wanted extremely.

The first prize they took was an English sloop, belonging to Pool, Thomas Wise commander, bound from Newfoundland with fish for Cadiz. This was a prize of no value to them, so they took out the master, Mr. Wise and his men, who were but five in number, with their anchors, cables and sails, and what else they found worth taking, and sunk the vessel. The next prize they took was a Scotch vessel, bound from Glasgow with herrings and salmon from thence to Genoa, and commanded by one Mr. John Somerville, of Port Patrick. This vessel was likewise of little value to them, except that they took as they had done from the other, their arms, ammunition, clothes, provisions, sails, anchors, cables, etc., and everything of value, and sunk her too as they had done the sloop. The reason they gave for sinking these two vessels was to prevent their being discovered, for as they were now cruising on the coast of Portugal, had they let their ships have gone with several of their men on board, they would presently have stood in for shore, and have given the alarm, and the men-of-war, of which there were several, as well Dutch as English, in the river of Lisbon, would immediately have put out to sea in quest of them, and they were very unwilling to leave the coast of Portugal until they had got a ship with wine, which they very much wanted.



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After this they cruised eight or ten days without seeing so much as one vessel upon the seas, and were just resolving to stand more to the to the coast of Galicia, when they descried a sail to the southward, being a ship about as big as their own, though they could not perceive what force she had. However they gave chase, and the vessel perceiving it, crowded from them with all the sail they could make, hoisting up French colours, and standing away to the southward. They continued the chase three days and nights, and though they did not gain much upon her, the Frenchman sailing very well, yet they kept her in sight all the while and for the most part within gunshot. But the third night, the weather proving a little hazy, the Frenchman changed her course in the night, and so got clear of them, and good reason they had to bless themselves in the escape they had made, if they had but known what a dreadful crew of rogues they had fallen among if they had been taken.

They were now gotten a long way to the southward and being greatly disappointed, and in want of water as well as wine, they resolved to stand away for the Madeiras, which they knew were not far off; so they accordingly made the island in two days more, and keeping a large offing, they cruised for three or four days more, expecting to meet with some Portuguese vessel going in or coming out. But it was in vain, for nothing stirred. So, tired with waiting, they stood in for the road, and came to anchor, though at a great distance. Then they sent their boat towards the shore with seven men, all well armed, to see whether it might not be practicable to board one of the ships in the road, and cutting her away from her anchors, bring her off; or if they found that could not be done, then their orders were to intercept some of the boats belonging to the place, which carry wines on board the ships in the road, or from one place to another on the coast. But they came back again disappointed in both, everybody being alarmed and aware of them, knowing by their posture what they were.

Having thus spent several days to no purpose, and finding themselves discovered, at last (being apparently under a necessity to make an attempt somewhere) they stood away for Porto Santo,⁷⁷ about ten leagues to the windward of Madeiras, and belonging also to the Portuguese. Here putting up British colours, they sent their boat ashore with Captain Somerville's bill of health, and a present to the governor of three barrels of salmon, and six barrels of herrings, and a very civil message, desiring leave to water, and to buy some refreshments, pretending to be bound to —.

The Governor very courteously granted their desire, but with more courtesy than discretion went off himself, with about nine or ten of his principal people, to pay the English captain a visit, little thinking what kind of a captain it was they were going to compliment, and what price it might have cost them. However, Gow, handsomely dressed, received them with some ceremony, and entertained them tolerably well for a while. But the Governor having been kept as long by civility as they could, and the refreshments from the shore not appearing, he was forced to unmask; and when the Governor and his company rose up to take their leave, to their great surprise they were suddenly surrounded with a gang of fellows with muskets, and an officer at the head of them. These told them, in so many words, they

77. The most northerly of the islands.



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were the captain's prisoners, and must not think of going on shore any more until the water and provisions which were promised should come on board.

It is impossible to conceive the consternation and surprise the Portuguese gentry were in, nor is it very decently to be expressed. The poor Governor was so much more than half dead with fright that he really befouled himself in a piteous manner, and the rest were in not much better condition. They trembled, cried, begged, crossed themselves, and said their prayers as men going to execution, but it was all one, they were told flatly that the captain was not to be trifled with, that the ship was in want of provisions, and they would have them, or they should carry them all away. They were, however, well enough treated, except for the restraint of their persons, and were often asked to refresh themselves; but they would neither eat nor drink any more all the while they stayed on board, which was until the next day in the evening, when to their great satisfaction they saw a great boat come off from the fort, and which came directly on board with seven butts of water, a cow and a calf, and a good number of fowls.

When the boat came alongside and delivered the stores, Captain Gow complimented the Governor and his gentlemen, and discharged them to their great joy, and besides that gave them in return for their provisions two cerons of beeswax, and fired them three guns at their going away. It is to be supposed they would have a care how they went on board any ship again, in compliment to their captain, unless they were very sure who they were. Having had no better success in this out of the way run to the Madeiras, they resolved to make the best of their way back again to the coast of Spain and Portugal. They accordingly left Porto Santo the next morning with a fair wind, standing directly for Cape St. Vincent or the Southward Cape.

They had not been upon the coast of Spain above two or three days, before they met with a New England ship, one Cross commander, laden with slaves, and bound for Lisbon, being to load there with wine for London. This was also a prize of no value to them, and they began to be very much discouraged with their bad fortune. However, they took out Captain Cross and his men, which were seven or eight in number, with most of the provisions and some of the sails, and gave the ship to Captain Wise, the poor man whom they took at first in a sloop from Newfoundland; and in order to pay Wise and his men for what they took from them, and make them satisfaction, as they called it, they gave to Captain Wise and his mate twenty-four cerons of wax, and to his men who were four in number, two cerons of wax each. Thus they pretended honesty, and to make reparation of damages by giving them the goods which they had robbed the Dutch merchants of, whose super-cargo they had murdered.

The day before the division of the spoil they saw a large ship to windward, which at first put them into some surprise, for she came bearing down directly upon them, and they thought she had been a Portuguese man-of-war, but they found soon after that it was a merchant ship, had French colours and bound home, as they supposed from the West Indies; and so it was, for they afterwards learned that she was laden at Martinico and bound for Rochelle. The Frenchmen not fearing them came on large to the wind, being a ship of much greater force than Gow's ship, carrying thirty-two guns and eighty men, besides a great many passengers.

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However, Gow at first made as if he would lie by for them, but seeing plainly what a ship it was, and that they should have their hands full of her, he began to consider; and calling his men together upon the deck, told them what was in his mind, viz., that the Frenchman was apparently superior in force in every way; that they were but ill-manned, and had a great many prisoners on board, and that some of their own people were not very well to be trusted; that six of their best hands were on board the prize; and that all they had left were not sufficient to ply their guns and stand by the sails, and that therefore as they were under no necessity to engage, so he thought it would be next to madness to think of it.

The generality of the men were of Gow's mind, and agreed to decline the fight, but Williams, his lieutenant, strenuously opposed it; and being not to be appeased by all that Gow could say to him, or any one else, flew out into a rage at Gow, upbraiding him with being a coward, and not fit to command a ship of force. The truth is, Gow's reasoning was good, and the thing was just, considering their own condition; but Williams was a fellow incapable of any solid thinking, had a kind of savage, brutal courage, but nothing of true bravery in him, and this made him the most desperate and outrageous villain in the world, and the most cruel and inhuman to those whose disaster it was to fall into his hands, as had frequently appeared in his usage of the prisoners under his power in this very voyage. Gow was a man of temper, and notwithstanding all the ill-language Williams gave him, said little or nothing but by way of argument against attacking the French ship, which would certainly have been too strong for them; but this provoked Williams the more, and he grew so extraordinary an height, that he demanded boldly of Gow to give his orders for fighting, which Gow declining still Williams presented his pistol at him, and snapped it, but it did not go off, which enraged him the more.

Winter and Peterson standing nearest to Williams, and seeing him so furious, flew at him immediately, and each of them fired a pistol at him. One shot him through the arm, and the other into his belly, at which he fell, and the men about him laid hold of him to throw him overboard, believing he was dead; but as they lifted him up, he started violently out of their hands, and leaped directly into the hold, and from thence ran desperately into the powder-room with his pistol cocked in his hand, swearing he would blow them all up. He had certainly done it, if they had not seized him just as he had gotten the scuttle open, and was that moment going to put his hellish resolution into practice.

Having thus secured the distracted, raving creature, they carried him forward to the place which they had made on purpose between decks to secure their prisoners, and put him amongst them, having first loaded him with irons, and particularly handcuffed him with his hands behind him, to the great satisfaction of the other prisoners, who knowing what a butcherly furious fellow he was, were terrified to the last degree to see him come in among them, until they beheld the condition he came in. He was, indeed, the terror of all the prisoners, for he usually treated them in a barbarous manner, without the least provocation, and merely for his humour, presenting pistols to their breasts, swearing he would shoot them that moment, and then would beat them unmercifully, and all



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for his diversion as he called it. Having thus laid him fast, they presently resolved to stand away to the westward, by which they quitted the Martinico ship, who by that time was come nearer to them, and farther convinced them they were in no condition to have engaged her, for she was a stout ship and full of men. All this happened just the day before they shared their last prize among the prisoners, in which they put on such a mock face of doing justice to the several captains and mates and other men, their prisoners, whose ships they had taken away, and to whom now they made reparation, by giving them what they had taken violently from another, so that it was a strange medley of mock justice made up of rapine and generosity blended together.

Two days after this they took a Bristol ship bound from Newfoundland to Oporto with fish. They let her cargo alone, for they had no occasion for fish, but they took out almost all their provisions, all the ammunition, arms, etc., and her good sails, also her best cables, and forced two of her men to go away with them, and then got ten of the Frenchman on board and let her go. But just as they were parting with her, they consulted together what to do with Williams the lieutenant, who was then among the prisoners and in irons. And after a short debate, they resolved to put him on board the Bristol-man and send him away too, which accordingly was done, with directions to the master to deliver him on board the first English man-of-war they should meet with, in order to get his being hanged for a pirate, as they jeeringly called him, as soon as he came to England, giving the master an account of some of his villainies.

The truth is, this Williams was a monster rather than a man. He was the most inhuman, bloody and desperate creature that the world could produce, and was even too wicked for Gow and all his crew, though they pirates and murderers, as has been shown. His temper was so savage, so villainous, so merciless, that even the pirates themselves told him it was time he was hanged out of the way.

One instance of the barbarity of Williams cannot be omitted, and will be sufficient to justify all that can be said of him. When Gow gave it as a reason against engaging with the Martinico ship, that he had a great many prisoners on board, and some of their own men that they could not depend on, Williams proposed to have them all called up one by one, and to cut their throats and throw them overboard—a proposal so horrid that the worst of the crew shook their heads at it. Gow answered him very handsomely, that there had been too much blood spilled already; yet the refusing this, heightened the quarrel, and was the chief occasion of his offering to pistol Gow himself. After which his behaviour was such as made all the ship's crew resolved to be rid of him, and it was thought if they had not had an opportunity to send him away, as they did by the Bristol ship, they would have been obliged to have hanged him themselves. This cruel and butchery temper of Williams being carried to such a height, and so near to the ruin of them all, shocked some of them, and as they acknowledged gave some check in the heat of their wicked progress, and had they had an opportunity to have gone on shore at that time, without falling into the hands of Justice, it is believed the greatest part of them would have abandoned the ship, and perhaps the very trade of a pirate too. But they had dipped their hands in blood, and Heaven had no doubt determined to bring them, that is, the chief of them, to the gallows for

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it, as indeed they all deserved, so they went on. When they put Williams on board the Bristol-man, and he was told what directions they gave with him, he began to relent, and made all the intercession he could to Captain Gow for pardon, or at least not to be put on board the ship, knowing that if he was carried to Lisbon, he should meet with his due from the Portuguese, if not from the English; for it seems he had been concerned in some villainies among the Portuguese before he came on board the *George galley*. What they were he did not confess, nor indeed did his own ship's crew trouble themselves to examine him about it. He had been wicked enough among them, and it was sufficient to make them use him as they did. It was more to be wondered, indeed, that they did not cut him to pieces upon the spot and throw him into the sea, half on one side of the ship, and half on the other, for there was scarce a man in the ship but on one occasion or other had some apprehensions of him, and might be said to go in danger of his life from him. But they chose to shift their hands of him this bloodless way, so they double fettered him and brought him up. When they brought him among the men, he begged they would throw him into the sea and drown him; then entreated for his life with a meanness which made them despise him, and with tears, so that one time they began to relent. But then the devilish temper of the fellow overruled it again, so at last they resolved to let him go, and did accordingly put him on board, and gave him many a hearty curse at parting, wishing him a good voyage to the gallows, which was made good afterwards, though in such company as they little thought of at that time. The Bristol captain was very just to him, for according to their orders, as soon as they came to Lisbon, they put him on board the *Argyle*, one of His Majesty's ships, Captain Bowles commander, then lying in the Tagus, and bound home for England, who accordingly brought him home. Though, as it happened, Heaven brought the captain and the rest of the crew so quickly to an end of their villainies that they all came home time enough to be [hanged](#) with their lieutenant. But to return to Gow and his crew. Having thus dismissed the Bristol-man, and cleared his hands of most of his prisoners, with the same wicked generosity he gave the Bristol captain thirteen ceros of beeswax, as a gratuity for his trouble and charge with the prisoners, and in recompense, as he called it, for the goods he had taken from him, and so they parted. This was the last prize they took, not only on the coast of Portugal, but anywhere else, for Gow, who, to give him his due, was a fellow of council and had a great presence of mind in cases of exigence, considered that as soon as the Bristol ship came into the river of Lisbon, they would certainly give an account of them, as well of their strength, and of their station in which they cruised, and that consequently the English men-of-war (of which there are generally some in that river) would immediately come abroad to look for them. So he began to reason with his officers that the coast of Portugal would be no proper place at all for them, unless they resolved to fall into the hands of the said men-of-war, and they ought to consider immediately what to do. In these debates some advised one thing, some another, as is usual in like cases. Some were for going to the coast of Guinea, where, as they said, was purchase⁷⁸ enough, and very rich ships to be taken; others were for going to the West Indies, and

78. The word is here used in its original sense, indicating something acquired by seeking—or hunting—*pour chasser*.



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to cruise among the Islands, and take up their station at Tobago; others, and not those of the most ignorant, proposed standing in to the Bay of Mexico, and joining in with some of a new sort of pirates at St. Jago de la Cuba, who are all Spaniards, and call themselves *Guarda del Costa*, that is Guard ships for the coast (though under that pretence they make prize of ships of all nations, and sometimes even of their own countrymen too, but especially of the English), but when this was proposed, it was answered they durst not trust the Spaniards. Others said they should go first to the islands of New Providence [Bahama Islands], or to the mouth of the Gulf of Florida, and then cruising on the coast of North America, and making their retreat at New Providence, cruise from the Gulf of Florida, north upon the coast of Carolina, and as high as the Capes of Virginia.

But nothing could be resolved on, until at last Gow let them into the secret of a project, which, as he told them, he had long had in his thoughts, and this was to go away to the North of Scotland, near the coast of which, as he said, he was born and bred, and where he said, if they met with no purchase upon the sea, he could tell them how they should enrich themselves by going on shore. To bring them to concur with this design, he represented the danger they were in where they were, the want they were in of fresh water, and of several kinds of provisions, but above all, the necessity they were in of careening and cleaning their ship; that it was too long a run for them to go to southward, and that they had not provisions to serve them till they could reach to any place proper for that purpose, and might be driven to the utmost distress, if they should be put by from watering, either by weather or enemies.

Also, he told them, if any of the men-of-war came out in search of them, they would never imagine they were gone away to the northward, so that their run that way was perfectly secure, and he could assure them of his own knowledge that if they landed in such places as he should direct, they could not fail of considerable booty in plundering some gentlemen's houses, who lived secured and unguarded very near the shore; and that though the country should be alarmed, yet before the Government could send any men-of-war to attack them, they might clean their ship, lay in a store of fresh provisions, and be gone. Beside that, they would get a good many stout fellows to go along with them upon his encouragement, so that they should be better manned than they were yet, and should be ready against all events.

These arguments and their approaching fate concurring, had a sufficient influence on the ship's company to prevail on them to consent, so they made the best of their way to the northward; and about the middle of January they arrived at Carristoun,⁷⁹ in the Isles of Orkney, and came to an anchor in a place which Gow told them was safe riding under the lee of a small island at some distance from the port. But now their misfortunes began to come on, and things looked but with an indifferent aspect upon them, for several of their men, especially such of them as had been forced or decoyed into their service, began to think of making their escape from them, and to cast about for means to bring it to pass.

The first to take an opportunity to go away was a young man who was originally one of the ship's company, but was forced by fear of being murdered (as has been observed) to give a silent assent

79. The island of Carrick.



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to go with them. It was one evening when the boat went on shore, for they kept a civil correspondence with the people of the town, that this young fellow, being one of the ship's crew and having been several times on shore before, and therefore not suspected, gave them the slip and got away to a farm-house which lay under a hill out of sight. There, for two or three pieces-of-eight, he got a horse, and soon by that means escaped to Kirkwall, a market town and chief of the Orkneys, about twelve miles from the place where the ship lay. As soon as he came there he surrendered himself to the Government, desiring protection, and informed them who Gow was, and what the ship's crew were, and upon what business they were abroad, with what else he knew of their designs, as to plundering the gentlemen's houses, etc. Upon this they immediately raised the country, and got a strength together to defend themselves.

But the next disaster that attended the pirates (for misfortunes seldom come alone) was more fatal than this, for ten of Gow's men, most of them likewise forced into their service, went away with the long-boat, making the best of their way for the mainland of Scotland. These men, however they did it, or what shift soever they made to get so far, were taken in the Firth of Edinburgh, and made prisoners there.

Hardened for his own destruction and Justice evidently pursuing him, Gow grew the bolder for the disaster, and notwithstanding that the country was alarmed, and that he was fully discovered, instead of making a timely escape, he resolved to land, and so put his intended project of plundering the gentlemen's houses into execution, whatever it cost him.

In order to this he sent the boatswain and ten men on shore the very same night, very well armed, directing them to go to the house of Mr. Honeyman of Grahamsey, sheriff of the county, and who was himself at that time, to his great good fortune, from home. The people of the house had not the least notice of their coming, so that when they knocked at the door, it was immediately opened. Upon which they all entered the house at once, except one Panton, who they set sentinel and ordered him to stand at the door to secure their retreat, and to hinder any from coming in after them Mrs. Honeyman and her daughter were extremely frightened at the sight of so many armed men coming into the house, and ran screaming about like people distracted, while the pirates, not regarding them, were looking about for chests and trunks, where they might expect to find some plunder; and Mrs. Honeyman in her fright coming to the door asked Panton, the man who stood sentinel there, what the meaning of it all was. He told her freely they were [pirates](#), and that they came to plunder her house. At this she recovered some courage, and ran back into the house immediately, and knowing where her money lay, which was very considerable and all in gold, she put the bag in her lap and boldly rushing by Panton, who thought she was only running from them in a fright, carried it all off, and so made her escape with the treasure.

The boatswain being informed that the money was carried off, resolved to revenge himself by burning the writings and papers, which they call there the charters of their estates, and are always of great value in gentlemen's houses of estates but the young lady, Mr. Honeyman's daughter hearing them threaten to burn the writings, watched her opportunity, and running to the charter-room where they lay, tied the most considerable of them



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up in a napkin and threw them out of the window, jumped out after them herself, and escaped without damage, though the window was one storey high at least.

However, the pirates had the plundering of all the rest of the house besides, and carried off a great deal of plate, and things of value, and forced one of the servants, who played very well on the bagpipes, to march along, piping before them, when they carried it off to the ship. The next day they weighed anchor, intending though they had cleaned but one side of the ship, to put out to sea and quit the coast. But sailing eastward, they came to anchor again at a little island called Calf Sound. And having some further mischief in their view here the boatswain went on shore again with some armed men; but meeting with no other plunder they carried off three women, whom they kept on board some time and used so inhumanly that when they set them on shore again they were not able to go or stand, and it is said one of them died on the beach where they left them.

The next day they weighed again, holding the same course eastward, through the openings between the islands, till they came off Ross Ness; and now Gow resolved to make the best of his way for the Island of Eday, to plunder the house of Mr. Fea, a gentleman of a considerable estate, and with whom Gow had some acquaintance, having been at school together, when they were youths. On the 13th of February in the morning, Gow appearing with his ship off Calf Sound, Mr. Fea and his family were very much alarmed, not being able to get together above six or seven men for his defence. He therefore wrote a letter to Gow intending to send it on board as soon as he should get into the harbour, to desire him to forbear the usual salutes, with his great guns, because Mrs. Fea his wife was so very much indisposed, and this as he would oblige his old school fellow; telling him at the same time that the inhabitants were all fled to the mountains, on the report of his being a [pirate](#), which he hoped would not prove true. In which case, he should be very ready to supply him with all such necessities as the island would afford, desiring him to send the messengers safe back, at whose return the alarms of the people would immediately be at an end.

The tide it seems runs extremely rapid among those islands, and the navigation is thereby rendered very dangerous and uncertain. Gow was an able seaman, but was no pilot for that place, and which was worse, he had no boat to assist in case of extremity, to ware the ship, and in turning into Calf Sound, he stood a little too near the point of a little island called the Calf, and which lay in the middle of the passage. Here his ship missing stays, was in great danger of going on shore; to avoid which, he dropped an anchor under his foot, which taking good hold, brought him up, and he thought the danger was over. Gow was yet in distress and had no remedy but to send his small boat on shore to Mr. Fea to desire his assistance, that is to say, to desire him to lend him a boat to carry out an anchor and heave off the ship. Mr. Fea sent back the boat, and one James Laing in it, with the letter already mentioned. Gow sent him back immediately with an answer, by word of mouth, viz., that he would write to nobody, but if Mr. Fea would order his people to assist him with a boat to carry out an anchor, he would reward them handsomely. In the meantime Mr. Fea ordered his great boat, for he had such a one as Gow wanted, to be staved and launched into the water and sunk, and the masts, sails and oars to be carried out of

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sight. While this was doing Mr. Fea perceived Gow's boat coming on shore, with five persons in her. These men having landed on the main island, left their boat on the beach, and altogether marched directly up to the mansion house. This put him into some surprise at first, however, he resolved to meet them in a peaceable manner, though he perceived they were all double-armed. When he came up to them, he entreated them not to go up to the house, because of the languishing condition of his wife, who was already frightened with the rumours which had been raised of their being pirates, and that she would certainly die with the fear she was in for herself and family, if they came to the door.

The boatswain answered they did not desire to fright his wife, or anybody else, but they came to desire the assistance of his boat, and if he would not grant them so small a favour, he had nothing to expect from them but the utmost extremity. Mr. Fea returned that they knew well enough he could not venture to give them or lend them his boat or any help, as they appeared to be such people as were reported, but that if they would take them by force, he could not help himself. But in the meantime, talking still in a friendly manner to them, he asked them to go to a neighbouring house, which he said was a change-house, that is a public-house, and take a cup of ale with him. This they consented to, seeing Mr. Fea was alone; so they went all with him. In the meantime Mr. Fea found means to give secret orders that the oars, masts and sails of the pirates' boat should be all carried away, and that a quarter of an hour after they had sat together, he should be called hastily out of the room, on some pretence or other of somebody to speak with him; all which was performed to a tittle. When he was got from them, he gave orders that his six men, who before he had got together, and who were now come to him well armed, should place themselves at a certain stile behind a thick hedge, and which was about half way between the alehouse and his own house, saying that if he came that way with the boatswain alone, they should suddenly start out upon them both, and throwing him down, should seize upon the other, but that if all the five came with him, he would take an occasion to be either before or behind them, so that they might all fire upon them, without danger of hurting him.

Having given these orders, and depending upon their being well executed, he returned to the company and having given them more ale, told them he would gladly do them any service that he could lawfully do, and that if they would take the trouble of walking up to his house in a peaceable manner so that his family might not be frightened with seeing him among them, they should have all the assistance that was in his power. The fellows (whether they had taken too much ale, or whether the condition of their ship and the hopes of getting a boat to help them, blinded their eyes, is not certain) fell with ease into this snare, and agreed readily to go along with Mr. Fea; but after a while resolved not to go all of them, only deputed the boatswain to go, which was what Mr. Fea most desired.

The boatswain was very willing to accept of the trust, but it was observed he took a great deal of care of his arms, which were no less than four pistols, all loaded with a brace of bullets each, nor would he be persuaded to leave any of them behind him, no not with his own men. In this posture, Mr. Fea and the boatswain walked along together very quietly, until they



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came to the stile, having got over which Mr. Fea, seeing his men all ready, turned short about upon the boatswain, and taking him by the collar, told him he was his prisoner and the same moment, the rest of his men rushing in upon them, threw both down, and so secured the boatswain, without giving him time so much as to fire one pistol. He cried out, indeed, with all his might to alarm his men, but they soon stopped his mouth by first forcing a pistol into it, and then a handkerchief; and having disarmed him, bound his hands behind him and his feet together. Then Mr. Fea left him there under a guard, and with his other five men, but without arms, at least such that could be seen, returned to the alehouse to the rest. The house having two doors, they divided themselves and rushing in at both doors at the same time, they seized the four men before they were aware, or had time to lay hold of their arms. They did indeed what men could do, and one of them snapped a pistol at Mr. Fea, but it did not go off, and Mr. Fea at the same time snatching at the pistol to divert the shot if it had fired, struck his hand with such force against the cock, as very much bruised it.

They were all five now in his power, and he sent them away under a good guard to a village in the middle of the island, where they were kept separate from one another, and sufficiently secured. Mr. Fea then despatched expresses to the gentlemen in the neighbouring island to acquaint them with what he had done, and to desire their speedy assistance, also desiring earnestly that they would take care that no boat should go within reach of the [pirates'](#) guns. And at night Mr. Fea caused fires to be made upon the hills round him, to alarm the country, and ordered all the boats round the Island to be hauled up upon the beach, as far as it was possible, and disabled also, lest the pirates should swim from the ship, and get any of them into their possession.

Next day, the 4th, it blew very hard all day, and in the evening about high water, it shifted to W.N.W., upon which the pirates set their sails, expecting to get off and so to lay it round the island, and put out to sea. But the fellow who was ordered to cut the cable, missing several strokes, the cable checked the ship's way, and consequently on a sudden she took all aback. Then the cable being parted when it should have been held, the ship ran directly on shore on the Calf Island, nor could all their speed prevent it. With an air of desperation Gow told them they were all dead men, nor could it indeed be otherwise, for having lost the only boat they had, and five of their best hands, they were able to do little or nothing towards getting their ship off; besides, as she went on shore at the top of high water, and a spring tide, there was no hope of getting her off afterward. Wherefore the next morning, being Monday, the 15th, they hung out a white flag, as a signal for a parley, and sent a man on shore upon Calf Island, for now they could go on shore out of the ship at half flood.

Now Mr. Fea thought he might talk with Gow, in a different style from what he did before; so he wrote a letter to him, wherein he complained of the rude behaviour of his five men, for which he told him, he had been obliged to seize on them, and make them prisoners, letting him know that the country being all alarmed would soon be too many for him, and therefore advised him to surrender himself peaceably, and be the author of a quiet surrender of the rest, as the only means to obtain any favour;



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and then he might become an evidence against the rest, and so might save his own life. This letter Mr. Fea sent by a boat with four armed men to the island, to be given to the fellow that Gow had sent on shore, and who waited there; at the same time, he gave them a letter from Gow to Mr. Fea, for now he was humbled enough to write, which before he refused. Gow's letter to Mr. Fea was to let him have some men and boats, to take out the best of the cargo, in order to lighten the ship, and set her afloat; offering himself to come on shore and be hostage for the security of men and boats and to give Mr. Fea a thousand pounds in goods for the service. He declared at the same time, that if this small succour was refused him, he would take care nobody should better himself by his misfortunes, for rather than they would suffer themselves to be taken, they would set fire to the ship, and would all perish together.

Mr. Fea replied to this letter that he had a boat indeed, that would have been fit for his service, but that she was staved and sunk; but if he would come on shore quietly without arms, and bring his carpenter with him to repair the boat, he might have her. Mr. Fea did this to give Gow an opportunity to embrace his first offer of surrendering. But Gow was neither humble enough to come in nor sincere enough to treat with him fairly, if he had intended to let him have the boat; and if he had, it is probable that the former letter had made the men suspicious of him, so that now he could do nothing without communicating it to the rest of the crew. About four in the afternoon Mr. Fea received an answer to his last letter, the copy of which is exactly as follows:

From on board our Ship the *Revenge*, Feb. 16th, 1725.

Honoured Sir,

I am sorry to hear of the irregular proceedings of my men; I gave no orders to that effect, and what hath been wrongfully done to the country, was contrary to my inclinations. It is my misfortune to be in this condition at present; it was in your power to have done otherwise in making my fortune better. Since my being in the country, I have wronged no man, nor taken anything but what I have paid for. My design in coming was to make the country better, which I am still capable to do, providing you are just to me. I thank you for the concern you have for my bad fortune, and am sorry I cannot embrace your proposal as to being evidence, my people have already made use of that advantage. I have by my last signified my design of proceeding, provided I can procure no better terms. Please to send James Laing on board to continue till my return. I should be glad to have the good fortune to commune with you upon that subject. I beg that you would assist me with a boat, and be assured I do no man harm, were it in my power, as I am now at your mercy. I cannot surrender myself prisoner, I'd rather commit myself to the mercy of the seas; so that if you will incline to contribute to my escape, I shall leave my ship and cargo at your disposal.

I continue, Honoured Sir etc., John Smith

Upon this letter, and especially that part wherein Gow desired to commune with him, Mr. Fea, believing he might do some service

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in persuading him to submit, went over to Calf Island and went on shore alone, ordering his boat to lie in readiness to take him in again, but not one man to stir out of her, and calling to Gow with a speaking trumpet desired him to come on shore. This the other readily did, but Mr. Fea, before he ventured, wisely foresaw that whilst he was alone upon the Island, the pirates might unknown from him, get the ship by different ways, and under cover of shore might get behind and surround him. To prevent which, he set a man upon the top of his own house, which was on the opposite shore and overlooked the whole island, and ordered him to make signals with his flag, waving his flag once for every man that he saw come on shore, but if four or more came on shore, then to keep the flag waving continually, till he (Mr. Fea) should retire. This precaution was very needful, for no sooner was Mr. Fea advanced upon the island, expecting Gow to come on shore to meet him, but he saw a fellow come from the ship, with a white flag, a bottle, a glass and a bundle, then turning to his own house, he saw his man make the signals appointed, and that the man kept the flag continually waving. Upon which he immediately retired to his boat, and he was no sooner got into it, but he saw five fellows running under shore, with lighted matches and grenadoes in their hands to have intercepted him, but seeing him out of their reach, they retired to the ship.

After this the fellow with the white flag came up and gave Mr. Fea two letters; he would have left the bundle, which he said was a present to Mr. Fea, and the bottle which he said was a bottle of brandy, but Mr. Fea would not take them, but told the fellow his captain was a treacherous villain, and he did not doubt that he should see him hanged, and as to him (the fellow) he had a great mind to shoot him; upon which the fellow took to his heels, and Mr. Fea being in his boat did not think it worth while to land again to pursue him. This put an end to all parley for the present, but had the pirates succeeded in this attempt, they would have so far gained their point, either that they must have been assisted, or Mr. Fea must have been sacrificed.

The two letters from Gow were one for Mr. Fea, and the other for his wife. The first was much to the same purpose as the former, only that in this Gow requested the great boat with her masts, sails and oars, with some provisions to transport themselves whither they thought fit to go for their own safety, offering to leave the ship and cargo to Mr. Fea, and threatening that if the men-of-war arrived (for Mr. Fea had given him notice that he expected two men-of-war) before he was thus assisted, they would set fire to the ship, and blow themselves up, so that as they had lived so they would die together. The letter to Mrs. Fea was to desire her to intercede with her husband, and plead that he was their countryman and had been her husband's schoolfellow, etc. But no answer was returned to either of these letters.

On the 17th, in the morning, contrary to expectation, Gow himself came on shore upon the Calf Island⁸⁰, unarmed except for his sword, and alone, only one man at a distance, carrying a white flag, making signals for a parley. Mr. Fea, who by this time had gotten more people about him, immediately sent one Mr. Fea, of Whitehall, a gentleman of his own family, with five other

80. According to Johnson's HISTORY OF THE PIRATES (Chap. XVIII) Gow's real motive for returning to the Orkneys was to wed a girl whose parents had repulsed him on account of his poverty. She was the daughter of one Mr. G——, a well-to-do man.

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persons well-armed over the island, with orders to secure Gow if it were possible by any means, either dead or alive. When they came on shore, Gow proposed that one of them, whose name was Schottary, a master of a vessel, should go on board the ship as hostage for this Gow's safety, and Schottary consenting, Gow himself conducted him to the ship's side.

Mr. Fea perceiving this from his own house, immediately took another boat and went over to the island himself, and while he was expostulating with his men for letting Schottary go for hostage, Gow returned, and Mr. Fea made no hesitation, but told him that he was his prisoner. At this Gow started and said that it ought not to be so, since there was a hostage delivered for him. Mr. Fea said he gave no order for it, and it was what they could not justify, and since Schottary had ventured without orders, he must take his fate, he would run the venture of it; but he advised Gow, as he expected good usage himself, that he would send the fellow who carried his white flag back to the ship with orders for them to return Schottary in safety, and to desire Winter and Peterson to come with him. Gow declined giving any such orders, but the fellow said he would readily go and fetch them, and did so, and they came along with him. When Gow saw them, he reproached them for being so easily imposed on, and ordered them to go back to the ship immediately, but Mr. Fea's men, who were too strong for them, surrounded them and took them all. When this was done, they demanded Gow to deliver his sword, but he said he would rather die with it in his hand, and begged them to shoot him, but was denied; and Mr. Fea's men disarming him of his sword, carried him with the other two into their boat, and after that to the main island, where Mr. Fea lived.

Having thus secured the captain, Mr. Fea prevailed with him to go to the shore over against the ship, and to call the gunner and another man to come on shore on Calf Island, which they did. But they were no sooner there, but they also were surrounded by some men which Mr. Fea had placed out of sight upon the island for that purpose. Then they made Gow call to the carpenter to come on shore, still making them believe they would have a boat; and Mr. Fea went over and met him alone, and talking with him, told him they could not repair the boat without help and without tools. So persuading him to go back and bring a hand or two with him, and some tools, some oakum, nails, etc., the carpenter being thus deluded, went back and brought a Frenchman and another with him, with all things proper for their work. All of whom, as soon as they came on shore, were likewise seized and secured by Mr. Fea and his men.

But there were still a great many men in the ship, whom it was necessary to bring if possible to a quiet surrender; so Mr. Fea ordered his men to make a feint as if they would go to work upon the great boat which lay on the shore upon the island but in sight of the ship. There they hammered and knocked and made a noise as if they were really caulking and repairing her, in order to her being launched off and put into their possession; but towards night he obliged Gow to write to the men that Mr. Fea would not deliver the boat until he was in possession of the ship, and therefore he ordered them all to come on shore, without arms, and in a peaceable manner. This occasioned many debates in the ship, but as they had no officers to guide them and were all in confusion, they knew not what to do. So after some time bewailing their hard fate, and dividing what money was left in



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the ship among them, they yielded and went on shore, and were all made prisoners, to the number of eight-and-twenty, including those who were secured before.

Being now all secured and in custody in the most proper places in the island, Mr. Fea took care to give notice to the proper officers in the country, and by them to the Government of Edinburgh, in order to get help for the carrying them to England. The distance being so great, it took up some time; for the Government at Edinburgh not being immediately concerned in it, but rather the Court of Admiralty of Great Britain, expresses were dispatched from thence to London, that his Majesty's pleasure might be known; in return to which, orders were despatched into Scotland to have them immediately sent up into England with as much expedition as the case would admit. Accordingly they were brought up by land to Edinburgh first, and from thence being put on board the *Greyhound* frigate, they were brought by sea to England. This necessarily took up a great deal of time, so that had they been wise enough to improve the hours that were left, they had almost half a year's time to prepare themselves for death, though they cruelly denied the poor mate of a few moments to commend his soul to God's mercy, even after he was half murdered before. They were most of them in custody the latter end of January, and were not executed till the 11th of June.

The *Greyhound* arrived in the river the 25th of March, and the next day came to an anchor at Woolwich; and the [pirates](#) being put into boats appointed to receive them, with a strong guard to attend them, were brought on shore on the 30th, and conveyed to the Marshalsea prison in Southwark, where they were delivered to the keepers of the said prison, and were laid in irons. There they had the mortification to meet Lieutenant Williams, who was brought home by the *Argyle* man-of-war, from Lisbon, and had been committed to the same prison but a very few days before.

Indeed, as it was a mortification to them, so it was more to him, for though he might be secretly pleased that those who had so cruelly, as he called it, put him into the hands of Justice by sending him to Lisbon, were brought into the same circumstances with himself, yet on the other hand, it could not but be a terrible mortification to him that here were now sufficient witnesses found to prove his crimes against him, which were not so easy to be had before.

Being thus laid fast, it remained to proceed against them in due form, and this took up some long time still. On Friday, the 2nd of April, they were all carried to Doctors' Commons, where the proper judges being present, they were examined; by which examination the measures were taken for the farther proceedings. For as they were not equally guilty, so it was needful to determine who it was proper to bring to an immediate trial, and who, being less guilty, were more proper objects of the Government's clemency, as being under force and fear and consequently necessitated to act as they did; and also who it might be proper to single out as an evidence against the rest. After being thus examined they were remanded to the Marshalsea. On Saturday, the 8th of May, the five who were appointed for evidence against the rest, and whose names are particularly set down in its place, were sent from the Marshalsea prison to Newgate, in order to give their information.

Being thus brought up to London, and committed to the Marshalsea



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prison, and the Government being fully informed, what black uncommon offenders they were, it was thought proper to bring them to speedy justice. In order to this, some of them, as has been said, who were less criminal than the rest, and who apparently had been forced into their service, were sorted out, and being examined (giving first an account of themselves, and then of the whole fraternity) it was thought fit to make use of their evidence for the more clear detecting and convincing of the rest. These were George Dobson, John Phinnes, Timothy Murphy, and William Booth.

These were the principal evidences, and were indeed more than sufficient, for they so exactly agreed in their evidence, and the prisoners ([pirates](#)) said so little in their defence, that there was no room for the jury to question their guilt, or to doubt the truth of any part of the account given in. Robert Read was a young man, mentioned before, who escaped from the boat in the Orkneys, where he surrendered himself, after getting a horse at a farmer's house, and conveying himself to Kirkwall, the chief town of the said Orkneys. Nevertheless, he was brought up as a prisoner with the rest, nor was he made use of as an evidence but was tried upon most, if not all the indictments with the rest. But Dobson, one of the witnesses, did him the justice to testify that he was forced into their service, as others were, for fear of having their throats cut, as many had been served before their faces, and that in particular he was not present at, or concerned in any of the murders for which the rest were indicted. Upon which evidence, he was acquitted by the jury. Also he brought one Archibald Sutor, the man of the house said before to be a farm-house, as to whether the said Read made his escape in the Orkneys, who testified that he did so escape to him, and that he begged him to procure him a horse, to ride off to Kirkwall, which he did, and there he surrendered himself; also he testified that Read gave him (Sutor) a full account of the ship and the pirates that were in her, and what they were; and that he (Sutor) revealed it all to the collector of the Customs, by which means the country was alarmed, and he added, that it was by this man's means that all the prisoners were apprehended (though that was going too far, for 'tis plain, that it was by the vigilance and courage of Mr. Fea, chiefly, that they were reduced to such distresses as obliged them to surrender). However, it was true that Read's escape did alarm the country, and that he merited very well of the public for the timely discovery he made, so he came off clear as indeed it was but just, for he was not only forced to serve them, but as Dobson testified for him, he had often expressed his uneasiness at being obliged to act with them, and that he wished he could get away, and he was sincere in those wishes, as appeared by his taking the first opportunity he could get to put it in practice. This Dobson was one of the ten men who ran away with the pirates' long-boat from the Orkneys, and who were afterwards made prisoners in the Firth of Leith, and carried up to Edinburgh. Gow was now a prisoner among the rest in the Marshalsea. His behaviour there was sullen and reserved, rather than penitent. It had been hinted to him by Mr. Fea, as by others, that by his behaviour he should endeavour to make himself an evidence against others, and to merit his life by a ready submission, and obliging others to do the like. But Gow was no fool, and he easily saw there were too many gone before who had provided for



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their own safety at his expense, and besides that he knew himself too deeply guilty of cruelty and murder to be accepted by public justice as an evidence, especially where so many other less criminals were to be had. This made him, with good reason, too, give over any thoughts of escaping by such means as that; and perhaps seeing so plainly that there was no room for it might be the reason why he seemed to reject the offer, otherwise he was not a person of such nice honour as that we should suppose he would not have secured his own life at the expense of his comrades. Gow appeared to have given over all thoughts of life, from the first time he came to England. Not that he showed any tokens of his repentance, or any sense of his condition suitable to that which was before him, but continuing sullen and reserved, even to the very time he was brought to the bar, when he came there, he could not be tried with the rest, for the arraignment being made in the usual form, he refused to plead. The Court used all the arguments which humanity dictates in such cases,⁸¹ to prevail on him to come into ordinary course of other people in like government, laying before him the sentence of the law in such cases, namely that he must be pressed to death, the only torturing execution which however they were obliged to inflict.

But he continued inflexible, carried on his obstinacy to such a height as to receive the sentence in form, as usual in such cases. The execution being appointed to be done the next morning, he was carried back to Newgate in order to it. But whether he was prevailed with by argument and the reasons of those about him, or whether the apparatus for the execution and the manner of the death he was to die terrified him, we cannot say, but the next morning he yielded, and petitioned to be allowed to plead, and he admitted to be tried in the ordinary way. Which being granted, he was brought to the bar by himself and pleaded, being arraigned again upon the same indictment upon which he had been sentenced as a mute, and was found guilty.

Williams the lieutenant, who was put on board the Bristol ship (as hath been said) with orders to deliver him on board the first English man-of-war they should meet with, comes, of course, to have the rest of his history made up in this place. The captain of the Bristol ship, though he received his orders from the crew of pirates and rogues, whose instructions he was not obliged to follow, and whose accusation of Williams they were not obliged to give credit to, yet punctually obeyed the order, and put him on board the *Argyle*, Captain Bowler, then lying in the port of Lisbon and bound for England; who, as they took him in irons, kept him so, and brought him to England, in the same conditions. But as the pirates did not send any of their company, nor indeed could they do it, along with him to be evidence against him, and the men who went out of the pirate ship on board the Bristol ship, being till then kept as prisoners on board the [pirate](#) ship (and perhaps could not have said enough, or given particular evidence, sufficient to convict him in a course of justice), Providence supplied the want by bringing the whole crew to the same place; for Williams was in the Marshalsea prison before them, and by that means they furnished sufficient evidence against Williams also, so that they were all tried together.

In Williams's case the evidence was as particular as in Gow's,

81. One of these humane arguments, according to Johnson, *op. cit.*, consisted in tying his thumbs together with whipcord, "which was done several times by the executioner and another officer; they drawing the cord until it broke."



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and Dobson and the other swore positively that Williams boasted that after MacCauly had cut the super-cargo's throat imperfectly, he (Williams) murdered him, and added that he would not give him time to say his prayers, but shot him through the head. Phinnes and Timothy Murphy testified the same, and to show the bloody disposition of this wretch, William Booth testified that Williams proposed afterwards to the company that if they took any more ships they should not encumber themselves with the men, having already so many prisoners that in case of a fight they should not be safe with them; but that they should take them and tie them, back to back, and throw them all overboard into the sea.

It should not be omitted here also in the case of Gow himself (as I have observed in the introduction) that Gow had long meditated the kind of villainy which he now put in practice, and that it was his resolution to turn pirate the first opportunity he should get, whatever voyage he undertook, and that I observed he had intended it on board a ship in which he came home from Lisbon, and failed only for want of a sufficient party. So this resolution of his is confirmed by the testimony and confession of James Belvin, one of his fellow-criminals, who upon trial declared that he knew that Gow and the crew of the *George* galley had a design to turn pirates from the beginning, and added that he discovered it to George Dobson, in Amsterdam, before the ship went out to sea. For the confirmation of this, George Dobson was called up again, after he had given his evidence upon the trials, and being confronted by Belvin, he did acknowledge that Belvin had said so, and that in particular he had said that the boatswain had a design to murder the master and some others and run away with the ship. Being asked why he did not immediately reveal it to the master, Captain Ferneau, he answered that he heard Belvin tell the mate of it, and that the mate told the captain; but the captain made light of it. But the boatswain finding himself discovered, refused to go, upon which Gow was made second mate, and Belvin was made boatswain; and he had been as honest afterwards as before (whereas on the contrary, he was as forward and active as any of them, except that he was not in the first secret nor in the murders), he might have escaped what afterwards became so justly his due. But as they acted together, Justice required that they should suffer together, and accordingly, Gow and Williams, Belvin, Melvin, Winter, Peterson, Rowlinson and MacCauly, received the reward of their cruelty and blood at the gallows, being all executed together on the eleventh of June.

It happened that Gow being a very strong man, and giving a kind of spring, it so strained the rope that, on some people pulling him by the legs, it broke and he fell down, after he had remained about four minutes suspended. His fall stunned him a little, but as soon as he was taken up, he recovered himself so far as to be able to ascend the ladder a second time, which he did with very little concern, dying with the same brutal ferocity which animated all his actions while alive. His body hangs in chains over against Greenwich, as that of Williams does over against

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Blackwall.





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1731

October: Captain Macferson and four others were tried for piracy and hanged.



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1739

September 1, Saturday (Old Style): During King George's War, otherwise known as the War of the Austrian Succession, against the Spanish, [Newport, Rhode Island](#) initially sent out the [privateer](#) vessels *Virgin Queen*, *Revenge*, and *Charming Betty* and then fitted out five more vessels as privateers and sent them out against Spanish shipping. (On this day the *Revenge* sailed from Newport.) It seems that in 1741 and 1742 there would be five such privateers in operation out of Newport, while in 1743 there would be ten and in 1744 eleven. Rhode Island was probably more active in [privateering](#) than any other colony along the American seaboard, since in 1744 when Rhode Island had 11 privateers at sea, Massachusetts had 7, New York 7, and Pennsylvania 8. (Other names of Rhode Island privateering vessels were *Fame*, *Victory*, *St. Andrew*, *Cason*, *Pollux*, *King George*, *Queen of Hungary*, *Duke of Marlborough*, *Prince Charles of Lorraine*, *Success*, *Defiance*, and *Reprisal*.)



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1740

Midshipman John Byron embarked on the *Wager*, one of the ships under the command of Commodore George Anson sent to harass the Spanish in the South Seas. Shortly after leaving port the *Wager*'s commanding officer, Captain Dandy Kidd, died and was succeeded by Captain David Cheap.

GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON

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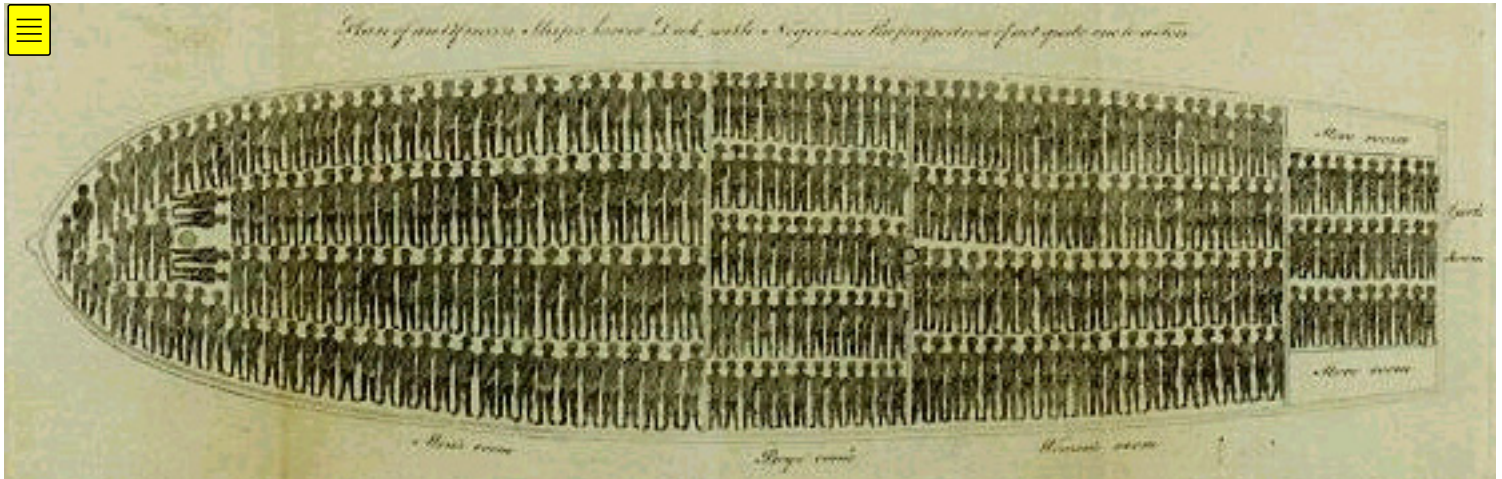
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1741



In [Rhode Island](#) harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 7 [negreros](#) were being fitted out for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of [slaves](#) was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of more than 760 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful [Middle Passage](#) during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.



In this year of King George's War, five [privateer](#) vessels were attacking the shipping of the Spanish enemies of the British crown out of [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#).

June 5, Friday (Old Style): The sloop *Revenge*, owned by Commander Benjamin Norton and John Freebody of [Newport](#), again sailed from Newport as a [privateer](#).

Here is the number of such [Rhode Island](#) privateer vessels at sea against Spanish shipping, by year:

1741	5
1742	5
1743	10
1744	11
1745	13-15

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"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— Thomas Jefferson, 1812



"If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when Rhode Island first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁸²



82. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

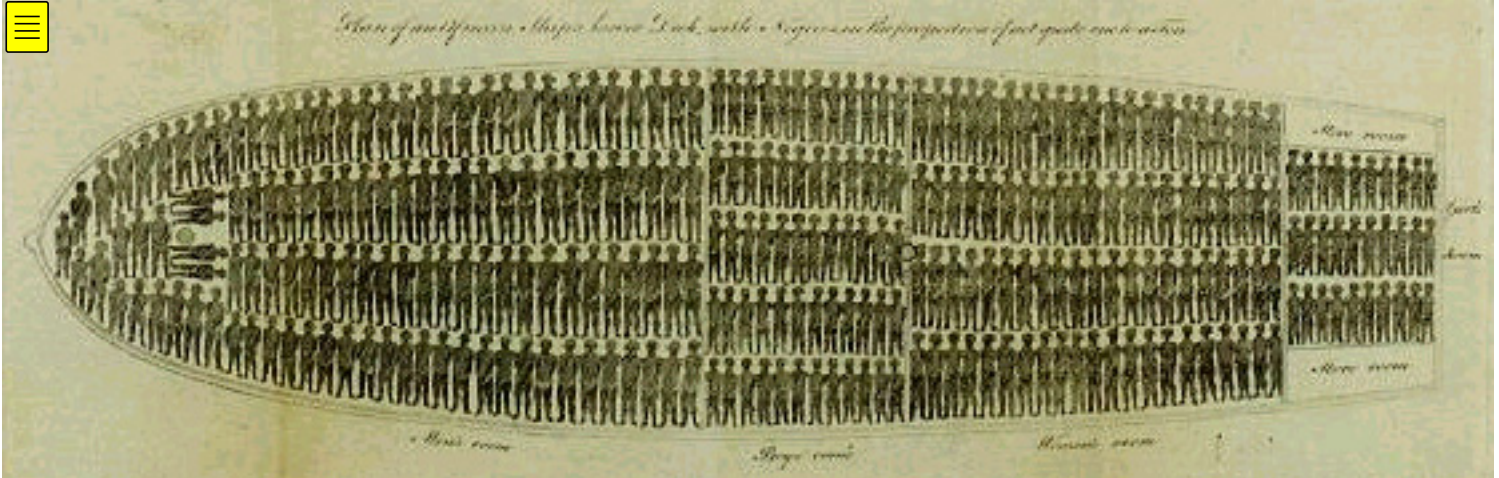
PIRACY

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1742

Charles Town's population was estimated at 6,800.

In Rhode Island harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 8 [negreros](#) were being fitted out for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of [slaves](#) was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of more than 870 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful [Middle Passage](#) during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.



In this year of King George's War, five [privateer](#) vessels were in operation against Spanish shipping out of [Newport, Rhode Island](#):

1741	5
1742	5
1743	10
1744	11
1745	13-15



"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to [privateering](#) in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— [Thomas Jefferson](#), 1812



"If [privateering](#) had not been already well established in the British Empire when [Rhode Island](#) first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁸³



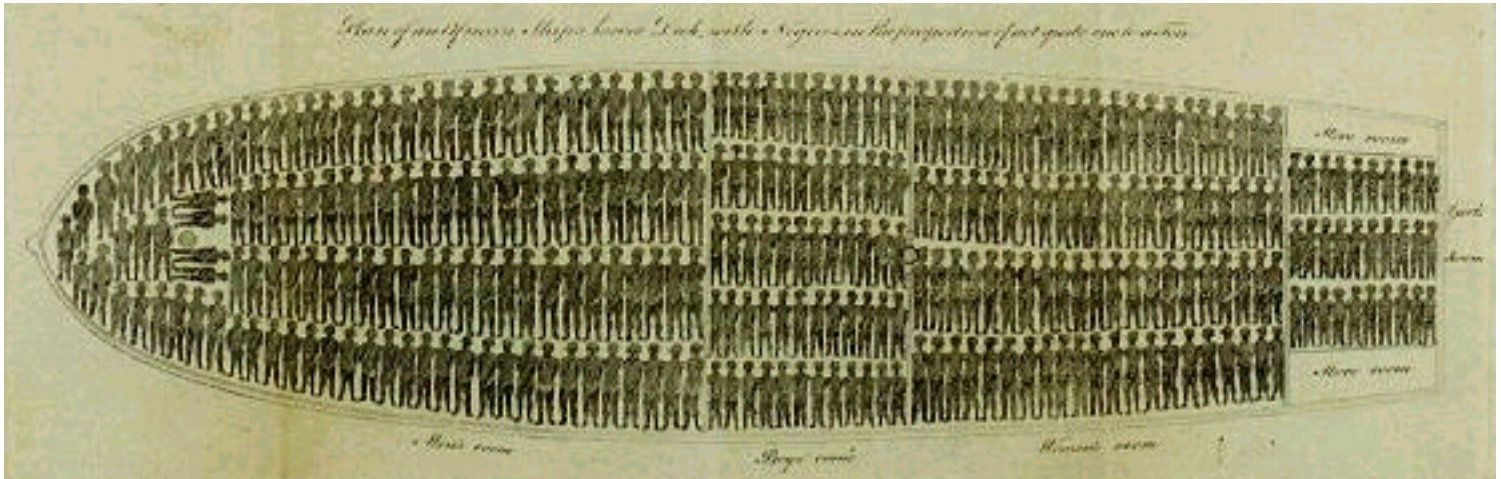
83. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF [RHODE ISLAND](#). Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

PIRACY

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1743

In [Rhode Island](#) harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 5 [negreros](#) were being fitted out for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of [slaves](#) was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargoes– then a total of something like 545 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful [Middle Passage](#) during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.



Of course, the international trade in new [slaves](#) was not being exclusively monopolized by slavers operating out of tiny [Rhode Island](#). In Nürnberg in this year, Homann Hereditors issued its very nice hand-colored engraved map of *GUINEA PROPIA, NEC NON NIGRITIAE VEL TERRAE NIGRORUM MAXIMA PARS* . . . indicating just which sections of the African coast were being patronized by the English negreros, the Dutch negreros, the French negreros, and the Danish negreros:



In this year of King George’s War, ten [privateer](#) vessels were in operation against Spanish shipping out of [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#):

1741	5
1742	5
1743	10
1744	11
1745	13-15

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"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— Thomas Jefferson, 1812



"If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when Rhode Island first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁸⁴



84. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

1744

At the beginning of King George’s War between Britain and France, eleven privateer vessels were in operation against Spanish shipping out of Newport, Rhode Island and the number was still increasing, while by way of contrast, at this point Massachusetts had seven commissioned privateers at sea, New York seven, and Pennsylvania eight. For example, in this year Captain Simeon Potter of Bristol sailed out from Newport in his sloop Prince Charles of Lorraine with a commission as a privateer against the vessels of France and Spain, but instead raided a Jesuit mission at the mouth of the Oyapoc River of Guiana, torching a Catholic school there, capturing its priest, looting its silver and vestments, and pillaging houses of the settlement. In privateering, which amounted to a sanctioned form of high-seas piracy, Rogue Island always led the way!



“In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace.”

– Thomas Jefferson, 1812



“If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when Rhode Island first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

– Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁸⁵



85. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

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1745

During his twenties, [John Newton](#) would be captaining two Liverpool slavers and as a matter of course would be keeping detailed logs of his voyages. “During the time I was engaged in the slave trade,” he would write about the period from 1745 to 1755, “I never had the least scruple as to its lawfulness.... It is, indeed, accounted a genteel employment and is usually very profitable.”



(It would be only in a later timeframe that captaining a negrero in the [international slave trade](#) would come to be equated with general [piracy](#). It was before he had begun to engage in this trade that Captain Newton had undergone one of those adult conversion experiences of “grace” that were being held in high value among those influenced by the Reverends John Wesley and Charles Wesley, and it seems he left the business not out of concern for his spiritual health but out of concern for his physical health. He would begin a 2d career as a landlubber Anglican priest before beginning to have doubts as to the probity of his past.)

Christmas Eve: At [Rhode Island](#), Godfrey Malbone, had constructed and fitted out two [privateers](#), the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Prince of Wales*, each with a crew of 130.⁸⁶ Having a horoscope cast for him, Malbone learned that the stars said he would capture valuable prizes and make lots of money if he sailed on the lucky date, [Christmas Eve](#). In the teeth of a building nor’easter, he ordered his two ships to set sail out of [Newport](#) harbor. Some couple of hundred of Newport wives would be widowed, as the two ships he sent out into the storm this day would never be heard of again.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

86. [Privateers](#) required very large crews, since each ship they would capture would need to be given an adequate crew, in order to sail it back to a safe port to sell it for profit

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"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— Thomas Jefferson, 1812



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— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁸⁷



87. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999



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1746

Captains John Dennis and Robert Morris, [privateers](#) out of [Rhode Island](#), captured a French vessel near Cape Tiburon and brought it to [Newport](#), where its black crewmembers were sold into [slavery](#) in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and [New York](#). This brought a protest from the Governor of Cuba, that these particular black seamen had in [Cuba](#) been not slaves but free men. Learning of this, the Rhode Island General Assembly voted that an apology be tendered, and that the black sailors be purchased from their purchasers –who were to be fully reimbursed– and the seamen set free and allowed to depart at will. Of course, no consideration was given to the paying of back wages for services rendered, but a message was sent to Cuba: this adventure into the [international slave trade](#) had been a mere inadvertent error (RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORDS, V. 170, 176-7; [Dawson's Historical Magazine](#), XVIII. 98).

PIRACY

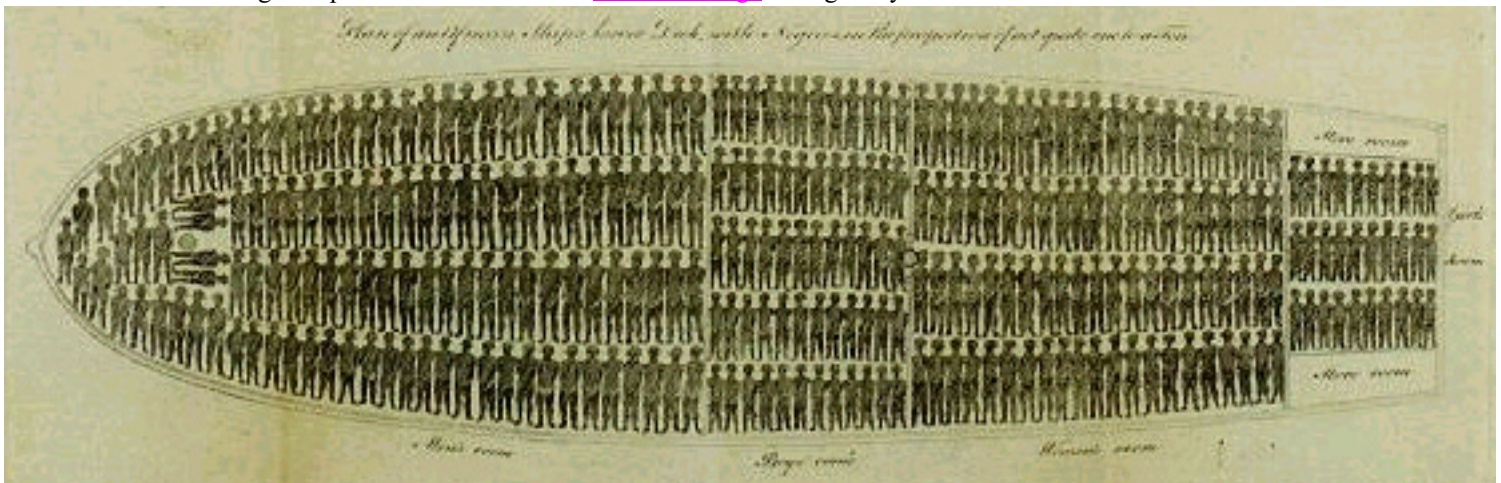
PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1747

The slaves of the cargo of a [Rhode Island negrero](#) commanded by Captain Beers rose when off Cape Coast Castle and murdered the captain and crew except the two mates — who managed to swim to shore.

[SERVILE INSURRECTION](#)

It has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes that in this year in Rhode Island harbors alone, some 5 such vessels were being fitted out for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of [slaves](#) was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos— then a total of more than 540 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful [Middle Passage](#) during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.



In this year and the following one, [Rhode Island](#) would have two or three [privateer](#) vessels upon the seas, seeking the Spanish enemies of the British crown and the capture or destruction of their shipping.



"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to [privateering](#) in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— [Thomas Jefferson](#), 1812



"If [privateering](#) had not been already well established in the British Empire when [Rhode Island](#) first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁸⁸



88. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF [RHODE ISLAND](#). Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1748

February (1747, Old Style): The first of [Rhode Island](#)'s [privateering](#) expeditions to sail from [Providence](#) rather than from [Newport](#).

According to Edgar S. Maclay's A HISTORY OF AMERICAN PRIVATEERS, 1899, it was the success of American [privateers](#) in the destruction of England's overseas commerce that "struck the mortal blows to British supremacy in America," not the famous land battles such as those at Saratoga and Yorktown, because these depredations caused the interest of the powerful British mercantile class to end the hostilities to be in conflict with the interest of the government of King George III to continue the hostilities. Here, therefore, is the number of Rhode Island privateer vessels, by year (compared with number of Rhode Island vessels taken by the French during England's period of hostilities with that nation):

	RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEERS	RI VESSELS TAKEN BY FRENCH
1741	5	
1742	5	
1743	10	
1744	11	
1745	13-15	
1753	1	
1754	0	
1755	1	
1756	5	5
1757	10	5
1758	16	11
1759	2	5
1760	8	0
1761	3	14
1762	22	11
1763	?	1
1776	57	
1777	17	
1778	17	
1779	39	
1780	13	

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

	RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEERS	RI VESSELS TAKEN BY FRENCH
1781	9	
1782	26	
1783	17	



"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

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"If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when Rhode Island first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

– Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁸⁹



89. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

1757

[Thomas Paine](#) went to sea for six months on the [privateer](#) *King of Prussia*.⁹⁰

May 19, Thursday: It became known in [Warren, Rhode Island](#) that one of the [privateers](#) of Captain [Mark Anthony DeWolf](#) of Bristol had captured a French snow north of Bermuda.

Here is [Rhode Island](#) privateering during the English war against the French, in comparison with the number of Rhode Island vessels taken by French privateers:

	RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEERS	RI VESSELS TAKEN BY FRENCH
1756	5	5
1757	10	5
1758	16	11
1759	2	5
1760	8	0
1761	3	14
1762	22	11
1763	?	1



"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to [privateering](#) in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— [Thomas Jefferson](#), 1812



"If [privateering](#) had not been already well established in the British Empire when [Rhode Island](#) first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁹¹



90. (This is Tom Pain the English lad, rather than Thomas Paine the Rhode Island pirate.)

91. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF [RHODE ISLAND](#). Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1770

[Elias Hasket Derby](#) caused to be erected another larger Georgian mansion next door to his wedding-present mansion in Salem. He would never complete this 60-room house and it would come to be used it as a warehouse for the goods his Revolutionary-War [privateers](#) had taken for trading. (Although the house's original design was by Samuel McIntire, today's "Hawke House" design is the result of Benjamin Hawkes, who would acquire the McIntire house in 1800 and demolish it in 1815.)

KING DERBY



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

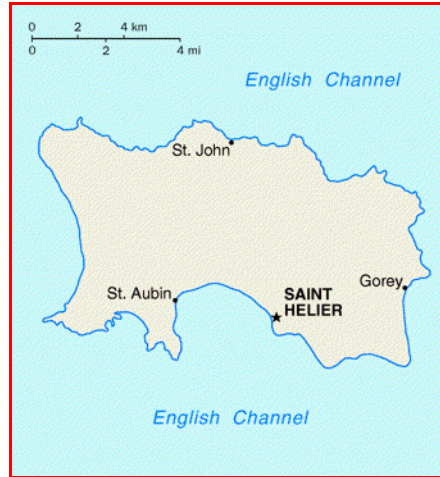
1773

May 3, Monday: [William Bartram](#) arrived in Savannah.

[Henry Thoreau](#)'s paternal grandfather [Jean Thoreau](#) (1754-1801) took the Protestant sacrament in St. Hélier, on the island of [Jersey](#) in the English Channel,

HUGUENOTS

HENRY'S RELATIVES



in preparation for embarking on a [privateering](#) voyage that would eventually, after a shipwreck, dump him at Boston Harbor without any intention on his part of going there.

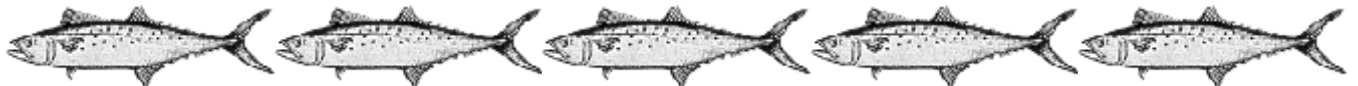
PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING



Jean's father [Philippe Thoreau](#) was a wine merchant on Jersey but by family tradition the Thoreaus had originated either in Tours or in the Poitou-Charentes district of France. (Jean's mother's name was [Marie Le Galais](#).) Some of the Thoreaus married English and it is said one descendant was a military officer. John would begin as a merchant in America on [Boston](#)'s Long Wharf with one barrel of sugar, and would go privateering again, and eventually would possess a fortune of \$25,000.⁰⁰ and a home on [Prince Street](#) — the American dream!⁹²

92. On July 26, 1851 at Cohasset, while going along for the experience of it on a commercial cruise for mackerel, [Thoreau](#) would meet up with a Captain Snow who would be able to remember hearing fishermen say they "fitted out at Thoreau's."



HDT

WHAT?

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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING



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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

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AMERICAN REVOLUTION



"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

– Thomas Jefferson, 1812



"If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when Rhode Island first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

– Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁹³



93. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

March 20: After the Boston Massacre, in order to decrease irritating contacts between soldiers and citizenry much of the British presence in Boston had been relocated to Castle William on Castle Island.

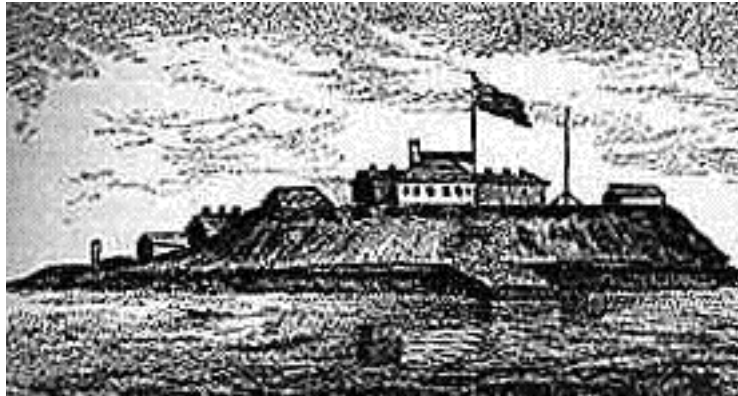


At this point, however, the British evacuated the island fortress, with what they were not able to destroy of the fortification as they left falling into American hands. The fort would be repaired and extended and would in 1799 be rechristened Fort Independence while the original French earthworks named Fort

PIRACY

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Independence on Point Allerton in Hull would be renamed Fort Rivere.



Fort William in the 18th Century

...found the Rebels had begun a new work on Dorchester Point opposite Castle William. We fired at them from the Castle.... About two we observed about 21 whale boats set out from Dorchester Neck and row across to Thompson's Island, where they landed a small cannon and pull'd it to the point and fired on our working Partys on Spectacle Island. At 3 o'clock Colonel Leslie came to the Castle from the General with orders to load the mines.... The Barracks and other houses were then set on fire and at 9 the Rear Guard consisting of 3 Companies, the Artillery, etc., Embarked and we got all safe on board the Transports.

THOMPSON ISLAND
SPECTACLE ISLAND



Evidently, at some point during the British withdrawal Yankee [privateers](#) were able to establish a battery

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

on Long Island and use it to destroy one of the transport ships. Fun and games and target practice!



As the flotilla passed Little Brewster Island on its exit from Boston Harbor, the Loyalists blew away the Boston Light.

1777

Vessels engaged in [Rhode Island privateering](#) during the Revolutionary War:

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"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to [privateering](#) in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

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– Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁹⁴



94. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF [RHODE ISLAND](#). Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1778

[Robert Gray](#) of [Tiverton, Rhode Island](#), who was in his early 20s, was probably at this point aboard one or another American [privateer](#) — for after the war he would continue with a sea career.



[Dartmouth](#) was destroyed by the British. [Paul Cuffe](#) and an older brother, David Cuffe, began to make trips at night and during bad weather, carrying needed supplies in a small boat to outlying islands — until [pirates](#) took their boat and cargo from them. Paul would build another boat and resume this risky business of running the British blockade.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



[Rhode Island privateering](#) during the Revolutionary War:

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95. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

PIRACY

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1779

Until this year Elbridge Gerry sat on and sometimes presided over the congressional board that regulated the Continental finances. At this point there arose a quarrel over the price schedule for suppliers and, himself a supplier, he simply got up and walked out of the Congress. Nominally still a member, for the succeeding 3 years he would not darken their door, choosing instead to engage in trade and privateering while serving in the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Rhode Island privateering during the Revolutionary War:

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— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁹⁶



96. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

It has been alleged that at some point during the revolution, [Henry Thoreau](#)'s paternal grandfather [Jean Thoreau](#) served as a private in a unit under the leadership of fellow [Huguenot Paul Revere](#).⁹⁷

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

“Thoreau & Hayse” was a shop on the Long Wharf of Boston. [Jean Thoreau](#) was in partnership at first with a Hayse, and later with a Phillips. Their fittings shop was at #43 and #45 on the wharf:



October 1856: Father told me about his father the other night, who died in 1801, aged forty-seven. When the Revolutionary war came on, he was apprentice or journeyman to a cooper in Boston, who employed many hands. He called them together and told them that, on account of the war, his business was ruined, and he had no more work for them. So my father thinks he went into privateering. Yet he remembers his telling him of being employed digging at some defences, when a cannon-ball came and sprinkled sand all over them. After the war he went into business as a merchant, commencing with a single hogshead of sugar. His shop was on Long Wharf. He was a short man, a little taller than Father, stout, and very strong for his size. Levi Melcher, a powerful man, who was his clerk or tender, used to tell my father that he did not believe himself so strong a man as Grandfather, who would never give in to him in handling a hogshead of molasses, —setting it on its head, or the like.



[Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) would add a footnote to this, to the effect that this strong clerk Levi Melcher had been one of his, F.B. Sanborn's, mother's uncles, whom he remembered well, and was of an old New Hampshire family in Rockingham County, and subsequently had made his fortune in the same wartime [privateering](#) business as had [Jean Thoreau](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

97. Well, at the least, he may have been in some sort of dustup which also involved [Paul Revere](#) or Riviere. Note that at the onset of the Revolutionary War, when General George Washington had issued a draft order covering “all young men of suitable age to be drafted,” there was an exclusionary clause, “except those with conscientious scruples against war.” It would appear that Jean did not seek to avail himself of this exclusionary clause — which is to say, conscientious objection was not part of the Thoreau family heritage.

1780

Rhode Island privateering during the Revolutionary War:

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98. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

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1781

Rhode Island privateering during the Revolutionary War:

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99. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1782

George Wall was a Boston fisherman, while his wife Rachel Wall worked on Beacon Hill as a housemaid. There not being enough money in fishing and cleaning house, they stole a ship docked at Essex and went into the piracy business. These were real small-timers and their MO (*modus operandi*) was that Rachel would stand at the mast making out to be in distress off the Isles of Shoals while George and some crewmen lurked. When rescuers came to save the maiden in distress, the men would leap out and kill them, take their valuables, and scuttle their ship. At this point the husband drowned in a storm and Rachel Wall was rescued. Back in Boston, she began to live by stealing from the cabins of ships at the docks. Eventually she would be accused of murdering a sailor, an act that she would deny, and sentenced to hang. At her hanging on October 8, 1789 she would confess to having been a pirate — the only known female pirate of New England.

Rhode Island privateering during the Revolutionary War:

1776	57	AMERICAN REVOLUTION
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1778	17	
1779	39	
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100. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

PIRACY

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1783

Rhode Island privateering during the Revolutionary War:

1776	57
1777	17
1778	17
1779	39
1780	13
1781	9
1782	26
1783	17

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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101. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1785

July 20, Wednesday: The *Dauphin*, out of Philadelphia, was captured by [Barbary pirates](#).

July 25, Monday: The *Maria*, out of Boston, was captured by [Barbary pirates](#).
(Some 21 captives from the *Dauphin* and the *Maria* would need to be ransomed.)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1787

July 18: The US Congress ratified an agreement entered into in January 1787 by John Adams and Thomas Jefferson with the Emperor of Morocco, one of the “[Barbary pirate](#)” states along the Mediterranean coast of Africa. We agreed to present a few thousand dollars to this ruler, less than \$80,000 max, and in return he agreed to order his coastal pirates not to attempt to capture our vessels.

THE BARBARY TREATIES



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1789

The stand-off weapons of the Tahitians had been limited to spears, stones, and bows and arrows. Their bows were of hibiscus wood and about five feet in length, and they fashioned arrows from bamboo reeds 30 to 36 inches in length, tipping them with ironwood. The limiting item in their archery was the bowstring, for which there was only flax. Archers would shoot from a kneeling position and attempt to produce great range rather than accuracy, with judges running out and marking the arrows where they lay with flags. Three hundred yards would be considered a strong shot. Archery was considered as a semi-sacred aristocratic entertainment and not much used in warfare. While Captain Cook's party had introduced muskets in 1778, they had left behind only 3 or 4 such weapons, with limited powder and few flints (neither of which could be produced locally because of the total absence of suitable stone and chemicals), and in consequence the techniques of island warfare had not changed. Between this year and 1791, however, the [mutineers](#) of HMS *Bounty* would be introducing gunpowder warfare to Tahiti, because they had brought in their captured ship entire boxes of flints and entire barrels of gunpowder.

October 8, Thursday: George Wall had been a [Boston](#) fisherman, while his wife Rachel Wall had worked on Beacon Hill as a housemaid. There not being enough money in fishing and cleaning house, they had stolen a ship docked at Essex and gone into the piracy business. These were real small-timers and their MO (*modus operandi*) had been that Rachel would stand at the mast making out to be in distress off the Isles of Shoals while George and some crewmen lurked. When rescuers came to save the maiden in distress, the men would leap out and kill them, take their valuables, and scuttle their ship. In 1782 the husband had drowned in a storm and Rachel Wall had been rescued. Back in Boston, she had begun to live by stealing from the cabins of ships at the docks. Eventually she was accused of murdering a sailor, an act she denied, and sentenced to hang. At her [hanging](#) on Boston Common on this day she confessed to having previously been a [pirate](#) — the only known female pirate of New England.

(Highway robbers William Dannesse and William Smith also were [hanged](#) on the Common.)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1794

February 8, Saturday: The [pirates](#) Collins, Poleski, and Fertidi were [hanged](#) on [Boston Common](#).¹⁰²

102. In this year, in Pennsylvania, [capital punishment](#) was being abandoned for all offenses other than 1st degree murder. In this year, in [Rhode Island](#), the pirate Charles Gibbs, who would be [hanged](#) on April 22, Friday, 1831 at Bellevue Prison of [New-York](#), was being born.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1795

The United States government entered into a treaty with Spain, opening navigation on the Mississippi River, which treaty would later be misapplied in the case *The U.S. v. The Libelants, etc., of the Schooner Amistad*. Article 9 of this Pinckney treaty dealt with the prompt return of ships and merchandise in times of peace, when saved from [pirates](#) or robbers, and Article 6 dealt with the prompt return of ships and merchandise in time of war when property of either nation had by force been brought under the jurisdiction of the other. It would take the Supreme Court decision of March 9, 1841 to correct a preposterous government allegation that the blacks of the *La Amistad*, who had been kidnapped from Africa, were property which the US government was obligated under this treaty with Spain to deliver back to [Cuba](#) — to be there burned at the stake as [pirates](#).



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1797

August: Having concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Morocco whereby we would slip him some pocket cash from time to time so long as nobody termed this “paying him tribute,”¹⁰³ at this point we also entered into a similar treaty with another of these “[Barbary pirate](#)” states along the Mediterranean coast of Africa, the nation of Tunisia. This arrangement was negotiated by the poet Joel Barlow and would cost us more than \$100,000. The new arrangement would be ratified by the US Congress in 1799.

THE BARBARY TREATIES

103. In the 1790s, Americans traded in and commandeered the labor of captive Africans. These creatures were, and are, conventionally referred to in the US print culture as “slaves.” In the same timeframe, however Algerian Muslims were commandeering and trading in the labor of US sailors they were taking prisoner off the coast of North Africa. These creatures were, and are, being referred to in the US print culture as “captives.” The difference between being “slaves” and being “captives” was, and is, in part the difference between being black humans and being white humans, and in part the difference between being, on the one hand, naturalized and essentialized, and being, on the other hand, personalized and individualized: slaves are slaves because they are ontologically enslaved, while captives are merely captive because despite being ontologically “free” people, despite being individual agents with intact wills, they are temporarily being held against their intact will. Glenn Hendler has pointed out that a term such as “slave” effectively made the condition of enslavement inevitable, because it provided the totality of the identity of the persons so described. The term “captive,” on the other hand, disallowed this totalization and connoted both resisting intelligences operating against the enslaved condition, and the unnaturalness and injustice of the condition itself. The insistence of (white) US writers in the 1790s on applying the term of art “captives” rather than the term of art “slaves” to their fellow citizens held by Moslems on the north coast of Africa should, I think, give us pause. Is it serving the purposes of communication, if we continue to accept such a nomenclature system, or is it instead a fertile source of miscommunication?



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

THE REMARKABLE HISTORY OF THE JOASSAMEE PIRATES OF THE PERSIAN GULF.

CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF THEIR CHIEF TOWN, RAS EL KHYMA, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF SEVERAL EUROPEAN VESSELS, AND THE BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF THEIR CREWS. — WITH INTERESTING DETAILS OF THE SEVERAL EXPEDITIONS SENT AGAINST THEM, AND THEIR FINAL SUBMISSION TO THE TROOPS OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY¹⁰⁴



The line of coast from Cape Mussenndom to Bahrain, on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, had been from time immemorial occupied by a tribe of Arabs called Joassamees. These, from local position, were all engaged in maritime pursuits. Some traded in their own small vessels to Bussorah, Bushire, Muscat, and even India; others annually fished in their own boats on the pearl banks of Bahrain; and a still greater number hired themselves out as sailors to navigate the coasting small craft of the Persian Gulf.

104. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



PIRACY

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The Joassamees at length perceiving that their local position enabled them to reap a rich harvest by plundering vessels in passing this great highway of nations, commenced their piratical career. The small coasting vessels of the gulf, from their defenceless state, were the first object of their pursuit, and these soon fell an easy prey; until, emboldened by success, they directed their views to more arduous enterprises, and having tasted the sweets of plunder in the increase of their wealth, had determined to attempt more promising victories.

About the year 1797, one of the East India Company's vessels of war, the *Viper*, of ten guns, was lying at anchor in the inner roads of Bushire. Some dows of the Joassamees were at the same moment anchored in the harbor; but as their warfare had hitherto been waged only against what are called native vessels, and they had either feared or respected the British flag, no hostile measures were ever pursued against them by the British ships. The commanders of these dows had applied to the Persian agent of the East India Company there, for a supply of gunpowder and cannon shot for their cruise: and as this man had no suspicions of their intentions, he furnished them with an order to the commanding officer on board for the quantity required. The captain of the *Viper* was on shore at the time, in the agent's house, but the order being produced to the officer on board, the powder and shot were delivered, and the dows weighed and made sail. The crew of the *Viper* were at this moment taking their breakfast on deck, and the officers below; when on a sudden, a cannonading was opened on them by two of the dows, who attempted also to board.

The officers, leaping on deck, called the crew to quarters, and cutting their cable, got sail upon the ship, so as to have the advantage of manoeuvring. A regular engagement now took place between this small cruiser and four dows, all armed with great guns, and full of men. In the contest Lieut. Carruthers, the commanding officer, was once wounded by a ball in the loins; but after girding a handkerchief round his waist, he still kept the deck, till a ball entering his forehead, he fell. Mr. Salter, the midshipman on whom the command devolved, continued the fight with determined bravery, and after a stout resistance, beat them off, chased them some distance out to sea, and subsequently regained the anchorage in safety.

Several years elapsed before the wounds of the first defeat were sufficiently healed to induce a second attempt on vessels under the British flag, though a constant state of warfare was still kept up against the small craft of the gulf. In 1804, the East India Company's cruiser, *Fly*, was taken by a French privateer, off the Island of Kenn, in the Persian Gulf; but before the enemy boarded her, she ran into shoal water, near that island, and sunk the government dispatches, and some treasure with which they were charged, in about two and a half fathoms of water, taking marks for the recovery of them, if possible, at some future period. The passengers and crew were taken to Bushire where they were set at liberty, and having purchased a country dow by subscription, they fitted her out and commenced their voyage down the gulf, bound for Bombay. On their passage down, as they thought it would be practicable to recover the government packet and treasure sunk off Kenn, they repaired to that island, and were successful, after much exertion, in recovering the former, which being in their estimation of the



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first importance, as the dispatches were from England to Bombay, they sailed with them on their way thither, without loss of time. Near the mouth of the gulf, they were captured by a fleet of Joassamee boats, after some resistance, in which several were wounded and taken into their chief port at Ras-el-Khyma. Here they were detained in hope of ransome, and during their stay were shown to the people of the town as curiosities, no similar beings having been before seen there within the memory of man. The Joassamee ladies were so minute in their enquiries, indeed, that they were not satisfied without determining in what respect an uncircumcised infidel differed from a true believer.

When these unfortunate Englishmen had remained for several months in the possession of the Arabs, and no hope of their ransom appeared, it was determined to put them to death, and thus rid themselves of unprofitable enemies. An anxiety to preserve life, however, induced the suggestion, on their parts, of a plan for the temporary prolongation of it, at least. With this view they communicated to the chief of the pirates the fact of their having sunk a quantity of treasure near the island of Kenn, and of their knowing the marks of the spot, by the bearings of objects on shore, with sufficient accuracy to recover it, if furnished with good divers. They offered, therefore, to purchase their own liberty, by a recovery of this money for their captors; and on the fulfillment of their engagement it was solemnly promised to be granted to them.

They soon sailed for the spot, accompanied by divers accustomed to that occupation on the pearl banks of Bahrain; and, on their anchoring at the precise points of bearing taken, they commenced their labors. The first divers who went down were so successful, that all the crew followed in their turns, so that the vessel was at one time almost entirely abandoned at anchor. As the men, too, were all so busily occupied in their golden harvest, the moment appeared favorable for escape; and the still captive Englishmen were already at their stations to overpower the few on board, cut the cable, and make sail. Their motions were either seen or suspected, as the divers repaired on board in haste, and the scheme was thus frustrated. They were now given their liberty as promised, by being landed on the island of Kenn, where, however, no means offered for their immediate escape. The pirates, having at the same time landed themselves on the island, commenced a general massacre of the inhabitants, in which their released prisoners, fearing they might be included, fled for shelter to clefts and hiding places in the rocks. During their refuge here, they lived on such food as chance threw in their way; going out under cover of the night to steal a goat and drag it to their haunts. When the pirates had at length completed their work of blood, and either murdered or driven off every former inhabitant of the island, they quitted it themselves, with the treasure which they had thus collected from the sea and shore. The Englishmen now ventured to come out from their hiding places, and to think of devising some means of escape. Their good fortune in a moment of despair, threw them on the wreck of a boat, near the beach, which was still capable of repair. In searching about the now deserted town, other materials were found, which were of use to them, and sufficient plank and logs of wood for the construction of a raft. These were both completed in a few days, and the party embarked on them in two divisions, to effect a passage to the Persian shore.

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One of these rafts was lost in the attempt, and all on board her perished; while the raft, with the remainder of the party reached land.

Having gained the main land they now set out on foot towards Bushire, following the line of the coast for the sake of the villages and water. In this they are said to have suffered incredible hardships and privations of every kind. No one knew the language of the country perfectly, and the roads and places of refreshment still less; they were in general destitute of clothes and money, and constantly subject to plunder and imposition, poor as they were. Their food was therefore often scanty, and always of the worst kind; and they had neither shelter from the burning sun of the day, nor from the chilling dews of night.

The Indian sailors, sipakees, and servants, of whom a few were still remaining when they set out, had all dropped off by turns; and even Europeans had been abandoned on the road, in the most affecting way, taking a last adieu of their comrades, who had little else to expect but soon to follow their fate. One instance is mentioned of their having left one who could march no further, at the distance of only a mile from a village; and on returning to the spot on the morrow, to bring him in, nothing was found but his mangled bones, as he had been devoured in the night by jackals. The packet being light was still, however, carried by turns, and preserved through all obstacles and difficulties; and with it they reached at length the island of Busheap, to which they crossed over in a boat from the main. Here they were detained by the Sheikh, but at length he provided them with a boat for the conveyance of themselves and dispatches to Bushire. From this place they proceeded to Bombay, but of all the company only two survived. A Mr. Jowl, an officer of a merchant ship, and an English sailor named Penmel together with the bag of letters and dispatches.

In the following year, two English brigs, the Shannon, Capt. Babcock, and the Trimmer, Capt. Cummings, were on their voyage from Bombay to Bussorah. These were both attacked, near the Islands of Polior and Kenn, by several boats, and after a slight resistance on the part of the Shannon only, were taken possession of, and a part of the crew of each, cruelly put to the sword. Capt. Babcock, having been seen by one of the Arabs to discharge a musket during the contest, was taken by them on shore; and after a consultation on his fate, it was determined that he should forfeit the arm by which this act of resistance was committed. It was accordingly severed from his body by one stroke of a sabre, and no steps were taken either to bind up the wound, or to prevent his bleeding to death. The captain, himself, had yet sufficient presence of mind left, however, to think of his own safety, and there being near him some clarified butter, he procured this to be heated, and while yet warm, thrust the bleeding stump of his arm into it. It had the effect of lessening the effusion of blood, and ultimately of saving a life that would otherwise most probably have been lost. The crew were then all made prisoners, and taken to a port of Arabia, from whence they gradually dispersed and escaped. The vessels themselves were additionally armed, one of them mounting twenty guns, manned with Arab crews, and sent from Ras-el-Khyma to cruise in the gulf, where they committed many piracies.

In the year 1808, the force of the Joassamees having gradually



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increased, and becoming flushed with the pride of victory, their insulting attacks on the British flag were more numerous and more desperate than ever. The first of these was on the ship *Minerva*, of Bombay, on her voyage to Bussorah. The attack was commenced by several boats, (for they never cruize singly,) and a spirited resistance in a running fight was kept up at intervals for several days in succession. A favorable moment offered, however, for boarding; the ship was overpowered by numbers, and carried amidst a general massacre. The captain was said to have been cut up into separate pieces, and thrown overboard by fragments; the second mate and carpenter alone were spared, probably to make use of their services; and an Armenian lady, the wife of Lieut. Taylor, then at Bushire, was reserved perhaps for still greater sufferings. But was subsequently ransomed for a large sum.

A few weeks after this, the *Sylph*, one of the East India Company's cruisers, of sixty tons and mounting eight guns, was accompanying the mission under Sir Hartford Jones, from Bombay, to Persia; when being separated from the rest of the squadron, she was attacked in the gulf by a fleet of dows. These bore down with all the menacing attitude of hostility; but as the commander, Lieut. Graham had received orders from the Bombay government, not to open his fire on any of these vessels until he had been first fired on himself, the ship was hardly prepared for battle, and the colors were not even hoisted to apprise them to what nation she belonged. The dows approached, threw their long overhanging prows across the *Sylph's* beam, and pouring in a shower of stones on her deck, beat down and wounded almost every one who stood on it. They then boarded, and made the ship an easy prize, before more than a single shot had been fired, and in their usual way, put every one whom they found alive to the sword. Lieut. Graham fell, covered with wounds, down the fore hatchway of his own vessel, where he was dragged by some of the crew into a store room, in which they had secreted themselves, and barricaded the door with a crow-bar from within. The cruiser was thus completely in the possession of the enemy, who made sail on her, and were bearing her off in triumph to their own port, in company with their boats. Soon after, however, the commodore of the squadron in the *Neried* frigate hove in sight, and perceiving this vessel in company with the dows, judged her to be a prize to the pirates. She accordingly gave them all chase, and coming up with the brig, the Arabs took to their boats and abandoned her. The chase was continued after the dows, but without success.

These repeated aggressions at length opened the eyes of the East India Government, and an expedition was accordingly assembled at Bombay. The naval force consisted of *La Chiffone*, frigate, Capt. Wainwright, as commodore. The *Caroline* of thirty-eight guns; and eight of the East India Company's cruisers, namely, the *Mornington*, *Ternate*, *Aurora*, *Prince of Wales*, *Ariel*, *Nautilus*, *Vestal* and *Fury*, with four large transports, and the *Stromboli* bomb-ketch. The fleet sailed from Bombay in September, and after a long passage they reached Muscat, where it remained for many days to refresh and arrange their future plans; they sailed and soon reached Ras-el-Khyma, the chief port of the pirates within the gulf. Here the squadron anchored abreast of the town, and the troops were landed under cover of the ships and boats. The inhabitants of the town assembled in crowds to



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repel the invaders; but the firm line, the regular volleys, and the steady charge of the troops at the point of the bayonet, overcame every obstacle, and multiplied the heaps of the slain. A general conflagration was then ordered, and a general plunder to the troops was permitted. The town was set on fire in all parts, and about sixty sail of boats and dows, with the Minerva, a ship which they had taken, then lying in the roads were all burnt and destroyed.

The complete conquest of the place was thus effected with very trifling loss on the part of the besiegers, and some plunder collected; though it was thought that most of the treasure and valuables had been removed into the interior. This career of victory was suddenly damped by the report of the approach of a large body of troops from the interior, and although none of these were seen, this ideal reinforcement induced the besiegers to withdraw. The embarkation took place at daylight in the morning; and while the fleet remained at anchor during the whole of the day, parties were still seen assembling on the shore, displaying their colors, brandishing their spears, and firing muskets from all points; so that the conquest was scarcely as complete as could be wished, since no formal act of submission had yet been shown. The expedition now sailed to Linga, a small port of the Joassamees, and burnt it to the ground. The force had now become separated, the greater portion of the troops being sent to Muscat for supplies, or being deemed unnecessary, and some of the vessels sent on separate services of blockading passages, &c. The remaining portion of the blockading squadron consisting of La Chiffone, frigate, and four of the cruisers, the Mornington, Ternate, Nautilus, and Fury, and two transports, with five hundred troops from Linga, then proceeded to Luft, another port of the Joassamees. As the channel here was narrow and difficult of approach, the ships were warped into their stations of anchorage, and a summons sent on shore, as the people had not here abandoned their town, but were found at their posts of defence, in a large and strong castle with many batteries, redoubts, &c. The summons being treated with disdain, the troops were landed with Col. Smith at their head; and while forming on the beach a slight skirmish took place with such of the inhabitants of the town, as fled for shelter to the castle. The troops then advanced towards the fortress, which is described to have had walls fourteen feet thick, pierced with loop holes, and only one entrance through a small gate, well cased with iron bars and bolts, in the strongest manner. With a howitzer taken for the occasion, it was intended to have blown this gate open, and to have taken the place by storm; but on reaching it while the ranks opened, and the men sought to surround the castle to seek for some other entrance at the same time, they were picked off so rapidly and unexpectedly from the loop holes above, that a general flight took place, the howitzer was abandoned, even before it had been fired, and both the officers and the troops sought shelter by lying down behind the ridges of sand and little hillocks immediately underneath the castle walls. An Irish officer, jumping up from his hiding place, and calling on some of his comrades to follow him in an attempt to rescue the howitzer, was killed in the enterprise. Such others as even raised their heads to look around them, were picked off by the musketry from above; and the whole of the troops lay therefore hidden in this way, until the darkness of the night favored their



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escape to the beach, where they embarked after sunset, the enemy having made no sally on them from the fort. A second summons was sent to the chief in the castle, threatening to bombard the town from a nearer anchorage if he did not submit, and no quarter afterwards shown. With the dawn of morning, all eyes were directed to the fortress, when, to the surprise of the whole squadron, a man was seen waving the British Union flag on the summit of its walls. It was lieutenant Hall, who commanded the Fury which was one of the vessels nearest the shore. During the night he had gone on shore alone, taking an union-jack in his hand, and advanced singly to the castle gate. The fortress had already been abandoned by the greater number of the inhabitants, but some few still remained there. These fled at the approach of an individual supposing him to be the herald of those who were to follow. Be this as it may, the castle was entirely abandoned, and the British flag waived on its walls by this daring officer, to the surprise and admiration of all the fleet. The town and fortifications were then taken possession of. After sweeping round the bottom of the gulf, the expedition returned to Muscat.

On the sailing of the fleet from hence, the forces were augmented by a body of troops belonging to the Imaun of Muscat, destined to assist in the recovery of a place called Shenaz, on the coast, taken by the Joassamees. On their arrival at this place, a summons was sent, commanding the fort to surrender, which being refused, a bombardment was opened from the ships and boats, but without producing much effect. On the following morning, the whole of the troops were landed, and a regular encampment formed on the shore, with sand batteries, and other necessary works for a siege. After several days bombardment, in which about four thousand shot and shells were discharged against the fortress, to which the people had fled for refuge after burning down the town, a breach was reported to be practicable, and the castle was accordingly stormed. The resistance still made was desperate; the Arabs fighting as long as they could wield the sword, and even thrusting their spears up through the fragments of towers, in whose ruins they remained irrevocably buried. The loss in killed and wounded was upwards of a thousand men. Notwithstanding that the object of this expedition might be said to be incomplete, inasmuch as nothing less than a *total* extirpation of their race could secure the tranquility of these seas, yet the effect produced by this expedition was such, as to make them reverence or dread the British flag for several years afterwards.

At length in 1815, their boats began to infest the entrance to the Red Sea; and in 1816, their numbers had so increased on that coast, that a squadron of them commanded by a chief called Ameer Ibrahim, captured within sight of Mocha, four vessels bound from Surat to that port, richly laden and navigating under the British flag, and the crews were massacred.

A squadron consisting of His Majesty's ship Challenger, Captain Brydges, and the East India Company's cruisers, Mercury, Ariel, and Vestal, were despatched to the chief port of the Joassamees, Ras-el-Khyma. Mr. Buckingham the Great Oriental traveller, accompanied the expedition from Bushire. Upon their arrival at Ras-el-Khyma, a demand was made for the restoration of the four Surat vessels and their cargoes; or in lieu thereof twelve lacks of rupees. Also that the commander of the piratical squadron,

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Ameer Ibrahim, should be delivered up for punishment. The demand was made by letter, and answer being received, Captain Brydges determined to go on shore and have an interview with the Pirate Chieftain. Mr. Buckingham (says,) He requested me to accompany him on shore as an interpreter. I readily assented. We quitted the ship together about 9 o'clock, and pulled straight to the shore, sounding all the way as we went, and gradually shoaling our water from six to two fathoms, within a quarter of a mile of the beach, where four large dows lay at anchor, ranged in a line, with their heads seaward, each of them mounting several pieces of cannon, and being full of men. On landing on the beach, we found its whole length guarded by a line of armed men, some bearing muskets, but the greater part armed with swords, shields, and spears; most of them were negroes, whom the Joassamees spare in their wars, looking on them rather as property and merchandise, than in the light of enemies. We were permitted to pass this line, and upon our communicating our wish to see the chief, we were conducted to the gate of the principal building, nearly in the centre of the town, and were met by the Pirate Chieftain attended by fifty armed men. I offered him the Mahometan salutation of peace, which he returned without hesitation.

The chief, Hassan ben Rahma, whom we had seen, was a small man, apparently about forty years of age, with an expression of cunning in his looks, and something particularly sarcastic in his smile. He was dressed in the usual Arab garments, with a cashmeer shawl, turban, and a scarlet benish, of the Persian form, to distinguish him from his followers. There were habited in the plainest garments. One of his eyes had been wounded, but his other features were good, his teeth beautifully white and regular, and his complexion very dark.

The town of Ras-el-Khyma stands on a narrow tongue of sandy land, pointing to the northeastward, presenting its northwest edge to the open sea, and its southeast one to a creek, which runs up within it to the southwestward, and affords a safe harbor for boats. There appeared to be no continued wall of defence around it, though round towers and portions of walls were seen in several parts, probably once connected in line, but not yet repaired since their destruction. The strongest points of defence appear to be in a fortress at the northeast angle, and a double round tower, near the centre of the town; in each of which, guns are mounted; but all the other towers appear to afford only shelter for musketeers. The rest of the town is composed of ordinary buildings of unhewn stone, and huts of rushes and long grass, with narrow avenues winding between them. The present number of inhabitants may be computed at ten thousand at least. They are thought to have at present (1816), sixty large boats out from their own port, manned with crews of from eighty, to three hundred men each, and forty other boats that belong to other ports. Their force concentrated, would probably amount to at least one hundred boats and eight thousand fighting men. After several fruitless negotiations, the signal was now made to weigh, and stand closer in towards the town. It was then followed by the signal to engage the enemy. The squadron bore down nearly in line, under easy sail, and with the wind right aft, or on shore; the Mercury being on the starboard bow, the Challenger next in order, in the centre, the Vestal following in the same line, and the Ariel completing the



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division.

A large fleet of small boats were seen standing in from Cape Mussundum, at the same time; but these escaped by keeping closer along shore, and at length passing over the bar and getting into the back water behind the town. The squadron continued to stand on in a direct line towards the four anchored dows, gradually shoaling from the depth of our anchorage to two and a half fathoms, where stream anchors were dropped under foot, with springs on the cables, so that each vessel lay with her broadside to the shore. A fire was now opened by the whole squadron, directed to the four dows. These boats were full of men, brandishing their weapons in the air, their whole number exceeding, probably, six hundred. Some of the shot from the few long guns of the squadron reached the shore, and were buried in the sand; others fell across the bows and near the hulls of the dows to which they were directed; but the cannonades all fell short, as we were then fully a mile from the beach.

The Arab colors were displayed on all the forts; crowds of armed men were assembled on the beach, bearing large banners on poles, and dancing around them with their arms, as if rallying around a sacred standard, so that no sign of submission or conquest was witnessed throughout. The Ariel continued to discharge about fifty shot after all the others had desisted, but with as little avail as before, and thus ended this wordy negotiation, and the bloodless battle to which it eventually led.

In 1818, these pirates grew so daring that they made an irruption into the Indian Ocean, and plundered vessels and towns on the islands and coasts. A fleet was sent against them, and intercepted them off Ashlola Island, proceeding to the westward in three divisions; and drove them back into the gulf. The Eden and Psyche fell in with two trankies, and these were so closely pursued that they were obliged to drop a small captured boat they had in tow. The Thetes one day kept in close chase of seventeen vessels, but they were enabled to get away owing to their superior sailing. The cruisers met with the Joassamees seventeen times and were constantly employed in hunting them from place to place.

At length, in 1819, they became such a scourge to commerce that a formidable expedition under the command of Major General Sir W. Grant Keir, sailed against them. It arrived before the chief town in December, and commenced operations. In his despatches Gen. Keir says -

I have the satisfaction to report the town of Ras-el Khyma, after a resistance of six days, was taken possession of this morning by the force under my command.

On the 18th, after completing my arrangements at Muscat, the Liverpool sailed for the rendezvous at Kishme; on the 21st, we fell in with the fleet of the Persian Gulf and anchored off the island of Larrack on the 24th November.

As it appeared probable that a considerable period would elapse before the junction of the ships which were detained at Bombay, I conceived it would prove highly advantageous to avail myself of all the information that could be procured respecting the strength and resources of the pirates we had to deal with.

No time was lost in making the necessary preparations for landing, which was effected the following morning without opposition, at a spot which had been previously selected for that purpose, about two miles to the westward of the town. The



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troops were formed across the isthmus connecting the peninsula on which the town is situated with the neighboring country, and the whole of the day was occupied in getting the tents on shore, to shelter the men from rain, landing engineers, tools, sand bags, &c., and making arrangements preparatory to commencing our approaches the next day. On the morning of the 4th, our light troops were ordered in advance, supported by the pickets, to dislodge the enemy from a bank within nine hundred yards of the outer fort, which was expected to afford good cover for the men. The whole of the light companies of the force under Capt. Backhouse, moved forward, and drove the Arabs with great gallantry from a date grove, and over the bank close under the walls of the fort, followed by the pickets under Major Molesworth, who took post at the sand banks, whilst the European light troops were skirmishing in front. The enemy kept up a sharp fire of musketry and cannon; during these movements, Major Molesworth, a gallant officer was here killed. The troops kept their position during the day, and in the night effected a lodgment within three hundred yards of the southernmost tower, and erected a battery of four guns, together with a mortar battery.

The weather having become rather unfavorable for the disembarkation of the stores required for the siege, but this important object being effected on the morning of the 6th, we were enabled to open three eighteen pounders on the fort, a couple of howitzers, and six pounders were also placed in the battery on the right, which played on the defences of the towers and nearly silenced the enemy's fire, who, during the whole of our progress exhibited a considerable degree of resolution in withstanding, and ingenuity in counteracting our attacks, sallied out at 8 o'clock this evening along the whole front of our entrenchments, crept close up to the mortar battery without being perceived, and entered it over the parapet, after spearing the advance sentries. The party which occupied it were obliged to retire, but being immediately reinforced charged the assailants, who were driven out of the battery with great loss. The enemy repeated his attacks towards morning but was vigorously repulsed. During the seventh every exertion was made to land and bring up the remaining guns and mortars, which was accomplished during the night. They were immediately placed in the battery, together with two twenty-four pounders which were landed from the Liverpool, and in the morning the whole of the ordnance opened on the fort and fired with scarcely any intermission till sunset, when the breach on the curtain was reported nearly practicable and the towers almost untenable. Immediate arrangements were made for the assault, and the troops ordered to move down to the entrenchments by daylight the next morning. The party moved forward about 8 o'clock, and entered the fort through the breaches without firing a shot, and it soon appeared the enemy had evacuated the place. The town was taken possession of and found almost entirely deserted, only eighteen or twenty men, and a few women remaining in their houses.

The expedition next proceeded against Rumps, a piratical town, eight miles north of Ras-el-Khyma, but the inhabitants abandoned the town and took refuge in the hill fort of Zyah, which is situated at the head of a navigable creek nearly two miles from the sea coast. This place was the residence of Hussein Bin Alley, a sheikh of considerable importance among the Joassamee tribes,



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and a person who from his talents and lawless habits, as well as from the strength and advantageous situation of the fort, was likely to attempt the revival of the piratical system upon the first occasion. It became a desirable object to reduce the power of this chieftain.

On the 18th December, the troops embarked at Ras-el-Khyma, at day break in the boats of the fleet under command of Major Warren, with the 65th regiment and the flank companies of the first and second regiment, and at noon arrived within four miles of their destination. This operation was attended with considerable difficulty and risk, owing to the heavy surf that beat on the shore; and which was the occasion of some loss of ammunition, and of a few boats being upset and stove in.

At half past three P.M., having refreshed the men, (says Major Warren) we commenced our march, and fording the creek or back water, took up our position at sunset, to the northeastward of the fort, the enemy firing at us as we passed, notwithstanding that our messenger, whom we had previously sent in to summon the Sheikh, was still in the place; and I lost no time in pushing our riflemen and pickets as far forward as I could without exposing them too much to the firing of the enemy, whom I found strongly posted under secure cover in the date tree groves in front of the town. Captain Cocke, with the light company of his battalion, was at the same time sent to the westward, to cut off the retreat of the enemy on that side.

At day break the next morning, finding it necessary to drive the enemy still further in, to get a nearer view of his defences, I moved forward the rifle company of the 65th regiment, and after a considerable opposition from the enemy, I succeeded in forcing him to retire some distance; but not without disputing every inch of ground, which was well calculated for resistance, being intersected at every few yards, by banks and water courses raised for the purpose of irrigation, and covered with date trees. The next morning the riflemen, supported by the pickets, were again called into play, and soon established their position within three and four hundred yards of the town, which with the base of the hill, was so completely surrounded, as to render the escape of any of the garrison now almost impossible. This advantage was gained by a severe loss. Two twenty-four pounders and the two twelves, the landing of which had been retarded by the difficulty of communication with the fleet from which we derived all our supplies, having been now brought on shore, we broke ground in the evening, and notwithstanding the rocky soil, had them to play next morning at daylight.

Aware, however, that the families of the enemy were still in the town, and humanity dictating that some effort should be made to save the innocent from the fate that awaited the guilty; an opportunity was afforded for that purpose by an offer to the garrison of security to their women and children, should they be sent out within the hour; but the infatuated chief, either from an idea that his fort on the hill was not to be reached by our shot, or with the vain hope to gain time by procrastination, returning no answer to our communication, while he detained our messenger; we opened our fire at half past eight in the morning, and such was the precision of the practice, that in two hours we perceived the breach would soon be practicable. I was in the act of ordering the assault, when a white flag was displayed; and the enemy, after some little delay in assembling from the



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different quarters of the place, marched out without their arms, with Hussein Bin Alley at their head, to the number of three hundred and ninety-eight; and at half past one P.M., the British flags were hoisted on the hill fort and at the Sheikh's house. The women and children to the number of four hundred, were at the same time collected together in a place of security, and sent on board the fleet, together with the men. The service has been short but arduous; the enemy defended themselves with great obstinacy and ability worthy of a better cause.

From two prisoners retaken from the Joassamees, they learnt that the plunder is made a general stock, and distributed by the chief, but in what proportions the deponents cannot say; water is generally very scarce. There is a quantity of fish caught on the bank, upon which and dates they live. There were a few horses, camels, cows, sheep, and goats; the greatest part of which they took with them; they were in general lean, as the sandy plain produces little or no vegetation, except a few dates and cocoa-nut trees. The pirates who abandoned Ras-el-Khyma, encamped about three miles in the interior, ready to retreat into the desert at a moment's warning. The Sheikh of Rumps is an old man, but looks intelligent, and is said to be the man who advises upon all occasions the movements of the different tribes of pirates on the coast, and when he was told that it was the wish of the Company to put a stop to their piracy, and make an honest people of them by encouraging them to trade, seemed to regret much that those intentions were not made known, as they would have been most readily embraced. Rumps is the key to Ras-el-Khyma, and by its strength is defended from a strong banditti infesting the mountains, as also the Bedouin Arabs who are their enemies. A British garrison of twelve hundred men was stationed at Ras-el-Khyma, and a guard-ship. The other places sent in tokens of submission, as driven out of their fortresses on the margin of the sea, they had to contend within with the interior hostile tribes.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1798

From this year into 1800, the US would be engaged in an undeclared naval war with France. This contest would include land actions, such as that of the city of Puerto Plata in the Dominican Republic, at which our marines would capture a French [privateer](#) under the guns of the harbor's forts.

CONSULT THE DOCUMENTS

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

According to Frederick C. Leiner's *MILLIONS FOR DEFENSE: THE SUBSCRIPTION WARSHIPS OF 1798* (Annapolis MD: Naval Institute Press, 1999), as the summer approached, the USA seemed on the verge of open war with France.¹⁰⁵ "Egged on" by the exposure of the XYZ Affair as well as by "galling seizures of merchant ships," the merchants and shipmasters of Newburyport began to discuss among themselves "what action they could take to help the country," and began to solicit funds among themselves to construct, for the use of the United States Navy, a 20-gun warship to be named the *Merrimack*, for which their Moses Brown (that is, not the Quaker Moses Brown) would serve as captain. Before this frenzy was over, ten port towns up and down the coast would have not only pledged funds but also begun the construction of such warships. The idea was to hunt down the French [privateers](#) and to convoy with American merchant vessels both along the Atlantic coast and in Caribbean waters. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania would have begun the *Philadelphia*, a 44-gun ship for which Stephen Decatur was to be the captain (note, this is not at all the same ship as that monstrous boondoggle, the first USS *Pennsylvania* launched in 1836), [Baltimore, Maryland](#) would have begun the *Maryland* and the *Patapsco*, 18-gun ships for which John Rogers and Henry Geddes were to be the captains, Boston, Massachusetts would have begun the *Boston*, a 24-gun ship for which George Little was to be the captain, Norfolk, Virginia would have begun the *Richmond*, a 16-gun ship for which Samuel Barron was to be the captain, [New-York](#), New York would have begun the *New York*, a 36-gun ship for which Richard V. Morris was to be the captain, Salem, Massachusetts (?) would have begun the *Essex*, a 32-gun ship for which Edward Preble was to be the captain, and Charleston, South Carolina would have begun the *John Adams*, a 20-gun ship for which George Cross was to be the captain. The federal Senate would initiate a bill to purchase such gunships from the subscribers using 6% certificates of obligation, and that bill would be signed into law by the end of June before even the first keel had been laid. In addition to these 8 subscription ships, the *George Washington*, an 24-gun ship commanded by Patrick Fletcher that was already 5 years old, would be sold to the US Navy by [John Brown](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) in exchange for some of these 6% certificates.

**ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,
IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.**

105. Alexander DeConde, *THE QUASI-WAR: THE POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY OF THE UNDECLARED WAR WITH FRANCE 1797-1801* (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966)

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

19TH CENTURY

1800

→ The American navy blockaded the [pirate](#) ports of Tripoli and Tunis.

→ May 9, Friday: French forces defeated Austrian forces at Biberach southeast of Stuttgart.

THE LAST WORDS AND DYING CONFESSION OF THE THREE [PIRATES](#), WHO WERE EXECUTED THIS DAY, (MAY 9TH, 1800). Philadelphia: Folwell's Press, 1800

HANGING






PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1801

 During this year and the following one, the British occupied the Danish West Indies in the Virgin Islands of the Caribbean.


From this year into 1805, our First Barbary War included the USS *George Washington* and USS *Philadelphia* affairs and the Eaton expedition, during which a few marines landed with United States Agent William Eaton to raise a force against Tripoli in an effort to free the crew of the *Philadelphia*. Although Tripoli declared war, the United States would not.


THE BARBARY TREATIES

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

BARBARY PIRATES

**ESSENCES ARE FUZZY, GENERIC, CONCEPTUAL;
ARISTOTLE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE INSISTED THAT ALL TRUTH IS
SPECIFIC AND PARTICULAR (AND WRONG WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED
TRUTH AS A GENERALIZATION).**

 May 20, Wednesday: Spanish troops entered Portugal and occupied Olivença.

 May 21, Thursday: Rodrigo Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, Teixeira de Andrade, conde de Linhares replaced Luís Pinto de Sousa Coutinho, visconde de Balsemão as Secretary of State (prime minister) of Portugal.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING



May 29, Friday: In Vienna, Franz Joseph Haydn directed the first public performance of his oratorio *Die Jahreszeiten* in the Redoutensaal. This had had a great success in a private performance on April 24th, but on this evening the hall was only half filled.

“Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute” may have been a nice newspaper catch phrase and eventually would become official US policy, but [Thomas Jefferson](#) had never heard of such a thing. He wrote on this date to James Monroe that he was upset at the US having failed to pay up its tribute to the [Barbary pirates](#). With the US treasury full, Adams nevertheless was destabilizing US relations with that region of the world by failing to cough up the money: “Tripoli has probably commenced depredations on us. This is totally without cause. Algiers threatens and has a right, there being 3 years arrears of tribute due to her, while our Treasury has been overflowing with money.”


THE BARBARY TREATIES



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1803

 The USS *Constitution* would be serving from this year into 1806, during what you might refer to as our “Tripolitan War,” as the flagship of the US Mediterranean squadron. The frigate USS *Constellation*, a sister ship, also participated in the campaigns against the Barbary states and against Caribbean pirates.

BARBARY PIRATES

PIRACY

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1804

February 16, Thursday: Lt. Stephen Decatur led a successful raid into Tripoli Harbor to burn the US Navy frigate *Philadelphia*, which had fallen into the hands of pirates and been converted into a Tripoline frigate of 40 guns, and sink the wreck in such a manner as to block the harbor.

May 23, Wednesday: It was being reported in American newspapers that the USS ketch *Intrepid*, under Captain Stephen Decatur, had recaptured and destroyed the USS frigate *Philadelphia*, the one that had previously been captured by Arab pirates in the Mediterranean and converted into a Tripoline frigate of 40 guns:

IMPORTANT !
May 16.—By the politeness of Capt. Calvert, of the ship *Maria*, arrived last night from Cadiz ; we are favored with a copy of the following important letter from Commodore Preble to John Gavino, Esq. our Consul.
UNITED STATES FRIGATE CONSTITUTION,
SYRACUSE HARBOR, February 7, 1804.
JOHN GAVINO, Esq.
Consul of the United States.
DEAR SIR,
I have the pleasure to announce to you the pleasing Intelligence of the capture and destruction of the Tripoline frigate of 40 guns late the United States frigate *Philadelphia*, by the United States ketch *Intrepid* of 4 guns and 70 men, commanded by Captain Decatur of the *Enterprize*, who volunteered his services on the occasion. It is to be regretted that she was so situated, that it was impossible to have brought her out.
On the night of the 3d January, the brig *Syren*, Capt. Stuart and ketch

1805

Under Ching Shih, a former prostitute from the Canton area born in 1775 who had made herself a great pirate leader, the five most powerful crime families in China combine into a single syndicate. The syndicate defined zones of influence, and created an elaborate series of hand signs, passwords, and initiation rites to reduce the risk of accidental confrontations between unsuspecting fellow criminals. (Ching Shih bore sons to one pirate leader, Zheng Yi, then married his adopted son Zhang Pao following his death. Cutting a deal with the Chinese government in 1843 according to which of her navy of 17,318 pirates only 126 were executed for crimes and only 250 others awarded any sort of punishment, she would retire to Canton and take charge of a gambling and prostitution house.)

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

April 16, Tuesday: William Emerson Faulkner was born in South Acton, Massachusetts, son of Francis Faulkner of Acton and Mary Wright Faulkner of Concord.



Eight months after reaching Nagasaki, Russian envoy Nikolai Rezanov was finally able to meet with representatives of the Japanese government. They proceeded to categorically reject his request for relations.

In the dispute between the United States of America and the piracy-oriented Barbary States of the Mediterranean coast of Africa, American forces captured Derna (Darnah).

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

3 day 16 of 4 M 1805 / My mind has for several days been sorrowfully affected, on finding, one of my beloved young friends & intimate acquaintances had joined a society called a society for the promotion of literature, not so much from its name, as the corruption of its members as I believe many of them are infected with deistical principals, from which I conclude



PIRACY


PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

their Questions for discussion will be generally such as will, amuse or rather confuse the head, & not rightly affect the heart, but by degrees tends to lead a seeking mind from the truth, & imperceptibly bring us to assent to things which the truth never did nor never will own

And very clear I am that a mind (as his has been) seeking after best things will not proffit from such investigations, but at every interview will sustain great loss & thus go behind hand, till finally landed on such ground as will be very hard if possible to retract from

These considerations have induced me in a degree of brotherly affection, & may I not say Gospel love to labor with him in order to turn his much beloved mind from what I conceive to be a gross error & again to abstract it from the confusions of the world, & its vain pursuits to the pursuit of the one thing especially needful to be known & possessed, which is Experimental Religion in the Heart

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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PIRACY

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June: Tripoli signed a peace agreement with the US, that if we would lift our blockade of its ports, they would no longer impose a tribute upon our vessels.

THE BARBARY TREATIES

BARBARY PIRATES

 June 4, Tuesday: France annexed the Ligurian Republic (this included [Genoa](#)).

A Treaty Of Peace and Amity between the United States of America and the Bashaw, Bey and Subjects of Tripoli in Barbary ended the 6-year conflict between the United States and the [pirates](#) of Tripoli.

READ THE FULL TEXT



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1806

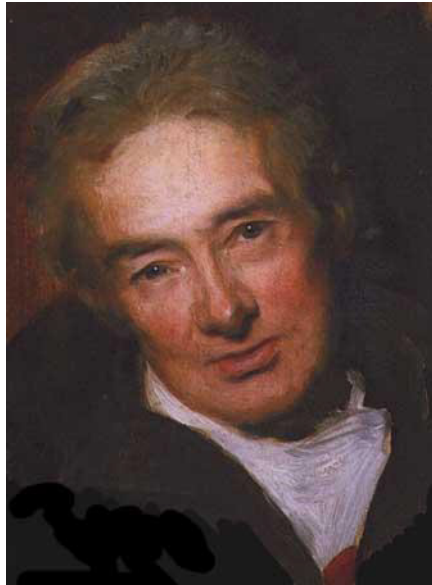
 From this year into 1810, off the Mississippi Delta, American gunboats would be operating, chiefly under Captain John Shaw and Master Commandant David Porter, out of the port of [New Orleans](#), against Spanish and French [privateers](#).

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF. THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.

1807

➡ Some of those involved in England in the anti-slave trade campaign, such as Thomas Fowell Buxton, were arguing that the only way to end the suffering of the slaves was to make slavery itself unlawful. [William Wilberforce](#), in A LETTER ON THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, disagreed, arguing that in his judgment the black slaves had not yet been adequately prepared for freedom: “It would be wrong to emancipate [the slaves]. To grant freedom to them immediately, would be to insure not only their masters’ ruin, but their own. They must [first] be trained and educated for freedom.”



When at the end of this year the legal US import of black [slaves](#) from overseas abruptly terminated, and the import allegedly ceased, with those citizens who continued to do so becoming allegedly hangable under the maritime code as “[pirates](#),” the interesting fact is that every state of our union, including the slaveholding ones, had **already** banned further foreign imports of slaves, and in fact had done so before the turn of the century! South Carolina alone had repealed its ban of slave imports, in 1803; thus it was only the state of South Carolina that was in any way affected by this new federal law. The sorry fact of the matter is that this wasn’t due to considerations of humanity: at an early point it had become in the general interest of American slavemasters to ban further international trade in slaves — as such a ban had the effect of rendering the existing human property of these American slavemasters yet more valuable on the local auction blocks. Only South Carolina had been running against this trend, a trend which nowhere had anything at all to do with human rights and which nowhere had anything at all to do with human decency.


[THE MIDDLE PASSAGE](#)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1808

 January 1, Friday: “[Mounseer Nongtonpow](#),” a poem expanding upon a Charles Dibdin song, published by the publishing firm of [William Godwin](#) (M.J. Godwin) and illustrated by a Godwin protégé William Mulready, that some once supposed to have been authored by that publisher’s child [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft](#).

Herman Willem Daendels, appointed as governor by the French-controlled Dutch government, arrived in the Dutch East Indies.

The Code [Napoléon](#) went into effect in Spain and Holland.

Princess Elisa of Lucca reduced her court orchestra to a string quartet which included [Nicolò Paganini](#) and his brother.

Sierra Leone was made a British Crown Colony.

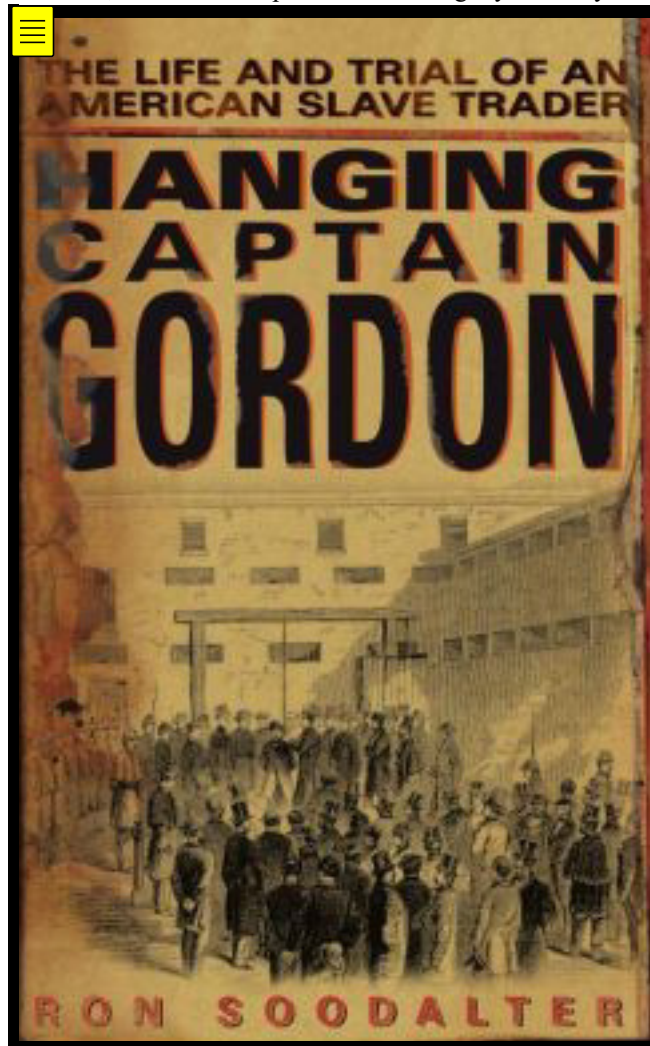
As of this day it supposedly became impossible legally, sort of, to import any more [slaves](#) into the United States of America.¹⁰⁶

106. You will notice the manner in which Section 9 of the US Constitution is persistently misrepresented in our history textbooks. Where Section 9 explicitly prohibits the new federal Congress from restricting the [international slave trade](#) before 1808, saying that “The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight” our popular historians gloss this in our high schools as a victory for human liberty. This was instead a sop that had been thrown to the American enslavers. It categorically prevented the new federal government from interfering with their resupply of slaves prior to 1808 no matter how many votes there came to be, by decent and honorable Representatives, to duly restrict such an insidious traffic. Our popular historians present this concession to slavery, falsely, as if it were a 1787 declaration that as of 1808 the international trade in slaves was constitutionally declared to be outlawed. A built-in protection for slavery has been portrayed falsely in scholarly loose talk as an assault upon it. Yes, the federal congress did indeed in 1807 enact legislation making engaging in the international slave trade be a capital offense. However, we must take into account the fact that 1.) many [slaveholders](#) voted in favor of this new legislative approach, the fundamental economic motivation for this being that this legislation interfered with the international trade by others to the advantage of the national trade by themselves. This increased the value of the new crops of human property which they were themselves raising on their plantations, for sale within the nation. We must also take into account the fact that 2.) although the new legislation defined the offense as [piracy](#), a capital offense calling for [hanging](#), it also created a series of five loopholes through which almost anyone captured in the trade might expect always to escape unscathed. In other words, the hanging part of it was a straightforward sham. In fact between 1807 and 1861 not a single culprit “pirate” would get hanged! In 1862 one such bold “pirate” would be hanged — exactly **one** such criminal in the **entire** history of this legislation — but if you examine this one case, you will see that what he would be hanged for in 1862 was the crime of pride, in that he had neglected to make available to himself any one of these five built-in loopholes.

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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

(Please note: in this assertion, the words “impossible” and “legally” entirely alter each other’s implications.)



Although importation of slaves into the United States was banned by this act which Congress –becoming for the first time enabled to overcome the constitutional restriction– had passed in 1807, making slave import into a capital crime, some 250,000 additional enslaved persons would be illegally imported between this year and 1860. Although nowadays we congratulate ourselves by paying extraordinary attention to the “success stories,” the sad fact is that the combined total of escapes (vanishingly few, mostly of unattached young males of the border states) and [manumissions](#) (vanishingly few) would come nowhere close to making a dent in such a rate of continuing “recruitment.”



“There has never been a document of culture, which is not simultaneously one of barbarism.”

– [Walter Benjamin's THESES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY](#) (1955)



»Es ist niemals ein Dokument der Kultur, ohne zugleich ein solches der Barbarei zu sein.«

– [THESEN ÜBER DEN BEGRIFF DER GESCHICHTE](#) (1940)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

Although this [international slave trade](#) had been made a capital crime, nobody would hang for such a crime for a long, long time. There were too many too carefully built-in escape clauses. In fact, only one unfortunate would ever be hanged, and the hood would not be pulled over the head of this slave importer until the Year of Our Lord 1862!

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

During this year the Reverend Absalom Jones would be proposing, to his African Episcopal congregation in Philadelphia, that all Americans should celebrate an annual holiday of Thanksgiving. This former slave would propose January 1st as the annual date of this Thanksgiving, it being the date on which the further importation of slaves into the US had at least ostensibly been made a federal capital crime. (Execute that turkey!)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about electricity:

6th day 1st of 1st M 1808 / The year commences but poorly as to the inward condition of my mind. if there was but a living up to the light afforded, there would not be those secret condemnations which I almost continually feel – This evening curiosity lead me to an house, to try the curious effect of electricity. I received Several Shocks for the first time in my life – Set a little while with my H the latter part of the evening -¹⁰⁷

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST

107. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1807-1812: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 6 Folder 9 for July 24, 1807-April 30, 1809; also on microfilm, see Series 7



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING


**MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS
HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL
THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A
MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.**



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1809

 [Pirates](#) were active on the [China](#) coast:



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

HISTORY OF THE LADRONE PIRATES

**AND THEIR DEPREDATIONS ON THE COAST OF CHINA: WITH AN
ACCOUNT OF THE ENTERPRISES AND VICTORIES OF MISTRESS
CHING, A FEMALE PIRATE¹⁰⁸**



The Ladrone as they were christened by the Portuguese at Macao, were originally a disaffected set of Chinese, that revolted against the oppression of the Mandarins. The first scene of their depredations was the Western coast, about Cochin China, where they began by attacking small trading vessels in row boats, carrying from thirty to forty men each. They continued this system of piracy, and thrived and increased in numbers under it, for several years. At length the fame of their success, and the oppression and horrid poverty and want that many of the lower orders of Chinese labored under, had the effect of augmenting their bands with astonishing rapidity. Fishermen and other destitute classes flocked by hundreds to their standard, and their audacity growing with their numbers, they not merely swept the coast, but blockaded all the rivers and attacked and took several large government war junks, mounting from ten to fifteen guns each. — These junks being added to their shoals of

108. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



PIRACY

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boats, the pirates formed a tremendous fleet, which was always along shore, so that no small vessel could safely trade on the coast. When they lacked prey on the sea, they laid the land under tribute. They were at first accustomed to go on shore and attack the maritime villages, but becoming bolder, like the Buccaneers, made long inland journeys, and surprised and plundered even large towns.

An energetic attempt made by the Chinese government to destroy them, only increased their strength; for in their first encounter with the pirates, twenty-eight of the Imperial junks struck, and the remaining twelve saved themselves, by a precipitate retreat.

The captured junks, fully equipped for war, were a great acquisition to the robbers, whose numbers now increased more rapidly than ever. They were in their plenitude of power in the year 1809, when Mr. Glasspoole had the misfortune to fall into their hands, at which time that gentleman supposed their force to consist of 70,000 men, navigating eight hundred large vessels, and one thousand small ones, including row boats. They were divided into six large squadrons, under different flags; – the red, the yellow, the green, the blue, the black and the white. "These wasps of the Ocean," as a Chinese historian calls them, were further distinguished by the names of their respective commanders: by these commanders a certain *Ching-yih* had been the most distinguished by his valor and conduct. By degrees, Ching obtained almost a supremacy of command over the whole united fleet; and so confident was this robber in his strength and daily augmenting means, that he aspired to the dignity of a king, and went so far as openly to declare his patriotic intention of hurling the present Tartar family from the throne of China, and of restoring the ancient Chinese dynasty. But unfortunately for the ambitious pirate, he perished in a heavy gale, and instead of placing a sovereign on the Chinese throne, he and his lofty aspirations were buried in the yellow sea. And now comes the most remarkable passage in the history of these pirates – remarkable with any class of men, but doubly so among the Chinese, who entertain more than the general oriental opinion of the inferiority of the fair sex. On the death of *Ching-yih*, his legitimate wife had sufficient influence over the freebooters to induce them to recognize her authority in the place of her deceased husband's, and she appointed one *Paou* as her lieutenant and prime minister, and provided that she should be considered the mistress or commander-in-chief of the united squadrons.

This *Paou* had been a poor fisher-boy, picked up with his father at sea, while fishing, by *Ching-yih*, whose good will and favor he had the fortune to captivate, and by whom, before that pirate's death, he had been made a captain. Instead of declining under the rule of a woman, the pirates became more enterprising than ever. Ching's widow was clever as well as brave, and so was her lieutenant *Paou*. Between them they drew up a code of law for the better regulation of the freebooters.

In this it was decreed, that if any man went privately on shore, or did what they called "transgressing the bars," he should have his ears slit in the presence of the whole fleet; a repetition of the same unlawful act, was death! No one article, however trifling in value, was to be privately subtracted from the booty or plundered goods. Every thing they took was regularly entered

PIRACY

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on the register of their stores. The following clause of Mistress *Ching's* code is still more delicate. No person shall debauch at his pleasure captive women, taken in the villages and open places, and brought on board a ship; he must first request the ship's purser for permission, and then go aside in the ship's hold. To use violence, against any woman, or to wed her, without permission, shall be punished with death.

By these means an admirable discipline was maintained on board the ships, and the peasantry on shore never let the pirates want for gunpowder, provisions, or any other necessary. On a piratical expedition, either to advance or retreat without orders, was a capital offence. Under these philosophical institutions, and the guidance of a woman, the robbers continued to scour the China sea, plundering every vessel they came near. The Great War Mandarin, Kwolang-lin sailed from the Bocca Tigris into the sea to fight the pirates. Paou gave him a tremendous drubbing, and gained a splendid victory. In this battle which lasted from morning to night, the Mandarin Kwolang-lin, a desperate fellow himself, levelled a gun at Paou, who fell on the deck as the piece went off; his disheartened crew concluded it was all over with him. But Paou was quick eyed. He had seen the unfriendly intention of the mandarin, and thrown himself down. The Great Mandarin was soon after taken with fifteen junks; three were sunk. The pirate lieutenant would have dealt mercifully with him, but the fierce old man suddenly seized him by the hair on the crown of his head, and grinned at him, so that he might provoke him to slay him. But even then Paou spoke kindly to him. Upon this he committed suicide, being seventy years of age.

After several victories and reverses, the Chinese historian says our men-of-war escorting some merchant ships, happened to meet the pirate chief nicknamed "The Jewel of the Crew" cruising at sea. The traders became exceedingly frightened, but our commander said, — This not being the flag of the widow Ching-yih, we are a match for them, therefore we will attack and conquer them. Then ensued a battle; they attacked each other with guns and stones, and many people were killed and wounded. The fighting ceased towards evening, and began again next morning. The pirates and the men-of-war were very close to each other, and they boasted mutually about their strength and valor. The traders remained at some distance; they saw the pirates mixing gunpowder in their beverage, — they looked instantly red about the face and the eyes, and then fought desperately. This fighting continued three days and nights incessantly; at last, becoming tired on both sides, they separated.

To understand this inglorious bulletin, the reader must remember that many of the combatants only handled bows and arrows, and pelted stones, and that Chinese powder and guns are both exceedingly bad. The pathos of the conclusion does somewhat remind one of the Irishman's despatch during the American war, — "It was a bloody battle while it lasted; and the searjant of marines lost his cartouche box."

The Admiral Ting River was sent to sea against them. This man was surprised at anchor by the ever vigilant Paou, to whom many fishermen and other people on the coast, must have acted as friendly spies. Seeing escape impossible, and that his officers stood pale and inactive by the flag-staff, the Admiral conjured them, by their fathers and mothers, their wives and children,



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and by the hopes of brilliant reward if they succeeded, and of vengeance if they perished, to do their duty, and the combat began. The Admiral had the good fortune, at the onset, of killing with one of his great guns the pirate captain, "The Jewel of the Crew." But the robbers swarmed thicker and thicker around him, and when the dreaded Paou lay him by the board, without help or hope, the Mandarin killed himself. An immense number of his men perished in the sea, and twenty-five vessels were lost. After his defeat, it was resolved by the Chinese Government to cut off all their supplies of food, and starve them out. All vessels that were in port were ordered to remain there, and those at sea, or on the coast ordered to return with all speed. But the pirates, full of confidence, now resolved to attack the harbors themselves, and to ascend the rivers, which are navigable for many miles up the country, and rob the villages. The consternation was great when the Chinese saw them venturing above the government forts.

The pirates separated: Mistress Ching plundering in one place, Paou in another, and O-po-tae in another, &c.

It was at this time that Mr. Glasspoole had the ill fortune to fall into their power. This gentleman, then an officer in the East India Company's ship the Marquis of Ely, which was anchored under an island about twelve miles from Macao, was ordered to proceed to the latter place with a boat to procure a pilot. He left the ship in one of the cutters, with seven British seamen well armed, on the 17th September, 1809. He reached Macao in safety, and having done his business there and procured a pilot, returned towards the ship the following day. But, unfortunately, the ship had weighed anchor and was under sail, and in consequence of squally weather, accompanied with thick fogs, the boat could not reach her, and Mr. Glasspoole and his men and the pilot were left at sea, in an open boat. "Our situation," says that gentleman, "was truly distressing - night closing fast, with a threatening appearance, blowing fresh, with a hard rain and a heavy sea; our boat very leaky, without a compass, anchor, or provisions, and drifting fast on a lee-shore, surrounded with dangerous rocks, and inhabited by the most barbarous pirates." After suffering dreadfully for three whole days, Mr. Glasspoole, by the advice of the pilot, made for a narrow channel, where he presently discovered three large boats at anchor, which, on seeing the English boat, weighed and made sail towards it. The pilot told Mr. Glasspoole they were Ladrones, and that if they captured the boat, they would certainly put them all to death! After rowing tremendously for six hours they escaped these boats, but on the following morning falling in with a large fleet of the pirates, which the English mistook for fishing-boats, they were captured.

"About twenty savage-looking villains," says Mr. Glasspoole, "who were stowed at the bottom of the boat, leaped on board us. They were armed with a short sword in either hand, one of which they layed upon our necks, and pointed the other to our breasts, keeping their eyes fixed on their officer, waiting his signal to cut or desist. Seeing we were incapable of making any resistance, the officer sheathed his sword, and the others immediately followed his example. They then dragged us into their boat, and carried us on board one of their junks, with the most savage demonstrations of joy, and, as we supposed, to torture and put us to a cruel death."

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When on board the junk they rifled the Englishmen, and brought heavy chains to chain them to the deck.

"At this time a boat came, and took me, with one of my men and an interpreter, on board the chief's vessel. I was then taken before the chief. He was seated on deck, in a large chair, dressed in purple silk, with a black turban on. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, a stout commanding-looking man. He took me by the coat, and drew me close to him; then questioned the interpreter very strictly, asking who we were, and what was our business in that part of the country. I told him to say we were Englishmen in distress, having been four days at sea without provisions. This he would not credit, but said we were bad men, and that he would put us all to death; and then ordered some men to put the interpreter to the torture until he confessed the truth. Upon this occasion, a Ladrone, who had been once to England and spoke a few words of English, came to the chief, and told him we were really Englishmen, and that we had plenty of money, adding that the buttons on my coat were gold. The chief then ordered us some coarse brown rice, of which we made a tolerable meal, having eaten nothing for nearly four days, except a few green oranges. During our repast, a number of Ladrone crowded round us, examining our clothes and hair, and giving us every possible annoyance. Several of them brought swords, and laid them on our necks, making signs that they would soon take us on shore, and cut us in pieces, which I am sorry to say was the fate of some hundreds during my captivity. I was now summoned before the chief, who had been conversing with the interpreter: he said I must write to my captain, and tell him, if he did not send an hundred thousand dollars for our ransom, in ten days he would put us all to death."

After vainly expostulating to lessen the ransom, Mr. Glasspoole wrote the letter, and a small boat came alongside and took it to Macao.

Early in the night the fleet sailed, and anchored about one o'clock the following day in a bay under the island of Lantow, where the head admiral of Ladrone (our acquaintance Paou) was lying at anchor, with about two hundred vessels and a Portuguese brig they had captured a few days before, and the captain and part of the crew of which they had murdered. Early the next morning, a fishing-boat came to inquire if they had captured an European boat; they came to the vessel the English were in.

"One of the boatmen spoke a few words of English, and told me he had a Ladrone-pass, and was sent by our captain in search of us; I was rather surprised to find he had no letter. He appeared to be well acquainted with the chief, and remained in his cabin smoking opium, and playing cards all the day. In the evening I was summoned with the interpreter before the chief. He questioned us in a much milder tone, saying, he now believed we were Englishmen, a people he wished to be friendly with; and that if our captain would lend him seventy thousand dollars till he returned from his cruise up the river, he would repay him, and send us all to Macao. I assured him it was useless writing on these terms, and unless our ransom was speedily settled, the English fleet would sail, and render our enlargement altogether ineffectual. He remained determined, and said if it were not sent, he would keep us, and make us fight, or put us to death. I accordingly wrote, and gave my letter to the man belonging to the boat before mentioned. He said he could not return with an



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answer in less than five days. The chief now gave me the letter I wrote when first taken. I have never been able to ascertain his reasons for detaining it, but suppose he dared not negotiate for our ransom without orders from the head admiral, who I understood was sorry at our being captured. He said the English ships would join the Mandarins and attack them."

While the fleet lay here, one night the Portuguese who were left in the captured brig murdered the Ladrones that were on board of her, cut the cables, and fortunately escaped through the darkness of the night.

"At day-light the next morning, the fleet, amounting to above five hundred sail of different sizes, weighed, to proceed on their intended cruise up the rivers, to levy contributions on the towns and villages. It is impossible to describe what were my feelings at this critical time, having received no answers to my letters, and the fleet under-way to sail - hundreds of miles up a country never visited by Europeans, there to remain probably for many months, which would render all opportunities for negotiating for our enlargement totally ineffectual; as the only method of communication is by boats that have a pass from the Ladrones, and they dare not venture above twenty miles from Macao, being obliged to come and go in the night, to avoid the Mandarins; and if these boats should be detected in having any intercourse with the Ladrones, they are immediately put to death, and all their relations, though they had not joined in the crime, share in the punishment, in order that not a single person of their families should be left to imitate their crimes or avenge their death."

The following is a very touching incident in Mr. Glasspoole's narrative.

"Wednesday the 26th of September, at day-light, we passed in sight of our own ships, at anchor under the island of Chun Po. The chief then called me, pointed to the ships, and told the interpreter to tell us to look at them, for we should never see them again! About noon we entered a river to the westward of the Bogue. Three or four miles from the entrance we passed a large town situated on the side of a beautiful hill, which is tributary to the Ladrones; the inhabitants saluted them with songs as they passed."

After committing numerous minor robberies, "The Ladrones now prepared to attack a town with a formidable force, collected in row-boats from the different vessels. They sent a messenger to the town, demanding a tribute of ten thousand dollars annually, saying, if these terms were not complied with, they would land, destroy the town, and murder all the inhabitants: which they would certainly have done, had the town laid in a more advantageous situation for their purpose; but being placed out of the reach of their shot, they allowed them to come to terms. The inhabitants agreed to pay six thousand dollars, which they were to collect by the time of our return down the river. This finesse had the desired effect, for during our absence they



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mounted a few guns on a hill, which commanded the passage, and gave us in lieu of the dollars, a warm salute on our return.

"October the 1st, the fleet weighed in the night, dropped by the tide up the river, and anchored very quietly before a town surrounded by a thick wood. Early in the morning the Ladrones assembled in row-boats, and landed; then gave a shout, and rushed into the town, sword in hand. The inhabitants fled to the adjacent hills, in numbers apparently superior to the Ladrones. We may easily imagine to ourselves the horror with which these miserable people must be seized, on being obliged to leave their homes, and everything dear to them. It was a most melancholy sight to see women in tears, clasping their infants in their arms, and imploring mercy for them from those brutal robbers! The old and the sick, who were unable to fly, or make resistance, were either made prisoners or most inhumanly butchered! The boats continued passing and repassing from the junks to the shore, in quick succession, laden with booty, and the men besmeared with blood! Two hundred and fifty women and several children, were made prisoners, and sent on board different vessels. They were unable to escape with the men, owing to that abominable practice of cramping their feet; several of them were not able to move without assistance. In fact, they might all be said to totter, rather than walk. Twenty of these poor women were sent on board the vessel I was in; they were hauled on board by the hair, and treated in a most savage manner. When the chief came on board, he questioned them respecting the circumstances of their friends, and demanded ransoms accordingly, from six thousand to six hundred dollars each. He ordered them a berth on deck, at the after part of the vessel, where they had nothing to shelter them from the weather, which at this time was very variable – the days excessively hot, and the nights cold, with heavy rains. The town being plundered of everything valuable, it was set on fire, and reduced to ashes by the morning. The fleet remained here three days, negotiating for the ransom of the prisoners, and plundering the fish-tanks and gardens. During all this time, the Chinese never ventured from the hills, though there were frequently not more than a hundred Ladrones on shore at a time, and I am sure the people on the hills exceeded ten times that number.

"On the 10th we formed a junction with the Black-squadron, and proceeded many miles up a wide and beautiful river, passing several ruins of villages that had been destroyed by the Black-squadron. On the 17th, the fleet anchored abreast four mud batteries, which defended a town, so entirely surrounded with wood, that it was impossible to form any idea of its size. The weather was very hazy, with hard squalls of rain. The Ladrones remained perfectly quiet for two days. On the third day the forts commenced a brisk fire for several hours: the Ladrones did not return a single shot, but weighed in the night and dropped down the river. The



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reasons they gave for not attacking the town, or returning the fire, were, that Joss had not promised them success. They are very superstitious, and consult their idol on all occasions. If his omens are good, they will undertake the most daring enterprises. The fleet now anchored opposite the ruins of the town where the women had been made prisoners. Here we remained five or six days, during which time about an hundred of the women were ransomed; the remainder were offered for sale amongst the Ladrones, for forty dollars each. The woman is considered the lawful wife of the purchaser, who would be put to death if he discarded her. Several of them leaped overboard and drowned themselves, rather than submit to such infamous degradation.

"Mei-ying, the wife of Ke-choo-yang, was very beautiful, and a pirate being about to seize her by the head, she abused him exceedingly. The pirate bound her to the yard-arm; but on abusing him yet more, the pirate dragged her down and broke two of her teeth, which filled her mouth and jaws with blood. The pirate sprang up again to bind her. Ying allowed him to approach, but as soon as he came near her, she laid hold of his garments with her bleeding mouth, and threw both him and herself into the river, where they were drowned. The remaining captives of both sexes were after some months liberated, on having paid a ransom of fifteen thousand leang or ounces of silver.

"The fleet then weighed," continues Mr. Glasspoole, "and made sail down the river, to receive the ransom from the town before-mentioned. As we passed the hill, they fired several shot at us, but without effect. The Ladrones were much exasperated, and determined to revenge themselves; they dropped out of reach of their shot, and anchored. Every junk sent about a hundred men each on shore, to cut paddy, and destroy their orange-groves, which was most effectually performed for several miles down the river. During our stay here, they received information of nine boats lying up a creek, laden with paddy; boats were immediately despatched after them. Next morning these boats were brought to the fleet; ten or twelve men were taken in them. As these had made no resistance, the chief said he would allow them to become Ladrones, if they agreed to take the usual oaths before Joss. Three or four of them refused to comply, for which they were punished in the following cruel manner: their hands were tied behind their backs, a rope from the masthead rove through their arms, and hoisted three or four feet from the deck, and five or six men flogged them with their rattans twisted together till they were apparently dead; then hoisted them up to the mast-head, and left them hanging nearly an hour, then lowered them down, and repeated the punishment, till they died or complied with the oath.

"On the 28th of October, I received a letter from Captain Kay, brought by a fisherman, who had told him he would get us all back for three thousand dollars. He advised me to offer three thousand, and if not accepted, extend it to four; but not farther, as it was bad policy



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to offer much at first: at the same time assuring me we should be liberated, let the ransom be what it would. I offered the chief the three thousand, which he disdainfully refused, saying he was not to be played with; and unless they sent ten thousand dollars, and two large guns, with several casks of gunpowder, he would soon put us to death. I wrote to Captain Kay, and informed him of the chief's determination, requesting, if an opportunity offered, to send us a shift of clothes, for which it may be easily imagined we were much distressed, having been seven weeks without a shift; although constantly exposed to the weather, and of course frequently wet.

"On the first of November, the fleet sailed up a narrow river, and anchored at night within two miles of a town called Little Whampoa. In front of it was a small fort, and several Mandarin vessels lying in the harbor. The chief sent the interpreter to me, saying, I must order my men to make cartridges and clean their muskets, ready to go on shore in the morning. I assured the interpreter I should give the men no such orders, that they must please themselves. Soon after the chief came on board, threatening to put us all to a cruel death if we refused to obey his orders. For my own part I remained determined, and advised the men not to comply, as I thought by making ourselves useful we should be accounted too valuable. A few hours afterwards he sent to me again, saying, that if myself and the quartermaster would assist them at the great guns, that if also the rest of the men went on shore and succeeded in taking the place, he would then take the money offered for our ransom, and give them twenty dollars for every Chinaman's head they cut off. To these proposals we cheerfully acceded, in hopes of facilitating our deliverance.

"The Mandarin vessels continued firing, having blocked up the entrance of the harbor to prevent the Ladrones boats entering. At this the Ladrones were much exasperated, and about three hundred of them swam on shore, with a short sword lashed close under each arm; they then ran along the banks of the river till they came abreast of the vessels, and then swam off again and boarded them. The Chinese thus attacked, leaped overboard, and endeavored to reach the opposite shore; the Ladrones followed, and cut the greater number of them to pieces in the water. They next towed the vessels out of the harbor, and attacked the town with increased fury. The inhabitants fought about a quarter of an hour, and then retreated to an adjacent hill, from which they were soon driven with great slaughter. After this the Ladrones returned, and plundered the town, every boat leaving it with lading. The Chinese on the hills perceiving most of the boats were off, rallied, and retook the town, after killing near two hundred Ladrones. One of my men was unfortunately lost in this dreadful massacre! The Ladrones landed a second time, drove the Chinese out of the town, then reduced it to ashes, and put all their prisoners to death, without



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regarding either age or sex! I must not omit to mention a most horrid (though ludicrous) circumstance which happened at this place. The Ladrone were paid by their chief ten dollars for every Chinaman's head they produced. One of my men turning the corner of a street was met by a Ladrone running furiously after a Chinese; he had a drawn sword in his hand, and two Chinaman's heads which he had cut off, tied by their tails, and slung round his neck. I was witness myself to some of them producing five or six to obtain payment!

"On the 4th of November an order arrived from the admiral for the fleet to proceed immediately to Lantow, where he was lying with only two vessels, and three Portuguese ships and a brig constantly annoying him; several sail of Mandarin vessels were daily expected. The fleet weighed and proceeded towards Lantow. On passing the island of Lintin, three ships and a brig gave chase to us. The Ladrone prepared to board; but night closing we lost sight of them: I am convinced they altered their course and stood from us. These vessels were in the pay of the Chinese Government, and styled themselves the Invincible Squadron, cruising in the river Tigris to annihilate the Ladrone!

"On the fifth, in the morning, the red squadron anchored in a bay under Lantow; the black squadron stood to the eastward. In the afternoon of the 8th of November, four ships, a brig, and a schooner came off the mouth of the bay. At first the pirates were much alarmed, supposing them to be English vessels come to rescue us. Some of them threatened to hang us to the mast-head for them to fire at; and with much difficulty we persuaded them that they were Portuguese. The Ladrone had only seven junks in a fit state for action; these they hauled outside, and moored them head and stern across the bay, and manned all the boats belonging to the repairing vessels ready for boarding. The Portuguese observing these manoeuvres hove to, and communicated by boats. Soon afterwards they made sail, each ship firing her broadside as she passed, but without effect, the shot falling far short. The Ladrone did not return a single shot, but waved their colors, and threw up rockets, to induce them to come further in, which they might easily have done, the outside junks lying in four fathoms water, which I sounded myself: though the Portuguese in their letters to Macao lamented there was not sufficient water for them to engage closer, but that they would certainly prevent their escaping before the Mandarin fleet arrived!

"On the 20th of November, early in the morning, discovered an immense fleet of Mandarin vessels standing for the bay. On nearing us, they formed a line, and stood close in; each vessel, as she discharged her guns, tacked to join the rear and reload. They kept up a constant fire for about two hours, when one of their largest vessels was blown up by a firebrand thrown from a Ladrone junk; after which they kept at a more respectful distance, but continued firing without intermission till the 21st at night, when it fell calm.



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The Ladrones towed out seven large vessels, with about two hundred row-boats to board them: but a breeze springing up, they made sail and escaped. The Ladrones returned into the bay, and anchored. The Portuguese and Mandarins followed, and continued a heavy cannonading during that night and the next day. The vessel I was in had her foremast shot away, which they supplied very expeditiously by taking a mainmast from a smaller vessel.

"On the 23d, in the evening, it again fell calm; the Ladrones towed out fifteen junks in two divisions, with the intention of surrounding them, which was nearly effected, having come up with and boarded one, when a breeze suddenly sprang up. The captured vessel mounted twenty-two guns. Most of her crew leaped overboard; sixty or seventy were taken, immediately cut to pieces, and thrown into the river. Early in the morning the Ladrones returned into the bay, and anchored in the same situation as before. The Portuguese and Mandarins followed, keeping up a constant fire. The Ladrones never returned a single shot, but always kept in readiness to board, and the Portuguese were careful never to allow them an opportunity.

"On the 28th, at night they sent eight fire-vessels, which, if properly constructed, must have done great execution, having every advantage they could wish for to effect their purpose; a strong breeze and tide directed into the bay, and the vessels lying so close together, that it was impossible to miss them. On their first appearance, the Ladrones gave a general shout, supposing them to be Mandarin vessels on fire, but were very soon convinced of their mistake. They came very regularly into the centre of the fleet, two and two, burning furiously; one of them came alongside of the vessel I was in, but they succeeded in booming her off. She appeared to be a vessel of about thirty tons; her hold was filled with straw and wood, and there were a few small boxes of combustibles on her deck, which exploded alongside of us without doing any damage. The Ladrones, however, towed them all on shore, extinguished the fire, and broke them up for firewood. The Portuguese claim the credit of constructing these destructive machines, and actually sent a despatch to the Governor of Macao, saying they had destroyed at least one-third of the Ladrones's fleet, and hoped soon to effect their purpose by totally annihilating them!

"On the 29th of November, the Ladrones being all ready for sea, they weighed and stood boldly out, bidding defiance to the invincible squadron and imperial fleet, consisting of ninety-three war-junks, six Portuguese ships, a brig, and a schooner. Immediately after the Ladrones weighed, they made all sail. The Ladrones chased them two or three hours, keeping up a constant fire; finding they did not come up with them, they hauled their wind, and stood to the eastward. Thus terminated the boasted blockade, which lasted nine days, during which time the Ladrones completed all their repairs. In this action not a single Ladrones vessel was

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destroyed, and their loss was about thirty or forty men. An American was also killed, one of three that remained out of eight taken in a schooner. I had two very narrow escapes: the first, a twelve pounder shot fell within three or four feet of me; another took a piece out of a small brass-swivel on which I was standing. The chief's wife frequently sprinkled me with garlick-water, which they considered an effectual charm against shot. The fleet continued under sail all night, steering towards the eastward. In the morning they anchored in a large bay surrounded by lofty and barren mountains. On the 2d of December I received a letter from Lieutenant Maughn, commander of the Honorable Company's cruiser Antelope, saying that he had the ransom on board, and had been three days cruising after us, and wished me to settle with the chief on the securest method of delivering it. The chief agreed to send us in a small gun-boat till we came within sight of the Antelope; then the compradore's boat was to bring the ransom and receive us. I was so agitated at receiving this joyful news, that it was with difficulty I could scrawl about two or three lines to inform Lieutenant Maughn of the arrangements I had made. We were all so deeply affected by the gratifying tidings, that we seldom closed our eyes, but continued watching day and night for the boat.

"On the 6th she returned with Lieutenant Maughn's answer, saying, he would respect any single boat; but would not allow the fleet to approach him. The chief, then, according to his first proposal, ordered a gun-boat to take us, and with no small degree of pleasure we left the Ladrone fleet about four o'clock in the afternoon. At one P.M. saw the Antelope under all sail, standing towards us. The Ladrone boat immediately anchored, and dispatched the compradore's boat for the ransom, saying, that if she approached nearer they would return to the fleet; and they were just weighing when she shortened sail, and anchored about two miles from us. The boat did not reach her till late in the afternoon, owing to the tide's being strong against her. She received the ransom and left the Antelope just before dark. A Mandarin boat that had been lying concealed under the land, and watching their manoeuvres, gave chase to her, and was within a few fathoms of taking her, when she saw a light, which the Ladrones answered, and the Mandarin hauled off. Our situation was now a critical one; the ransom was in the hands of the Ladrones, and the compradore dare not return with us for fear of a second attack from the Mandarin boat. The Ladrones would not wait till morning, so we were obliged to return with them to the fleet. In the morning the chief inspected the ransom, which consisted of the following articles: two bales of superfine cloth; two chests of opium; two casks of gunpowder, and a telescope; the rest in dollars. He objected to the telescope not being new; and said he should detain one of us till another was sent, or a hundred dollars in lieu of it. The compradore, however, agreed with him for the hundred dollars. Every thing

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being at length settled, the chief ordered two gun-boats to convey us near the Antelope; we saw her just before dusk, when the Ladrone boats left us. We had the inexpressible pleasure of arriving on board the Antelope at seven, P.M., where we were most cordially received, and heartily congratulated on our safe and happy deliverance from a miserable captivity, which we had endured for eleven weeks and three days.

(Signed) "RICHARD GLASSPOOLE.

China, December 8th. 1809."

"The Ladrones have no settled residence on shore, but live constantly in their vessels. The after-part is appropriated to the captain and his wives; he generally has five or six. With respect to the conjugal rights they are religiously strict; no person is allowed to have a woman on board, unless married to her according to their laws. Every man is allowed a small berth, about four feet square, where he stows with his wife and family. From the number of souls crowded in so small a space, it must naturally be supposed they are horridly dirty, which is evidently the case, and their vessels swarm with all kinds of vermin. Rats in particular, which they encourage to breed, and eat as great delicacies; in fact, there are very few creatures they will not eat. During our captivity we lived three weeks on caterpillars boiled with rice. They are much addicted to gambling, and spend all their leisure hours at cards and smoking opium."

At the time of Mr. Glasspoole's liberation, the pirates were at the height of their power; after such repeated victories over the Mandarin ships, they had set at nought the Imperial allies – the Portuguese, and not only the coast, but the rivers of the celestial empire seemed to be at their discretion – and yet their formidable association did not many months survive this event. It was not, however, defeat that reduced it to the obedience of the laws. On the contrary, that extraordinary woman, the widow of Ching-yih, and the daring Paou, were victorious and more powerful than ever, when dissensions broke out among the pirates themselves. Ever since the favor of the chieftainess had elevated Paou to the general command, there had been enmity and altercations between him and the chief O-po-tae, who commanded one of the flags or divisions of the fleet; and it was only by the deference and respect they both owed to Ching-yih's widow, that they had been prevented from turning their arms against each other long before.

At length, when the brave Paou was surprised and cooped up by a strong blockading force of the Emperor's ships, O-po-tae showed all his deadly spite, and refused to obey the orders of Paou, and even of the chieftainess, which were, that he should sail to the relief of his rival.

Paou, with his bravery and usual good fortune, broke through the blockade, but when he came in contact with O-po-tae, his rage was too violent to be restrained.

O-po-tae at first pleaded that his means and strength had been insufficient to do what had been expected of him, but concluded by saying, – "Am I bound to come and join the forces of Paou?"

"Would you then separate from us!" cried Paou, more enraged than ever.

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O-po-tae answered: "I will not separate myself."

Paou: — "Why then do you not obey the orders of the wife of Ching-yih and my own? What is this else than separation, that you do not come to assist me, when I am surrounded by the enemy? I have sworn it that I will destroy thee, wicked man, that I may do away with this soreness on my back."

The summons of Paou, when blockaded, to O-po-tae was in language equally figurative: — "I am harassed by the Government's officers outside in the sea; lips and teeth must help one another, if the lips are cut away the teeth will feel cold. How shall I alone be able to fight the Government forces? You should therefore come at the head of your crew, to attack the Government squadron in the rear. I will then come out of my station and make an attack in front; the enemy being so taken in the front and rear, will, even supposing we cannot master him, certainly be thrown into disorder."

The angry words of Paou were followed by others, and then by blows. Paou, though at the moment far inferior in force, first began the fight, and ultimately sustained a sanguinary defeat, and the loss of sixteen vessels. Our loathing for this cruel, detestable race, must be increased by the fact, that the victors massacred all their prisoners — or three hundred men!

This was the death-blow to the confederacy which had so long defied the Emperor's power, and which might have effected his dethronement. O-po-tae dreading the vengeance of Paou and his mistress, Ching-yih's widow, whose united forces would have quintupled his own, gained over his men to his views, and proffered a submission to Government, on condition of free pardon, and a proper provision for all.

The petition of the pirates is so curious a production, and so characteristic of the Chinese, that it deserves to be inserted at length. "It is my humble opinion that all robbers of an overpowering force, whether they had their origin from this or any other cause, have felt the humanity of Government at different times. Leang-sham, who three times plundered the city, was nevertheless pardoned, and at last made a minister of state. Wakang often challenged the arms of his country, and was suffered to live, and at last made a corner-stone of the empire. Joo-ming pardoned seven times Mang-hwo; and Kwan-kung three times set Tsaou-tsaou at liberty. Ma-yuen pursued not the exhausted robbers; and Yo-fei killed not those who made their submission. There are many instances of such transactions both in former and recent times, by which the country was strengthened, and government increased its power. We now live in a very populous age; some of us could not agree with their relations, and were driven out like noxious weeds. Some, after having tried all they could, without being able to provide for themselves, at last joined bad society. Some lost their property by shipwrecks; some withdrew into this watery empire to escape from punishment. In such a way those who in the beginning were only three or five, were in the course of time increased to a thousand or ten thousand, and so it went on increasing every year. Would it not have been wonderful if such a multitude, being in want of their daily bread, had not resorted to plunder and robbery to gain their subsistence, since they could not in any other manner be saved from famine? It was from necessity that the laws of the empire were violated, and the merchants robbed of their goods. Being deprived of our land and of our native



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places, having no house or home to resort to, and relying only on the chances of wind and water, even could we for a moment forget our griefs, we might fall in with a man-of-war, who with stones, darts, and guns, would knock out our brains! Even if we dared to sail up a stream and boldly go on with anxiety of mind under wind, rain, and stormy weather, we must everywhere prepare for fighting. Whether we went to the east, or to the west, and after having felt all the hardships of the sea, the night dew was our only dwelling, and the rude wind our meal. But now we will avoid these perils, leave our connexions, and desert our comrades; we will make our submission. The power of Government knows no bounds; it reaches to the islands in the sea, and every man is afraid, and sighs. Oh we must be destroyed by our crimes, none can escape who opposeth the laws of Government. May you then feel compassion for those who are deserving of death; may you sustain us by your humanity!"

The Government that had made so many lamentable displays of its weakness, was glad to make an unreal parade of its mercy. It was but too happy to grant all the conditions instantly, and, in the fulsome language of its historians, "feeling that compassion is the way of heaven — that it is the right way to govern by righteousness — it therefore redeemed these pirates from destruction, and pardoned their former crimes."

O-po-tae, however, had hardly struck his free flag, and the pirates were hardly in the power of the Chinese, when it was proposed by many that they should all be treacherously murdered. The governor happened to be more honorable and humane, or probably, only more politic than those who made this foul proposal — he knew that such a bloody breach of faith would for ever prevent the pirates still in arms from voluntary submitting; he knew equally well, even weakened as they were by O-po-tae's defection, that the Government could not reduce them by force, and he thought by keeping his faith with them, he might turn the force of those who had submitted against those who still held out, and so destroy the pirates with the pirates. Consequently the eight thousand men, it had been proposed to cut off in cold blood, were allowed to remain uninjured, and their leader, O-po-tae, having changed his name to that of Hoe-been, or, "The Lustre of Instruction," was elevated to the rank of an imperial officer.

The widow of Ching-yih, and her favorite Paou, continued for some months to pillage the coast, and to beat the Chinese and the Mandarins' troops and ships, and seemed almost as strong as before the separation of O-po-tae's flag. But that example was probably operating in the minds of many of the outlaws, and finally the lawless heroine herself, who was the spirit that kept the complicate body together, seeing that O-po-tae had been made a government officer, and that he continued to prosper, began also to think of making her submission.

"I am," said she, "ten times stronger than O-po-tae, and government will perhaps, if I submit, act towards me as they have done with O-po-tae."

A rumor of her intentions having reached shore, the Mandarin sent off a certain Chow, a doctor of Macao, "Who," says the historian, "being already well acquainted with the pirates, did not need any introduction," to enter on preliminaries with them. When the worthy practitioner presented himself to Paou, that friend concluded he had been committing some crime, and had come



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for safety to that general *refugium peccatorum*, the pirate fleet.

The Doctor explained, and assured the chief, that if he would submit, Government was inclined to treat him and his far more favorably and more honorably than O-po-tae. But if he continued to resist, not only a general arming of all the coast and the rivers, but O-po-tae was to proceed against him.

At this part of his narrative our Chinese historian is again so curious, that I shall quote his words at length.

"When Fei-heung-Chow came to Paou, he said: 'Friend Paou, do you know why I come to you?'"

"Paou. - 'Thou hast committed some crime and comest to me for protection?'"

"Chow. - 'By no means.'"

"Paou. - 'You will then know how it stands concerning the report about our submission, if it is true or false?'"

"Chow. - 'You are again wrong here, Sir. What are you in comparison with O-po-tae?'"

"Paou. - 'Who is bold enough to compare me with O-po-tae?'"

"Chow. - 'I know very well that O-po-tae could not come up to you, Sir; but I mean only, that since O-po-tae has made his submission, since he has got his pardon and been created a Government officer, - how would it be, if you with your whole crew should also submit, and if his Excellency should desire to treat you in the same manner, and to give you the same rank as O-po-tae? Your submission would produce more joy to Government than the submission of O-po-tae. You should not wait for wisdom to act wisely; you should make up your mind to submit to the Government with all your followers. I will assist you in every respect, it would be the means of securing your own happiness and the lives of all your adherents.'"

"Chang-paou remained like a statue without motion, and Fei-heung Chow went on to say: 'You should think about this affair in time, and not stay till the last moment. Is it not clear that O-po-tae, since you could not agree together, has joined Government. He being enraged against you, will fight, united with the forces of the Government, for your destruction; and who could help you, so that you might overcome your enemies? If O-po-tae could before vanquish you quite alone, how much more can he now when he is united with Government? O-po-tae will then satisfy his hatred against you, and you yourself will soon be taken either at Wei-chow or at Neaou-chow. If the merchant-vessels of Hwy-chaou, the boats of Kwang-chow, and all the fishing-vessels, unite together to surround and attack you in the open sea, you will certainly have enough to do. But even supposing they should not attack you, you will soon feel the want of provisions to sustain you and all your followers. It is always wisdom to provide before things happen; stupidity and folly never think about future events. It is too late to reflect upon events when things have happened; you should, therefore, consider this matter in time!'"



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Paou was puzzled, but after being closeted for some time with his mistress, Ching-yih's widow, who gave her high permission for him to make arrangements with Doctor Chow, he said he would repair with his fleet to the Bocca Tigris, and there communicate personally with the organs of Government.

After two visits had been paid to the pirate-fleets by two inferior Mandarins, who carried the Imperial proclamation of free pardon, and who, at the order of Ching-yih's widow, were treated to a sumptuous banquet by Paou, the Governor-general of the province went himself in one vessel to the pirates' ships, that occupied a line of ten le off the mouth of the river.

As the governor approached, the pirates hoisted their flags, played on their instruments, and fired their guns, so that the smoke rose in clouds, and then bent sail to meet him. On this the dense population that were ranged thousands after thousands along the shore, to witness the important reconciliation, became sorely alarmed, and the Governor-general seems to have had a strong inclination to run away. But in brief space of time, the long dreaded widow of Ching-yih, supported by her Lieutenant Paou, and followed by three other of her principal commanders, mounted the side of the governor's ship, and rushed through the smoke to the spot where his excellency was stationed; where they fell on their hands and knees, shed tears, knocked their heads on the deck before him, and received his gracious pardon, and promised for future kind treatment. They then withdrew satisfied, having promised to give in a list of their ships, and of all else they possessed, within three days.

But the sudden apparition of some large Portuguese ships, and some Government war-junks, made the pirates suspect treachery. They immediately set sail, and the negotiations were interrupted for several days.

They were at last concluded by the boldness of their female leader. "If the Governor-general," said this heroine, "a man of the highest rank, could come to us quite alone, why should not I, a mean woman, go to the officers of Government? If there be danger in it, I take it all on myself; no person among you need trouble himself about me - my mind is made up, and I will go to Canton!"

Paou said - "If the widow of Ching-yih goes, we must fix a time for her return. If this pass without our obtaining any information, we must collect all our forces, and go before Canton: this is my opinion as to what ought to be done; comrades, let me hear yours!"

The pirates, then, struck with the intrepidity of their chieftainess, and loving her more than ever, answered, "Friend Paou, we have heard thy opinion, but we think it better to wait for the news here, on the water, than to send the wife of Ching-yih alone to be killed." Nor would they allow her to leave the fleet.

Matters were in this state of indecision, when the two inferior Mandarins who had before visited the pirates, ventured out to repeat their visit. These officers protested no treachery had been intended, and pledged themselves, that if the widow of Ching-yih would repair to the Governor, she would be kindly received, and every thing settled to their hearts' satisfaction. With this, in the language of our old ballads, upspoke Mrs. Ching. "You say well, gentlemen! and I will go myself to Canton with some other of our ladies, accompanied by you!" And



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accordingly, she and a number of the pirates' wives with their children, went fearlessly to Canton, arranged every thing, and found they had not been deceived. The fleet soon followed. On its arrival every vessel was supplied with pork and with wine, and every man (in lieu it may be supposed, of his share of the vessels, and plundered property he resigned) received at the same time a bill for a certain quantity of money. Those who wished it, could join the military force of Government for pursuing the remaining pirates; and those who objected, dispersed and withdrew into the country. "This is the manner in which the great red squadron of the pirates was pacified."

The valiant Paou, following the example of his rival O-po-tae, entered into the service of Government, and proceeded against such of his former associates and friends as would not accept the pardon offered them. There was some hard fighting, but the two renegadoes successively took the chief Shih Url, forced the redoubtable captain, styled "The scourge of the Eastern Ocean" to surrender himself, drove "Frog's Meal," another dreadful pirate, to Manilla, and finally, and within a few months, destroyed or dissipated the "wasps of the ocean" altogether.

I have already noticed the marked intention of the Chinese historian, to paint the character of Paou in a poetical or epic manner. When describing the battle with Shih-Url, he says: -

"They fought from seven o'clock in the morning till one at noon, burnt ten vessels, and killed an immense number of the pirates. Shih-Url was so weakened that he could scarcely make any opposition. On perceiving this through the smoke, Paou mounted on a sudden the vessel of the pirate, and cried out: 'I Chang Paou am come,' and at the same moment he cut some pirates to pieces; the remainder were then hardly dealt with. Paou addressed himself in an angry tone to Shih-Url, and said: 'I advise you to submit: will you not follow my advice? what have you to say?' Shih-Url was struck with amazement, and his courage left him. Paou advanced and bound him, and the whole crew were then taken captives."


"From that period," says our Chinese historian, in conclusion, "ships began to pass and repass in tranquillity. All became quiet on the rivers, and tranquil on the four seas. People lived in peace and plenty. Men sold their arms and bought oxen to plough their fields; they buried sacrifices, said prayers on the tops of the hills, and rejoiced themselves by singing behind screens during day-time" - and (grand climax to all!) the Governor of the province, in consideration of his valuable services in the pacification of the pirates, was allowed by an edict of the "Son of Heaven," to wear peacocks' feathers with two eyes!



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1810

 **1810:** In this year in which King George III was being recognized to be insane and in which, under pressure from Britain, the Portuguese were agreeing to the gradual abolition of their trade in slaves, a sea battle took place, Terry-and-the-Pirates style, between the allied forces of **Chinese** imperial, British naval, and Macanese warships, on the one side, and the famed **pirate** *Cheung Po Tsai* on the other, near an island Chek Lap Kok near an island now known as Victoria.

HONG KONG

George III	1760	1820
The Prince Regency	1811	1820
George IV	1820	1830
William IV	1830	1837
Victoria	1837	1901

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



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1812

Amelia Island and other parts of east Florida were at this point Spanish possessions, but weakly held. Temporary occupation to deter piracy and to prevent occupation by any other power was authorized by President James Madison and by Congress. The occupation, however, would be effected by General George Matthews in so irregular a manner that his measures would have to be disavowed by the President.

Lydia Very (1794-1867), pregnant, and Captain Jones Very of the privateer Montgomery, her first cousin, set up an "irregular household" or common-law marriage in Salem MA. Here is an account of Lydia Very of 154 Federal Street, Salem MA, which Elizabeth Palmer Peabody created during the period in which people were most concerned for the mental stability of her son Jones Very:

She was a person of great energy - was said to have more than doubts of another world and of the existence of God - having had a severe experience of life, and being at odds with the existing state of Society - a disciple of Fanny Wright....



FANNY WRIGHT

July 20, Monday: Public opinion in Rhode Island was so decidedly opposed to the War of 1812 that, on this night, a small schooner that had been being fitted out in Providence for a war privateer was taken down the river and scuttled.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2nd day 7 M 20th / Saw an experiment of a DIVING BELL by a man who went to the bottom of the Water at the head of long wharf & staid 34 minutes I did not get there untill after he had been down some time but I saw him come up. Set the eveng at home our little boy was not very well. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE JULY 20TH, 1812 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW,

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IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).

December 10, Thursday: [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) reached Warsaw on his way back to Paris.

Samuel Tully was [hanged](#) as a [pirate](#) on Nook's Hill in South [Boston](#). His accomplice, John Dalton, received a reprieve on the gallows (this is of course not the [Friend John Dalton](#) who introduced atomic theory into chemistry).¹⁰⁹






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1814

 From this year into 1825, in the Caribbean, there would be repeated engagements between [pirates](#) and American ships or squadrons especially ashore and offshore about [Cuba](#), Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, and Yucatan. Some 3,000 pirate attacks on merchantmen would be reported between 1815 and 1823. In this pirate suppression activity, by 1822, Commodore James Biddle would be employing in the West Indies a squadron of 2 frigates, 4 sloops of war, 2 brigs, 4 schooners, and 2 gunboats.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

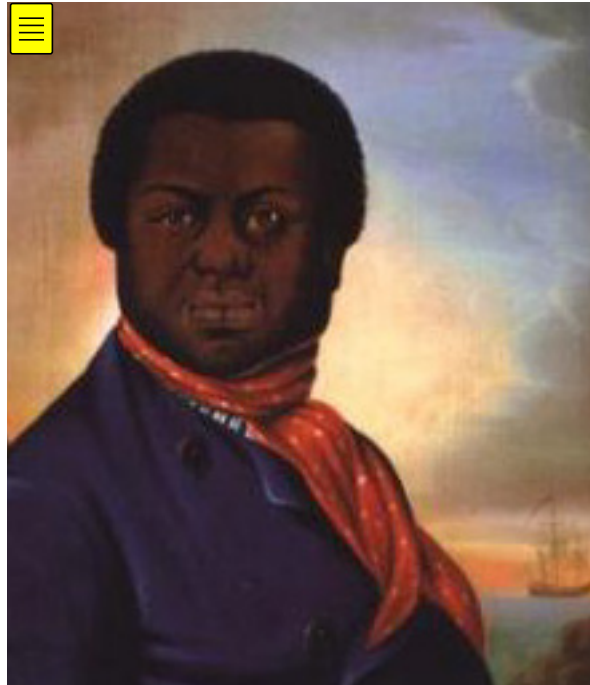
**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**

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➡ March: An American [privateer](#) was taken by the British fleet off Bordeaux, and its sailor crew would be incarcerated along with some 5,000 other American sailors, in the dour granite prison complex near the mist-enshrouded village of Princeton on the stark Devonshire moor about a day's march from the port town of Plymouth, England. One of these privateersmen taken off Bordeaux was a black 23-year-old named Richard Crafus who stood more than six feet three inches in height, something exceedingly unusual in that era in which the average height of an adult male was well under five feet nine inches. He would join some 900 black fellows in that prison (about 1 in 7 of the inmates) and would be kept in the granite security and punishment building labeled "4" that had its own isolated yard within the prison compound.¹¹⁰

CRIMPING



➡ December 12, Monday: President [James Madison](#) and Secretary of State James Monroe [JAMES MONROE](#) issued a letter of marque to Captain Nicholas Millin of the American [privateer](#) vessel *Prince of Neufchatel*, carrying 18 guns and a crew of 129. (This letter may now be viewed in the Public Record Office of Richmond, Surrey, United Kingdom, where it is on file as High Court of Admiralty document #HCA32/1342.)

James Madison, President of the United States of America,
To all who shall see these presents, Greeting:
BE IT KNOWN, That in pursuance of an act of congress, passed on the 26th day of June one thousand eight hundred and twelve, I have Commissioned, and by these presents do commission, the private armed Brig called the Prince Neufchatel of the burden of three hundred & Nineteen tons, or thereabouts, owned by John Ordranax & Peter E. Trevall of the City & State of New York and Joseph Beylle of Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania Mounting eighteen carriage guns, and navigated by one hundred & twenty nine men, hereby authorizing Nicholas Millin captain, and William Stetson lieutenant of the said Brig and the other officers and crew thereof, to subdue, seize, and take any armed or unarmed British vessel, public or private, which shall be found within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, or elsewhere on the high seas, or within the waters of the British dominions, and such captured vessel, with her apparel, guns, and

110. There was no parole for a black sailor, except, of course, in the case of a valet of a paroled white officer.



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appertenances [*sic*], and the goods or effects which shall be found on board the same, together with all the british [*sic*] persons and others who shall be found acting on board, to bring within some port of the United States; and also to retake any vessel, goods, and effects of the people of the United States, which may have been captured by any British armed vessel, in order that proceedings may be had concerning such capture or recapture in due form of law, and as to right and justice shall appertain. The said Nicholas Millin is further authorized to detain, seize, and take all vessels and effects, to whomsoever belonging, which shall be liabel [*sic*] thereto according to the law of nations and the rights of the United States as a power at war, and to bring the same within some port of the United States, in order that due proceedings may be had thereon. This commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the president of the United States for the time being.

GIVEN under my hand and seal of the United States of America, at the City of Washington, the twelfth day of December in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen and of the independence of the said states the thirty ninth.

BY THE PRESIDENT James Madison
Jas. Monroe, Secretary of State.


PIRATES



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1815

 May 20, Tuesday: [Nicolò Paganini](#) sued Ferdinando Cavanna, father of pregnant 17-year-old [Angiolina Cavanna](#), for extortion.

Stephen Decatur sailed from [New-York](#) for the Mediterranean with a fleet of 10 ships, to deal with the [Barbary pirates](#).

Sir Ralph Milbanke obtained authorization from the Prince-Regent to take the name and arms of Noel.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th [sic] day 20th of 5 M 1815 / Disappointments are often the lot of all - I cannot help feeling one of Minor importance in a considerable degree I had calculated on going this Afternoon to [Portsmouth](#) to visit my beloved Relations Zacheus Chase & his wife, but the weather is so cool & the ground so wet that it looks like an unfavorable time. - As the probability is from the age of my afore mentioned relations - the loved & greatly beloved scenes of my youth will not long remain unbroken I am a little disappointed in not being able to go conveniently, but disappointments are frequently good for us. & Such minor ones being patiently submitted to may tend to insure the mind to greatr[?] ones

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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THE BARBAROUS CONDUCT AND ROMANTIC DEATH OF THE

JOASSAMEE CHIEF, RAHMAB-BEN-JABIR¹¹¹



The town of Bushire, on the Persian Gulf is seated in a low peninsula of sand, extending out of the general line of the coast, so as to form a bay on both sides. One of these bays was in 1816, occupied by the fleet of a certain Arab, named Rahmah-ben-Jabir, who has been for more than twenty years the terror of the gulf, and who was the most successful and the most generally tolerated pirate, perhaps, that ever infested any sea. This man by birth was a native of Grain, on the opposite coast, and nephew of the governor of that place. His fellow citizens had all the honesty, however, to declare him an outlaw, from abhorrence of his profession; but he found that aid and protection at Bushire, which his own townsmen denied him. With five or six vessels, most of which were very large, and manned with crews of from two to three hundred each, he sallied forth, and captured whatever he thought himself strong enough to carry off as a prize. His followers, to the number of two thousand,

111. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)

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were maintained by the plunder of his prizes; and as the most of these were his own bought African slaves, and the remainder equally subject to his authority, he was sometimes as prodigal of their lives in a fit of anger as he was of his enemies, whom he was not content to slay in battle only, but basely murdered in cold blood, after they had submitted. An instance is related of his having put a great number of his own crew, who used mutinous expressions, into a tank on board, in which they usually kept their water, and this being shut close at the top, the poor wretches were all suffocated, and afterwards thrown overboard. This butcher chief, like the celebrated Djezzar of Acre, affecting great simplicity of dress, manners, and living; and whenever he went out, could not be distinguished by a stranger from the crowd of his attendants. He carried this simplicity to a degree of filthiness, which was disgusting, as his usual dress was a shirt, which was never taken off to be washed, from the time it was first put on till worn out; no drawers or coverings for the legs of any kind, and a large black goat's hair cloak, wrapped over all with a greasy and dirty handkerchief, called the keffeea, thrown loosely over his head. Infamous as was this man's life and character, he was not only cherished and courted by the people of Bushire, who dreaded him, but was courteously received and respectfully entertained whenever he visited the British Factory. On one occasion (says Mr. Buckingham), at which I was present, he was sent for to give some medical gentlemen of the navy and company's cruisers an opportunity of inspecting his arm, which had been severely wounded. The wound was at first made by grape-shot and splinters, and the arm was one mass of blood about the part for several days, while the man himself was with difficulty known to be alive. He gradually recovered, however, without surgical aid, and the bone of the arm between the shoulder and elbow being completely shivered to pieces, the fragments progressively worked out, and the singular appearance was left of the fore arm and elbow connected to the shoulder by flesh and skin, and tendons, without the least vestige of bone. This man when invited to the factory for the purpose of making an exhibition of his arm, was himself admitted to sit at the table and take some tea, as it was breakfast time, and some of his followers took chairs around him. They were all as disgustingly filthy in appearance as could well be imagined; and some of them did not scruple to hunt for vermin on their skins, of which there was an abundance, and throw them on the floor. Rahmah-ben-Jabir's figure presented a meagre trunk, with four lank members, all of them cut and hacked, and pierced with wounds of sabres, spears and bullets, in every part, to the number, perhaps of more than twenty different wounds. He had, besides, a face naturally ferocious and ugly, and now rendered still more so by several scars there, and by the loss of one eye. When asked by one of the English gentlemen present, with a tone of encouragement and familiarity, whether he could not still dispatch an enemy with his boneless arm, he drew a crooked dagger, or yambeah, from the girdle round his shirt, and placing his left hand, which was sound, to support the elbow of the right, which was the one that was wounded, he grasped the dagger firmly with his clenched fist, and drew it back ward and forward, twirling it at the same time, and saying that he desired nothing better than to have the cutting of as many throats as he could effectually open with his



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lame hand. Instead of being shocked at the uttering of such a brutal wish, and such a savage triumph at still possessing the power to murder unoffending victims, I knew not how to describe my feelings of shame and sorrow when a loud roar of laughter burst from the whole assembly, when I ventured to express my dissent from the general feeling of admiration for such a man. This barbarous pirate in the year 1827, at last experienced a fate characteristic of the whole course of his life. His violent aggressions having united the Arabs of Bahrene and Ratiffe against him they blockaded his port of Daman from which Rahmah-ben-Jabir, having left a garrison in the fort under his son, had sailed in a well appointed bungalow, for the purpose of endeavoring to raise a confederacy of his friends in his support. Having failed in this object he returned to Daman, and in spite of the boats blockading the port, succeeded in visiting his garrison, and immediately re-embarked, taking with him his youngest son. On arriving on board his bungalow, he was received by his followers with a salute, which decisive indication of his presence immediately attracted the attention of his opponents, one of whose boats, commanded by the nephew of the Sheikh of Bahrene, proceeded to attack him. A desperate struggle ensued, and the Sheikh finding after some time that he had lost nearly the whole of his crew by the firing of Rahmah's boat, retired for reinforcements. These being obtained, he immediately returned singly to the contest. The fight was renewed with redoubled fury; when at last, Rahmah, being informed (for he had been long blind) that his men were falling fast around him, mustered the remainder of the crew, and issued orders to close and grapple with his opponent. When this was effected, and after embracing his son, he was led with a lighted torch to the magazine, which instantly exploded, blowing his own boat to atoms and setting fire to the Sheikh's, which immediately afterwards shared the same fate. Sheikh Ahmed and few of his followers escaped to the other boats; but only one of Rahmah's brave crew was saved; and it is supposed that upwards of three hundred men were killed in this heroic contest.




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1816

 An accord was finally achieved between the USA and the rulers of all four of the “Barbary Pirate” states along the Mediterranean coast of Africa, the Emperor of Morocco and the Bey of Tunis and the Basha of Tripoli and the Dey of Algiers.

THE BARBARY TREATIES

 September 24, Tuesday: Algeria signed peace terms with Great Britain, promising to restrict [piracy](#), abolish the enslavement of Christians, and release 1,083 Europeans who had been being held for ransom.

The [Cherokee Nation](#), by a treaty, limited itself on the south side of the Tennessee to the parallel of Huntsville. In the fall, at two treaties, the Chickasaws and Choctaws relinquished all claim to territory east of the Tombigbee, except the valley of Bear Creek. The consideration for these cessions was, with the Cherokees, \$6,000 cash, and a promise of an annuity for ten years of \$6,000. They also received \$5,000 cash for relinquishing all claim to any part of South Carolina. The Chickasaws received \$4,500, a promise of an annuity for ten years of \$12,000, and gifts to some of the chiefs. The Choctaws received \$10,000 cash, and a promise of an annuity for twenty years of \$6,000.

1817

➡ President James Monroe selected the velvet glove of the northerner [John Quincy Adams](#) as his Secretary of State, and the iron fist of the southerner John Caldwell Calhoun as his Secretary of War.



LET US CONQUER SPACE.

“Let us conquer space,” orated this Secretary of War. Can you say “Lebensraum”? The world is our living-room.

Pointing out that “The mail and the press are the nerves of the body politic,” he opinioned that it would be good for a citizen of the West (by which he meant the interior of the continent, on the far side of that range of mountains over there on the horizon) to be able to “read the news of Boston still moist from the press.” Whereupon the Congress granted discretion to the US Postmaster General to extend the post roads as he was able, somehow, to obtain funding to do so.

(For some reason the religious crusade to prevent the US mails from being available for pickup on a Sunday collapsed at about this point in time, and this crusade would not resume for almost a decade.)

United States forces landed at Amelia Island, a Spanish territory off the coast of [Florida](#), in order to expel a group of [pirates](#), smugglers, adventurers, and freebooters.



“War is God’s way of teaching Americans geography.”



– [Ambrose G. Bierce](#)



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NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE



January: [Jean Lafitte](#) moved his base of operations from a spot on the Baratarian coast near New Orleans to an island off the coast of the Tejas province of Mejico near what is now Galveston, Texas. He had received a pardon for his previous [piracy](#) from President James Monroe in recognition of services rendered during the [War of 1812](#), but at this point he resumed his piracy. He would maintain control over this island pirate kingdom until 1821, when he would be forced out by internal dissension and would sail into the sunset in his vessel, *Pride*.



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THE LIFE OF LAFITTE, THE FAMOUS PIRATE OF THE GULF OF MEXICO.

WITH A HISTORY OF THE PIRATES OF BARRATARIA — AND AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR VOLUNTEERING FOR THE DEFENCE OF NEW ORLEANS; AND THEIR DARING INTREPIDITY UNDER GENERAL JACKSON, DURING THE BATTLE OF THE 8TH OF JANUARY, 1815.

FOR WHICH IMPORTANT SERVICE THEY WERE PARDONED BY

PRESIDENT MADISON¹¹²



Jean Lafitte, was born at St. Maloes in France, in 1781, and went to sea at the age of thirteen; after several voyages in Europe, and to the coast of Africa, he was appointed mate of a French East Indiaman, bound to Madras. On the outward passage they encountered a heavy gale off the Cape of Good Hope, which sprung the mainmast and otherwise injured the ship, which determined the captain to bear up for the Mauritius, where he arrived in safety; a quarrel having taken place on the passage out between Lafitte and the captain, he abandoned the ship and

112. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)

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refused to continue the voyage. Several privateers were at this time fitting out at this island, and Lafitte was appointed captain of one of these vessels; after a cruise during which he robbed the vessels of other nations, besides those of England, and thus committing piracy, he stopped at the Seychelles, and took in a load of slaves for the Mauritius; but being chased by an English frigate as far north as the equator, he found himself in a very awkward condition; not having provisions enough on board his ship to carry him back to the French Colony. He therefore conceived the bold project of proceeding to the Bay of Bengal, in order to get provisions from on board some English ships. In his ship of two hundred tons, with only two guns and twenty-six men, he attacked and took an English armed schooner with a numerous crew. After putting nineteen of his own crew on board the schooner, he took the command of her and proceeded to cruise upon the coast of Bengal. He there fell in with the *Pagoda*, a vessel belonging to the English East India Company, armed with twenty-six twelve pounders and manned with one hundred and fifty men. Expecting that the enemy would take him for a pilot of the Ganges, he manoeuvred accordingly. The *Pagoda* manifested no suspicions, whereupon he suddenly darted with his brave followers upon her decks, overturned all who opposed them, and speedily took the ship. After a very successful cruise he arrived safe at the Mauritius, and took the command of *La Confiance* of twenty-six guns and two hundred and fifty men, and sailed for the coast of British India. Off the Sand Heads in October, 1807, Lafitte fell in with the *Queen East Indiaman*, with a crew of near four hundred men, and carrying forty guns; he conceived the bold project of getting possession of her. Never was there beheld a more unequal conflict; even the height of the vessel compared to the feeble privateer augmented the chances against Lafitte; but the difficulty and danger far from discouraging this intrepid sailor, acted as an additional spur to his brilliant valor. After electrifying his crew with a few words of hope and ardor, he manoeuvred and ran on board of the enemy. In this position he received a broadside when close too; but he expected this, and made his men lay flat upon the deck. After the first fire they all rose, and from the yards and tops, threw bombs and grenades into the forecastle of the *Indiaman*. This sudden and unforeseen attack caused a great havoc. In an instant, death and terror made them abandon a part of the vessel near the mizen-mast. Lafitte, who observed every thing, seized the decisive moment, beat to arms, and forty of his crew prepared to board, with pistols in their hands and daggers held between their teeth. As soon as they got on deck, they rushed upon the affrighted crowd, who retreated to the steerage, and endeavored to defend themselves there. Lafitte thereupon ordered a second division to board, which he headed himself; the captain of the *Indiaman* was killed, and all were swept away in a moment. Lafitte caused a gun to be loaded with grape, which he pointed towards the place where the crowd was assembled, threatening to exterminate them. The English deeming resistance fruitless, surrendered, and Lafitte hastened to put a stop to the slaughter. This exploit, hitherto unparalleled, resounded through India, and the name of Lafitte became the terror of English commerce in these latitudes. As British vessels now traversed the Indian Ocean under strong convoys, game became scarce, and Lafitte determined to visit



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France; and after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he coasted up to the Gulf of Guinea, and in the Bight of Benin, took two valuable prizes loaded with gold dust, ivory, and Palm Oil; with this booty he reached St. Maloes in safety. After a short stay at his native place he fitted out a brigantine, mounting twenty guns and one hundred and fifty men, and sailed for Gaudaloupe; amongst the West India Islands, he made several valuable prizes; but during his absence on a cruise the island having been taken by the British, he proceeded to Carthagena, and from thence to Barrataria. After this period, the conduct of Lafitte at Barrataria does not appear to be characterized by the audacity and boldness of his former career; but he had amassed immense sums of booty, and as he was obliged to have dealings with the merchants of the United States, and the West Indies, who frequently owed him large sums, and the cautious dealings necessary to found and conduct a colony of Pirates and Smugglers in the very teeth of a civilized nation, obliged Lafitte to cloak as much as possible his real character.

As we have said before, at the period of the taking of Gaudaloupe by the British, most of the privateers commissioned by the government of that island, and which were then on a cruise, not being able to return to any of the West India Islands, made for Barrataria, there to take in a supply of water and provisions, recruit the health of their crews, and dispose of their prizes, which could not be admitted into any of the ports of the United States, we being at that time in peace with Great Britain. Most of the commissions granted to privateers by the French government at Gaudaloupe, having expired sometime after the declaration of the independence of Carthagena, many of the privateers repaired to that port, for the purpose of obtaining from the new government commissions for cruising against Spanish vessels. Having duly obtained their commissions, they in a manner blockaded for a long time all the ports belonging to the royalists, and made numerous captives, which they carried into Barrataria. Under this denomination is comprised part of the coast of Louisiana to the west of the mouths of the Mississippi, comprehended between Bastien bay on the east, and the mouths of the river or bayou la Fourche on the west. Not far from the sea are lakes called the great and little lakes of Barrataria, communicating with one another by several large bayous with a great number of branches. There is also the island of Barrataria, at the extremity of which is a place called the Temple, which denomination it owes to several mounds of shells thrown up there by the Indians. The name of Barrataria is also given to a large basin which extends the whole length of the cypress swamps, from the Gulf of Mexico to three miles above New Orleans. These waters disembogue into the gulf by two entrances of the bayou Barrataria, between which lies an island called Grand Terre, six miles in length, and from two to three miles in breadth, running parallel with the coast. In the western entrance is the great pass of Barrataria, which has from nine to ten feet of water. Within this pass about two leagues from the open sea, lies the only secure harbor on the coast, and accordingly this was the harbor frequented by the *Pirates*, so well known by the name of Barratarians.

At Grand Jerre, the privateers publicly made sale by auction, of the cargoes of their prizes. From all parts of Lower Louisiana, people resorted to Barrataria, without being at all



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solicitous to conceal the object of their journey. The most respectable inhabitants of the state, especially those living in the country, were in the habit of purchasing smuggled goods coming from Barrataria.

The government of the United States sent an expedition under Commodore Patterson, to disperse the settlement of marauders at Barrataria; the following is an extract of his letter to the secretary of war.

Sir - I have the honor to inform you that I departed from this city on the 11th June, accompanied by Col. Ross, with a detachment of seventy of the 44th regiment of infantry. On the 12th, reached the schooner Carolina, of Plaquemine, and formed a junction with the gun vessels at the Balize on the 13th, sailed from the southwest pass on the evening of the 15th, and at half past 8 o'clock, A.M. on the 16th, made the Island of Barrataria, and discovered a number of vessels in the harbor, some of which shewed Carthaginian colors. At 2 o'clock, perceived the pirates forming their vessels, ten in number, including prizes, into a line of battle near the entrance of the harbor, and making every preparation to offer me battle. At 10 o'clock, wind light and variable, formed the order of battle with six gun boats and the Sea Horse tender, mounting one six pounder and fifteen men, and a launch mounting one twelve pound carronade; the schooner Carolina, drawing too much water to cross the bar. At half past 10 o'clock, perceived several smokes along the coasts as signals, and at the same time a white flag hoisted on board a schooner at the fort, an American flag at the mainmast head and a Carthaginian flag (under which the pirates cruise) at her topping lift; replied with a white flag at my main; at 11 o'clock, discovered that the pirates had fired two of their best schooners; hauled down my white flag and made the *signal for battle*; hoisting with a large white flag bearing the words "Pardon for Deserters"; having heard there was a number on shore from the army and navy. At a quarter past 11 o'clock, two gun boats grounded and were passed agreeably to my previous orders, by the other four which entered the harbor, manned by my barge and the boats belonging to the grounded vessels, and proceeded in to my great disappointment. I perceived that the pirates abandoned their vessels, and were flying in all directions. I immediately sent the launch and two barges with small boats in pursuit of them. At meridian, took possession of all their vessels in the harbor consisting of six schooners and one felucca, cruisers, and prizes of the pirates, one brig, a prize, and two armed schooners under the Carthaginian flag, both in the line of battle, with the armed vessels of the pirates, and apparently with an intention to aid them in any resistance they might make against me, as their crews were at quarters, tompons out of their guns, and matches lighted. Col. Ross at the same time landed, and with his command took possession of their establishment on shore, consisting of about forty houses of different sizes, badly constructed, and thatched with palmetto



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leaves.

When I perceived the enemy forming their vessels into a line of battle I felt confident from their number and very advantageous position, and their number of men, that they would have fought me; their not doing so I regret; for had they, I should have been enabled more effectually to destroy or make prisoners of them and their leaders; but it is a subject of great satisfaction to me, to have effected the object of my enterprise, without the loss of a man.

The enemy had mounted on their vessels twenty pieces of cannon of different calibre; and as I have since learnt, from eight hundred, to one thousand men of all nations and colors.

Early in the morning of the 20th, the Carolina at anchor, about five miles distant, made the signal of a "strange sail in sight to eastward"; immediately after she weighed anchor, and gave chase the strange sail, standing for Grand Terre, with all sail; at half past 8 o'clock, the chase hauled her wind off shore to escape; sent acting Lieut. Spedding with four boats manned and armed to prevent her passing the harbor; at 9 o'clock A.M., the chase fired upon the Carolina, which was returned; each vessel continued firing during the chase, when their long guns could reach. At 10 o'clock, the chase grounded outside of the bar, at which time the Carolina was from the shoalness of the water obliged to haul her wind off shore and give up the chase; opened a fire upon the chase across the island from the gun vessels. At half past 10 o'clock, she hauled down her colors and was taken possession of. She proved to be the armed schooner Gen. Boliver; by grounding she broke both her rudder pintles and made water; took from her her armament, consisting of one long brass eighteen pounder, one long brass six pounder, two twelve pounders, small arms, &c., and twenty-one packages of dry goods. On the afternoon of the 23d, got underway with the whole squadron, in all seventeen vessels, but during the night one escaped, and the next day arrived at New Orleans with my whole squadron.

At different times the English had sought to attack the pirates at Barrataria, in hopes of taking their prizes, and even their armed vessels. Of these attempts of the British, suffice it to instance that of June 23d, 1813, when two privateers being at anchor off Cat Island, a British sloop of war anchored at the entrance of the pass, and sent her boats to endeavor to take the privateers; but they were repulsed with considerable loss.

Such was the state of affairs, when on the 2d Sept., 1814, there appeared an armed brig on the coast opposite the pass. She fired a gun at a vessel about to enter, and forced her to run aground; she then tacked and shortly after came to an anchor at the entrance of the pass. It was not easy to understand the intentions of this vessel, who, having commenced with hostilities on her first appearance now seemed to announce an amicable disposition. Mr. Lafitte then went off in a boat to examine her, venturing so far that he could not escape from the



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pinnacle sent from the brig, and making towards the shore, bearing British colors and a flag of truce. In this pinnacle were two naval officers. One was Capt. Lockyer, commander of the brig. The first question they asked was, where was Mr. Lafitte? he not choosing to make himself known to them, replied that the person they inquired for was on shore. They then delivered to him a packet directed to Mr. Lafitte, Barrataria, requesting him to take particular care of it, and to deliver it into Mr. Lafitte's hands. He prevailed on them to make for the shore, and as soon as they got near enough to be in his power, he made himself known, recommending to them at the same time to conceal the business on which they had come. Upwards of two hundred persons lined the shore, and it was a general cry amongst the crews of the privateers at Grand Terre, that those British officers should be made prisoners and sent to New Orleans as spies. It was with much difficulty that Lafitte dissuaded the multitude from this intent, and led the officers in safety to his dwelling. He thought very prudently that the papers contained in the packet might be of importance towards the safety of the country and that the officers if well watched could obtain no intelligence that might turn to the detriment of Louisiana. He now examined the contents of the packet, in which he found a proclamation addressed by Col. Edward Nichalls, in the service of his Brittanic Majesty, and commander of the land forces on the coast of Florida, to the inhabitants of Louisiana. A letter from the same to Mr. Lafitte, the commander of Barrataria; an official letter from the honorable W.H. Percy, captain of the sloop of war Hermes, directed to Lafitte. When he had perused these letters, Capt. Lockyer enlarged on the subject of them and proposed to him to enter into the service of his Brittanic Majesty with the rank of post captain and to receive the command of a 44-gun frigate. Also all those under his command, or over whom he had sufficient influence. He was also offered thirty thousand dollars, payable at Pensacola, and urged him not to let slip this opportunity of acquiring fortune and consideration. On Lafitte's requiring a few days to reflect upon these proposals, Capt. Lockyer observed to him that no reflection could be necessary, respecting proposals that obviously precluded hesitation, as he was a Frenchman and proscribed by the American government. But to all his splendid promises and daring insinuations, Lafitte replied that in a few days he would give a final answer; his object in this procrastination being to gain time to inform the officers of the state government of this nefarious project. Having occasion to go to some distance for a short time, the persons who had proposed to send the British officers prisoners to New Orleans, went and seized them in his absence, and confined both them and the crew of the pinnacle, in a secure place, leaving a guard at the door. The British officers sent for Lafitte; but he, fearing an insurrection of the crews of the privateers, thought it advisable not to see them until he had first persuaded their captains and officers to desist from the measures on which they seemed bent. With this view he represented to the latter that, besides the infamy that would attach to them if they treated as prisoners people who had come with a flag of truce, they would lose the opportunity of discovering the projects of the British against Louisiana.

Early the next morning Lafitte caused them to be released from



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their confinement and saw them safe on board their pinnace, apologizing the detention. He now wrote to Capt. Lockyer the following letter.

To CAPTAIN LOCKYER.

Barrataria, 4th Sept. 1814.

Sir - The confusion which prevailed in our camp yesterday and this morning, and of which you have a complete knowledge, has prevented me from answering in a precise manner to the object of your mission; nor even at this moment can I give you all the satisfaction that you desire; however, if you could grant me a fortnight, I would be entirely at your disposal at the end of that time. This delay is indispensable to enable me to put my affairs in order. You may communicate with me by sending a boat to the eastern point of the pass, where I will be found. You have inspired me with more confidence than the admiral, your superior officer, could have done himself; with you alone, I wish to deal, and from you also I will claim, in due time the reward of the services, which I may render to you. Yours, &c.
J. LAFITTE.

His object in writing that letter was, by appearing disposed to accede to their proposals, to give time to communicate the affair to the officers of the state government, and to receive from them instructions how to act, under circumstances so critical and important to the country. He accordingly wrote on the 4th September to Mr. Blanque, one of the representatives of the state, sending him all the papers delivered to him by the British officers with a letter addressed to his excellency, Gov. Claiborne of the state of Louisiana.

To Gov. CLAIBORNE.

Barrataria, Sept. 4th, 1814.

Sir - In the firm persuasion that the choice made of you to fill the office of first magistrate of this state, was dictated by the esteem of your fellow citizens, and was conferred on merit, I confidently address you on an affair on which may depend the safety of this country. I offer to you to restore to this state several citizens, who perhaps in your eyes have lost that sacred title. I offer you them, however, such as you could wish to find them, ready to exert their utmost efforts in defence of the country. This point of Louisiana, which I occupy, is of great importance in the present crisis. I tender my services to defend it; and the only reward I ask is that a stop be put to the proscription against me and my adherents, by an act of oblivion, for all that has been done hitherto. I am the stray sheep wishing to return to the fold. If you are thoroughly acquainted with the nature of my offences, I should appear to you much less guilty, and still worthy to discharge the duties of a good citizen. I have never sailed under any flag but that of the republic of Carthage, and my vessels are perfectly regular in that respect. If I could have brought my lawful prizes into the ports of this state, I should not have employed the illicit means that have caused me to be proscribed. I decline saying more on the subject, until I have the honor of your



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excellency's answer, which I am persuaded can be dictated only by wisdom. Should your answer not be favorable to my ardent desires, I declare to you that I will instantly leave the country, to avoid the imputation of having cooperated towards an invasion on this point, which cannot fail to take place, and to rest secure in the acquittal of my conscience.

I have the honor to be
your excellency's, &c.
J. LAFITTE.

The contents of these letters do honor to Lafitte's judgment, and evince his sincere attachment to the American cause. On the receipt of this packet from Lafitte, Mr. Blanque immediately laid its contents before the governor, who convened the committee of defence lately formed of which he was president; and Mr. Rancher the bearer of Lafitte's packet, was sent back with a verbal answer to desire Lafitte to take no steps until it should be determined what was expedient to be done; the message also contained an assurance that, in the meantime no steps should be taken against him for his past offences against the laws of the United States.

At the expiration of the time agreed on with Captain Lockyer, his ship appeared again on the coast with two others, and continued standing off and on before the pass for several days. But he pretended not to perceive the return of the sloop of war, who tired of waiting to no purpose put out to sea and disappeared.

Lafitte having received a guarantee from General Jackson for his safe passage from Barrataria to New Orleans and back, he proceeded forthwith to the city where he had an interview with Gov. Claiborne and the General. After the usual formalities and courtesies had taken place between these gentlemen, Lafitte addressed the Governor of Louisiana nearly as follows. I have offered to defend for you that part of Louisiana I now hold. But not as an outlaw, would I be its defender. In that confidence, with which you have inspired me, I offer to restore to the state many citizens, now under my command. As I have remarked before, the point I occupy is of great importance in the present crisis. I tender not only my own services to defend it, but those of all I command; and the only reward I ask, is, that a stop be put to the proscription against me and my adherents, by an act of oblivion for all that has been done hitherto.

"My dear sir," said the Governor, who together with General Jackson, was impressed with admiration of his sentiments, "your praiseworthy wishes shall be laid before the council of the state, and I will confer with my August friend here present, upon this important affair, and send you an answer to-morrow." At Lafitte withdrew, the General said farewell; when we meet again, I trust it will be in the ranks of the American army. The result of the conference was the issuing the following order.

The Governor of Louisiana, informed that many individuals implicated in the offences heretofore committed against the United States at Barrataria, express a willingness at the present crisis to enroll themselves and march against the enemy. He does hereby invite them to join the standard of the United States and is authorised to say, should their conduct in the field meet the approbation of the Major General, that that officer will unite with the governor in a request to the



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president of the United States, to extend to each and every individual, so marching and acting, a free and full pardon. These general orders were placed in the hands of Lafitte, who circulated them among his dispersed followers, most of whom readily embraced the conditions of pardon they held out. In a few days many brave men and skillful artillerists, whose services contributed greatly to the safety of the invaded state, flocked to the standard of the United States, and by their conduct, received the highest approbation of General Jackson.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. A PROCLAMATION.

"Among the many evils produced by the wars, which, with little intermission, have afflicted Europe, and extended their ravages into other quarters of the globe, for a period exceeding twenty years, the dispersion of a considerable portion of the inhabitants of different countries, in sorrow and in want, has not been the least injurious to human happiness, nor the least severe in the trial of human virtue.

"It had been long ascertained that many foreigners, flying from the dangers of their own home, and that some citizens, forgetful of their duty, had co-operated in forming an establishment on the island of Barrataria, near the mouth of the river Mississippi, for the purpose of a clandestine and lawless trade. The government of the United States caused the establishment to be broken up and destroyed; and, having obtained the means of designating the offenders of every description, it only remained to answer the demands of justice by inflicting an exemplary punishment.

"But it has since been represented that the offenders have manifested a sincere penitence; that they have abandoned the prosecution of the worst cause for the support of the best, and, particularly, that they have exhibited, in the defence of New Orleans, unequivocal traits of courage and fidelity. Offenders, who have refused to become the associates of the enemy in the war, upon the most seducing terms of invitation; and who have aided to repel his hostile invasion of the territory of the United States, can no longer be considered as objects of punishment, but as objects of a generous forgiveness.

"It has therefore been seen, with great satisfaction, that the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana earnestly recommend those offenders to the benefit of a full pardon; And in compliance with that recommendation, as well as in consideration of all the other extraordinary circumstances in the case, I, *James Madison*, President of the United States of America, do issue this proclamation, hereby granting, publishing and declaring, a free and full pardon of all offences committed in violation of any act or acts of the Congress of the said United States, touching the revenue, trade and navigation thereof, or touching the intercourse and commerce of the United States with foreign nations, at any time before the eighth day of



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January, in the present year one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, by any person or persons whatsoever, being inhabitants of New Orleans and the adjacent country, or being inhabitants of the said island of Barrataria, and the places adjacent; *Provided*, that every person, claiming the benefit of this full pardon, in order to entitle himself thereto, shall produce a certificate in writing from the governor of the State of Louisiana, stating that such person has aided in the defence of New Orleans and the adjacent country, during the invasion thereof as aforesaid.

"And I do hereby further authorize and direct all suits, indictments, and prosecutions, for fines, penalties, and forfeitures, against any person or persons, who shall be entitled to the benefit of this full pardon, forthwith to be stayed, discontinued and released: All civil officers are hereby required, according to the duties of their respective stations, to carry this proclamation into immediate and faithful execution.

"Done at the City of Washington, the sixth day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and of the independence of the United States the thirty-ninth.

"By the President,

"JAMES MADISON

"JAMES MONROE,

"*Acting Secretary of State.*"

The morning of the eighth of January, was ushered in with the discharge of rockets, the sound of cannon, and the cheers of the British soldiers advancing to the attack. The Americans, behind the breastwork, awaited in calm intrepidity their approach. The enemy advanced in close column of sixty men in front, shouldering their muskets and carrying fascines and ladders. A storm of rockets preceded them, and an incessant fire opened from the battery, which commanded the advanced column. The musketry and rifles from the Kentuckians and Tennesseans, joined the fire of the artillery, and in a few moments was heard along the line a ceaseless, rolling fire, whose tremendous noise resembled the continued reverberation of thunder. One of these guns, a twenty-four pounder, placed upon the breastwork in the third embrasure from the river, drew, from the fatal skill and activity with which it was managed, even in the heat of battle, the admiration of both Americans and British; and became one of the points most dreaded by the advancing foe.

Here was stationed Lafitte and his lieutenant Dominique and a large band of his men, who during the continuance of the battle, fought with unparalleled bravery. The British already had been twice driven back in the utmost confusion, with the loss of their commander-in-chief, and two general officers.

Two other batteries were manned by the Barratarians, who served their pieces with the steadiness and precision of veteran gunners. In the first attack of the enemy, a column pushed forward between the levee and river; and so precipitate was their charge that the outposts were forced to retire, closely pressed by the enemy. Before the batteries could meet the charge, clearing the ditch, they gained the redoubt through the embrasures, leaping over the parapet, and overwhelming by their superior force the small party stationed there.



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Lafitte, who was commanding in conjunction with his officers, at one of the guns, no sooner saw the bold movement of the enemy, than calling a few of his best men by his side, he sprung forward to the point of danger, and clearing the breastwork of the entrenchments, leaped, cutlass in hand, into the midst of the enemy, followed by a score of his men, who in many a hard fought battle upon his own deck, had been well tried.

Astonished at the intrepidity which could lead men to leave their entrenchments and meet them hand to hand, and pressed by the suddenness of the charge, which was made with the recklessness, skill and rapidity of practised boarders bounding upon the deck of an enemy's vessel, they began to give way, while one after another, two British officers fell before the cutlass of the pirate, as they were bravely encouraging their men. All the energies of the British were now concentrated to scale the breastwork, which one daring officer had already mounted. While Lafitte and his followers, seconding a gallant band of volunteer riflemen, formed a phalanx which they in vain assayed to penetrate.

The British finding it impossible to take the city and the havoc in their ranks being dreadful, made a precipitate retreat, leaving the field covered with their dead and wounded.

General Jackson, in his correspondence with the secretary of war did not fail to notice the conduct of the "Corsairs of Barrataria," who were, as we have already seen, employed in the artillery service. In the course of the campaign they proved, in an unequivocal manner, that they had been misjudged by the enemy, who a short time previous to the invasion of Louisiana, had hoped to enlist them in his cause. Many of them were killed or wounded in the defence of the country. Their zeal, their courage, and their skill, were remarked by the whole army, who could no longer consider such brave men as criminals. In a few days peace was declared between Great Britain and the United States.

The piratical establishment of Barrataria having been broken up and Lafitte not being content with leading an honest, peaceful life, procured some fast sailing vessels, and with a great number of his followers, proceeded to Galvezton Bay, in Texas, during the year 1819; where he received a commission from General Long; and had five vessels generally cruising and about 300 men. Two open boats bearing commissions from General Humbert, of Galvezton, having robbed a plantation on the Marmonto river, of negroes, money, &c., were captured in the Sabine river, by the boats of the United States schooner Lynx. One of the men was hung by Lafitte, who dreaded the vengeance of the American government. The Lynx also captured one of his schooners, and her prize that had been for a length of time smuggling in the Carmento. One of his cruisers, named the Jupiter, returned safe to Galvezton after a short cruise with a valuable cargo, principally specie; she was the first vessel that sailed under the authority of Texas. The American government well knowing that where Lafitte was, piracy and smuggling would be the order of the day, sent a vessel of war to cruise in the Gulf of Mexico, and scour the coasts of Texas. Lafitte having been appointed governor of Galvezton and one of the cruisers being stationed off the port to watch his motions, it so annoyed him that he wrote the following letter to her



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commander, Lieutenant Madison.

To the commandant of the American cruiser, off the port of Galvezton.

Sir - I am convinced that you are a cruiser of the navy, ordered by your government. I have therefore deemed it proper to inquire into the cause of your living before this port without communicating your intention. I shall by this message inform you, that the port of Galvezton belongs to and is in the possession of the republic of Texas, and was made a port of entry the 9th October last. And whereas the supreme congress of said republic have thought proper to appoint me as governor of this place, in consequence of which, if you have any demands on said government, or persons belonging to or residing in the same, you will please to send an officer with such demands, whom you may be assured will be treated with the greatest politeness, and receive every satisfaction required. But if you are ordered, or should attempt to enter this port in a hostile manner, my oath and duty to the government compels me to rebut your intentions at the expense of my life.

To prove to you my intentions towards the welfare and harmony of your government I send enclosed the declaration of several prisoners, who were taken in custody yesterday, and by a court of inquiry appointed for that purpose, were found guilty of robbing the inhabitants of the United States of a number of slaves and specie. The gentlemen bearing this message will give you any reasonable information relating to this place, that may be required.

Yours, &c.

J. LAFITTE.

About this time one Mitchell, who had formerly belonged to Lafitte's gang, collected upwards of one hundred and fifty desperadoes and fortified himself on an island near Barrataria, with several pieces of cannon; and swore that he and all his comrades would perish within their trenches before they would surrender to any man. Four of this gang having gone to New Orleans on a frolic, information was given to the city watch, and the house surrounded, when the whole four with cocked pistols in both hands sallied out and marched through the crowd which made way for them and no person dared to make an attempt to arrest them.

The United States cutter, Alabama, on her way to the station off the mouth of the Mississippi, captured a piratical schooner belonging to Lafitte; she carried two guns and twenty-five men, and was fitted out at New Orleans, and commanded by one of Lafitte's lieutenants, named Le Fage; the schooner had a prize in company and being hailed by the cutter, poured into her a volley of musketry; the cutter then opened upon the privateer and a smart action ensued which terminated in favor of the cutter, which had four men wounded and two of them dangerously; but the pirate had six men killed; both vessels were captured and brought into the bayou St. John. An expedition was now sent to dislodge Mitchell and his comrades from the island he had taken possession of; after coming to anchor, a summons was sent for him to surrender, which was answered by a brisk cannonade



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from his breastwork. The vessels were warped close in shore; and the boats manned and sent on shore whilst the vessels opened upon the pirates; the boat's crews landed under a galling fire of grape shot and formed in the most undaunted manner; and although a severe loss was sustained they entered the breastwork at the point of the bayonet; after a desperate fight the pirates gave way, many were taken prisoners but Mitchell and the greatest part escaped to the cypress swamps where it was impossible to arrest them. A large quantity of dry goods and specie together with other booty was taken. Twenty of the pirates were taken and brought to New Orleans, and tried before Judge Hall, of the Circuit Court of the United States, sixteen were brought in guilty; and after the Judge had finished pronouncing sentence of death upon the hardened wretches, several of them cried out in open court, *Murder - by God.*

Accounts of these transactions having reached Lafitte, he plainly perceived there was a determination to sweep all his cruisers from the sea; and a war of extermination appeared to be waged against him.

In a fit of desperation he procured a large and fast sailing brigantine mounting sixteen guns and having selected a crew of one hundred and sixty men he started without any commission as a regular pirate determined to rob all nations and neither to give or receive quarter. A British sloop of war which was cruising in the Gulf of Mexico, having heard that Lafitte himself was at sea, kept a sharp look out from the mast head; when one morning as an officer was sweeping the horizon with his glass he discovered a long dark looking vessel, low in the water, but having very tall masts, with sails white as the driven snow. As the sloop of war had the weather gage of the pirate and could outsail her before the wind, she set her studding sails and crowded every inch of canvass in chase; as soon as Lafitte ascertained the character of his opponent, he ordered the awnings to be furled and set his big square-sail and shot rapidly through the water; but as the breeze freshened the sloop of war came up rapidly with the pirate, who, finding no chance of escaping, determined to sell his life as dearly as possible; the guns were cast loose and the shot handed up; and a fire opened upon the ship which killed a number of men and carried away her foretopmast, but she reserved her fire until within cable's distance of the pirate; when she fired a general discharge from her broadside, and a volley of small arms; the broadside was too much elevated to hit the low hull of the brigantine, but was not without effect; the foretopmast fell, the jaws of the main gaff were severed and a large proportion of the rigging came rattling down on deck; ten of the pirates were killed, but Lafitte remained unhurt. The sloop of war entered her men over the starboard bow and a terrific contest with pistols and cutlasses ensued; Lafitte received two wounds at this time which disabled him, a grape shot broke the bone of his right leg and he received a cut in the abdomen, but his crew fought like tigers and the deck was ankle deep with blood and gore; the captain of the boarders received such a tremendous blow on the head from the butt end of a musket, as stretched him senseless on the deck near Lafitte, who raised his dagger to stab him to the heart. But the tide of his existence was ebbing like a torrent, his brain was giddy, his aim faltered and the point descended in the Captain's right thigh; dragging away the blade with the last



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convulsive energy of a death struggle, he lacerated the wound. Again the reeking steel was upheld, and Lafitte placed his left hand near the Captain's heart, to make his aim more sure; again the dizziness of dissolution spread over his sight, down came the dagger into the captain's left thigh and Lafitte was a corpse.

The upper deck was cleared, and the boarders rushed below on the main deck to complete their conquest. Here the slaughter was dreadful, till the pirates called out for quarter, and the carnage ceased; all the pirates that surrendered were taken to Jamaica and tried before the Admiralty court where sixteen were condemned to die, six were subsequently pardoned and ten executed.

Thus perished Lafitte, a man superior in talent, in knowledge of his profession, in courage, and moreover in physical strength; but unfortunately his reckless career was marked with crimes of the darkest dye.



Spring: In Yunnan, [China](#), the famine due to the eruption of Mount Tambora continued, and high in the Val de Bagnes of [Switzerland](#) the new lake behind the ice dam that had formed below the Giétro Glacier continued to threaten despite engineer Ignaz Venetz's efforts to induce this impounded water to drain (this ice formation would collapse catastrophically on June 16, 1818).

The [pirate](#) Louis Michel Aury, who was recognized by Mexico as its resident commissioner at Galveston Island, was away from the island conveying the filibustering expedition of Francisco Xavier Mina to the Santander River, and the pirate [Jean Lafitte](#) was undermining the skeletal "government" he had left behind.

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.



December 2, Tuesday: President James Monroe sent a message to the federal Congress in regard to Amelia Island on the Atlantic coast of Florida, etc.

"A just regard for the rights and interests of the United States required that they [i.e., the Amelia Island and Galveston [pirates](#)] should be suppressed, and orders have been accordingly issued to that effect. The imperious considerations which produced this measure will be explained to the parties whom it may, in any degree, concern." HOUSE JOURNAL, 15th Congress, 1st session, page 11.


[INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE](#)



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1818

 May 15, Friday: The *Eagle* made the initial steamboat **STEAMBOAT** crossing of Nantucket Sound, carrying 600 passengers from [New Bedford](#) to Nantucket Island.

At [Concord](#), Nathan Brooks of Concord got married with Caroline Downes of Boston.

Jean Lafitte (the way the English spelled it, or “Laffite” the way he himself spelled it) had sailed down the Texas coast and set up camp in Matagorda Bay. On this day his [pirates](#) or [privateers](#) took control of Galveston Island and he appointed Jao (Joseph) de la Porta, a Portuguese Jew, as “supercargo” (agent) for dealing with the Karankawa native tribe.

 December 14, Monday: Two ships flying the Argentinian flag came to anchor off what is now Doheny State Beach in Capistrano Bay, on the coast of *Alta California*, and 140 [privateers](#) under the command of Hippolyte de Bouchard came ashore. This was a mixed group of [buccaneers](#) including Americans, Californios, Englishmen, Filipinos, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Malays, Portuguese, Creoles, and Hawaiians, and it was clear to the few Spanish soldiers who were defending the settlement at Mission San Juan Capistrano that these guys could be up to no good. After firing their muskets so they could say they had, the resident heroes took to the hills to await reinforcements. The raiders would have unchallenged control of the town and the Franciscan mission for four days and in their search for [pirate](#) treasure they would torch a few of the buildings. About all they could find, however, were the stores of wine and brandy left behind at the mission, which they appreciated and made full use of, because they had given the locals ample time to bury their valuables up in Trabuco Canyon.

 December 18, Friday: Heinrich replaced Frederick Ferdinand as Prince of Anhalt-Köthen-Pless as Frederick Ferdinand replaced Ludwig II as Duke of Anhalt-Köthen.

With the arrival of Army reinforcements at the Spanish/Franciscan settlement at Mission San Juan Capistrano, the soberer of the [pirates](#) lugged their drunken comrades back down to their ships. However, several of the pirates, instead of sailing off into the sunset, elected to stay ashore and go straight, among them a Scottish drummer named John Rose who would become the first Anglo resident of the district now known as Orange County, [California](#), and a man named Mateo José Pascual, who would become the first black resident of record along this coast.



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1819

➡ The *Colombia* (or *Arraganta*), a Venezuelan [privateer](#) fitted in the United States and manned by Americans, captured [slaves](#) from a Spanish slaver, the [negrero Antelope](#) (or *General Ramirez*), and from other slavers. When the *Colombia* was wrecked, it transferred its crew and the 280 captured slaves to the *Antelope*, and then the *Antelope*, which was at the time traveling under the name *General Ramirez*, was captured by a United States naval vessel. Many of the 280 rescued slaves died, while some were distributed, either to Spanish claimants, or back to Africa. Some were allowed to remain in America.¹¹³

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF. THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.

➡ February 18, Thursday: On [Boston Neck](#), John Williams, Peter Peterson (alias Nils Peterson), Francis Frederick and John P. Rog were [hanged](#) for the crimes of [piracy](#) and murder.¹¹⁴

Les troqueurs, an *opéra comique* by Louis Joseph Ferdinand Hérold to words of d’Artois and d’Artois after Vadé after [La Fontaine](#), was performed for initial first time, in the Théâtre Feydeau, Paris.

➡ April 19, Monday: The revenue cutters *USS Alabama* and *USS Louisiana* destroyed a [pirate](#) base on Breton Island, Louisiana.

113. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress, 1st session II, No. 92, pages 5, 15; 21st Congress, 1st session III, No. 348, page 186; HOUSE JOURNAL, 20th Congress, 1st session pages 59, 76, 123 to 692, *passim*. Gales and Seaton, REGISTER OF DEBATES, IV, pt. 1, pages 915-6, 955-68, 998, 1005; REGISTER OF DEBATES, IV, pt. 2, pages 2501-3; AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, NAVAL AFFAIRS, II, No. 319, pages 750-60; Decisions of the United States Supreme Court in *10 Wheaton*, 66, and *12 Wheaton*, 546.

114. A CONCISE SKETCH OF THE EXECUTION OF JOHN WILLIAMS, PETER PETERSON (ALIAS NILS PETERSON), FRANCIS FREDERICK AND JOHN P. ROG WHO WERE EXECUTED ON THE 18TH OF FEBRUARY, 1819, FOR MURDER AND PIRACY : PREFACED WITH MORAL REFLECTIONS : TO WHICH IS ADDED A SOLEMN ADDRESS. Boston : Printed for N. Coverly, 1819

PIRATES



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August 31, Tuesday: The revenue cutters *USS Alabama* and *USS Louisiana*, while sailing the Gulf off southern Florida, sighted and gave chase to the schooner *Bravo*. When they came within range there was a brief gunnery duel, and then the vessel was boarded and its crew surrendered. The vessel had been sailing without a letter of marque. It was Jean La Farges, a lieutenant of Jean Lafitte. We can presume that all these [pirates](#) would [hang](#).

“Variations on Non più mesta accanto al fuoco” was performed by [Nicolò Paganini](#), probably for the initial time, at the Teatro dei Fiorentini of Naples.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 31st of 8 M / This evening Sampson Sherman son of Job departed this life. I was called in & assisted in laying him out. he had enterd his 16th Year - with him "The summer has past" & who will close with the Autumn, is known only to Him who giveth life & taketh it away at his Will. - May all that is alive within me bow in his presence in thankfulness for the many favors vouchsafed. -
In the Afternoon Attended the funeral of Robert Lawton which was large. -*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

1820

➡ Would Secretary of State [John Quincy Adams](#) be the friend of the slave? At a time when this man could have been putting his whole being and future on the line by defending the personhood of slaves, he was doing nothing of the sort. In this year in which as part of the effort to suppress the [international slave trade](#) the [Antelope](#) was being captured with a cargo of 281 slaves by the revenue cutter *USS Dallas*, Adams was serving as President Monroe’s Secretary of State. While, to his diary, he commented that someone should step up and defend those slaves as persons, in fact he involved himself in the case in no way.

Date	Slave-trade Abolished by
1802	Denmark
1807	Great Britain; United States
1813	Sweden
1814	Netherlands
1815	Portugal (north of the equator)
1817	Spain (north of the equator)
1818	France
1820	Spain
1829	Brazil (?)
1830	Portugal

There was a critical difference in international law between the [Antelope](#) seizure of 1820, involving a Spanish flag vessel at a time when Spain still sanctioned the trade, and the [La Amistad](#) case of 1839 involving a rebellion on what, at least legally, was a [pirate](#) ship. Unfortunately, Adams was more sensitive to such legal niceties than he ever would become to real issues such as human freedom. A prick he was, a prig he was, a self-righteous posturer he was — hero of human freedom never would he be.¹¹⁵

“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”



— Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

115. Remember that in 1783 [John Quincy Adams](#) had visited the British Museum in London to view the seal of his ancestor Saer de Quincy upon the original parchment of the Magna Carta. He would come to consider his representing the blacks of the [La Amistad](#) as of the greatest importance only because the *Amistad* had been seized by the [USS Washington](#) without warrant, in a “gross violation” by the US government of a principle underlying this foundational document which his eponymous ancestor had helped to create. In other words, he wasn’t defending the black defendants at all — but was defending instead the historical significance of his alleged white ancestor Saer de Quincy.



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He had relatives down south, who worked black slaves on their plantations, and there is no evidence that this familial entanglement with slavery ever gave him any little bit of trouble. Note that the white people of the South, who earlier had been not at all fixated upon the absolute value of their system of human [enslavement](#), had in fact been perfectly congenial to speculations that it might be an excellent idea to simply walk away from all this, had by this point generally revised their attitude toward human enslavement. Their economic self-interest had changed due to the immense profits to be derived from the labor-intensive cotton crop: by this point they were vehemently in favor of race slavery.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The attitude of the South toward the slave-trade changed *pari passu* with this development of the cotton trade. From 1808 to 1820 the South half wished to get rid of a troublesome and abnormal institution, and yet saw no way to do so. The fear of insurrection and of the further spread of the disagreeable system led her to consent to the partial prohibition of the trade by severe national enactments. Nevertheless, she had in the matter no settled policy: she refused to support vigorously the execution of the laws she had helped to make, and at the same time she acknowledged the theoretical necessity of these laws. After 1820, however, there came a gradual change. The South found herself supplied with a body of slave laborers, whose number had been augmented by large illicit importations, with an abundance of rich land, and with all other natural facilities for raising a crop which was in large demand and peculiarly adapted to slave labor. The increasing crop caused a new demand for slaves, and an interstate slave-traffic arose between the Border and the Gulf States, which turned the former into slave-breeding districts, and bound them to the slave States by ties of strong economic interest.

As the cotton crop continued to increase, this source of supply became inadequate, especially as the theory of land and slave consumption broke down former ethical and prudential bounds. It was, for example, found cheaper to work a slave to death in a few years, and buy a new one, than to care for him in sickness and old age; so, too, it was easier to despoil rich, new land in a few years of intensive culture, and move on to the Southwest, than to fertilize and conserve the soil.¹¹⁶ Consequently, there early came a demand for land and slaves greater than the country could supply. The demand for land showed itself in the annexation of Texas, the conquest of Mexico, and the movement toward the acquisition of [Cuba](#). The demand for slaves was manifested in the illicit traffic that noticeably increased about 1835, and reached large proportions by 1860. It was also seen in a disposition to attack the government for stigmatizing the trade as criminal,¹¹⁷ then in a disinclination to take any measures which would have rendered our repressive laws effective; and finally in such articulate declarations by prominent men as this: "Experience having settled the point, that this Trade *cannot be abolished by the use of force*, and that blockading squadrons serve only to make it more profitable and more cruel, I am surprised that the attempt is persisted in, unless as it serves as a cloak to some other purposes. It would be far better than it now is, for the African, if the trade was free from all restrictions, and left to the mitigation and decay which time and competition would

116. Cf. United States census reports; and Olmsted, *THE COTTON KINGDOM*.

117. As early as 1836 Calhoun declared that he should ever regret that the term "piracy" had been applied to the slave-trade in our laws: Benton, *ABRIDGMENT OF DEBATES*, XII. 718.



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surely bring about.”¹¹⁸



In the Persian/Arabian Gulf, a peace treaty ended [piracy](#) and would lead to a century and a half of British supremacy.



May 15, Monday: In the final act of the Congress of Vienna, the *Bundestag* passed the [German](#) Constitution of 65 articles, under the direction of Metternich. This was a very hidebound repressive document and authorized the more powerful of the [German](#) states to interfere in the affairs of the less powerful ones.

Enactment of a United States statute equating the [international slave trade](#) with [piracy](#), a capital crime.

“An act to continue in force ‘An act to protect the commerce of the United States, and punish the crime of piracy,’ and also to make further provisions for punishing the crime of piracy.” Continued by several statutes until passage of the Act of 1823, *q.v.* STATUTES AT LARGE, III. 600. For proceedings in Congress, see SENATE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 238, 241, 268, 286-7, 314, 331, 346, 350, 409, 412, 417, 422, 424, 425; HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 453, 454, 494, 518, 520, 522, 537, 539, 540, 542. There was also a House bill, which was dropped: cf. HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 21, 113, 280, 453, 494.

Although in this act the United States Congress established the penalty of death for the importation of slaves, this would be imposed exactly only one time four decades later, at the beginning of the Civil War.

The United States Senate rejected the resolution the House of Representatives had just approved, to urge the President to negotiate [*sic*] with other nations an immediate abolition of the [international slave trade](#).

“Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be requested to negotiate with all the governments where ministers of the United States are or shall be accredited, on the means of effecting an entire and immediate abolition of the slave trade.” ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 697-700.



Michael Powers, who had murdered Timothy Kennedy, had been hanged on the municipal gallows on Boston Neck on May 25th; however, on some other day during this year another [hanging](#) took place at [Boston](#), this one (since the offence had amounted to [piracy](#)) out on the Admiralty mudflats.

118. Governor J.H. Hammond of South Carolina, in LETTERS TO CLARKSON, No. 1, page 2.



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WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1820

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
12/04	Ann Heytrey	22	Warwick	Petty treason
12/08	Sarah Polgreen	37	Bodmin	Petty treason
16/08	Rebecca Warlock	36	Gloucester	Murder
05/12	Sarah Price	43	Newgate	Uttering



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1821

➡ November 8, Thursday, evening: Captain Jackson's brig *Cobbesecontee* had sailed that morning from [Havana](#) toward Boston. He had only proceeded about 4 miles from Moro Castle when brought to by a vessel with about 30 pirates. Captain Jackson had noticed their sloop at Regla the day before. These [Cubans](#) took the personal items of the captain and his mate, stripping them nearly naked. They broke a large broadsword across the captain's back and stabbed him through his thigh so that he almost bled to death. After they beat the mate, he was [hanged](#) under the maintop. From the cargo were obtained 3 bales of cochineal and 6 boxes of cigars. Captain Jackson would confirm a report brought by other American sailors who had been brought to grief in Havana, that some of the local whites were openly countenancing these acts of [piracy](#) against US citizens — as a gesture of retaliation against US interference with the [Cuban slave](#) trade.

[INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE](#)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day of 11 M / Our Meeting was small - a considerable portion of those who generally attend were absent at David Buffums where Sarah Sherman has lain very ill for some weeks & while the Meeting was sitting today She expired - She was a [-] lid [solid?, words obscured by binding crease] young woman & tho' all the forepart of her illness she was deprived of her mental powers, but a few days previous to her death she came to her understanding & expressed her reconciliation to the Solemn Change -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**PIRACY****PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING****THE WEST INDIA PIRATES**

CONTAINING ACCOUNTS OF THEIR ATROCITIES, MANNERS OF LIVING, &C., WITH PROCEEDINGS OF THE SQUADRON UNDER COMMODORE PORTER IN THOSE SEAS, THE VICTORY AND DEATH OF LIEUTENANT ALLEN, THE INTERESTING NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN LINCOLN, &C.¹¹⁹



Those innumerable groups of islands, keys and sandbanks, known as the West-Indies, are peculiarly adapted from their locality and formation, to be a favorite resort for pirates; many of them are composed of coral rocks, on which a few cocoa trees raise their lofty heads; where there is sufficient earth for vegetation between the interstices of the rocks, stunted brushwood grows. But a chief peculiarity of some of the islands, and which renders them suitable to those who frequent them as pirates, are the numerous caves with which the rocks are perforated; some of them are above high-water mark, but the majority with the sea water flowing in and out of them, in some cases merely rushing in at high-water filling deep pools, which

119. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)

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are detached from each other when the tide recedes, in others with a sufficient depth of water to allow a large boat to float in. It is hardly necessary to observe how convenient the higher and dry caves are as receptacles for articles which are intended to be concealed, until an opportunity occurs to dispose of them. The Bahamas, themselves are a singular group of isles, reefs and quays; consisting of several hundred in number, and were the chief resort of pirates in old times, but now they are all rooted from them; they are low and not elevated, and are more than 600 miles in extent, cut up into numerous intricate passages and channels, full of sunken rocks and coral reefs. They afforded a sure retreat to desperadoes. Other islands are full of mountain fastnesses, where all pursuit can be eluded. Many of the low shores are skirted, and the islands covered by the mangrove, a singular tree, shooting fresh roots as it grows, which, when the tree is at its full age, may be found six or eight feet from the ground, to which the shoots gradually tend in regular succession; the leaf is very thick and stiff and about eight inches long and nine wide, the interval between the roots offer secure hiding places for those who are suddenly pursued. Another circumstance assists the pirate when pursued. — As the islands belong to several different nations, when pursued from one island he can pass to that under the jurisdiction of another power. And as permission must be got by those in pursuit of him, from the authorities of the island to land and take him, he thus gains time to secrete himself. A tropical climate is suited to a roving life, and liquor as well as dissolute women being in great abundance, to gratify him during his hours of relaxation, makes this a congenial region for the lawless.

The crews of pirate vessels in these seas are chiefly composed of Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Mulattoes, Negroes, and a few natives of other countries. The island of Cuba is the great nest of pirates at the present day, and at the Havana, piracy is as much tolerated as any other profession. As the piracies committed in these seas, during a single year, have amounted to more than fifty, we shall give only a few accounts of the most interesting.

In November 1821, the brig *Cobbesecontee*, Captain Jackson, sailed from Havana, on the morning of the 8th for Boston, and on the evening of the same day, about four miles from the Moro, was brought to by a piratical sloop containing about 30 men. A boat from her, with 10 men, came alongside, and soon after they got on board commenced plundering. They took nearly all the clothing from the captain and mate — all the cooking utensils and spare rigging — unrove part of the running rigging — cut the small cable — broke the compasses — cut the mast's coats to pieces — took from the captain his watch and four boxes cigars — and from the cargo three bales cochineal and six boxes cigars. They beat the mate unmercifully, and hung him up by the neck under the maintop. They also beat the captain severely — broke a large broad sword across his back, and ran a long knife through his thigh, so that he almost bled to death. Captain Jackson saw the sloop at Regla the day before.

Captain Jackson informs us, and we have also been informed by other persons from the Havana, that this system of piracy is openly countenanced by some of the inhabitants of that place — who say that it is a retaliation on the Americans for interfering against the Slave Trade.



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About this time the ship Liverpool Packet, Ricker, of Portsmouth, N.H., was boarded off Cape St. Antonio, Cuba, by two piratical schooners; two barges containing thirty or forty men, robbed the vessel of every thing movable, even of her *flags*, rigging, and a boat which happened to be afloat, having a boy in it, which belonged to the ship. They held a consultation whether they should murder the crew, as they had done before, or not – in the mean time taking the ship into anchoring ground. On bringing her to anchor, the crew saw a brig close alongside, burnt to the water's edge, and three dead bodies floating near her. The pirates said they had burnt the brig the day before, and *murdered all the crew!* – and intended doing the same with them. They said "look at the turtles (meaning the dead bodies) you will soon be the same." They said the vessel was a Baltimore brig, which they had robbed and burnt, and murdered the crew as before stated, of which they had little doubt. Captain Ricker was most shockingly bruised by them. The mate was hung till he was supposed to be dead, but came to, and is now alive. They told the captain that they belonged in Regla, and should kill them all to prevent discovery.

In 1822, the United States had several cruisers among the West-India islands, to keep the pirates in check. Much good was done but still many vessels were robbed and destroyed, together with their crews. This year the brave Lieutenant Allen fell by the hand of pirates; he was in the United States schooner Alligator, and receiving intelligence at Matanzas, that several vessels which had sailed from that port, had been taken by the pirates, and were then in the bay of Lejuapo. He hastened to their assistance. He arrived just in time to save five sail of vessels which he found in possession of a gang of pirates, 300 strong, established in the bay of Lejuapo, about 15 leagues east of this. He fell, pierced by two musket balls, in the van of a division of boats, attacking their principal vessel, a fine schooner of about eighty tons, with a long eighteen pounder on a pivot, and four smaller guns, *with the bloody flag nailed to the mast*. Himself, Captain Freeman of Marines, and twelve men, were in the boat, much in advance of his other boats, and even took possession of the schooner, after a desperate resistance, which nothing but a bravery almost too daring could have overcome. The pirates, all but one, escaped by taking to their boats and jumping overboard, before the Alligator's boat reached them. Two other schooners escaped by the use of their oars, the wind being light.

Captain Allen survived about four hours, during which his conversation evinced a composure and firmness of mind, and correctness of feeling, as honorable to his character, and more consoling to his friends, than even the dauntless bravery he before exhibited.

The surgeon of the Alligator in a letter to a friend, says, "He continued giving orders and conversing with Mr. Dale and the rest of us, until a few minutes before his death, with a degree of cheerfulness that was little to be expected from a man in his condition. He said he wished his relatives and his country to know that he had fought well, and added that he died in peace and good will towards all the world, and hoped for his reward in the next."

Lieutenant Allen had but few equals in the service. He was ardently devoted to the interest of his country, was brave,

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intelligent, and accomplished in his profession. He displayed, living and dying, a magnanimity that sheds lustre on his relatives, his friends, and his country.

About this time Captain Lincoln fell into the hands of the pirates, and as his treatment shows the peculiar habits and practices of these wretches, we insert the very interesting narrative of the captain.

The schooner Exertion, Captain Lincoln, sailed from Boston, bound for Trinidad de Cuba, Nov. 13th, 1821, with the following crew; Joshua Bracket, mate; David Warren, cook; and Thomas Young, Francis De Suze, and George Reed, seamen.

The cargo consisted of flour, beef, pork, lard, butter, fish, beans, onions, potatoes, apples, hams, furniture, sugar box shooks, &c., invoiced at about eight thousand dollars. Nothing remarkable occurred during the passage, except much bad weather, until my capture, which was as follows: -

Monday, December 17th, 1821, commenced with fine breezes from the eastward. At daybreak saw some of the islands northward of Cape Cruz, called Keys - stood along northwest; every thing now seemed favorable for a happy termination of our voyage. At 3 o'clock, P.M., saw a sail coming round one of the Keys, into a channel called Boca de Cavolone by the chart, nearly in latitude 20° 55' north, longitude 79° 55' west, she made directly for us with all sails set, sweeps on both sides (the wind being light) and was soon near enough for us to discover about forty men on her deck, armed with muskets, blunderbusses, cutlasses, long knives, dirks, &c., two carronades, one a twelve, the other a six pounder; she was a schooner, wearing the Patriot flag (blue, white and blue) of the Republic of Mexico. I thought it not prudent to resist them, should they be pirates, with a crew of seven men, and only five muskets; accordingly ordered the arms and ammunition to be immediately stowed away in as secret a place as possible, and suffer her to speak us, hoping and believing that a republican flag indicated both honor and friendship from those who wore it, and which we might expect even from Spaniards. But how great was my astonishment, when the schooner having approached very near us, hailed in English, and ordered me to heave my boat out immediately and come on board of her with my papers. - Accordingly my boat was hove out, but filled before I could get into her. - I was then ordered to tack ship and lay by for the pirates' boat to board me; which was done by Bolidar, their first lieutenant, with six or eight Spaniards armed with as many of the before mentioned weapons as they could well sling about their bodies. They drove me into the boat, and two of them rowed me to their privateer (as they called their vessel), where I shook hands with their commander, Captain Jonnia, a Spaniard, who before looking at my papers, ordered Bolidar, his lieutenant, to follow the Mexican in, back of the Key they had left, which was done. At 6 o'clock, P.M., the Exertion was anchored in eleven feet water, near this vessel, and an island, which they called Twelve League Key (called by the chart Key Largo), about thirty or thirty-five leagues from Trinidad. After this strange conduct they began examining my papers by a Scotchman who went by the name of Nickola, their sailing master. - He spoke good English, had a countenance rather pleasing, although his beard and mustachios had a frightful appearance - his face, apparently full of anxiety, indicated something in my favor; he gave me my papers, saying "take good care of them, for

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I am afraid you have fallen into bad hands." The pirates' boat was then sent to the Exertion with more men and arms; a part of them left on board her; the rest returning with three of my crew to their vessel; viz., Thomas Young, Thomas Goodall, and George Reed – they treated them with something to drink, and offered them equal shares with themselves, and some money, if they would enlist, but they could not prevail on them. I then requested permission to go on board my vessel which was granted, and further requested Nickola should go with me, but was refused by the captain, who vociferated in a harsh manner, "No, No, No." accompanied with a heavy stamp upon the deck. When I got on board, I was invited below by Bolidar, where I found they had emptied the case of liquors, and broken a cheese to pieces and crumbled it on the table and cabin floor; the pirates, elated with their prize (as they called it), had drank so much as to make them desperately abusive. I was permitted to lie down in my berth; but, reader, if you have ever been awakened by a gang of armed, desperadoes, who have taken possession of your habitation in the midnight hour, you can imagine my feelings. – Sleep was a stranger to me, and anxiety was my guest. Bolidar, however, pretended friendship, and flattered me with the prospect of being soon set at liberty. But I found him, as I suspected, a consummate hypocrite; indeed, his very looks indicated it. He was a stout and well built man, of a dark, swarthy complexion, with keen, ferocious eyes, huge whiskers, and beard under his chin and on his lips, four or five inches long; he was a Portuguese by birth, but had become a naturalized Frenchman – had a wife, if not children (as I was told) in France, and was well known there as commander of a first rate privateer. His appearance was truly terrific; he could talk some English, and had a most lion-like voice.

Tuesday, 18th. – Early this morning the captain of the pirates came on board the Exertion; took a look at the cabin stores, and cargo in the state rooms, and then ordered me back with him to his vessel, where he, with his crew, held a consultation for some time respecting the cargo. After which, the interpreter, Nickola, told me that "the captain had, or pretended to have, a commission under General Traspelascus, commander-in-chief of the republic of Mexico, authorizing him to take all cargoes whatever of provisions, bound to any royalist Spanish port – that my cargo being bound to an enemy's port, must be condemned; but that the vessel should be given up and be put into a fair channel for Trinidad, where I was bound." I requested him to examine the papers thoroughly, and perhaps he would be convinced to the contrary, and told him my cargo was all American property taken in at Boston, and consigned to an American gentleman, agent at Trinidad. But the captain would not take the trouble, but ordered both vessels under way immediately, and commenced beating up amongst the Keys through most of the day, the wind being very light. They now sent their boats on board the Exertion for stores, and commenced plundering her of bread, butter, lard, onions, potatoes, fish, beans, &c., took up some sugar box shocks that were on deck, and found the barrels of apples; selected the best of them and threw the rest overboard. They inquired for spirits,



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wine, cider, &c. and were told "they had already taken all that was on board." But not satisfied they proceeded to search the state rooms and forcastle, ripped up the floor of the later and found some boxes of bottled cider, which they carried to their vessel, gave three cheers, in an exulting manner to me, and then began drinking it with such freedom, that a violent quarrel arose between officers and men, which came very near ending in bloodshed. I was accused of falsehood, for saying they had got all the liquors that were on board, and I thought they had; the truth was, I never had any bill of lading of the cider, and consequently had no recollection of its being on board; yet it served them as an excuse for being insolent. In the evening peace was restored and they sung songs. I was suffered to go below for the night, and they placed a guard over me, stationed at the companion way.

Wednesday, 19th, commenced with moderate easterly winds, beating towards the northeast, the pirate's boats frequently going on board the Exertion for potatoes, fish, beans, butter, &c. which were used with great waste and extravagance. They gave me food and drink, but of bad quality, more particularly the victuals, which was wretchedly cooked. The place assigned me to eat was covered with dirt and vermin. It appeared that their great object was to hurt my feelings with threats and observations, and to make my situation as unpleasant as circumstances would admit. We came to anchor near a Key, called by them Brigantine, where myself and mate were permitted to go on shore, but were guarded by several armed pirates. I soon returned to the Mexican and my mate to the Exertion, with George Reed, one of my crew; the other two being kept on board the Mexican. In the course of this day I had considerable conversation with Nickola, who appeared well disposed towards me. He lamented most deeply his own situation, for he was one of those men, whose early good impressions were not entirely effaced, although confederated with guilt. He told me "those who had taken me were no better than pirates, and their end would be the halter; but," he added, with peculiar emotion, "I will never be hung as a pirate," showing me a bottle of laudanum which he had found in my medicine chest, saying, "If we are taken, that shall cheat the hangman, before we are condemned." I endeavored to get it from him, but did not succeed. I then asked him how he came to be in such company, as he appeared to be dissatisfied. He stated, that he was at New Orleans last summer, out of employment, and became acquainted with one Captain August Orgamar, a Frenchman, who had bought a small schooner of about fifteen tons, and was going down to the bay of Mexico to get a commission under General Traspelascus, in order to go a privateering under the patriot flag. Capt. Orgamar made him liberal offers respecting shares, and promised him a sailing master's berth, which he accepted and embarked on board the schooner, without sufficiently reflecting on the danger of such an undertaking. Soon after she sailed

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from Mexico, where they got a commission, and the vessel was called Mexican. They made up a complement of twenty men, and after rendering the General some little service, in transporting his troops to a place called ----- proceeded on a cruise; took some small prizes off Campeachy; afterwards came on the south coast of Cuba, where they took other small prizes, and the one which we were now on board of. By this time the crew were increased to about forty, nearly one half Spaniards, the others Frenchmen and Portuguese. Several of them had sailed out of ports in the United States with American protections; but, I confidently believe, none are natives, especially of the northern states. I was careful in examining the men, being desirous of knowing if any of my countrymen were among this wretched crew; but am satisfied there were none, and my Scotch friend concurred in the opinion. And now, with a new vessel, which was the prize of these plunderers, they sailed up Manganeil bay; previously, however, they fell in with an American schooner, from which they bought four barrels of beef, and paid in tobacco. At the Bay was an English brig belonging to Jamaica, owned by Mr. John Louden of that place. On board of this vessel the Spanish part of the crew commenced their depredations as pirates, although Captain Orgamar and Nickola protested against it, and refused any participation; but they persisted, and like so many ferocious blood-hounds, boarded the brig, plundered the cabin, stores, furniture, captain's trunk, &c., took a hogshead of rum, one twelve pound carronade, some rigging and sails. One of them plundered the chest of a sailor, who made some resistance, so that the Spaniard took his cutlass, and beat and wounded him without mercy. Nickola asked him "why he did it?" the fellow answered, "I will let you know," and took up the cook's axe and gave him a cut on the head, which nearly deprived him of life. Then they ordered Captain Orgamar to leave his vessel, allowing him his trunk and turned him ashore, to seek for himself. Nickola begged them to dismiss him with his captain, but no, no, was the answer; for they had no complete navigator but him. After Captain Orgamar was gone, they put in his stead the present brave (or as I should call him cowardly) Captain Jonnia, who headed them in plundering the before mentioned brig, and made Bolidar their first lieutenant, and then proceeded down among those Keys or Islands, where I was captured. This is the amount of what my friend Nickola told me of their history.

Saturday, 22d. - Both vessels under way standing to the eastward, they ran the Exertion aground on a bar, but after throwing overboard most of her deck load of shooks, she floated off; a pilot was sent to her, and she was run into a narrow creek between two keys, where they moored her head and stern along side of the mangrove trees, set down her yards and topmasts, and covered her mast heads and shrouds with bushes to prevent her being seen by vessels which might pass that way. I was then suffered to go on board my own vessel,



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and found her in a very filthy condition; sails torn, rigging cut to pieces, and every thing in the cabin in waste and confusion. The swarms of moschettoes and sand-flies made it impossible to get any sleep or rest. The pirate's large boat was armed and manned under Bolidar, and sent off with letters to a merchant (as they called him) by the name of Dominico, residing in a town called Principe, on the main island of Cuba. I was told by one of them, who could speak English, that Principe was a very large and populous town, situated at the head of St. Maria, which was about twenty miles northeast from where we lay, and the Keys lying around us were called Cotton Keys. — The captain pressed into his service Francis de Suze, one of my crew, saying that he was one of his countrymen. Francis was very reluctant in going, and said to me, with tears in his eyes, "I shall do nothing but what I am obliged to do, and will not aid in the least to hurt you or the vessel; I am very sorry to leave you." He was immediately put on duty and Thomas Goodall sent back to the Exertion.

Sunday, 23d. — Early this morning a large number of the pirates came on board of the Exertion, threw out the long boat, broke open the hatches, and took out considerable of the cargo, in search of rum, gin, &c., still telling me "I had some and they would find it," uttering the most awful profaneness. In the afternoon their boat returned with a perough, having on board the captain, his first lieutenant and seven men of a patriot or piratical vessel that was chased ashore at Cape Cruz by a Spanish armed brig. These seven men made their escape in said boat, and after four days, found our pirates and joined them; the remainder of the crew being killed or taken prisoners.

Monday, 24th. — Their boat was manned and sent to the before-mentioned town. — I was informed by a line from Nickola, that the pirates had a man on board, a native of Principe, who, in the garb of a sailor, was a partner with Dominico, but I could not get sight of him. This lets us a little into the plans by which this atrocious system of piracy has been carried on. Merchants having partners on board of these pirates! thus pirates at sea and robbers on land are associated to destroy the peaceful trader. The willingness exhibited by the seven above-mentioned men, to join our gang of pirates, seems to look like a general understanding among them; and from there being merchants on shore so base as to encourage the plunder and vend the goods, I am persuaded there has been a systematic confederacy on the part of these unprincipled desperadoes, under cover of the patriot flag; and those on land are no better than those on the sea. If the governments to whom they belong know of the atrocities committed (and I have but little doubt they do) they deserve the execration of all mankind.

Thursday, 27th. — A gang of the pirates came and stripped our masts of the green bushes, saying, "she appeared more like a sail than trees" — took one barrel of bread and one of potatoes, using about one of each



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every day. I understood they were waiting for boats to take the cargo; for the principal merchant had gone to Trinidad.

Sunday, 30th. – The beginning of trouble! This day, which peculiarly reminds Christians of the high duties of compassion and benevolence, was never observed by these pirates. This, of course, we might expect, as they did not often know when the day came, and if they knew it, it was spent in gambling. The old saying among seamen, “no Sunday off soundings,” was not thought of; and even this poor plea was not theirs, for they were on soundings and often at anchor. – Early this morning, the merchant, as they called him, came with a large boat for the cargo. I was immediately ordered into the boat with my crew, not allowed any breakfast, and carried about three miles to a small island out of sight of the Exertion, and left there by the side of a little pond of thick, muddy water, which proved to be very brackish, with nothing to eat but a few biscuits. One of the boat’s men told us the merchant was afraid of being recognized, and when he had gone the boat would return for us; but we had great reason to apprehend they would deceive us, and therefore passed the day in the utmost anxiety. At night, however, the boats came and took us again on board the Exertion; when, to our surprise and astonishment, we found they had broken open the trunks and chests, and taken all our wearing apparel, not even leaving a shirt or pair of pantaloons, nor sparing a small miniature of my wife which was in my trunk. The little money I and my mate had, with some belonging to the owners, my mate had previously distributed about the cabin in three or four parcels, while I was on board the pirate, for we dare not keep it about us; one parcel in a butter pot they did not discover. – Amidst the hurry with which I was obliged to go to the before-mentioned island, I fortunately snatched by vessel’s papers, and hid them in my bosom, which the reader will find was a happy circumstance for me. My writing desk, with papers, accounts, &c., all Mr. Lord’s letters (the gentlemen to whom my cargo was consigned) and several others were taken and maliciously destroyed. My medicine chest, which I so much wanted, was kept for their own use. What their motive could be to take my papers I could not imagine, except they had hopes of finding bills of lading for some Spaniards, to clear them from piracy. Mr. Bracket had some notes and papers of consequence to him, which shared the same fate. My quadrant, charts, books and bedding were not yet taken, but I found it impossible to hide them, and they were soon gone from my sight.

Tuesday, January 1st, 1822 – A sad new-year’s day to me. Before breakfast orders came for me to cut down the Exertion’s railing and bulwarks on one side, for their vessel to heave out by, and clean her bottom. On my hesitating a little they observed with anger, “very well, captain, suppose you no do it quick, we do it for you.” Directly afterwards another boat full of armed men



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came along side; they jumped on deck with swords drawn, and ordered all of us into her immediately; I stepped below, in hopes of getting something which would be of service to us; but the captain halloed, "Go into the boat directly or I will fire upon you." Thus compelled to obey, we were carried, together with four Spanish prisoners, to a small, low island or key of sand in the shape of a half moon, and partly covered with mangrove trees; which was about one mile from and in sight of my vessel. There they left nine of us, with a little bread, flour, fish, lard, a little coffee and molasses; two or three kegs of water, which was brackish; an old sail for a covering, and a pot and some other articles no way fit to cook in. Leaving us these, which were much less than they appear in the enumeration, they pushed off, saying, "we will come to see you in a day or two." Selecting the best place, we spread the old sail for an awning; but no place was free from flies, moschetoes, snakes, the venomous skinned scorpion, and the more venomous santipee. Sometimes they were found crawling inside of our pantaloons, but fortunately no injury was received. This afternoon the pirates hove their vessel out by the Exertion and cleaned one side, using her paints, oil, &c. for that purpose. To see my vessel in that situation and to think of our prospects was a source of the deepest distress. At night we retired to our tent; but having nothing but the cold damp ground for a bed, and the heavy dew of night penetrating the old canvass – the situation of the island being fifty miles from the usual track of friendly vessels, and one hundred and thirty-five from Trinidad – seeing my owner's property so unjustly and wantonly destroyed – considering my condition, the hands at whose mercy I was, and deprived of all hopes, rendered sleep or rest a stranger to me.

Friday, 4th. – Commenced with light winds and hot sun, saw a boat coming from the Exertion, apparently loaded; she passed between two small Keys to northward, supposed to be bound for Cuba. At sunset a boat came and inquired if we wanted anything, but instead of adding to our provisions, took away our molasses, and pushed off. We found one of the Exertion's water casks, and several pieces of plank, which we carefully laid up, in hopes of getting enough to make a raft.

Saturday, 5th. – Pirates again in sight, coming from the eastward; they beat up along side their prize, and commenced loading. In the afternoon Nickola came to us, bringing with him two more prisoners, which they had taken in a small sail boat coming from Trinidad to Manganeil, one a Frenchman, the other a Scotchman, with two Spaniards, who remained on board the pirate, and who afterwards joined them. The back of one of these poor fellows was extremely sore, having just suffered a cruel beating from Bolidar, with the broad side of a cutlass. It appeared, that when the officer asked him "where their money was, and how much," he answered, "he was not certain but believed they had only two ounces of gold" – Bolidar furiously swore he said "ten," and not finding



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any more, gave him the beating. Nickola now related to me a singular fact; which was, that the Spanish part of the crew were determined to shoot him; that they tied him to the mast, and a man was appointed for the purpose; but Lion, a Frenchman, his particular friend, stepped up and told them, if they shot him they must shoot several more; some of the Spaniards sided with him, and he was released. Nickola told me, the reason for such treatment was, that he continually objected to their conduct towards me, and their opinion if he should escape, they would be discovered, as he declared he would take no prize money. While with us he gave me a letter written in great haste, which contains some particulars respecting the cargo; - as follows: -

January 4th, 1822.

Sir, - We arrived here this morning, and before we came to anchor, had five canoes alongside ready to take your cargo, part of which we had in; and as I heard you express a wish to know what they took out of her, to this moment, you may depend upon this account of Jamieson for quality and quantity; if I have the same opportunity you will have an account of the whole. The villain who bought your cargo is from the town of Principe, his name is Dominico, as to that it is all that I can learn; they have taken your charts aboard the schooner Mexican, and I suppose mean to keep them, as the other captain has agreed to act the same infamous part in the tragedy of his life. Your clothes are here on board, but do not let me flatter you that you will get them back; it may be so, and it may not. Perhaps in your old age, when you recline with ease in a corner of your cottage, you will have the goodness to drop a tear of pleasure to the memory of him, whose highest ambition should have been to subscribe himself, though devoted to the gallows, your friend,
Excuse haste. NICKOLA MONACRE.

Sunday, 6th. - The pirates were under way at sunrise, with a full load of the Exertion's cargo, going to Principe again to sell a second freight, which was done readily for cash. I afterwards heard that the flour only fetched five dollars per barrel, when it was worth at Trinidad thirteen; so that the villain who bought my cargo at Principe, made very large profits by it.

Tuesday, 8th. - Early this morning the pirates in sight again, with fore top sail and top gallant sail set; beat up along side of the Exertion and commenced loading; having, as I supposed, sold and discharged her last freight among some of the inhabitants of Cuba. They appeared to load in great haste; and the song, "O he oh," which echoed from one vessel to the other, was distinctly heard by us. How wounding was this to me! How different was this sound from what it would have been, had I been permitted to pass unmolested by these lawless plunderers, and been favored with a safe arrival at the port of my destination, where my cargo would have found an excellent sale. Then would the "O he oh," on its discharging, have been a delightful sound to me. In the



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afternoon she sailed with the perough in tow, both with a full load, having chairs, which was part of the cargo, slung at her quarters.

Monday, 14th. – They again hove in sight, and beat up as usual, along-side their prize. While passing our solitary island, they laughed at our misery, which was almost insupportable – looking upon us as though we had committed some heinous crime, and they had not sufficiently punished us; they hallooed to us, crying out “Captain, Captain,” accompanied with obscene motions and words, with which I shall not blacken these pages – yet I heard no check upon such conduct, nor could I expect it among such a gang, who have no idea of subordination on board, except when in chase of vessels, and even then but very little. My resentment was excited at such a malicious outrage, and I felt a disposition to revenge myself, should fortune ever favor me with an opportunity. It was beyond human nature not to feel and express some indignation at such treatment. – Soon after, Bolidar, with five men, well armed, came to us; he having a blunderbuss, cutlass, a long knife and pair of pistols – but for what purpose did he come? He took me by the hand, saying, “Captain, me speak with you, walk this way.” I obeyed, and when at some distance from my fellow prisoners, (his men following) he said, “the captain send me for your wash” I pretended not to understand what he meant, and replied, “I have no clothes, nor any soap to wash with – you have taken them all,” for I had kept my watch about me, hoping they would not discover it. He demanded it again as before; and was answered, “I have nothing to wash;” this raised his anger, and lifting his blunderbuss, he roared out, “what the d – l you call him that make clock? give it me.” I considered it imprudent to contend any longer, and submitted to his unlawful demand. As he was going off, he gave me a small bundle, in which was a pair of linen drawers, sent to me by Nickola, and also the Rev. Mr. Brooks’ “Family Prayer Book.” This gave me great satisfaction. Soon after, he returned with his captain, who had one arm slung up, yet with as many implements of war, as his diminutive wicked self could conveniently carry; he told me (through an interpreter who was his prisoner.) “that on his cruize he had fallen in with two Spanish privateers, and beat them off; but had three of his men killed, and himself wounded in the arm” – Bolidar turned to me and said, “it is a d – n lie” – which words proved to be correct, for his arm was not wounded, and when I saw him again, which was soon afterwards, he had forgotten to sling it up. He further told me, “after tomorrow you shall go with your vessel, and we will accompany you towards Trinidad.” This gave me some new hopes, and why I could not tell. They then left us without rendering any assistance. – This night we got some rest.

Tuesday, 15th. The words “go after tomorrow,” were used among our Spanish fellow prisoners, as though that happy tomorrow would never come – in what manner it came will



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soon be noticed.

Friday, 18th commenced with brighter prospects of liberty than ever. The pirates were employed in setting up our devoted schooner's shrouds, stays, &c. My condition now reminded me of the hungry man, chained in one corner of a room, while at another part was a table loaded with delicious food and fruits, the smell and sight of which he was continually to experience, but alas! his chains were never to be loosed that he might go and partake – at almost the same moment they were thus employed, the axe was applied with the greatest dexterity to both her masts and I saw them fall over the side! Here fell my hopes – I looked at my condition, and then thought of home. – Our Spanish fellow prisoners were so disappointed and alarmed that they recommended hiding ourselves, if possible, among the mangrove trees, believing, as they said, we should now certainly be put to death; or, what was worse, compelled to serve on board the Mexican as pirates. Little else it is true, seemed left for us; however, we kept a bright look out for them during the day, and at night "an anchor watch" as we called it, determined if we discovered their boats coming towards us, to adopt the plan of hiding, although starvation stared us in the face – yet preferred that to instant death. This night was passed in sufficient anxiety – I took the first watch.

Saturday, 19th. – The pirate's largest boat came for us – it being day-light, and supposing they could see us, determined to stand our ground and wait the result. They ordered us all into the boat, but left every thing else; they rowed towards the Exertion – I noticed a dejection of spirits in one of the pirates, and inquired of him where they were going to carry us? He shook his head and replied, "I do not know." I now had some hopes of visiting my vessel again – but the pirates made sail, ran down, took us in tow and stood out of the harbor. Bolidar afterwards took me, my mate and two of my men on board and gave us some coffee. On examination I found they had several additional light sails, made of the Exertion's. Almost every man, a pair of canvas trousers; and my colors cut up and made into belts to carry their money about them. My jolly boat was on deck, and I was informed, all my rigging was disposed of. Several of the pirates had on some of my clothes, and the captain one of my best shirts, a cleaner one, than I had ever seen him have on before. – He kept at a good distance from me, and forbid my friend Nickola's speaking to me. – I saw from the companion way in the captain's cabin my quadrant, spy glass and other things which belonged to us, and observed by the compass, that the course steered was about west by south, – distance nearly twenty miles, which brought them up with a cluster of islands called by some "Cayman Keys." Here they anchored and caught some fish, (one of which was named *guard fish*) of which we had a taste. I observed that my friend Mr. Bracket was somewhat dejected, and asked him in a low voice, what his opinion was with respects to our fate? He



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answered, "I cannot tell you, but it appears to me the worst is to come." I told him that I hoped not, but thought they would give us our small boat and liberate the prisoners. But mercy even in this shape was not left-for us. Soon after, saw the captain and officers whispering for some time in private conference. When over, their boat was manned under the command of Bolidar, and went to one of those Islands or Keys before mentioned. On their return, another conference took place - whether it was a jury upon our lives we could not tell. I did not think conscience could be entirely extinguished in the human breast, or that men could become fiends. In the afternoon, while we knew not the doom which had been fixed for us, the captain was engaged with several of his men in gambling, in hopes to get back some of the five hundred dollars, they said, he lost but a few nights before; which had made him unusually fractious. A little before sunset he ordered all the prisoners into the large boat, with a supply of provisions and water, and to be put on shore. While we were getting into her, one of my fellow prisoners, a Spaniard, attempted with tears in his eyes to speak to the captain, but was refused with the answer. "I'll have nothing to say to any prisoner, go into the boat." In the mean time Nickola said to me, "My friend, I will give you your book," (being Mr. Colman's Sermons,) "it is the only thing of yours that is in my possession; I dare not attempt any thing more." But the captain forbid his giving it to me, and I stepped into the boat - at that moment Nickola said in a low voice, "never mind, I may see you again before I die." The small boat was well armed and manned, and both set off together for the island, where they had agreed to leave us to perish! The scene to us was a funereal scene. There were no arms in the prisoners boat, and, of course, all attempts to relieve ourselves would have been throwing our lives away, as Bolidar was near us, well armed. We were rowed about two miles north-easterly from the pirates, to a small low island, lonely and desolate. We arrived about sunset; and for the support of us eleven prisoners, they only left a ten gallon keg of water, and perhaps a few quarts, in another small vessel, which was very poor; part of a barrel of flour, a small keg of lard, one ham and some salt fish; a small kettle and an old broken pot; an old sail for a covering, and a small mattress and blanket, which was thrown out as the boats hastened away. One of the prisoners happened to have a little coffee in his pocket, and these comprehended all our means of sustaining life, and for what length of time we knew not. We now felt the need of water, and our supply was comparatively nothing. A man may live nearly twice as long without food, as without water. Look at us now, my friends, left benighted on a little spot of sand in the midst of the ocean, far from the usual track of vessels, and every appearance of a violent thunder tempest, and a boisterous night. Judge of my feelings, and the circumstances which our band of sufferers now witnessed. Perhaps you can and have pitied us. I assure

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you, we were very wretched; and to paint the scene, is not within my power. When the boats were moving from the shore, on recovering myself a little, I asked Bolidar, "If he was going to leave us so?" – he answered, "no, only two days – we go for water and wood, then come back, take you." I requested him to give us bread and other stores, for they had plenty in the boat, and at least one hundred barrels of flour in the Mexican. "No, no, suppose to-morrow morning me come, me give you bread," and hurried off to the vessel. This was the last time I saw him. We then turned our attention upon finding a spot most convenient for our comfort, and soon discovered a little roof supported by stakes driven into the sand; it was thatched with leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, considerable part of which was torn or blown off. After spreading the old sail over this roof, we placed our little stock of provisions under it. Soon after came on a heavy shower of rain which penetrated the canvas, and made it nearly as uncomfortable inside, as it would have been out. We were not prepared to catch water, having nothing to put it in. Our next object was to get fire, and after gathering some of the driest fuel to be found, and having a small piece of cotton wick-yarn, with flint and steel, we kindled a fire, which was never afterwards suffered to be extinguished. The night was very dark, but we found a piece of old rope, which when well lighted served for a candle. On examining the ground under the roof, we found perhaps thousands of creeping insects, scorpions, lizards, crickets, &c. After scraping them out as well as we could, the most of us having nothing but the damp earth for a bed, laid ourselves down in hopes of some rest; but it being so wet, gave many of us severe colds, and one of the Spaniards was quite sick for several days.

Sunday, 20th. – As soon as day-light came on, we proceeded to take a view of our little island, and found it to measure only one acre, of coarse, white sand; about two feet, and in some spots perhaps three feet above the surface of the ocean. On the highest part were growing some bushes and small mangroves, (the dry part of which was our fuel) and the wild castor oil beans. We were greatly disappointed in not finding the latter suitable food; likewise some of the prickly pear bushes, which gave us only a few pears about the size of our small button pear; the outside has thorns, which if applied to the fingers or lips, will remain there, and cause a severe smarting similar to the nettle; the inside a spongy substance, full of juice and seeds, which are red and a little tartish – had they been there in abundance, we should not have suffered so much for water – but alas! even this substitute was not for us. On the northerly side of the island was a hollow, where the tide penetrated the sand, leaving stagnant water. We presumed, in hurricanes the island was nearly overflowed. According to the best calculations I could make, we were about thirty-five miles from any part of Cuba, one hundred from Trinidad and forty from the usual track of American vessels, or others which might pass



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that way. No vessel of any considerable size, can safely pass among these Keys (or "Queen's Gardens," as the Spaniards call them) being a large number extending from Cape Cruz to Trinidad, one hundred and fifty miles distance; and many more than the charts have laid down, most of them very low and some covered at high water, which makes it very dangerous for navigators without a skilful pilot. After taking this view of our condition, which was very gloomy, we began to suspect we were left on this desolate island by those merciless plunderers to perish. Of this I am now fully convinced; still we looked anxiously for the pirate's boat to come according to promise with more water and provisions, but looked in vain. We saw them soon after get under way with all sail set and run directly from us until out of our sight, and *we never saw them again!* One may partially imagine our feelings, but they cannot be put into words. Before they were entirely out of sight of us, we raised the white blanket upon a pole, waving it in the air, in hopes, that at two miles distance they would see it and be moved to pity. But pity in such monsters was not to be found. It was not their interest to save us from the lingering death, which we now saw before us. We tried to compose ourselves, trusting to God, who had witnessed our sufferings, would yet make use of some one, as the instrument of his mercy towards us. Our next care, now, was to try for water. We dug several holes in the sand and found it, but quite too salt for use. The tide penetrates probably through the island. We now came on short allowances for water. Having no means of securing what we had by lock and key, some one in the night would slyly drink, and it was soon gone. The next was to bake some bread, which we did by mixing flour with salt water and frying it in lard, allowing ourselves eight quite small pancakes to begin with. The ham was reserved for some more important occasion, and the salt fish was lost for want of fresh water. The remainder of this day was passed in the most serious conversation and reflection. At night, I read prayers from the "Prayer Book," before mentioned, which I most carefully concealed while last on board the pirates. This plan was pursued morning and evening, during our stay there. Then retired for rest and sleep, but realized little of either.

Monday, 21st. — In the morning we walked round the beach, in expectation of finding something useful. On our way picked up a paddle about three feet long, very similar to the Indian canoe paddle, except the handle, which was like that of a shovel, the top part being split off; we laid it by for the present. We likewise found some konchs and roasted them; they were pretty good shell fish, though rather tough. We discovered at low water, a bar or spit of sand extending north-easterly from us, about three miles distant, to a cluster of Keys, which were covered with mangrove trees, perhaps as high as our quince tree. My friend Mr. Bracket and George attempted to wade across, being at that time of tide only up to their armpits; but were pursued by a shark, and returned without success. The



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tide rises about four feet.

Tuesday, 22d. — We found several pieces of the palmetto or cabbage tree, and some pieces of boards, put them together in the form of a raft, and endeavored to cross, but that proved ineffectual. Being disappointed, we set down to reflect upon other means of relief, intending to do all in our power for safety while our strength continued. While setting here, the sun was so powerful and oppressive, reflecting its rays upon the sea, which was then calm, and the white sand which dazzled the eye, was so painful, that we retired under the awning; there the moschetoes and flies were so numerous, that good rest could not be found. We were, however, a little cheered, when, in scraping out the top of the ground to clear out, I may say, thousands of crickets and bugs, we found a hatchet, which was to us peculiarly serviceable. At night the strong north-easterly wind, which prevails there at all seasons, was so cold as to make it equally uncomfortable with the day. Thus day after day, our sufferings and apprehensions multiplying, we were very generally alarmed.

Thursday, 24th. — This morning, after taking a little coffee, made of the water which we thought least salt, and two or three of the little cakes, we felt somewhat refreshed, and concluded to make another visit to those Keys, in hopes of finding something more, which might make a raft for us to escape the pirates, and avoid perishing by thirst. Accordingly seven of us set off, waded across the bar and searched all the Keys thereabouts. On one we found a number of sugar-box shooks, two lashing plank and some pieces of old spars, which were a part of the Exertion's deck load, that was thrown overboard when she grounded on the bar, spoken of in the first part of the narrative. It seems they had drifted fifteen miles, and had accidentally lodged on these very Keys within our reach. Had the pirates known this, they would undoubtedly have placed us in another direction. They no doubt thought that they could not place us on a worse place. The wind at this time was blowing so strong on shore, as to prevent rafting our stuff round to our island, and we were obliged to haul it upon the beach for the present; then dug for water in the highest place, but found it as salt as ever, and then returned to our habitation. But hunger and thirst began to prey upon us, and our comforts were as few as our hopes.

Friday, 25th. — Again passed over to those Keys to windward in order to raft our stuff to our island, it being most convenient for building. But the surf on the beach was so very rough, that we were again compelled to postpone it. Our courage, however, did not fail where there was the slightest hopes of life. Returning without it, we found on our way an old top timber of some vessel; it had several spikes on it, which we afterwards found very serviceable. In the hollow of an old tree, we found two guarnas of small size, one male, the other female. Only one was caught. After taking off the skin, we



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judged it weighed a pound and a half. With some flour and lard, (the only things we had except salt water,) it made us a fine little mess. We thought it a rare dish, though a small one for eleven half starved persons. At the same time a small vessel hove in sight; we made a signal to her with the blanket tied to a pole and placed it on the highest tree – some took off their white clothes and waved them in the air, hoping they would come to us; should they be pirates, they could do no more than kill us, and perhaps would give us some water, for which we began to suffer most excessively; but, notwithstanding all our efforts, she took no notice of us.

Saturday, 26th. – This day commenced with moderate weather and smooth sea; at low tide found some cockles; boiled and eat them, but they were very painful to the stomach. David Warren had a fit of strangling, with swelling of the bowels; but soon recovered, and said, "something like salt rose in his throat and choked him." Most of us then set off for the Keys, where the plank and shooks were put together in a raft, which we with pieces of boards paddled over to our island; when we consulted the best plan, either to build a raft large enough for us all to go on, or a boat; but the shooks having three or four nails in each, and having a piece of large reed or bamboo, previously found, of which we made pins, we concluded to make a boat.

Sunday, 27 – Commenced our labor, for which I know we need offer no apology. We took the two planks, which were about fourteen feet long, and two and a half wide, and fixed them together for the bottom of the boat; then with moulds made of palmetto bark, cut timber and knees from mangrove trees which spread so much as to make the boat four feet wide at the top, placed them exactly the distance apart of an Havana sugar box. – Her stern was square and the bows tapered to a peak, making her form resemble a flat-iron. We proceeded thus far and returned to rest for the night – but Mr. Bracket was too unwell to get much sleep.

Monday, 28 – Went on with the work as fast as possible. Some of the Spaniards had long knives about them, which proved very useful in fitting timbers, and a gimblet of mine, accidentally found on board the pirate, enabled us to use the wooden pins. And now our spirits began to revive, though *water, water*, was continually in our minds. We now feared the pirates might possibly come, find out our plan and put us to death, (although before we had wished to see them, being so much in want of water.) Our labor was extremely burdensome, and the Spaniards considerably peevish – but they would often say to me "never mind captain, by and by, Americana or Spanyol catch them, me go and see 'um hung." We quitted work for the day, cooked some cakes but found it necessary to reduce the quantity again, however small before. We found some herbs on a windward Key, which the Spaniards called Spanish tea. – This when well boiled we found somewhat palatable, although the water was very



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salt. This herb resembles pennyroyal in look and taste, though not so pungent. In the evening when we were setting round the fire to keep of the moschetoës, I observed David Warren's eyes shone like glass. The mate said to him – "David I think you will die before morning – I think you are struck with death now." I thought so too, and told him, "I thought it most likely we should all die here soon; but as some one of us might survive to carry the tidings to our friends, if you have any thing to say respecting your family, now is the time." – He then said, "I have a mother in Saco where I belong – she is a second time a widow – to-morrow if you can spare a scrap of paper and pencil I will write something." But no tomorrow came to him. – In the course of the night he had another spell of strangling, and soon after expired, without much pain and without a groan. He was about twenty-six years old. – How solemn was this scene to us! Here we beheld the ravages of death commenced upon us. More than one of us considered death a happy release. For myself I thought of my wife and children; and wished to live if God should so order it, though extreme thirst, hunger and exhaustion had well nigh prostrated my fondest hopes.

Tuesday, 29th. – Part of us recommenced labor on the boat, while myself and Mr. Bracket went and selected the highest clear spot of sand on the northern side of the island, where we dug Warren's grave, and boxed it up with shooks, thinking it would be the most suitable spot for the rest of us – whose turn would come next, we knew not. At about ten o'clock, A.M. conveyed the corpse to the grave, followed by us survivors – a scene, whose awful solemnity can never be painted. We stood around the grave, and there I read the funeral prayer from the Rev. Mr. Brooks's Family Prayer Book; and committed the body to the earth; covered it with some pieces of board and sand, and returned to our labor. One of the Spaniards, an old man, named Manuel, who was partial to me, and I to him, made a cross and placed it at the head of the grave saying, "Jesus Christ hath him now." Although I did not believe in any mysterious influence of this cross, yet I was perfectly willing it should stand there. The middle part of the day being very warm, our mouths parched with thirst, and our spirits so depressed, that we made but little progress during the remainder of this day, but in the evening were employed in picking oakum out of the bolt rope taken from the old sail.

Wednesday, 30th. – Returned to labor on the boat with as much vigor as our weak and debilitated state would admit, but it was a day of trial to us all; for the Spaniards and we Americans could not well understand each other's plans, and they being naturally petulant, would not work, nor listen with any patience for Joseph, our English fellow prisoner, to explain our views – they would sometimes undo what they had done, and in a few minutes replace it again; however before night we began to caulk her seams, by means of pieces of hard mangrove,



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made in form of a caulking-iron, and had the satisfaction of seeing her in a form something like a boat.

Thursday, 31st. — Went on with the work, some at caulking, others at battening the seams with strips of canvas, and pieces of pine nailed over, to keep the oakum in. Having found a suitable pole for a mast, the rest went about making a sail from the one we had used for a covering, also fitting oars of short pieces of boards, in form of a paddle, tied on a pole, we having a piece of fishing line brought by one of the prisoners. Thus, at three P.M. the boat was completed and put afloat. — We had all this time confidently hoped, that she would be sufficiently large and strong to carry us all — we made a trial and were disappointed! This was indeed a severe trial, and the emotions it called up were not easy to be suppressed. She proved leaky, for we had no carpenter's yard, or smith's shop to go to. — And now the question was, "who should go, and how many?" I found it necessary for six; four to row, one to steer and one to bale. Three of the Spaniards and the Frenchman claimed the right, as being best acquainted with the nearest inhabitants; likewise, they had when taken, two boats left at St. Maria, (about forty miles distant,) which they were confident of finding. They promised to return within two or three days for the rest of us — I thought it best to consent — Mr. Brackett it was agreed should go in my stead, because my papers must accompany me as a necessary protection, and my men apprehended danger if they were lost. Joseph Baxter (I think was his name) they wished should go, because he could speak both languages — leaving Manuel, George, Thomas and myself, to wait their return. Having thus made all arrangements, and putting up a keg of the least salt water, with a few pancakes of salt fish, they set off a little before sunset with our best wishes and prayers for their safety and return to our relief. — To launch off into the wide ocean, with strength almost exhausted, and in such a frail boat as this, you will say was very hazardous, and in truth it was; but what else was left to us? — Their intention was to touch at the Key where the Exertion was and if no boat was to be found there, to proceed to St. Maria, and if none there, to go to Trinidad and send us relief. — But alas! it was the last time I ever saw them! — Our suffering this day was most acute.

Tuesday, 5th. — About ten o'clock, A.M. discovered a boat drifting by on the southeastern side of the island about a mile distant. I deemed it a providential thing to us, and urged Thomas and George trying the raft for her. They reluctantly consented and set off, but it was nearly three P.M. when they came up with her — it was the same boat we had built! Where then was my friend Brackett and those who went with him? Every appearance was unfavorable. — I hoped that a good Providence had yet preserved him. — The two men who went for the boat, found it full of water, without oars, paddle, or sail;



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being in this condition, and about three miles to the leeward, the men found it impossible to tow her up, so left her, and were until eleven o'clock at night getting back with the raft. They were so exhausted, that had it not been nearly calm, they could never have returned.

Wednesday, 6th. — This morning was indeed the most gloomy I had ever experienced. — There appeared hardly a ray of hope that my friend Bracket could return, seeing the boat was lost. Our provisions nearly gone; our mouths parched extremely with thirst; our strength wasted; our spirits broken, and our hopes imprisoned within the circumference of this desolate island in the midst of an unfrequented ocean; all these things gave to the scene around us the hue of death. In the midst of this dreadful despondence, a sail hove in sight bearing the white flag! Our hopes were raised, of course — but no sooner raised than darkened, by hearing a gun fired. Here then was another gang of pirates. She soon, however, came near enough to anchor, and her boat pushed off towards us with three men in her. — Thinking it now no worse to die by sword than famine, I walked down immediately to meet them. I knew them not. — A moment before the boat touched the ground, a man leaped from her bows and caught me in his arms! *It was Nickola!* — saying, "Do you now believe Nickola is your friend? yes, said he, *Jamieson* will yet prove himself so." — No words can express my emotions at this moment. This was a friend indeed. The reason of my not recognizing them before, was that they had cut their beards and whiskers. Turning to my fellow-sufferers, Nickola asked — "Are these all that are left of you? where are the others?" — At this moment seeing David's grave — "are they dead then? Ah! I suspected it, I know what you were put here for." As soon as I could recover myself, I gave him an account of Mr. Bracket and the others. — "How unfortunate," he said, "they must be lost, or some pirates have taken them." — "But," he continued, "we have no time to lose; you had better embark immediately with us, and go where you please, we are at your service." The other two in the boat were Frenchmen, one named Lyon, the other Parrikete. They affectionately embraced each of us; then holding to my mouth the nose of a teakettle, filled with wine, said "Drink plenty, no hurt you." I drank as much as I judged prudent. They then gave it to my fellow sufferers — I experienced almost immediate relief, not feeling it in my head; they had also brought in the boat for us, a dish of salt beef and potatoes, of which we took a little. Then sent the boat on board for the other two men, being five in all; who came ashore, and rejoiced enough was I to see among them Thomas Young, one of my crew, who was detained on board the Mexican, but had escaped through Nickola's means; the other a Frenchman, named John Cadedt. I now thought again and again, with troubled emotion, of my dear friend Bracket's fate. I took the last piece of paper I had, and wrote with pencil a few words, informing him (should he come there) that "I and the rest were safe; that I was not mistaken in the friend

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in whom I had placed so much confidence, that he had accomplished my highest expectations; and that I should go immediately to Trinidad, and requested him to go there also, and apply to Mr. Isaac W. Lord, my consignee, for assistance." I put the paper into a junk bottle, previously found on the beach, put in a stopper, and left it, together with what little flour remained, a keg of water brought from Nickola's vessel, and a few other things which I thought might be of service to him. We then repaired with our friends on board, where we were kindly treated. She was a sloop from Jamaica, of about twelve tons, with a cargo of rum and wine, bound to Trinidad. I asked "which way they intended to go?" They said "to Jamaica if agreeable to me." As I preferred Trinidad, I told them, "if they would give me the Exertion's boat which was along-side (beside their own) some water and provisions, we would take chance in her." - "For perhaps," said I, "you will fare better at Jamaica, than at Trinidad." After a few minutes consultation, they said "you are too much exhausted to row the distance of one hundred miles, therefore we will go and carry you - we consider ourselves at your service." I expressed a wish to take a look at the Exertion, possibly we might hear something of Mr. Bracket. Nickola said "very well," so got under way, and run for her, having a light westerly wind. He then related to me the manner of their desertion from the pirates; as nearly as I can recollect his own words, he said, "A few days since, the pirates took four small vessels, I believe Spaniards; they having but two officers for the two first, the third fell to me as prize master, and having an understanding with the three Frenchmen and Thomas, selected them for my crew, and went on board with orders to follow the Mexican; which I obeyed. The fourth, the pirates took out all but one man and bade him also follow their vessel. Now our schooner leaked so bad, that we left her and in her stead agreed to take this little sloop (which we are now in) together with the one man. The night being very dark we all agreed to desert the pirates - altered our course and touched at St. Maria, where we landed the one man - saw no boats there, could hear nothing from you, and agreed one and all at the risk of our lives to come and liberate you if you were alive; knowing, as we did, that you were put on this Key to perish. On our way we boarded the Exertion, thinking possibly you might have been there. On board her we found a sail and paddle. We took one of the pirate's boats which they had left along-side of her, which proves how we came by two boats. My friend, the circumstance I am now about to relate, will somewhat astonish you. When the pirate's boat with Bolidar was sent to the before mentioned Key, on the 19th of January, it was their intention to leave you prisoners there, where was nothing but salt water and mangroves, and no possibility of escape. This was the plan of Baltizar, their abandoned pilot; but Bolidar's heart failed him, and he objected to it; then, after a conference, Captain Jonnia ordered you to be put on the



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little island from whence we have now taken you. But after this was done, that night the French and Portuguese part of the Mexican's crew protested against it; so that Captain Jonnia to satisfy them, sent his large boat to take you and your fellow prisoners back again, taking care to select his confidential Spaniards for this errand. And you will believe me they set off from the Mexican, and after spending about as much time as would really have taken them to come to you, they returned, and reported they had been to your island, and landed, and that none of you were there, somebody having taken you off! This, all my companions here know to be true. — I knew it was impossible you could have been liberated, and therefore we determined among ourselves, that should an opportunity occur we would come and save your lives, as we now have." He then expressed, as he hitherto had done (and I believe with sincerity), his disgust with the bad company which he had been in, and looked forward with anxiety to the day when he might return to his native country. I advised him to get on board an American vessel, whenever an opportunity offered, and come to the United States; and on his arrival direct a letter to me; repeating my earnest desire to make some return for the disinterested friendship which he had shown toward me. With the Frenchman I had but little conversation, being unacquainted with the language.

Here ended Nickola's account. "And now" said the Frenchman, "our hearts be easy." Nickola observed he had left all and found us. I gave them my warmest tribute of gratitude, saying I looked upon them under God as the preservers of our lives, and promised them all the assistance which my situation might enable me to afford. — This brings me to,

Thursday evening, 7th, when, at eleven o'clock, we anchored at the creek's mouth, near the Exertion. I was anxious to board her; accordingly took with me Nickola, Thomas, George and two others, well armed, each with a musket and cutlass. I jumped on her deck, saw a fire in the camboose, but no person there: I called aloud Mr. Bracket's name several times, saying "it is Captain Lincoln, don't be afraid, but show yourself," but no answer was given. She had no masts, spars, rigging, furniture, provisions or any thing left, except her bowsprit, and a few barrels of salt provisions of her cargo. Her ceiling had holes cut in it, no doubt in their foolish search for money. I left her with peculiar emotions, such as I hope never again to experience; and returned to the little sloop where we remained till —

Friday, 8th — When I had disposition to visit the island on which we were first imprisoned. — Found nothing there — saw a boat among the mangroves, near the Exertion. Returned, and got under way immediately for Trinidad. In the night while under full sail, run aground on a sunken Key, having rocks above the water, resembling old stumps of trees; we, however, soon got off and anchored. Most of those Keys have similar rocks about them, which



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navigators must carefully guard against.

Monday, 11th – Got under way – saw a brig at anchor about five miles below the mouth of the harbor; we hoped to avoid her speaking us; but when we opened in sight of her, discovered a boat making towards us, with a number of armed men in her. This alarmed my friends, and as we did not see the brig's ensign hoisted, they declared the boat was a pirate, and looking through the spy-glass, they knew some of them to be the Mexican's men! This state of things was quite alarming. They said, "we will not be taken alive by them." Immediately the boat fired a musket; the ball passed through our mainsail. My friends insisted on beating them off: I endeavored to dissuade them, believing, as I did, that the brig was a Spanish man-of-war, who had sent her boat to ascertain who we were. I thought we had better heave to. Immediately another shot came. Then they insisted on fighting, and said "if I would not help them, I was no friend." I reluctantly acquiesced, and handed up the guns – commenced firing upon them and they upon us. We received several shot through the sails, but no one was hurt on either side. Our boats had been cast adrift to make us go the faster, and we gained upon them – continued firing until they turned from us, and went for our boats, which they took in tow for the brig. Soon after this, it became calm: then I saw that the brig had us in her power. – She manned and armed two more boats for us. We now concluded, since we had scarcely any ammunition, to surrender; and were towed down alongside the brig on board, and were asked by the captain, who could speak English, "what for you fire on the boat?" I told him "we thought her a pirate, and did not like to be taken by them again, having already suffered too much;" showing my papers. He said, "Captain Americana, never mind, go and take some dinner – which are your men?" I pointed them out to him, and he ordered them the liberty of the decks; but my friend Nickola and his three associates were immediately put in irons. They were, however, afterwards taken out of irons and examined; and I understood the Frenchmen agreed to enlist, as they judged it the surest way to better their condition. Whether Nickola enlisted, I do not know, but think that he did, as I understood that offer was made to him: I however endeavored to explain more distinctly to the captain, the benevolent efforts of these four men by whom my life had been saved, and used every argument in my power to procure their discharge. I also applied to the governor, and exerted myself with peculiar interest, dictated as I trust with heartfelt gratitude – and I ardently hope ere this, that Nickola is on his way to this country, where I may have an opportunity of convincing him that such an act of benevolence will not go unrewarded. Previous to my leaving Trinidad, I made all the arrangements in my power with my influential friends, and doubt not, that their laudable efforts will be accomplished. – The sloop's cargo was then taken on board the brig; after which the captain requested a certificate that I was politely treated by him, saying

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that his name was Captain Candama, of the privateer brig Prudentee of eighteen guns. This request I complied with. His first lieutenant told me he had sailed out of Boston, as commander for T.C. Amory, Esq. during the last war. In the course of the evening my friends were taken out of irons and examined separately, then put back again. The captain invited me to supper in his cabin, and a berth for the night, which was truly acceptable. The next morning after breakfast, I with my people were set on shore with the few things we had, with the promise of the Exertion's small boat in a day or two, - but it was never sent me - the reason, let the reader imagine. On landing at the wharf Casildar, we were immediately taken by soldiers to the guard house, which was a very filthy place; thinking I suppose, and even calling us, pirates. Soon some friends came to see me. Mr. Cotton, who resides there brought us in some soup. Mr. Isaac W. Lord, of Boston, my merchant, came with Captain Tate, who sent immediately to the governor; for I would not show my papers to any one else. He came about sunset, and after examining Manuel my Spanish fellow prisoner, and my papers, said to be, giving me the papers, "Captain, you are at liberty." I was kindly invited by Captain Matthew Rice, of schooner Galaxy, of Boston, to go on board his vessel, and live with him during my stay there. This generous offer I accepted, and was treated by him with the greatest hospitality; for I was hungered and he gave me meat, I was athirst and he gave me drink, I was naked and he clothed me, a stranger and he took me in. He likewise took Manuel and my three men for that night. Next day Mr. Lord rendered me all necessary assistance in making my protest. He had heard nothing from me until my arrival. I was greatly disappointed in not finding Mr. Bracket, and requested Mr. Lord to give him all needful aid if he should come there. To Captain Carnes, of the schooner Hannah, of Boston, I would tender my sincere thanks, for his kindness in giving me a passage to Boston, which I gladly accepted. To those gentlemen of Trinidad, and many captains of American vessels, who gave me sea clothing, &c., I offer my cordial gratitude.

I am fully of the opinion that these ferocious pirates are linked in with many inhabitants of Cuba; and the government in many respects appears covertly to encourage them.

It is with heartfelt delight, that, since the above narrative was written, I have learned that Mr. Bracket and his companions are safe; he arrived at Port d'Esprit, about forty leagues east of Trinidad. A letter has been received from him, stating that he should proceed to Trinidad the first opportunity. - It appears that after reaching the wreck, they found a boat from the shore, taking on board some of the Exertion's cargo, in which they proceeded to the above place. Why it was not in his power to come to our relief will no doubt be satisfactorily disclosed when he may be so fortunate as once more to return to his native country and friends.

I felt great anxiety to learn what became of Jamieson, who, my readers will recollect, was detained on board the Spanish brig Prudentee near Trinidad. I heard nothing from him, until I



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believe eighteen months after I reached home, when I received a letter from him, from Montego Bay, Jamaica, informing me that he was then residing in that island. I immediately wrote to him, and invited him to come on to the United States. He accordingly came on passenger with Captain Wilson of Cohasset, and arrived in Boston, in August, 1824. Our meeting was very affecting. Trying scenes were brought up before us; scenes gone forever, through which we had passed together, where our acquaintance was formed, and since which time, we had never met. I beheld once more the preserver of my life; the instrument, under Providence, of restoring me to my home, my family, and my friends, and I regarded him with no ordinary emotion. My family were delighted to see him, and cordially united in giving him a warm reception. He told me that after we separated in Trinidad, he remained on board the Spanish brig. The commander asked him and his companions if they would enlist; the Frenchmen replied that they would, but he said nothing, being determined to make his escape, the very first opportunity which should present. The Spanish brig afterwards fell in with a Columbian Patriot, an armed brig of eighteen guns. Being of about equal force, they gave battle, and fought between three and four hours. Both parties were very much injured; and, without any considerable advantage on either side, both drew off to make repairs. The Spanish brig Prudentee, put into St. Jago de Cuba. Jamieson was wounded in the action, by a musket ball, through his arm, and was taken on shore, with the other wounded, and placed in the hospital of St. Jago. Here he remained for a considerable time, until he had nearly recovered, when he found an opportunity of escaping, and embarking for Jamaica. He arrived in safety at Kingston, and from there, travelled barefoot over the mountains, until very much exhausted, he reached Montego Bay, where he had friends, and where one of his brothers possessed some property. From this place, he afterwards wrote to me. He told me that before he came to Massachusetts, he saw the villainous pilot of the Mexican, the infamous Baltizar, with several other pirates, brought into Montego Bay, from whence they were to be conveyed to Kingston to be executed. Whether the others were part of the Mexican's crew, or not, I do not know. Baltizar was an old man, and as Jamieson said, it was a melancholy and heart-rending sight, to see him borne to execution with those gray hairs, which might have been venerable in virtuous old age, now a shame and reproach to this hoary villain, for he was full of years, and old in iniquity. When Jamieson received the letter which I wrote him, he immediately embarked with Captain Wilson, and came to Boston, as I have before observed.

According to his own account he was of a very respectable family in Greenock, Scotland. His father when living was a rich cloth merchant, but both his father and mother had been dead many years. He was the youngest of thirteen children, and being, as he said, of a roving disposition, had always followed the seas. He had received a polite education, and was of a very gentlemanly deportment. He spoke several living languages, and was skilled in drawing and painting. He had travelled extensively in different countries, and acquired in consequence an excellent knowledge of their manners and customs. His varied information (for hardly any subject escaped him) rendered him a very entertaining companion. His observations on the character of different nations were very liberal; marking their various



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traits, their virtues and vices, with playful humorousness, quite free from bigotry, or narrow prejudice.

I was in trade, between Boston and Philadelphia, at the time he came to Massachusetts, and he sailed with me several trips as my mate. He afterwards went to Cuba, and was subsequently engaged in the mackerel fishery, out of the port of Hingham, during the warm season, and in the winter frequently employed himself in teaching navigation to young men, for which he was eminently qualified. He remained with us, until his death, which took place in 1829. At this time he had been out at sea two or three days, when he was taken sick, and was carried into Cape Cod, where he died, on the first day of May, 1829, and there his remains lie buried. Peace be to his ashes! They rest in a strange land, far from his kindred and his native country.

Since his death I have met with Mr. Stewart, of Philadelphia, who was Commercial Agent in Trinidad at the time of my capture. He informed me that the piratical schooner Mexican, was afterwards chased by an English government vessel, from Jamaica, which was cruising in search of it. Being hotly pursued, the pirates deserted their vessel, and fled to the mangrove bushes, on an island similar to that on which they had placed me and my crew to die. The English surrounded them, and thus they were cut off from all hopes of escape. They remained there, I think fourteen days, when being almost entirely subdued by famine, eleven surrendered themselves, and were taken. The others probably perished among the mangroves. The few who were taken were carried by the government vessel into Trinidad. Mr. Stewart said that he saw them himself, and such miserable objects, that had life, he never before beheld. They were in a state of starvation; their beards had grown to a frightful length, their bodies, were covered with filth and vermin, and their countenances were hideous. From Trinidad they were taken to Kingston, Jamaica, and there hung on Friday, the 7th of February, 1823.

About a quarter of an hour before day dawn, the wretched culprits were taken from the jail, under a guard of soldiers from the 50th regiment, and the City Guard. On their arrival at the wherry wharf, the military retired, and the prisoners, with the Town Guard were put on board two wherries, in which they proceeded to Port Royal Point, the usual place of execution in similar cases. They were there met by a strong party of military, consisting of 50 men, under command of an officer. They formed themselves into a square round the place of execution, with the sheriff and his officers with the prisoners in the centre. The gallows was of considerable length, and contrived with a drop so as to prevent the unpleasant circumstances which frequently occur.

The unfortunate men had been in continual prayer from the time they were awakened out of a deep sleep till they arrived at that place, where they were to close their existence.

They all expressed their gratitude for the attention they had met with from the sheriff and the inferior officers. Many pressed the hands of the turnkey to their lips, others to their hearts and on their knees, prayed that God, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary would bless him and the other jailors for their goodness. They all then fervently joined in prayer. To the astonishment of all, no clerical character, of any persuasion, was present. They repeatedly called out "*Adonde esta el padre,*"

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(Where is the holy father).

Juan Hernandez called on all persons present to hear him – he was innocent; what they had said about his confessing himself guilty was untrue. He had admitted himself guilty, because he hoped for pardon; but that now he was to die, he called God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, to witness that he spoke the truth – that he was no pirate, no murderer – he had been forced. The Lieutenant of the pirates was a wretch, who did not fear God, and had compelled him to act. Juan Gutierrez and Francisco de Sayas were loud in their protestations of innocence.

Manuel Lima said, for himself, he did not care; he felt for the old man (Miguel Jose). How could he be a pirate who could not help himself? If it were a Christian country, they would have pardoned him for his gray hairs. He was innocent – they had both been forced. Let none of his friends or relations ever venture to sea – he hoped his death would be a warning to them, that the innocent might suffer for the guilty. The language of this young man marked him a superior to the generality of his companions in misfortune. The seamen of the *Whim* stated that he was very kind to them when prisoners on board the piratical vessel. Just before he was turned off, he addressed the old man – “*Adios viejo, para siempre adios.*” – (Farewell, old man, forever farewell.)

Several of the prisoners cried out for mercy, pardon, pardon. Domingo Eucalla, the black man, then addressed them. “Do not look for mercy here, but pray to God; we are all brought here to die. This is not built for nothing; here we must end our lives. You know I am innocent, but I must die the same as you all. There is not any body here who can do us any good, so let us think only of God Almighty. We are not children but men, you know that all must die; and in a few years those who kill us must die too. When I was born, God set the way of my death; I do not blame any body. I was taken by the pirates and they made me help them; they would not let me be idle. I could not show that this was the truth, and therefore they have judged me by the people they have found me with. I am put to death unjustly, but I blame nobody. It was my misfortune. Come, let us pray. If we are innocent, so much the less we have to repent. I do not come here to accuse any one. Death must come one day or other; better to the innocent than guilty.” He then joined in prayer with the others. He seemed to be much revered by his fellow prisoners. He chose those prayers he thought most adapted to the occasion. Hundreds were witnesses to the manly firmness of this negro. Observing a bystander listening attentively to the complaints of one of his fellow wretches, he translated what had been said into English. With a steady pace, and a resolute and resigned countenance, he ascended the fatal scaffold. Observing the executioner unable to untie a knot on the collar of one of the prisoners, he with his teeth untied it. He then prayed most fervently till the drop fell.

Miguel Jose protested his innocence. – “*No he robado, no he matado ningune, muero inocente.*” – (I have robbed no one, I have killed no one, I die innocent. I am an old man, but my family will feel my disgraceful death.)

Francisco Migul prayed devoutly, but inaudibly. – His soul seemed to have quitted the body before he was executed.

Breti Gullimillit called on all to witness his innocence; it was

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of no use for him to say an untruth, for he was going before the face of God.

Augustus Hernandez repeatedly declared his innocence, requested that no one would say he had made a confession; he had none to make.

Juan Hernandez was rather obstinate when the execution pulled the cap over his eyes. He said, rather passionately – "*Quita is de mis ojos.*" – (Remove it from my eyes.) He then rubbed it up against one of the posts of the gallows.

Miguel Jose made the same complaint, and drew the covering from his eyes by rubbing his head against a fellow sufferer.

Pedro Nondre was loud in his ejaculations for mercy. He wept bitterly. He was covered with marks of deep wounds.

The whole of the ten included in the death warrant, having been placed on the scaffold, and the ropes suspended, the drop was let down. Nondre being an immense heavy man, broke the rope, and fell to the ground alive. Juan Hernandez struggled long. Lima was much convulsed. The old man Gullimillit, and Migul, were apparently dead before the drop fell. Eucalla (the black man) gave one convulsion, and all was over.

When Nondre recovered from the fall and saw his nine lifeless companions stretched in death, he gave an agonizing shriek; he wrung his hands, screamed "*Favor, favor, me matan sin causa. O! buenos Christianos, me amparen, ampara me, ampara me, no hay Christiano en asta, tiara?*" (Mercy, mercy, they kill me without cause. – Oh, good Christians, protect me. Oh, protect me. Is there no Christian in this land?)

He then lifted his eyes to Heaven, and prayed long and loud. Upon being again suspended, he was for a long period convulsed. He was an immense powerful man, and died hard.

A piratical station was taken in the Island of Cuba by the U.S. schooners of war, Greyhound and Beagle. They left Thompson's Island June 7, 1823, under the command of Lieuts. Kearney and Newton, and cruised within the Key's on the south side of Cuba, as far as Cape Cruz, touching at all the intermediate ports on the island, to intercept pirates. On the 21st of July, they came to anchor off Cape Cruz, and Lieut. Kearney went in his boat to reconnoitre the shore, when he was fired on by a party of pirates who were concealed among the bushes. A fire was also opened from several pieces of cannon erected on a hill a short distance off. The boat returned, and five or six others were manned from the vessels, and pushed off for the shore, but a very heavy cannonade being kept up by the pirates on the heights, as well as from the boats, were compelled to retreat. The two schooners were then warped in, when they discharged several broadsides, and covered the landing of the boats. After a short time the pirates retreated to a hill that was well fortified. A small hamlet, in which the pirates resided, was set fire to and destroyed. Three guns, one a four pounder, and two large swivels, with several pistols, cutlasses, and eight large boats, were captured. A cave, about 150 feet deep, was discovered, near where the houses were, and after considerable difficulty, a party of seamen got to the bottom, where was found an immense quantity of plunder, consisting of broadcloths, dry goods, female dresses, saddlery, &c. Many human bones were also in the cave, supposed to have been unfortunate persons who were taken and put to death. A great many of the articles were brought away, and the rest destroyed. About forty pirates escaped to the heights, but many were



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supposed to have been killed from the fire of the schooners, as well as from the men who landed. The bushes were so thick that it was impossible to go after them. Several other caves are in the neighborhood, in which it was conjectured they occasionally take shelter.

In 1823, Commodore Porter commanded the United States squadron in these seas; much good was done in preventing new acts of piracy; but these wretches kept aloof and did not venture to sea as formerly, but some were taken.

Almost every day furnished accounts evincing the activity of Commodore Porter, and the officers and men under his command; but for a long time their industry and zeal was rather shown in the *suppression* of piracy than the *punishment* of it. At length, however, an opportunity offered for inflicting the latter, as detailed in the following letter, dated Matanzas, July 10, 1823.

"I have the pleasure of informing you of a brilliant achievement obtained against the pirates on the 5th inst. by two barges attached to Commodore Porter's squadron, the Gallinipper, Lieut. Watson, 18 men, and the Moscheto, Lieut. Inman, 10 men. The barges were returning from a cruise to windward; when they were near Jiguapa Bay, 13 leagues to windward of Matanzas, they entered it - it being a rendezvous for pirates. They immediately discovered a large schooner under way, which they supposed to be a Patriot privateer; and as their stores were nearly exhausted, they hoped to obtain some supplies from her. They therefore made sail in pursuit. When they were within cannon shot distance, she rounded to and fired her long gun, at the same time run up the bloody flag, directing her course towards the shore, and continuing to fire without effect. When she had got within a short distance of the shore, she came to, with springs on her cable, continuing to fire; and when the barges were within 30 yards, they fired their muskets without touching boat or man; our men gave three cheers, and prepared to board; the pirates, discovering their intention, jumped into the water, when the bargemen, calling on the name of 'Allen,' commenced a destructive slaughter, killing them in the water and as they landed. So exasperated were our men, that it was impossible for their officers to restrain them, and many were killed after orders were given to grant quarter. Twenty-seven dead were counted, some sunk, five taken prisoners by the bargemen, and eight taken by a party of Spaniards on shore. The officers calculated that from 30 to 35 were killed. The schooner mounted a long nine pounder on a pivot, and 4 four pounders, with every other necessary armament, and a crew of 50 to 60 men, and ought to have blown the barges to atoms. She was commanded by the notorious Diablero or Little Devil. This statement I have from Lieut. Watson himself, and it is certainly the most decisive operation that has been effected against those murderers, either by the English or American force."

"This affair occurred on the same spot where the brave Allen fell about one year since. The prize was sent to Thompson's Island."

A British sloop of war, about the same time, captured a pirate schooner off St. Domingo, with a crew of 60 men. She had 200,000 dollars in specie, and other valuable articles on board. The brig Vestal sent another pirate schooner to New-Providence.



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December: Vincent Benavides, the son of the gaoler of Quirihue in the district of Concepcion, Chile, having been judged guilty of multiple acts of fierce [piracy](#), was dragged from the Topocalma prison in a pannier tied to the tail of a mule and [hanged](#) in the great square of this municipality on the west coast of South America, after which his head and hands were placed on display atop high poles:

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THE BLOODY CAREER AND EXECUTION OF VINCENT BENAVIDES A PIRATE ON THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA¹²⁰



Vincent Benavides was the son of the gaoler of Quirihue in the district of Concepcion. He was a man of ferocious manners, and had been guilty of several murders. Upon the breaking out of the revolutionary war, he entered the patriot army as a private soldier; and was a serjeant of grenadiers at the time of the first Chilian revolution. He, however, deserted to the Spaniards, and was taken prisoner in their service, when they sustained, on the plains of Maypo, on the 5th of April, 1818, that defeat which decided their fortunes in that part of America, and secured the independence of Chili. Benavides, his brother, and some other traitors to the Chilian cause, were sentenced to death, and brought forth in the Plaza, or public square of Santiago, in order to be shot. Benavides, though terribly wounded by the discharge, was not killed; but he had the presence of mind to counterfeit death in so perfect a manner, that the imposture was not suspected. The bodies of the traitors were not buried, but dragged away to a distance, and there left to be devoured by the gallinazos or vultures. The serjeant who had the superintendence of this part of the ceremony, had a personal hatred to Benavides, on account of that person having

120. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)

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murdered some of his relations; and, to gratify his revenge, he drew his sword, and gave the dead body, (as he thought,) a severe gash in the side, as they were dragging it along. The resolute Benavides had fortitude to bear this also, without flinching or even showing the least indication of life; and one cannot help regretting that so determined a power of endurance had not been turned to a better purpose.

Benavides lay like a dead man, in the heap of carcasses, until it became dark; and then, pierced with shot, and gashed by the sword as he was, he crawled to a neighboring cottage, the inhabitants of which received him with the greatest kindness, and attended him with the greatest care.

The daring ruffian, who knew the value of his own talents and courage, being aware that General San Martin was planning the expedition to Peru, a service in which there would be much of desperation and danger, sent word to the General that he was alive, and invited him to a secret conference at midnight, in the same Plaza in which it was believed Benavides had been shot. The signal agreed upon, was, that they should strike fire three times with their flints, as that was not likely to be answered by any but the proper party, and yet was not calculated to awaken suspicion.

San Martin, alone, and provided with a brace of pistols, met the desperado; and after a long conference, it was agreed that Benavides should, in the mean time, go out against the Araucan Indians; but that he should hold himself in readiness to proceed to Peru, when the expedition suited.

Having procured the requisite passports, he proceeded to Chili, where, having again diverted the Chilians, he succeeded in persuading the commander of the Spanish troops, that he had force sufficient to carry on the war against Chili; and the commander in consequence retired to Valdivia, and left Benavides commander of the whole frontier on the Biobio.

Having thus cleared the coast of the Spanish commander, he went over to the Araucans, or rather, he formed a band of armed robbers, who committed every cruelty, and were guilty of every perfidy in the south of Chili. Wherever Benavides came, his footsteps were marked with blood, and the old men, the women, and the children, were butchered lest they should give notice of his motions.

When he had rendered himself formidable by land, he resolved to be equally powerful upon the sea. He equipped a corsair, with instructions to capture the vessels of all nations; and as Araucan is directly opposite the island of Santa Maria, where vessels put in for refreshment, after having doubled Cape Horn, his situation was well adapted for his purpose. He was but too successful. The first of his prizes was the American ship Hero, which he took by surprise in the night; the second, was the Herculia, a brig belonging to the same country. While the unconscious crew were proceeding, as usual, to catch seals on this island, lying about three leagues from the main land of Arauca, an armed body of men rushed from the woods, and overpowering them, tied their hands behind them, and left them under a guard on the beach. These were no other than the [pirates](#), who now took the Herculia's own boats, and going on board, surprised the captain and four of his crew, who had remained to take care of the brig; and having brought off the prisoners from the beach, threw them all into the hold, closing the hatches

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over them. They then tripped the vessel's anchor, and sailing over in triumph to Arauca, were received by Benavides, with a salute of musketry fired under the Spanish flag, which it was their chief's pleasure to hoist on that day. In the course of the next night, Benavides ordered the captain and his crew to be removed to a house on shore, at some distance from the town; then taking them out, one by one, he stripped and pillaged them of all they possessed, threatening them the whole time with drawn swords and loaded muskets. Next morning he paid the prisoners a visit and ordered them to the capital, called together the principal people of the town, and desired each to select one as a servant. The captain and four others not happening to please the fancy of any one, Benavides, after saying he would himself take charge of the captain, gave directions, on pain of instant death, that some one should hold themselves responsible for the other prisoners. Some days after this they were called together, and required to serve as soldiers in the pirates army; an order to which they consented, knowing well by what they had already seen, that the consequence of refusal would be fatal.

Benavides, though unquestionably a ferocious savage, was, nevertheless, a man of resource, full of activity, and of considerable energy of character. He converted the whale spears and harpoons into lances for his cavalry, and halberts for his sergeants; and out of the sails he made trowsers for half of his army; the carpenters he set to work making baggage carts and repairing his boats; the armourers he kept perpetually at work, mending muskets, and making pikes; managing in this way, to turn the skill of every one of his prisoners to some useful account. He treated the officers, too, not unkindly, allowed them to live in his house, and was very anxious on all occasions, to have their advice respecting the equipment of his troops.

Upon one occasion, when walking with the captain of the Herculia, he remarked, that his army was now almost complete in every respect, except in one essential particular, and it cut him, he said to the soul, to think of such a deficiency; he had no trumpets for his cavalry, and added, that it was utterly impossible to make the fellows believe themselves dragoons, unless they heard a blast in their ears at every turn; and neither men nor horses would ever do their duty properly, if not roused to it by the sound of a trumpet; in short he declared, some device must be hit upon to supply this equipment. The captain, willing to ingratiate himself with the pirate, after a little reflection, suggested to him, that trumpets might easily be made of copper sheets on the bottoms of the vessels he had taken. "Very true," cried the delighted chief, "how came I not to think of that before?" Instantly all hands were employed in ripping off the copper, and the armourers being set to work under his personal superintendence, the whole camp, before night, resounded with the warlike blasts of the cavalry.

The captain of the ship, who had given him the brilliant idea of the copper trumpets, had by these means, so far won upon his good will and confidence, as to be allowed a considerable range to walk on. He of course, was always looking out for some plan of escape, and at length an opportunity occurring, he, with the mate of the Ocean, and nine of his crew, seized two whale boats, imprudently left on the banks of the river, and rowed off. Before quitting the shore, they took the precaution of staving all the

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other boats, to prevent pursuit, and accordingly, though their escape was immediately discovered, they succeeded in getting so much the start of the people whom Benavides sent in pursuit of them, that they reached St. Mary's Island in safety. Here they caught several seals upon which they subsisted very miserably till they reached Valparaiso. It was in consequence of their report of Benavides proceedings made to Sir Thomas Hardy, the commander-in-chief, that he deemed it proper to send a ship to rescue if possible, the remaining unfortunate captives at Arauca.

Benavides having manned the *Herculia*, it suited the mate, (the captain and crew being detained as hostages,) to sail with the brig to Chili, and seek aid from the Spanish governor. The *Herculia* returned with a twenty-four pounder, two field-pieces, eleven Spanish officers, and twenty soldiers, together with the most flattering letters and congratulations to the worthy ally of his Most Catholic Majesty. Soon after this he captured the *Perseverance*, English whaler, and the American brig *Ocean*, bound for Lima, with several thousand stand of arms on board. The captain of the *Herculia*, with the mate of the *Ocean*, and several men, after suffering great hardships, landed at Valparaiso, and gave notice of the proceedings of Benavides; and in consequence, Sir Thomas Hardy directed Captain Hall to proceed to Arauca with the convoy, to set the captives free, if possible.

It was for the accomplishment of this service that Capt. Hall sailed from Valparaiso; and he called at Conception on his way, in order to glean information respecting the pirate. Here the Captain ascertained that Benavides was between two considerable bodies of Chilian force, on the Chilian side of the Biobio, and one of those bodies between him and the river.

Having to wait two days at Conception for information, Captain Hall occupied them in observing the place; the country he describes as green and fertile, and having none of the dry and desert character of the environs of Valparaiso. Abundance of vegetables, wood, and also coals, are found on the shores of the bay.

On the 12th of October, the captain heard of the defeat of Benavides, and his flight, alone, across the Biobio into the Araucan country; and also that two of the Americans whom he had taken with him had made their escape, and were on board the *Chacabuco*. As these were the only persons who could give Captain Hall information respecting the prisoners of whom he was in quest, he set out in search of the vessel, and after two days' search, found her at anchor near the island of Mocha. From thence he learned that the captain of the *Ocean*, with several English and American seamen had been left at Arauca, when Benavides went on his expedition, and he sailed for that place immediately.

He was too late, however; the Chilian forces had already made a successful attack, and the Indians had fled, setting fire to the town and the ships. The Indians, who were in league with the Chilians, were every way as wild as those who arrayed themselves under Benavides. Capt. Hall, upon his return to Conception, though dissuaded from it by the governor, visited the Indian encampment.

When the captain and his associates entered the courtyard, they observed a party seated on the ground, round a great tub of wine, who hailed their entrance with loud shouts, or rather yells, and boisterously demanded their business; to all appearance very

PIRACY**PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING**

little pleased with the interruption. The interpreter became alarmed, and wished them to retire; but this the captain thought imprudent, as each man had his long spear close at hand, resting against the eaves of the house. Had they attempted to escape they must have been taken, and possibly sacrificed, by these drunken savages. As their best chance seemed to lie in treating them without any show of distrust, they advanced to the circle with a good humored confidence, which appeased them considerably. One of the party rose and embraced them in the Indian fashion, which they had learned from the gentlemen who had been prisoners with Benavides. After this ceremony they roared out to them to sit down on the ground, and with the most boisterous hospitality, insisted on their drinking with them; a request which they cheerfully complied with. Their anger soon vanished, and was succeeded by mirth and satisfaction, which speedily became as outrageous as their displeasure had been at first. Seizing a favorable opportunity, Captain Hall stated his wish to have an interview with their chief, upon which a message was sent to him; but he did not think fit to show himself for a considerable time, during which they remained with the party round the tub, who continued swilling their wine like so many hogs. Their heads soon became affected, and their obstreperous mirth increasing every minute, the situation of the strangers became by no means agreeable.

At length Peneleo's door opened, and the chief made his appearance; he did not condescend, however, to cross the threshold, but leaned against the door post to prevent falling, being by some degrees more drunk than any of his people. A more finished picture of a savage cannot be conceived. He was a tall, broad shouldered man; with a prodigiously large head, and a square-shaped bloated face, from which peeped out two very small eyes, partly hid by an immense superfluity of black, coarse, oily, straight hair, covering his cheeks, hanging over his shoulders, and rendering his head somewhat the shape and size of a bee-hive. Over his shoulders was thrown a poncho of coarse blanket stuff. He received them very gruffly, and appeared irritated and sulky at having been disturbed; he was still more offended when he learned that they wished to see his captive. They in vain endeavored to explain their real views; but he grunted out his answer in a tone and manner which showed them plainly that he neither did, nor wished to understand them.

Whilst in conversation with Peneleo, they stole an occasional glance at his apartment. By the side of the fire burning in the middle of the floor, was seated a young Indian woman, with long black hair reaching to the ground; this, they conceived, could be no other than one of the unfortunate persons they were in search of; and they were somewhat disappointed to observe, that the lady was neither in tears, nor apparently very miserable; they therefore came away impressed with the unsentimental idea, that the amiable Peneleo had already made some impression on her young heart.

Two Indians, who were not so drunk as the rest, followed them to the outside of the court, and told them that several foreigners had been taken by the Chilians in the battle near Chilian, and were now safe. The interpreter hinted to them that this was probably invented by these cunning people, on hearing their questions in the court; but he advised them, as a matter of policy, to give them each a piece of money, and to get away



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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

as far as they could.

Captain Hall returned to Concepcion on the 23d of October, reached Valparaiso on the 26th, and in two weeks thereafter, the men of whom he was in search, made their appearance.

The bloody career of Benavides now drew near to a close. The defeat on the Chilian side of the Biobio, and the burning of Arauca with the loss of his vessels, he never recovered. At length, in the end of December 1821, discovering the miserable state to which he was reduced, he entreated the Intendant of Concepcion, that he might be received on giving himself up along with his partisans. This generous chief accepted his offer, and informed the supreme government; but in the meantime Benavides embarked in a launch, at the mouth of the river Lebo, and fled, with the intention of joining a division of the enemy's army, which he supposed to be at some one of the ports on the south coast of Peru. It was indeed absurd to expect any good faith from such an intriguer; for in his letters at this time, he offered his services to Chili and promised fidelity, while his real intention was still to follow the enemy. He finally left the unhappy province of Concepcion, the theatre of so many miserable scenes, overwhelmed with the misery which he had caused, without ever recollecting that it was in that province that he had first drawn his breath.

His despair in the boat made his conduct insupportable to those who accompanied him, and they rejoiced when they were obliged to put into the harbor of Topocalma in search of water of which they had run short. He was now arrested by some patriotic individuals. From the notorious nature of his crimes, alone, even the most impartial stranger would have condemned him to the last punishment; but the supreme government wished to hear what he had to say for himself, and ordered him to be tried according to the laws. It appearing on his trial that he had placed himself beyond the laws of society, such punishment was awarded him as any one of his crimes deserved. As a pirate, he merited death, and as a destroyer of whole towns, it became necessary to put him to death in such a manner as might satisfy outraged humanity, and terrify others who should dare to imitate him. In pursuance of the sentence passed upon him, he was dragged from the prison in a pannier tied to the tail of a mule, and was hanged in the great square; his head and hands were afterwards cut off, in order to their being placed upon high poles, to point out the places of his horrid crimes, Santa Juona, Tarpellanca and Arauca.

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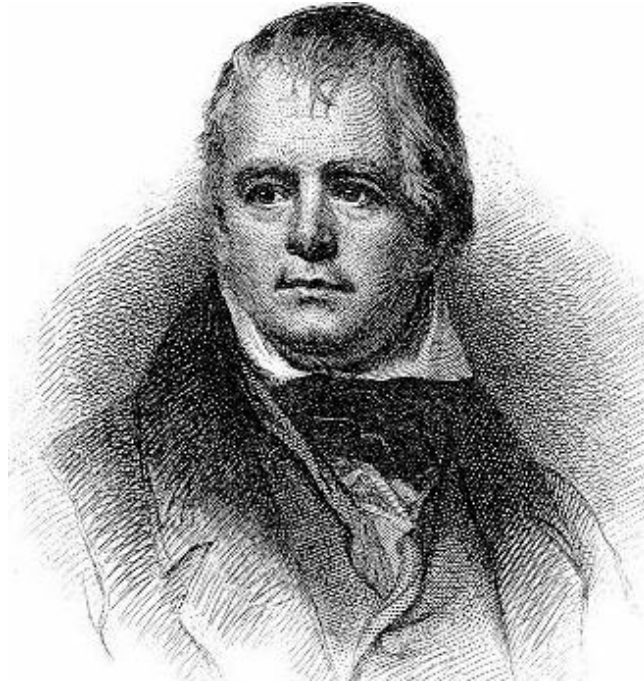
PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1822



[Sir Walter Scott](#)'s THE PIRATE.

PIRATES



He accessed the tradition that [William Goffe](#) headed the citizens of Hadley, Massachusetts in repelling an attack by Native Americans in his PEVERIL OF THE PEAK.

REGICIDE

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US naval forces put ashore on the northwest coast of [Cuba](#) to burn a [pirate](#) station.

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1823

 April 8, Tuesday: The United States navy would be making brief landings along the coast of [Cuba](#) in this year, in pursuit of [pirates](#). The landing on this date was near Escondido.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE APRIL 8TH, 1823 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).

 April 16, Wednesday: The United States navy was making brief landings along the coast of [Cuba](#) in this year, in pursuit of [pirates](#). The landing on this date was near Cayo Blanco.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 16th of 4M / This morning we went down to the head of the Long Wharf to meet the Steam Boat in which we were previously advised Micajah Collins & Isaac Bassett of Lynn [-] pected to be- at 10 OClock the Boat arrived & we had just time to take our abovementioned friends by the hand [-] their way to N York & Philadelphia - Micajah expecting [-] attend the latter Yearly Meeting & spend most of the times visiting some Meetings particularly in Virginia - [-] eting. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

Piracy and Privateering

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

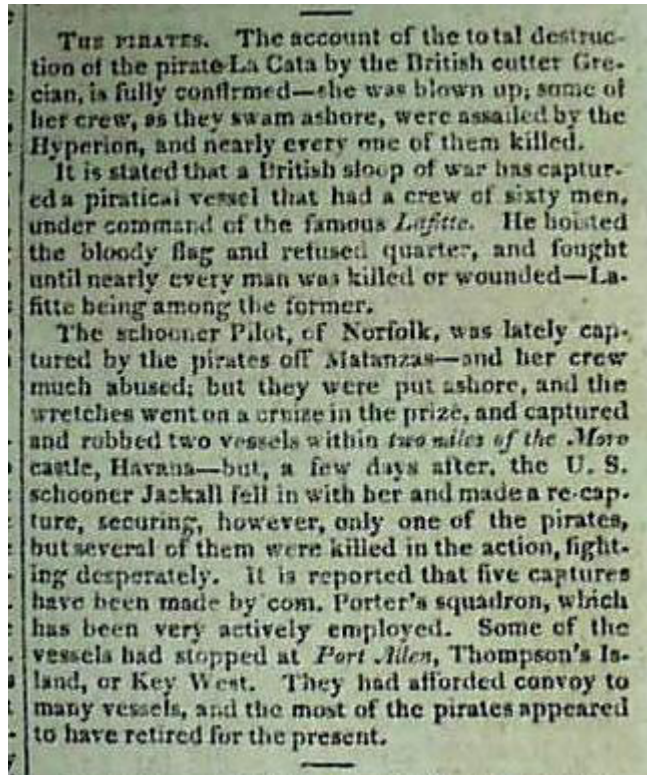
Piracy and Privateering

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

➡ April 26, Saturday: American gazettes were reporting the death of [pirate Jean Lafitte](#):



➡ July 11, Friday: The United States navy was making brief landings along the coast of [Cuba](#) in this year, in pursuit of [pirates](#). The landing on this date was at Siquapa Bay.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

➡ July 21, Monday: The United States navy was making brief landings along the coast of [Cuba](#) in this year, in pursuit of [pirates](#). The landing on this date was at Cape Cruz.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

Maria Szymanowska performed in Carlsbad, Bohemia on her 3-year concert tour of Europe.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day Rose early this morning & left cousin Howlands House before any of the family were up, went to Daniel Howlands & after rectifying his Clock, to the ferry, but finding the boat was not ready to start went up to Caleb Weavers & took a bowl of Milk, returned, come over the ferry in Season to take a Dish of Coffee with my H —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ October: [Captain Jones Very](#) took his oldest son, [Jones Very, Jr.](#), ten years of age, on a voyage to New Orleans, France, and Portugal. Off Key West, on the first leg of their venture, Captain Jones's ship was pursued by a [pirate](#) vessel, which they managed to elude. Wooo-oooo, what an adventure! They would not be returning to Salem until August 31, 1824.



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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING



October 23, Thursday: The United States navy was making brief landings along the coast of [Cuba](#) in this year, in pursuit of [pirates](#). The landing on this date, the last for the year, was at Camrioca.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

The Boston [Weekly Messenger](#) announced that at the recent cattle show in Brighton, [John Thoreau, Senior](#)'s pencils made in [Concord](#) had won a \$2.⁰⁰ prize.

In Philadelphia, [Eastern State Penitentiary](#) first opened its doors (or, rather, it being a prison, a better rendition would I suppose be that it first locked its doors and drew its blinds). Its initial inmate was "...Charles Williams, Prisoner Number One. Burglar. Light Black Skin. Five feet seven inches tall. Foot: eleven inches. Scar on nose. Scar on Thigh. Broad Mouth. Black eyes. Farmer by trade. Can read. Theft included one twenty-dollar watch, one three-dollar gold seal, one, a gold key. Sentenced to two years confinement with labor. Received by Samuel R. Wood, first Warden, Eastern State Penitentiary..."

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[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1824

➡ International slave trading was declared by the British to be tantamount to piracy.



Until 1837, Englishmen who participated would face the penalty of death.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

➡ The *General Padilla*, a schooner, appeared at [Bristol, Rhode Island](#), under the command of Captain Peter Bradford, a nephew of Mrs. James De Wolf. The local authorities learned, from incautious remarks by its Boston cabin boy and its black boatswain's mate, that it had been engaged in piracy. Their schooner was able to escape from the harbor before being captured, but later the bodies of the boy and the negro washed ashore there, and it became clear that the boy and the negro had been executed by the crew by gunfire for having given them away by these incautious remarks.

➡ March 31, Wednesday: [Franz Schubert](#) wrote to Leopold Kupelweiser about finding himself "the most wretched and unhappy creature in the world." He despaired over his health which "will never be right again," his hopes which "have come to nothing," and his "passion for beauty" which "threatens to forsake" him. "...every night, when I go to bed, I hope I may not wake again, and every morning only recalls yesterday's grief."

Great Britain began to consider engaging in the [international slave trade](#) as amounting to piracy. Nothing might redeem the sort of person who would commit such an offense.


"Any person engaging in the slave-trade "shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of Piracy, Felony and Robbery, and being convicted thereof shall suffer Death without Benefit of Clergy,



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and Loss of Lands, Goods and Chattels, as Pirates, Felons and Robbers upon the Seas ought to suffer," etc. STATUTE 5 GEORGE IV., Chapter 17; AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. 342.

 October: The USS *Porpoise*, still on its cruise which had been authorized in 1822, landed bluejackets in pursuit of [pirates](#) near Matanzas, [Cuba](#).

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT'S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN'S STORIES.
LIFE ISN'T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

 November: The results of the Presidential elections in the US left no candidate with a majority in the Electoral College. Andrew Jackson has 99 votes, John Quincy Adams 81, William Crawford 41, and Henry Clay 37. In 1825 Adams would be elected President, by the House of Representatives.

De Witt Clinton was again elected governor of New York, partly in a backlash due to his ouster from the [Erie Canal](#) commissioner's post by Van Buren's colleagues.

[R.C. Dallas](#)'s "Recollections of [Lord Byron](#)" appeared anonymously in [Gentleman's Magazine](#).

NEW POETRY OF 1824

Commodore David Porter took a landing party of 200 onto Spanish territory to attack the town of Fajardo on the island of Puerto Rico, because this town had been sheltering [pirates](#) and also because American naval officers had been insulted (whatever that might have been). The local people tendered an apology and the Commodore would be court-martialed for having overstepped his authority.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1825



March: American and British forces cooperated in going ashore at Sagua La Grande, [Cuba](#) to catch some [pirates](#).

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT






PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1826


 February 1, Wednesday: String Quartet “Tod und das Madchen” D.810 by [Franz Schubert](#) was performed for the initial time, at the home of Josef Barth in Vienna.

The [pirate](#) Charles Colson was [hanged](#) in the jailyard on Leverett Street in [Boston](#) — but his partner in crime Charles Marchant had cheated the hangman by offing himself the day before.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day – Attended Select Meeting, & Meeting for Sufferings,
Dined at David Anthonys – took tea & lodged at [Moses Browns](#). –*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

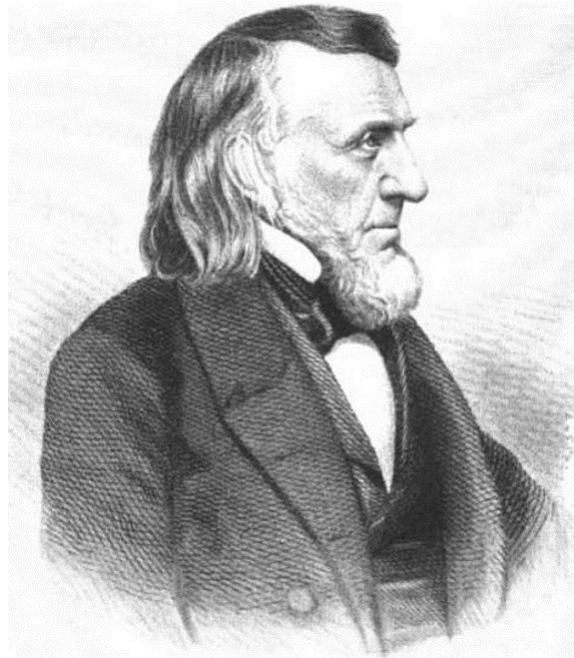
 December 18, Monday: In [Boston](#), the [pirates](#) Charles Marchant and Charles Colson were condemned to be [hanged](#).

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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1827

➡ [Richard Henry Dana, Sr.](#) published THE [BUCCANEER](#) AND OTHER POEMS and became involved in the controversy between [Unitarianism](#) and Congregationalism.



➡ A prisoner was [hanged](#) for the crimes of [piracy](#) and murder in [Boston](#).

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1827

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
02/01	Amelia Roberts	30	Newgate	Robbery
26/03	Rachael Bradley	27	Lancaster Castle	Murder of child
11/04	Sarah Jones	26	Monmouth	Murder of child
16/06	Margaret Wishart		Forfar	Murder of sister
17/09	Mary Wittenbach	40	Newgate	Murder



PIRACY

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September 8, Saturday: [Egyptian](#) ships landed troops at Navarino to help put down the rebellion in Greece.

A big charity concert in honor of [Franz Schubert](#) took place in the Landstandisches-Theater, Graz, organized by the Styrian Musical Society, of which he was an honorary member (the proceeds go to help recent flood victims).

William Forsyth of the Pavilion Hotel, John Brown of the Ontario House, and General Parkhurst Whitney of the Eagle Hotel in [Niagara Falls, New York](#) had reconfigured an old lake schooner, the *Michigan*, to the appearance of a pirate ship, sorta. Aboard it they had placed an effigy of Blue Beard, along with effigies of other [buccaneers](#) and politicians. They had loaded the ship with live animals such as a buffalo, a small bear from the US and one also from Canada, two raccoons, a dog and a goose (some reports had two foxes, fifteen geese, and a tethered eagle). The event had been advertised in the papers as the “*Michigan* Descent” and as “INFERNAL NAVIGATION, OR A TOUCH OF THE SUBLIME!”

The pirate Michigan with a cargo of ferocious wild animals will pass the great rapids and falls of Niagara – 8th September 1827 at 6 o'clock The Michigan has long braved the bellows of Erie, with success, as a merchant vessel: but having been condemned by her owners unfit to sail long proudly “above”; her present proprietors, together with several public spirited friends, have appointed her to carry a cargo of Living Animals of the Forest, which surround the upper lakes, through the white tossing and deep rolling rapids of Niagara and down its great precipice, into the basin “below.” The greatest exertions are being made to procure animals of the most ferocious kind, such as Panthers, Wild Cats and Wolves; but in lieu of these, which it may be impossible to obtain, a few vicious or worthless dogs, such as may possess strength and activity, and perhaps a few of the toughest of the lesser animals will be added to, and compose the cargo.... Should the vessel take her course through the deepest of the rapids, it is confidently believed that she will reach the Horse Shoe unbroken;¹²¹ if so she will perform her voyage to the water of the Gulf beneath which is of great depth and buoyancy, entire, but what her fate will be the trial will decide. Should the animals be young and hardy and possessed of great muscular power and joining their fate with that of the vessel, remain on board until she reaches the water below, there is a great possibility that many of them will have performed the terrible jaunt, unhurt!

Most of the spectators were locals, and there was a reason for that. These fall festivals that attracted the local yokels and farmers to Niagara were planned by the hotelkeepers and saloonkeepers in such a manner as to extend their operating season beyond the touristy summer rush. Captain James Rough of the paddle steamer *Chippawa* towed the *Michigan* from Black Rock to Navy Island and pointed it toward the Falls. At approximately 6PM he released this hulk into the rapids. Its hull tore and the two bears made it to Goat Island, there to be shot for somebody's supper. At the base of the falls the goose, still living, would be recovered by a Mr. Duggan and, undoubtedly, would also do service as somebody's supper. 10,000 to 50,000 people were watching as this stunt ship went over the Horseshoe Falls. A good time was had by all (except perhaps the animals), and we must imagine that the local [prostitutes](#) did a handsome business that night.

121. Although the water that goes over the Horseshoe Falls nowadays is only about three to five feet thick at the lip, this is due to diversion of water through hydroelectric tunnels, and back then the lip of the falls in this season was nearly twenty feet thick.



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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING



October: During this month and the following one, United States Navy landing parties would be tracking down [pirates](#) on the Greek islands of Argenteire, Miconi, and Androse.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE





PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1828



[Edgar Allan Poe](#) was transferred from Boston Harbor to [Charleston Harbor](#) at Ft. Moultrie on Sullivans Island and would incorporate local [pirate](#) lore in his initial published story, "The Gold Bug."

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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1829

➡ During this year HISTORY OF THE PIRATES was republished, by H. Benton, of Hartford — the book that contained the information that Mr. [Woodes Rogers](#), a governor and vice-admiral of the Bahamas, had gone out to Nassau on New Providence [PROVIDENCE](#) Island during July 1718 to grant pardon to a thousand [pirates](#) ashore there who were making their submission to the legitimate government, “they having for their Captains, Hornygold, Davis, Carter, Burgess, Current, Clark, and others.” To some of these people the official had awarded civil commissions, and when the Spanish war came, they had become [privateers](#).



➡ December 28, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 28 of 12 M / A day of good experience, my mind being favoured with some sensible touches of religious sensibility - for which I desire to be thankful. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING



December 29, Tuesday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) signed his 1st contract with the Paris Opera.

DYING DECLARATION OF NICHOLAS FERNANDEZ, WHO WITH NINE OTHERS WERE EXECUTED IN FRONT OF CADIZ HARBOUR, DECEMBER 29, 1829 FOR PIRACY AND MURDER ON THE HIGH SEAS. 1830

HANGING
PIRATES

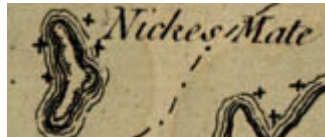
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PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1830

➡ Captain Joseph White, after whom White Island in the Isles of Shoals had been named, was murdered in Salem.

Gallops Island, 16 acres of high drumlin¹²² surrounded by shrubs, trees, meadow, and salt marsh named for Captain John Gallop, had been farmed during the 1700s and early 1800s. Just north of Gallops, on Nix's Mate,¹²³ pirates are said to have been hung from chains as a warning against illegal maritime activity. At this point, with the construction of an inn and restaurant, it had become a popular summer resort, the trade at which was being enhanced by thoughts of these pirates. Harbor historian Edward Rowe Snow¹²⁴ revealed that "Long Ben" Avery buried a fabulous treasure of diamonds somewhere on the higher island.

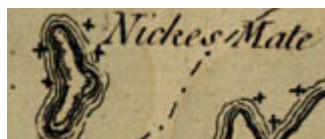


CAPE COD: I heard a boy telling the story of Nix's mate to some girls as we passed that spot. That was the name of a sailor hung there, he said. — "If I am guilty, this island will remain; but if I am innocent, it will be washed away," and now it is all washed away!

NIX'S MATE

122. A drumlin is an elliptical, streamlined mound of clayey till formed beneath a moving glacier. Such mounds are typically found in clusters, one cluster in the northwest plains of Canada being made up of perhaps 10,000 of them, with long axes in parallel marking the original direction of the ice movement. The glacier was moving in the direction from their abrupt end toward their sloping end. A drumlin may be from 20 to 200 feet high and may extend for several miles. Beacon Hill and Bunker Hill are pronounced drumlins.


123. Once an island of 11 acres, Nix's Mate has eroded over the years until at this time a black-and-white channel marker is all that remains. A speculation as to the name is that at one point both Gallops and Nix's had been owned by one man named Nix, and that the smaller of the two had at that time been given the name Nix's Mate.



124. THE ISLANDS OF BOSTON HARBOR (1630-1971).

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

 Election of Victor Cousin to the *Académie française*.

[Stendhal](#) (Marie-Henri Beyle)'s *LE ROUGE ET LE NOIR*.

Algeria had been ruled for 313 years by Turkey. In this year [French](#) troops disembarked near Algiers and a new [piracy](#)-free regime began. (Suppression of [piracy](#) did not mean the elimination of cruelty: the French colonizers for instance faced a problem of removing silver bracelets from the wrists of native women, but because the bracelets had been placed on their wrists as little girls, the French could not readily remove them — in some cases therefore they would in their humanism cut through the silver, but depending on circumstances and attitudes, sometimes instead they would simply chop off the hand and on occasion they would kill a resistant woman.)

[Professor François Pierre Guillaume Guizot](#)'s HISTOIRE DE LA CIVILISATION EN FRANCE DEPUIS LA CHUTE DE L'EMPIRE ROMAIN (4 volumes).



HISTOIRE EN FRANCE



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

THE ALGERINE PIRATES.

CONTAINING ACCOUNTS OF THE CRUELITIES AND ATROCITIES OF THE BARBARY CORSAIRS, WITH NARRATIVES OF THE EXPEDITIONS SENT AGAINST THEM, AND THE FINAL CAPTURE OF ALGIERS BY THE FRENCH IN 1830¹²⁵



That former den of [pirates](#), the city of Algiers is situated on the shores of a pretty deep bay, by which the northern coast of Africa, is here indented, and may be said to form an irregular triangular figure, the base line of which abuts on the sea, while the apex is formed by the Cassaubah, or citadel, which answered the double purpose of a fort to defend and awe the city, and a palace for the habitation of the Dey and his court. The hill on which the city is built, slopes rather rapidly upwards, so that every house is visible from the sea, in consequence of which it was always sure to suffer severely from a bombardment. The top of the hill has an elevation of nearly five hundred feet, and exactly at this point is built the citadel; the whole town lying between it and the sea. The houses of Algiers have no roofs, but are all terminated by terraces, which are constantly

125. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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whitewashed; and as the exterior walls, the fort, the batteries and the walls are similarly beautified, the whole city, from a distance, looks not unlike a vast chalk quarry opened on the side of a hill.

The fortifications towards the sea are of amasing strength, and with the additions made since Lord Exmouth's attack, may be considered as almost impregnable. They occupy the entire of a small island, which lies a short distance in front of the city, to which it is connected at one end by a magnificent mole of solid masonry, while the other which commands the entrance of the port, is crowned with a battery, bristling with cannon of immense calibre, which would instantly sink any vessel which should now attempt to occupy the station taken by the Queen Charlotte on that memorable occasion.

On the land side, the defences are by no means of equal strength, as they were always considered rather as a shelter against an insurrectionary movement of the natives, than as intended to repulse the regular attacks of a disciplined army. In fact defences on this side would be of little use as the city is completely commanded by different hills, particularly that on which the Emperor's fort is built, and was obliged instantly to capitulate, as soon as this latter had fallen into the hands of the French, in 1830.

There are four gates; one opening on the mole, which is thence called the marine gate, one near the citadel, which is termed the new gate; and the other two, at the north and south sides of the city, with the principal street running between them. All these gates are strongly fortified, and outside the three land gates run the remains of a ditch, which once surrounded the city, but is now filled up except at these points. The streets of Algiers are all crooked, and all narrow. The best are scarcely twelve feet in breadth, and even half of this is occupied by the projections of the shops, or the props placed to support the first stories of the houses, which are generally made to advance beyond the lower, insomuch that in many places a laden mule can scarcely pass. Of public buildings, the most remarkable is the Cassaubah, or citadel, the situation of which we have already mentioned. It is a huge, heavy looking brick building, of a square shape, surrounded by high and massive walls, and defended by fifty pieces of cannon, and some mortars, so placed as equally to awe the city and country. The apartments set apart for the habitation of the Dey and the ladies of his harem, are described as extremely magnificent, and abundantly supplied with marble pillars, fountains, mirrors, carpets, ottomans, cushions, and other articles of oriental luxury; but there are others no less valuable and curious, such as the armory, furnished with weapons of every kind, of the finest manufacture, and in the greatest abundance, the treasury, containing not only a profusion of the precious metals, coined or in ingots, but also diamonds, pearls, rubies, and other precious stones of great value; and lastly, the store rooms of immense extent, in which were piled up the richest silk stuffs, velvets, brocades, together with wool, wax, sugar, iron, lead, sabre-blades, gun barrels, and all the different productions of the Algerine territories; for the Dey was not only the first robber but the first merchant in his own dominions.

Next to the Cassaubah, the mole with the marine forts, presented the handsomest and most imposing pile of buildings. The mole is

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no less than one thousand three hundred feet in length, forming a beautiful terrace walk, supported by arches, beneath which lay splendid magazines, which the French found filled with spars, hemp, cordage, cables, and all manner of marine stores. At the extremity of the mole, lay the barracks of the Janissaries, entrusted with the defence of the marine forts, and consisting of several small separate chambers, in which they each slept on sheepskin mats, while in the centre was a handsome coffee-room. The Bagnios were the buildings, in which Europeans for a long time felt the most interest, inasmuch as it was in these that the Christian slaves taken by the corsairs were confined. For many years previous to the French invasion, however, the number of prisoners had been so trifling, that many of these terrific buildings had fallen to decay, and presented, when the French army entered Algiers, little more than piles of mouldering ruins. The inmates of the Bagnio when taken by the French were the crews of two French brigs, which a short time before had been wrecked off Cape Bingut, a few French prisoners of war made during their advance, and about twenty Greek, and Genoese sailors, who had been there for two years; in all about one hundred and twenty. They represented their condition as bad, though by no means so deplorable as it would have been in former days. The prison was at first so close, that there was some danger of suffocation, to avoid which the Turks had made holes in the walls; but as they neglected to supply these with windows or shutters of any kind, there was no means of excluding wind or rain, from which consequently they often suffered.

We shall only trace these [pirates](#) back to about the year 1500, when Selim, king of Algiers, being invaded by the Spaniards, at last entreated the assistance of the famous corsair, Oruj Reis, better known by his European name, Barbarossa, composed of two Italian words, signifying *red beard*. Nothing could be more agreeable than the number and hardihood of his naval exploits, had been such an invitation to this ambitious robber, who elated by for some time considering how he might best establish his power by land. Accordingly, attended by five thousand picked men, he entered Algiers, made himself master of the town, assassinated Selim, and had himself proclaimed king in his stead; and thus was established that nest of pirates, fresh swarms from which never ceased to annoy Christian commerce and enslave Christian mariners, until its late final destruction, by the French expedition in 1830.

In a piratical career of many centuries, the countless thousands who have been taken, enslaved, and perished in bondage by these monsters should long ago have drawn upon them the united vengeance of all Christendom. Many a youth of family and fortune, of delicate constitution has been captured and sold in the slave market. His labor through the long hot days would be to cleanse out the foul bed of some large empty reservoir, where he would be made to strip, and descending into the pond, bring up in his arms the black stinking mud, heaped up and pressed against his bosom; or to labor in drawing huge blocks of stone to build the mole; or in building and repairing the fortifications, with numerous other painful and disgusting tasks. The only food was a scanty supply of black bread, and occasionally a few decayed olives, or sheep which had died from some disorder. At night they were crowded into that most horrid of prisons the Bagnio, to sleep on a little filthy straw, amidst

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the most noisome stench. Their limbs in chains, and often receiving the lash. Occasionally an individual would be ransomed; when his story would draw tears of pity from all who heard it. Ladies were frequently taken by these monsters and treated in the most inhuman manner. And sometimes whole families were enslaved. Numerous facts, of the most heart-rending description are on record: but our limits oblige us to be brief. A Spanish lady, the wife of an officer, with her son, a youth of fourteen, and her daughter, six years old, were taken in a Spanish vessel by the Algerines. The barbarians treated her and both her children with the greatest inhumanity. The eldest they kept in chains; and the defenceless little one they wantonly treated so ill, that the unhappy mother was often nearly deprived of her reason at the blows her infant received from these wretches, who plundered them of every thing. They kept them many days at sea on hard and scanty fare, covered only with a few soiled rags; and in this state brought them to Algiers. They had been long confined in a dreadful dungeon in the Bagnio where the slaves are kept, when a messenger was sent to the Aga, or Captain of the Bagnio, for a female slave. It fortunately fell to the lot of the Spanish lady, but at the instant when she was embracing her son, who was tearing himself from his mother with haggard and disordered looks, to go to his imperious drivers; and while in despair she gazed on her little worn-out infant, she heard herself summoned to attend the guard of the prison to a family that had sent for a female slave. She obtained permission to take her little daughter with her. She dreaded being refused, and sent back to the horrid dungeon she was leaving where no difference was paid to rank, and slaves of all conditions were huddled together. She went therefore prepared to accept of anything short of these sufferings. She was refused, as being in every respect opposite to the description of the person sent for. At length her entreaties and tears prevailed; compassion overruled every obstacle; and she, with her little girl, was accepted. But there remained another difficulty; she had left her son chained in the midst of that dungeon from which she had just been rescued. Her kind patrons soon learned the cause of her distress; but to send for the youth and treat him kindly, or in any way above that of a common slave, must hazard the demand of so large a ransom for him and his mother, as would forever preclude the hope of liberty. He was, however, sent for, and the menial offices they were both engaged to perform were only nominal. With circumspection the whole family were sheltered in this manner for three years; when the war with the Spaniards growing more inveterate, the Algerines demanded the youth back to the Bagnio, to work in common with the other slaves, in repairing the damages done to the fortresses by the Spanish cannon. He was now compelled to go, loaded with heavy stones, through the whole of the town; and at almost every step he received dreadful blows, not being able to hasten his pace from the great weight.

Overcome at last with ill usage, the delicacy of his form and constitution gave way to the excessive labor, and he one morning refused the orders of his master, or driver, to rise from the straw on which he was stretched, declaring they might kill him if they chose, for he would not even try to carry another load of stones. Repeated messages had been sent from the Venetian consul's, where his mother and sister were sheltered, to the



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Aga, to return him; and when the Algerines found that they had absolutely reduced him so near death, they thought it best to spare his life for the sake of future ransom. They agreed, therefore, to let him return to the Christians. His life was for some time despaired of; but through the kind attention he received, he was rescued from the threatened dissolution. His recovery was concealed, for fear of his being demanded back to work; and a few months after, the Spanish peace of 1784 being concluded, a ransom was accepted by the Algerines for this suffering family, and they were set at liberty.

These [pirates](#) in old times extended their depredations into the Atlantic as far as the British Channel. They swarmed in the Mediterranean, not only belonging to Algiers, but Tunis, and other ports on the coast of Barbary. Their corsairs making descents on the coasts of those countries which border on the Mediterranean, pillaging the villages and carrying off the inhabitants into slavery. The corsairs were vessels of different descriptions; some large armed ships, and latterly frigates; others were row galleys and the various craft used by the nations which navigate that sea, and had been taken by them and added to their marine. Upon the slaves being landed at Algiers they were marched to the Dey's or Bashaw's palace, when he selected the number which according to law belonged to him; and the rest were sold in the slave market to the highest bidder. A moiety of the plunder, cargoes and vessels taken also belonged to the Dey. Occasionally, a person by pretending to renounce his religion, and turning Mahometan would have his sufferings mitigated.

The most desperate attempts were sometimes made to effect an escape from these ruthless monsters, which occasionally succeeded.

In 1644 William Oakley and four companions escaped from Algiers, in a most miraculous manner, in a canvas boat. There was at this time an English clergyman, Mr. Sprat, in captivity, and the wretched slaves had the privilege of meeting in a cellar, where he would pray with them. Oakley had got into the good graces of his master, and was allowed his time by giving his master two dollars a month. He traded in tobacco and a few trifling articles, so that a strict watch was not kept on his movements. He conceived the project of making a canvas boat. He says I now first opened my design to my comrades, informing them, that I had contrived the model of a boat, which, being formed in pieces, and afterwards put together, might be the means of our deliverance. They greedily grasped at the prospect; but cooler reflection pointed out difficulties innumerable: some of them started objections which they thought insuperable, and these I endeavored to overrule.

We began our work in the cellar which had served for our devotions, though it was not the sanctity of the place, but its privacy, that induced us to this selection. We first provided a piece of wood, twelve feet long, and, that it might escape observation, it was cut in two, being jointed in the middle. Next we procured the timbers of ribs, which, to avoid the same hazard, were in three pieces each, and jointed in two places. The flat side of one of the two pieces was laid over the other, and two holes bored in every joint to receive nails; so that when united, each joint would make an obtuse angle, and approach towards a semicircular figure, as we required. We had, in the



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formation of an external covering, to avoid hammering and nailing, which would have made such a noise in the cellar as to attract the notice of the Algerines, who are insufferably suspicious about their wives and slaves. Therefore, we provided as much canvas as would cover the boat twice over, and as much pitch, tar and tallow, as would make it a kind of tarpaulin; as also earthen pots in which to melt our materials. The two carpenters and myself were appointed to this service in the cellar. We stopped up all chinks and crevices, that the fumes of these substances might not betray us. But we had not been long at work, when the smell of the melting materials overcame me, and obligated me to go into the streets gasping for breath, where meeting with the cool air, I swooned away, and broke my face in the fall. My companions, finding me in this plight, carried me back, extremely sick and unserviceable. Before long, I heard one of them complain of sickness, and thus he could proceed no further; therefore, I saw if we abandoned our project this night, it might not be resumed, which made me resolve to set the cellar door wide open, while I stood sentinel to give notice of approaching danger. In this way we finished the whole, and then carried it to my shop, which was about a furlong distant.

Every thing was fitted in the cellar, the timbers to the keel, the canvas to the timbers, and the seats to the whole, and then all were taken to pieces again. It was a matter of difficulty, however, to get the pieces conveyed out of the city; but William Adams carried the keel, and hid it at the bottom of a hedge: the rest was carried away with similar precautions. As I was carrying a piece of canvas, which we had bought for a sail, I looked back, and discovered the same spy, who had formerly given us much trouble, following behind. This gave me no small concern; but, observing an Englishman washing clothes by the sea side, I desired his help in washing the canvas. Just as we were engaged with it, the spy came up, and stood on a rock exactly over our heads, to watch us. Therefore, to delude him, I took the canvas and spread it before his face on the top of the rock to dry; he staid his own time, and then marched off. Still I was jealous of his intentions, which induced me to carry the canvas, when dry, straight back to the city, an incident that greatly discouraged my comrades. We also procured a small quantity of provisions, and two goat skins full of fresh water.

In the mean time, I paid my patron my wonted visits, kept up a fair correspondence, and duly gave him his demands; while I secretly turned all my goods to ready money as fast as I could, and putting it into a trunk with a false bottom, I committed it to the charge of Mr. Sprat who faithfully preserved it for me. The place which we chose for joining the boat together was a hill about half a mile from the city, thinking by that means the better to descry the approach of danger. When the pieces were united, and the canvas drawn on, four of our number carried the boat down to the sea, where, stripping ourselves naked, and putting our clothes within, we carried it as far as we could wade, lest it might be injured by the stones or rocks near the shore. But we soon discovered that our calculations of lading were erroneous; for no sooner had we embarked, than the water came in over the sides, and she was like to sink; so that some new device became necessary. At last, one whose heart most failed him was willing to be excluded, and wished rather to



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hazard the uncertain torments of land, than the certainty of being drowned at sea. However the boat was still so deeply laden, that we all concluded that it was impossible to venture to sea. At length another went ashore, and she held her head stoutly, and seemed sufficiently capable of our voyage.

Taking a solemn farewell of our two companions left behind, and wishing them as much happiness as could be hoped for in slavery, and they to us as long life as could be expected by men going to their graves, we launched out on the 30th of June 1644, a night ever to be remembered. Our company consisted of John Anthony, William Adams, John Jephth, John the carpenter and myself. We now put to sea, without helm, tackle, or compass. Four of us continually labored at the oars; the employment of the fifth was baling out the water that leaked through the canvas. We struggled hard the first night to get out of the reach of our old masters; but when the day broke, we were still within sight of their ships in the haven and roadstead. Yet, our boat being small, and lying close and snug upon the sea, either was not discovered at all, or else seemed something that was not worth taking up.

On all occasions we found our want of foresight, for now the bread which had lain soaking in the salt water, was quite spoiled, and the tanned skins imparted a nauseous quality to the fresh water. So long as bread was bread, we made no complaints; with careful economy it lasted three days, but then pale famine, which is the most horrible shape in which death can be painted, began to stare us in the face. The expedients on which we fell to assuage our thirst rather inflamed it, and several things added to our distress. For some time the wind was right against us; our labour was incessant, for, although much rowing did not carry us forward, still, cessation of it drove us back; and the season was raging hot, which rendered our toil insupportable. One small alleviation we had in the man whose province it was to bale the water out of the boat; he threw it on our bodies to cool them. However, what with the scorching of the sun and cooling of the water, our skin was blistered all over. By day we were stark naked; by night we had on shirts or loose coats; for we had left our clothing ashore, on purpose to lighten the boat.

One of our number had a pocket dial, which supplied the place of a compass; and, to say the truth, was not ill befitting such a vessel and such mariners. By its aid we steered our course by day, while the stars served as a guide by night; and, if they were obscured, we guessed our way by the motion of the clouds. In this woful plight we continued four days and nights. On the fifth day we were at the brink of despair, and abandoned all hopes of safety. Thence we ceased our labor, and laid aside our oars; for, either we had no strength left to use them, or were reluctant to waste the little we had to no purpose. Still we kept emptying the boat, loth to drown, loth to die, yet knowing no means to avoid death.

They that act least commonly wish the most; and, when we had forsaken useful labor, we resorted to fruitless wishes – that we might be taken up by some ship, if it were but a ship, no matter of what country.

While we lay hulling up and down, our hopes at so low an ebb, we discovered a tortoise, not far from us, asleep in the sea. Had the great Drake discovered the Spanish plate fleet, he could

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not have been more rejoiced. Once again we bethought ourselves of our oars, and silently rowing to our prey, took it into the boat in great triumph. Having cut off its head, and let it bleed in a vessel, we drank the blood, ate the liver, and sucked the flesh. Our strength and spirits were wonderfully refreshed, and our work was vigorously renewed. Leaving our fears behind us, we began to gather hope, and, about noon, discovered, or thought that we discovered, land. It is impossible to describe our joy and triumph on this occasion. It was new life to us; it brought fresh blood into our veins, and fresh vigor into our pale cheeks: we looked like persons raised from the dead. After further exertion, becoming more confident, we were at last fully satisfied that it was land. Now, like distracted persons, we all leapt into the sea, and, being good swimmers, cooled our parched bodies, never considering that we might become a ready prey to the sharks. But we presently returned to our boat, and from being wearied with the exertion, and somewhat cooled by the sea, lay down to sleep with as much security as if it had been in our beds. It was fortunately of such short duration that the leaking of the boat occasioned no danger.

Refreshed by sleep, we found new strength for our work, and tugged hard at the oar, in hopes of reaching a more stable element before night. But our progress was very slow. Towards evening an island was discovered, which was Fromentere, having already seen Majorca; at least, some of our company, who had navigated these seas, declared that it was so. We debated long to which of the two our course should be directed; and, because the last discovered was much infested with venomous serpents, we all resolved to make for Majorca. The whole of that night we rowed very hard, and also the next, being the sixth from our putting to sea. The island was in sight all day, and about ten at night we came under the land, but it consisted of rocks so steep and craggy that we could not climb up.

Whilst under these rocks a vessel approached very near. Let the reader conceive our apprehensions, after all our toil and labor, of being seized by some Turkish privateer, such as are never off the seas. Thus we were obliged to lie close; and, when the vessel had passed, we crept gently along the coast, as near as we durst to the shore, until finding a suitable place to receive our weather-beaten boat.

We were not insensible of our deliverance on reaching land; though, like men just awakened from a dream, we could not duly appreciate the greatness of it. Having had no food since we got the tortoise, John Anthony and myself set out in search of fresh water, and three remained with the boat. Before proceeding far, we found ourselves in a wood, which created great embarrassment. My comrade wished to go one way, and I wished to go another. How frail and impotent a being is man! That we, whom common dangers by sea had united, should now fall out about our own inclinations at land. Yet so we did. He gave me reproachful words; and it is well that we did not come to blows, but I went my way, and he, seeing me resolute, followed. The path led to one of those watchtowers which the Spaniards keep on the coast to give timely notice of the approach of privateers. Afraid of being fired on, we called to the sentinel, informing him who we were, and earnestly requesting him to direct us to fresh water, and to give us some bread. He very kindly threw down an old mouldy cake, and directed us to a well close at hand. We drank a little water,



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and ate a bit of the cake, which we had difficulty in swallowing, and then hastened to return to our companions in the boat, to acquaint them with our success.

Though now necessary to leave the boat, we did not do it without regret; but this was lulled by the importunate cravings of hunger and thirst; therefore, making her fast ashore, we departed. Advancing, or rather crawling towards the well, another quarrel rose amongst us, the remembrance of which is so ungrateful that I shall bury it in silence, the best tomb for controversies. One of our company, William Adams, in attempting to drink, was unable to swallow the water, and sunk to the ground, faintly exclaiming, "I am a dead man!" After much straining and forcing, he, at length, got a little over; and when we were all refreshed with the cake and water, we lay down by the side of the well to wait for morning.

When it was broad day, we once more applied to the sentinel, to point out the way to the nearest house or town, which he did, directing us to a house about two miles distant; but our feet were so raw and blistered by the sun that it was long before we could get this short journey over; and then, the owners of the house, concluding from our garb that we came with a pilfering design, presented a fowling-piece, charging us to stand. The first of our number, who could speak the language of the country, mildly endeavored to undeceive him, saying, we were a company of poor creatures, whom the wonderful providence of God had rescued from the slavery of Algiers, and hoped that he would show mercy to our afflictions. The honest farmer, moved with our relation, sent out bread, water and olives. After refreshing ourselves with these, we lay down and rested three or four hours in the field; and, having given him thanks for his charity, prepared to crawl away. Pleased with our gratitude, he called us into his house, and gave us good warm bean pottage, which to me seemed the best food I had ever ate. Again taking leave, we advanced towards Majorca, which was about ten miles distant.

Next morning we arrived in the suburbs, where the singularity of our attire, being barefoot and bare legged, and having nothing on except loose shirts, drawn over our coats, attracted a crowd of enquirers. We gave a circumstantial account of our deliverance; and, as they were willing to contribute to our relief, they supplied us with food, wine, strong waters, and whatever else might renovate our exhausted spirits. They said, however, that we must remain in the suburbs until the viceroy had notice of our arrival. We were called before him, and when he had heard the account of our escape and dangers, he ordered us to be maintained at his expense until we should obtain a passage to our own country; and, in the meantime, the people collected money to buy clothes and shoes.

From Majorca they proceeded to Cadiz, and from thence to England, which they reached in safety.

Several expeditions at different periods were fitted out by different European nations to chastise the pirates. The Emperor, Charles V., in the plenitude of his power, sailed with a formidable armament in the year 1541, and affected a landing. Without doubt he would have taken the city, if a terrible storm had not risen, which destroyed a great part of his fleet and obliged him to re-embark with his shattered forces in the greatest precipitation. The exultation of the Algerines was unbounded; they now looked on themselves as the special

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favorites of heaven; the most powerful army which had ever attempted their subjection had returned with the loss of one third their number, and a great part of its ships and transports. Prisoners had been taken in such abundance, that to show their worthlessness, they were publicly sold in the market-place at Algiers, at an onion a head.

For nearly a century after this, little occurs of note in Algerine history except a constant system of piracy. In 1655 the British Admiral Blake gave them a drubbing.

The French were the next to attack these common enemies of Europe. Admiral Duguesne commanded the expedition, and after bombarding the place a short time, the Dey himself soon began to be terrified at the destruction these new engines of naval war made, when an unfavorable wind arising, compelled the fleet to make all sail for Toulon.

Relieved from the terror of immediate destruction, the Algerines returned to their old ways, making descents on the coast of Provence, where they committed the most dreadful ravages, killing, burning and destroying all that came in their way. The Dey also recovered, not only his courage, but his humor; for learning what a large sum the late expedition against his city had cost, he sent to say, "that if Louis would give him half the money, he would undertake to burn the whole city to please him." The French accordingly sent a new expedition under the same officers the next year. Duguesne again sailed, and in front of the city was joined by the Marquis D'Affranville, at the head of five other stout ships. A council of war was held and an immediate attack resolved upon, in consequence of which, the vessels having taken up their stations, a hundred bombs were thrown into the town during that day, and as many more on the following night, when the town was observed to be on fire in several places; the Dey's palace, and other public buildings were in ruins; some of the batteries were dismounted, and several vessels sunk in the fort. This speedy destruction soon determined the Dey and Janissaries to sue for peace; and a message to this effect was sent to Duguesne, who consented to cease firing, but refused to negotiate regarding terms, until all the captives taken fighting under the French flag were given up as a preliminary step. This was agreed to, and one hundred and forty-two prisoners immediately sent off. In the mean time the soldiery becoming furious, assassinated the Dey and elected a new one, who ordered the flag to be hoisted on the city walls. Hostilities were now renewed with greater fury than before, and the French admiral threw such volleys of bombs into the city, that in less than three days the greatest part of it was reduced to ashes; and the fire burnt with such vehemence that the bay was illuminated to the distance of two or three leagues. Rendered desperate by the carnage around him, the new Dey ordered all the French captives who had been collected into the city to be cruelly murdered, and binding Father Vacher, the French Resident, hand and foot, had him tied to a mortar and fired off like a bomb against the French fleet. This wanton piece of atrocity so exasperated Duguesne, that, laying his fleet as near land as possible, he continued his cannonade until he had destroyed all their shipping, fortifications, buildings; in short, almost the whole of the lower town, and about two-thirds of the upper; when finding nothing else which a naval force could do, and being unprovided for a land expedition, he stood out



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leisurely to sea, leaving the Algerines to reflect over the sad consequences of their obstinacy. For several years after this they kept in the old piratical track; and upon the British consuls making a complaint to the Dey, on occasion of one of his corsairs having captured a vessel, he openly replied, "It is all very true, but what would you have? the Algerines are a company of rogues, and I am their captain."

To such people force was the argument; and in 1700 Capt. Beach, falling in with seven of their frigates, attacked them, drove them on shore, and burnt them. Expeditions at various times were sent against them, but without effecting much; and most of the maritime nations paid them tribute. But a new power was destined to spring up, from which these [pirates](#) were to receive their first check; that power was the United States of America.

In 1792 his corsairs, in a single cruise, swept off ten American vessels, and sent their crews to the Bagnio, so that there were one hundred and fifteen in slavery.

Negotiations were at once set on foot; the Dey's demands had of course risen in proportion to the number of his prisoners, and the Americans had not only to pay ransom at a high rate, with presents, marine stores, and yearly tribute, but to build and present to the Dey, as a propitiatory offering, a thirty-six gun frigate; so that the whole expenses fell little short of a million of dollars, in return for which they obtained liberty for their captives, protection for their merchant vessels, and the right of free trade with Algiers. The treaty was signed September 5th, 1795; and from that time, up to 1812, the Dey continued on tolerable good terms with Congress; indeed, so highly was he pleased with them, in 1800, that he signified to the consul his intention of sending an ambassador to the Porte, with the customary presents, in the *Washington*, a small American frigate, at that time lying in the harbor of Algiers. In vain the consul and captain remonstrated, and represented that they had no authority to send the vessel on such a mission; they were silenced by the assurance that it was a particular honor conferred on them, which the Dey had declined offering to any of the English vessels then in harbor, as he was rather angry with that nation. The *Washington* was obliged to be prepared for the service; the corsair flag, bearing the turbaned head of Ali, was run up to her main top, under a salute of seven guns; and in this respectable plight she sailed up the Mediterranean, dropped anchor before the seven towers, where, having landed her cargo, she was permitted to resume her own colors, and was thus the first vessel to hoist the American Union in the Thracian Bosphorus.

In 1812, however, the Dey, finding his funds at a low ebb, and receiving from all quarters reports that a wealthy American commerce was afloat, determined on trying them with a new war. He was peculiarly unfortunate in the time chosen, as the States, having about a month previously declared war with Great Britain, had, in fact, withdrawn most of the merchant ships from the sea, so that the only prize which fell into the hands of the Dey's cruisers was a small brig, with a crew of eleven persons. The time at length came for putting an end to these lawless depredations, and peace having been concluded with England, President Madison, in 1815, despatched an American squadron, under commodores Bainbridge and Decatur, with Mr. Shaler, as envoy, on board, to demand full satisfaction for all injuries



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done to American subjects, the immediate release of such as were captives, the restitution of their property, with an assurance that no future violence should be offered, and also to negotiate the preliminaries of a treaty on terms of perfect equality, no proposal of tribute being at all admissible. The squadron reached its destination early in June, and, having captured an Algerine frigate and brig-of-war, suddenly appeared before Algiers, at a moment when all the cruizers were at sea, and delivered, for the consideration of the Divan, the terms on which they were commissioned to make peace, together with a letter from the President to the Dey. Confounded by the sudden and entirely unexpected appearance of this force, the Algerines agreed, on the 30th of June, to the proposals of a treaty, almost without discussion.

It had long been a reproach to Great Britain, the mistress of the sea, that she had tamely suffered a barbarian power to commit such atrocious ravages on the fleets and shores of the minor states along the Mediterranean. At length a good cause was made for chastising them.

At Bona, a few miles to the east of Algiers, was an establishment for carrying on a coral fishery, under the protection of the British flag, which, at the season, was frequented by a great number of boats from the Corsican, Neapolitan, and other Italian ports. On the 23d of May, the feast of Ascension, as the crews of all the boats were preparing to hear mass, a gun was fired from the castle, and at the same time appeared about two thousand, other accounts say four thousand, infantry and cavalry, consisting of Turks, Levanters, and Moors. A part of these troops proceeded towards the country, whilst another band advanced towards the river, where the fishing boats were lying at different distances from the sea; and opening a fire upon the unfortunate fishermen, who were partly on board and partly on land, massacred almost the whole of them. They then seized the English flags, tore them in pieces, and trampling them under foot, dragged them along the ground in triumph. The men who happened to be in the country saved themselves by flight, and declared that they saw the soldiers pillage the house of the British vice-consul, the magazines containing the provisions, and the coral that had been fished up. A few boats escaped, and brought the news to Genoa, whence it was transmitted by the agent of Lloyd's in a despatch, dated June 6th.

No sooner had the account of this atrocious slaughter reached England, than all ranks seemed inflamed with a desire that a great and signal punishment should be taken on this barbarian prince, who was neither restrained by the feelings of humanity nor bound by treaties. An expedition, therefore, was fitted out with all speed at Portsmouth, and the command intrusted to Lord Exmouth, who, after some delays from contrary winds, finally sailed, July 28th, with a fleet complete in all points, consisting of his own ship, the Queen Charlotte, one hundred and twenty guns; the Impregnable, rear admiral, Sir David Milne; ninety guns; Minden, Superb, Albion, each seventy-four guns; the Leander fifty guns, with four more frigates and brigs, bombs, fire-ships, and several smaller vessels, well supplied, in addition to the ordinary means of warfare, with Congreve rockets, and Shrapnell shells, the destructive powers of which have lately been abundantly proved on the continent. August 9, the fleet anchored at Gibraltar, and was there joined by the

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Dutch admiral, Van Cappillen, commanding five frigates and a corvette, who had been already at Algiers, endeavoring to deliver slaves: but being refused, and finding his force insufficient, had determined on joining himself with the English squadron, which it was understood was under weigh. Meanwhile, the Prometheus, Captain Dashwood, had been sent forward to Algiers to bring off the British consul and family; but could only succeed in getting his wife and daughter, who were obliged to make their escape, disguised in midshipmen's uniform; for the Dey, having heard through some French papers of the British expedition, had seized the consul, Mr. Macdonnell, and put him in chains; and, hearing of the escape of his wife, immediately ordered the detention of two boats of the Prometheus, which happened to be on shore, and made slaves of the crews, amounting to eighteen men. This new outrage was reported to Lord Exmouth soon after leaving Gibraltar, and of course added not a little to his eagerness to reach Algiers. He arrived off Algiers on the morning of the 27th of August, and sent in his interpreter, Mr. Salame, with Lieutenant Burgess, under a flag of truce, bearing a letter for the Dey, demanding reparation.

Meantime, a light breeze sprung up, and the fleet advanced into the bay, and lay to, at about a mile off Algiers "It was now," says Mr. Salame, in his entertaining narrative, "half-past two, and no answer coming out, notwithstanding we had staid half an hour longer than our instructions, and the fleet being almost opposite the town, with a fine breeze, we thought proper, after having done our duty, to lose no more time, but to go on board, and inform his lordship of what had happened.

"Mr. Burgess, the flag-lieutenant, having agreed with me, we hoisted the signal, *that no answer had been given*, and began to row away towards the Queen Charlotte. After I had given our report to the admiral, of our meeting the captain of the port, and our waiting there, &c., I was quite surprised to see how his lordship was altered from what I left him in the morning; for I knew his manner was in general very mild, and now he seemed to me *all-fightful*, as a fierce lion, which had been chained in its cage, and was set at liberty. With all that, his lordship's answer to me was, '*Never mind, we shall see now;*' and at the same time he turned towards the officers, saying, '*Be ready,*' whereupon I saw every one with the match or the string of the lock in his hand, most anxiously expecting the word '*Fire!*'

"No sooner had Salame returned, than his lordship made the signal to know whether all the ships were ready, which being answered in the affirmative, he directly turned the head of the Queen Charlotte towards shore, and, to the utter amazement of the Algerines, ran across all the batteries without firing or receiving a single shot, until he brought up within eighty yards of the south end of the mole, where he lashed her to the mainmast of an Algerine brig, which he had taken as his direction, and had then the pleasure of seeing all the rest of the fleet, including the Dutch frigates, taking up their assigned stations with the same precision and regularity. The position in which the Queen Charlotte was laid was so admirable that she was only exposed to the fire of three or four flanking guns, while her broadside swept the whole batteries, and completely commanded the mole and marine, every part of which could be seen distinctly from her quarter-deck. Up to this moment not a shot had been fired, and the batteries were all crowded with spectators,



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gazing in astonishment at the quiet and regularity which prevailed through all the British ships, and the dangerous vicinity in which they placed themselves to such formidable means of defence. Lord Exmouth, therefore, began to conceive hopes that his demands would still be granted; but the delay, it appeared, was caused by the Algerines being completely unprepared for so very sudden an approach, insomuch that their guns were not shotted at the moment when the Queen Charlotte swept past them, and they were distinctly seen loading them as the other ships were coming into line. Anxious, if possible, to spare unnecessary effusion of blood, his lordship, standing on the quarter-deck, repeatedly waved his hat as a warning to the multitudes assembled on the mole to retire, but his signal was unheeded, and at a quarter before three in the afternoon the first gun was fired at the Queen Charlotte from the eastern battery, and two more at the Albion and Superb, which were following. Then Lord Exmouth, having seen only *the smoke of the gun*, before the sound reached him, said, with great alacrity, '*That will do; fire my fine fellows!*' and I am sure that before his lordship had finished these words, our broadside was given with great cheering, which was fired three times within five or six minutes; and at the same time the other ships did the same. This first fire was so terrible, that they say more than five hundred persons were killed and wounded by it. And I believe this, because there was a great crowd of people in every part, many of whom, after the first discharge, I saw running away, under the walls, like dogs, walking upon their feet and hands.

"After the attack took place on both sides in this horrible manner, immediately the sky was darkened by the smoke, the sun completely eclipsed, and the horizon became dreary. Being exhausted by the heat of that powerful sun, to which I was exposed the whole day, and my ears being deafened by the roar of the guns, and finding myself in the dreadful danger of such a terrible engagement, in which I had never been before, I was quite at a loss, and like an astonished or stupid man, and did not know myself where I was. At last his lordship, having perceived my situation, said, 'You have done your duty, now go below.' Upon which I began to descend from the quarter-deck, quite confounded and terrified, and not sure that I should reach the cockpit alive; for it was most tremendous to hear the crashing of the shot, to see the wounded men brought from one part, and the killed from the other; and especially, at such a time, to be found among the *English seamen!* and to witness their manners, their activity, their courage, and their cheerfulness during the battle! – it is really most overpowering and beyond imagination."

The battle continued to rage furiously, and the havoc on both sides was very great. There were some awful moments, particularly when Algerine vessels so near our line were set on fire. The officers surrounding Lord Exmouth had been anxious for permission to make an attempt upon the outer frigate, distant about a hundred yards. He at length consented, and Major Gossett, of the corps of marines, eagerly entreated and obtained permission to accompany Lieutenant Richards in the ship's barge.

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The frigate was instantly boarded, and, in ten minutes, in a perfect blaze. A gallant young midshipman, although forbidden, was led by his too ardent spirit to follow in support of the barge, in which attempt he was desperately wounded, his brother officer killed, and nine of the crew. The barge, by rowing more rapidly, escaped better, having but one killed.

About sunset the admiral received a message from rear-admiral Milne, stating his severe loss in killed and wounded, amounting to one hundred and fifty, and requesting that, if possible, a frigate might be sent him to take off some of the enemy's fire. The Glasgow accordingly was ordered to get under weigh, but the wind having been laid by the cannonade, she was obliged again to anchor, having obtained a rather more favorable position. The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared to the full extent of their powers the honors and toils of this glorious day. It was by their fire that all the ships in the port (with the exception of the outer frigate already mentioned) were in flames, which, extending rapidly over the whole arsenal, gun-boats, and storehouses, exhibited a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest which no pen can describe. The sloops of war which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, performed not only that duty well, but embraced every opportunity of firing through the intervals, and were constantly in motion. The shells from the bombs were admirably well thrown by the royal marine artillery, and, though directed over and across our own men-of-war, did not produce a single accident. To complete the confusion of the enemy, the admiral now ordered the explosion ship, which had been charged for the occasion, to be brought within the mole; but upon the representation of Sir David Milne that it would do him essential service, if made to act on the battery in his front, it was towed to that spot, and blown up with tremendous effect.

This was almost the final blow; - the enemy's fire had for some time been very slack, and now almost wholly ceased, except that occasionally a few shots and shells were discharged from the higher citadel, upon which the guns of the fleet could not be brought to bear. The admiral, who from the commencement had been in the hottest of the engagement, and had fired until his guns were so hot that they could, some of them, not be used again; now seeing that he had executed the most important part of his instructions, issued orders for drawing off the fleet. This was commenced in excellent order about ten at night, and the usual breeze having set off from shore favored their manoeuvre, so that, all hands being employed in warping and towing, the vessels were got safely into the bay, and anchored, beyond reach of shot, about two o'clock the next morning.

So signal and well contested a victory could not have been gained without a considerable loss and suffering. It amounted in the English fleet, to one hundred and twenty-eight men killed, and six hundred and ninety wounded; in the Dutch squadron, to thirteen killed, and fifty-two wounded; grand total, eight hundred and eighty-three. But the enemy suffered much more severely; they are computed to have lost, in killed and wounded, not less than between six and seven thousand men. The loss sustained by the Algerines by the destruction in the mole was four large frigates, of forty-four guns. Five large corvettes,

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from twenty-four to thirty guns. All the gun and mortar-boats, except seven; thirty destroyed. Several merchant brigs and schooners. A great number of small vessels of various descriptions. All the pontoons, lighters, &c., Store-houses and arsenal, with all the timber, and various marine articles destroyed in part. A great many gun-carriages, mortar-beds, casks, and ships' stores of all descriptions.

Negotiations were immediately opened in form; and on the 30th August the admiral published a notification to the fleet, that all demands had been complied with, the British consul had been indemnified for his losses, and the Dey, in presence of all his officers, had made him a public apology for the insults offered him. On the 1st of September, Lord Exmouth had the pleasure of informing the secretary of the Admiralty, that all the slaves in the city of Algiers, and its immediate vicinity were embarked; as also 357,000 dollars for Naples, and 25,000 dollars for Sardinia.

The number of slaves thus released amounted to one thousand and eighty-three, of whom four hundred and seventy-one were Neapolitans, two hundred and thirty-six Sicilians, one hundred and seventy-three Romans, six Tuscans, one hundred and sixty-one Spaniards, one Portuguese, seven Greeks, twenty-eight Dutch, and not *one Englishman*. Were there an action more than another on which an Englishman would willingly risk the fame and honor of his nation, it would be this attack on Algiers, which, undertaken solely at her own risk, and earned solely by the expenditure of her own blood and her own resources, rescued not a single subject of her own from the tyrant's grasp, while it freed more than a thousand belonging to other European powers. In August, 1816, the strength of Algiers seemed annihilated; her walls were in ruins, her haughty flag was humbled to the dust; her gates lay open to a hostile power, and terms were dictated in the palace of her princes. A year passed, the hostile squadron had left her ports, the clang of the workman's hammer, the hum of busy men resounded through her streets, fresh walls had risen, new and more formidable batteries had been added; again she resumed her attitude as of yore, bid defiance to her foes, and declared war on civilization: — again her blood-stained corsairs swept the seas, eager for plunder, ready for combat; — Christian commerce once more became shackled by her enterprise, and Christian captives once more sent up their cry for deliverance. In 1819, her piracies had become so numerous that the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle caused it to be notified to the Dey, that their cessation was required, and would be enforced, by a combined French and English squadron. His reply was brief and arrogant, and the admirals were obliged to leave without obtaining the least satisfaction. By menaces, however, accompanied by the presence of some cruisers, England, France, and the United States caused their flags to be respected.

Ali, the successor of Amar, had died in 1818, and was succeeded by Hassein Pasha, who, from the commencement of his reign, evinced the strongest antipathy to the French power. In 1824, he imposed an arbitrary tax through all his provinces on French goods and manufactures; the consul's house was frequently entered and searched in a vexatious manner, contrary to the express stipulations of treaties; and, finally, April, 1827, the consul himself, having gone at the feast of Bayram to pay his respects, was, upon a slight difference of opinion arising



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during their conversation, struck across the mouth with a fly-flap which the Dey held in his hand, and in consequence soon after left Algiers, while the Dey ordered the destruction of all the French establishments along the coast towards Bona, and oppressed in every manner the French residents within his dominions. A blockade was instantly commenced by the French, and maintained for nearly three years, until it was found that they suffered much more by it than the Dey, the expense having reached nearly 800,000*l* sterling, while he appeared no way inconvenienced by their efforts, and even treated them with such contempt as to order his forts to fire on the vessel of Admiral Le da Bretonnière, who, in 1829, had gone there under a flag of truce to make a final proposal of terms of accommodation. So signal a violation of the laws of nations could not be overlooked, even by the imbecile administrations of Charles X. All France was in an uproar; the national flag had been dishonored, and her ambassador insulted; the cry for war became loud and universal; conferences on the subject were held; the oldest and most experienced mariners were invited by the minister at war to assist in his deliberations; and an expedition was finally determined on in the month of February, 1830, to consist of about thirty-seven thousand men, a number which it was calculated would not only be sufficient to overcome all opposition which might be encountered, but to enable the French to reduce the kingdom to a province, and retain it in subjection for any length of time that might be considered advisable. No sooner was this decision promulgated, than all the necessary preparations were commenced with the utmost diligence. It was now February, and the expedition was to embark by the end of April, so that no time could be lost. The arsenals, the naval and military workshops, were all in full employment. Field and breaching batteries were mounted on a new principle lately adopted; gabions, earth-bags, *chevaux-de-frise*, and projectiles were made in the greatest abundance maps, notes, and all the information that could be procured respecting Barbary were transmitted to the war office, where their contents were compared and digested, and a plan of operations was drawn out. The commissariat were busied in collecting provisions, waggons, and fitting out an efficient hospital train; a deputy-commissary was despatched to reconnoitre the coasts of Spain and the Balearic Islands, to ascertain what resources could be drawn from them, and negotiate with the king for leave to establish military hospitals at Port Mahon. Eighteen regiments of the line, three squadrons of cavalry, and different corps of artillery and engineers were ordered to hold themselves in readiness; four hundred transports were assembled, and chartered by government in the port of Marseilles, while the vessels of war, which were to form the convoy, were appointed their rendezvous in the neighborhood of Toulon. After some hesitation as to who should command this important expedition, the Count de Bourmont, then minister at war, thought fit to appoint himself; and his *etat-major* was soon complete, Desprez acting as chief, and Tholozé as second in command. Maubert de Neuilly was chosen provost-marshal, De Bartillat (who afterwards wrote an entertaining account of the expedition) quarter-master general, and De Carne commissary-general to the forces. In addition to these, there were about twenty aid-de-camps, orderlies, and young men of rank attached to the staff, together

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with a Spanish general, an English colonel, a Russian colonel and lieutenant, and two Saxon officers, deputed by their respective governments. There were also a section of engineer-geographers, whose business was to survey and map the country as it was conquered, "and," says M. Roget, who was himself employed in the service we have just mentioned, and to whose excellent work, written in that capacity, we are so much indebted, "twenty-four interpreters, the half of whom knew neither French nor Arabic, were attached to the different corps of the army, in order to facilitate their intercourse with the inhabitants." As the minister had determined on risking his own reputation on the expedition, the supplies were all, of course, of the completest kind, and in the greatest abundance. Provisions for three months were ordered; an equal quantity was to be forwarded as soon as the army had landed in Africa; and, amongst the other materials furnished we observe, in looking over the returns, thirty wooden legs, and two hundred crutches, for the relief of the unfortunate heroes, a boring apparatus to sink pumps, if water should run short, and a balloon, with two aeronauts, to reconnoitre the enemy's position, in case, as was represented to be their wont, they should entrench themselves under the shelter of hedges and brushwood.

The French effected a landing at Sidy-el-Ferruch, a small promontory, about five leagues to the west of Algiers, and half a league to the east of the river Massaflran, where it discharges itself into the bay. On the 14th of June they all landed without opposition.

After a continued series of engagements and skirmishes the army got within cannon shot of Algiers, where they broke ground and began entrenching, and the French works being completed, the heavy breaching cannon were all mounted; and at day-break on the 4th of July, General Lahitte, having assured himself by personal inspection that all was ready, ordered the signal rocket to be thrown, and at the same moment the whole French batteries opened their fire within point blank distance, and with a report which shook the whole of Algiers, and brought the garrison, who were little expecting so speedy an attack, running to their posts. The artillery was admirably served, and from one battery which enfiladed the fort, the balls were seen to sweep away at once an entire row of Algerine cannoneers from their guns. The Turks displayed the most undaunted courage; they answered shot for shot, supplied with fresh men the places of such as were slain, stopped up with woolsacks the breaches made by the balls, replaced the cannon which the French fire had dismounted, and never relaxed their exertions for a moment. But the nature of their works was ill-calculated to withstand the scientific accuracy with which the besiegers made their attack. Every ball now told – the tower in the centre was completely riddled by shots and shells; the bursting of these latter had disabled great numbers of the garrison. By seven o'clock the besieged had begun to retire from the most damaged part of their works; by half-past eight the whole outer line of defence was abandoned, and by nine the fire of the fort was extinct. The Turkish general, finding opposition hopeless, had sent to the Dey for commands; and in reply was ordered to retreat with his whole remaining force to the Cassaubah, and leave three negroes to blow up the fort. The tranquillity with which they performed this fatal task deserves record. The French, finding the enemy's



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fire to fail, directed all theirs towards effecting a practicable breach. The fort seemed to be abandoned; – two red flags floated still on its outside line of defence, and a third on the angle towards the city. Three negroes were seen calmly walking on the ramparts, and from time to time looking over, as if to examine what progress the breach was making. One of them, struck by a cannon-ball, fell, and the others, as if to revenge his death, ran to a cannon, pointed it, and fired three shots. At the third, the gun turned over, and they were unable to replace it. They tried another, and as they were in the act of raising it, a shot swept the legs from under one of them. The remaining negro gazed for a moment on his comrade, drew him a little back, left him, and once more examined the breach. He then snatched one of the flags, and retired to the interior of the tower; in a few minutes he re-appeared, took a second and descended. The French continued to cannonade, and the breach appeared almost practicable, when suddenly they were astounded by a terrific explosion, which shook the whole ground as with an earthquake; an immense column of smoke, mixed with streaks of flame, burst from the centre of the fortress, masses of solid masonry were hurled into the air to an amazing height, while cannon, stones, timbers, projectiles, and dead bodies, were scattered in every direction – the negro had done his duty – the fort was blown up.

In half an hour the French sappers and miners were at work repairing the smoking ruins, their advanced guards had effected a reconnaissance along the side of the hill towards the fort Bab-azoua, and their engineers had broken ground for new works within seven hundred yards of the Cassaubah. But these preparations were unnecessary; the Dey had resigned all further intention of resistance, and at two o'clock a flag of truce was announced, which proved to be Sidy Mustapha, the Dey's private secretary, charged with offers of paying the whole expense of the campaign, relinquishing all his demands on France, and making any further reparation that the French general might require, on condition that the troops should not enter Algiers. These proposals met with an instant negative: – Bourmont felt that Algiers was in his power, and declared that he would grant no other terms than an assurance of life to the Dey and inhabitants, adding that if the gates were not opened he should recommence his fire. Scarcely had Mustapha gone, than two other deputies appeared, sent by the townsmen to plead in their behalf. They were a Turk called Omar, and a Moor named Bouderbera, who having lived for some time at Marseilles, spoke French perfectly. They received nearly the same answer as Mustapha; but they proved themselves better diplomatists, for they spoke so much to the general of the danger, there would be in refusing the Janissaries all terms, and the probability that if thus driven to despair they might make a murderous resistance, and afterwards destroy all the wealth and blow up all the forts before surrendering, that Bourmont, yielding to their representations, became less stern in his demands; and Mustapha having returned about the same time with the English vice-consul, as a mediator, the following terms were finally committed to paper, and sent to the Dey by an interpreter.

“1. The fort of the Cassaubah, with all the other forts dependent on Algiers, and the harbor, shall be placed in the hands of the French troops the 5th of July, at



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10 o'clock, A.M.

"2. The general-in-chief of the French army ensures the Dey of Algiers personal liberty, and all his private property.

"3. The Dey shall be free to retire with his family and wealth wherever he pleases. While he remains at Algiers he and his family shall be under the protection of the commander-in-chief. A guard shall insure his safety, and that of his family.

"4. The same advantages, and same protection are assured to all the soldiers of the militia.

"5. The exercise of the Mohammedan religion shall remain free; the liberty of the inhabitants of all classes, their religion, property, commerce, and industry shall receive no injury; their women shall be respected: the general takes this on his own responsibility.

"6. The ratification of this convention to be made before 10 A.M., on the 5th of July, and the French troops immediately after to take possession of the Cassaubah, and other forts."

These terms were so much more favorable than the Dey could have expected, that, of course, not a moment was lost in signifying his acceptance: he only begged to be allowed two hours more to get himself and his goods out of the Cassaubah, and these were readily granted. It may, indeed, be wondered at that he and his Janissaries should be allowed to retain all their ill-gotten booty, under the name of private property; but Count de Bourmont, though not without talent, was essentially a weak man, and was in this instance overreached by the wily Moor. The whole of next morning an immense number of persons were seen flying from Algiers, previous to the entry of the French army, and carrying with them all their goods, valuables, and money. They fled by the fort Bab-azoona, on the roads towards Constantina and Bleeda; and about a hundred mounted Arabs were seen caracoling on the beach, as if to cover their retreat. No opposition to it, however, was made by the French troops, or by their navy, which had now again come in sight.

At twelve o'clock the general, with his staff, artillery, and a strong guard, entered the Cassaubah, and at the same moment all the other forts were taken possession of by French troops. No one appeared to make a formal surrender, nor did any one present himself on the part of the inhabitants, to inquire as to what protection they were to receive, yet, on the whole, we believe the troops conducted themselves, at least on this occasion, with signal forbearance; and that of the robberies which took place, the greater number were perpetrated by Moors and Jews. One was rather ingenious. The minister of finance had given up the public treasures to commissioners regularly appointed for the purpose. Amongst others, the mint was visited, a receipt given of its containing bullion to the amount of 25,000 or 30,000 francs, the door sealed, and a sentry placed. Next morning the seal was perfect, the sentry at his post, but the bullion was gone through a small hole made in the back wall.

The amount of public property found in Algiers, and appropriated by the French, was very considerable, and much more than repaid



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the expenses of the expedition. The blockade of the last three years had, by interrupting their commerce, caused an accumulation of the commodities in which the Algerines generally paid their tribute, so that the storehouses at the Cassaubah were abundantly filled with wool, hides, leather, wax, lead and copper. Quantities of grain, silks, muslins, and gold and silver tissues were also found, as well as salt, of which the Dey had reserved to himself a monopoly, and, by buying it very cheap at the Balearic Isles, used to sell it at an extravagant rate to his subjects. The treasure alone amounted to nearly fifty million of francs, and the cannon, projectiles, powder magazines, and military stores, together with the public buildings, foundries, dock-yards, and vessels in the harbor, were estimated at a still larger amount; while the entire expense of the expedition, including land and sea service, together with the maintenance of an army of occupation up to January, 1831, was computed not to exceed 48,500,000 francs; so that France must have realized, by her first connection with Algiers, a sum not far short of £3,000,000 sterling – a larger amount, we will venture to say, than is likely to accrue to her again, even after many years of colonization.

In a few days the Dey had embarked for Naples, which he chose as his future place of residence; the Janissaries were sent in French vessels to Constantinople; the Bey of Tippery made his submissions, and swore allegiance to the French King; orders were issued, and laws enacted in his name; the Arabs and Kalyles came into market as usual with their fowl and game; a French soldier was tolerably safe, as long as he avoided going to any distance beyond the outposts; and, on the whole, Algiers the warlike, had assumed all the appearance of a French colony.

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January: **Piracy** was again punished by **hanging**, this time on the Rock of Gibraltar. (Gosh, what will it **take** to **persuade** these guys that they shouldn't be just offing people in cold blood?). The lumps and bumps on the head of Benito de Soto would be examined by **phrenologists**, to figure out how the guy had gone so wrong. (Wouldn't it be nice to be able to identify the pirates among us while they are still small children, so they can be hanged long before they have a chance to commit their first act of depredation?):



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THE LIFE OF BENITO DE SOTO, PIRATE OF THE *MORNING STAR*¹²⁶



The following narrative of the career of a desperate [pirate](#) who was executed in Gibraltar in the month of January, 1830, is one of two letters from the pen of the author of "the Military Sketch-Book." The writer says Benito de Soto

"had been a prisoner in the garrison for nineteen months, during which time the British Government spared neither the pains nor expense to establish a full train of evidence against him. The affair had caused the greatest excitement here, as well as at Cadiz, owing to the development of the atrocities which marked the character of this man, and the diabolical gang of which he was the leader. Nothing else is talked of; and a thousand horrors are added to his guilt, which, although he was guilty enough, he has no right to bear. The following is all the authentic information I could collect concerning him. I have drawn it from his trial, from the confession of his accomplices, from the keeper of his prison, and not a little from his own lips. It will be found more interesting than all the tales and sketches furnished in the 'Annuals,' magazines, and other vehicles of invention, from the simple fact - that

126. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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it is truth and not fiction.”

Benito de Soto was a native of a small village near Courná; he was bred a mariner, and was in the guiltless exercise of his calling at Buenos Ayres, in the year 1827. A vessel was there being fitted out for a voyage to the coast of Africa, for the smuggling of slaves; and as she required a strong crew, a great number of sailors were engaged, amongst whom was Soto. The Portuguese of South America have yet a privilege of dealing in slaves on a certain part of the African coast, but it was the intention of the captain of this vessel to exceed the limits of his trade, and to run farther down, so as to take his cargo of human beings from a part of the country which was proscribed, in the certainty of being there enabled to purchase slaves at a much lower rate than he could in the regular way; or, perhaps, to take away by force as many as he could stow away into his ship. He therefore required a considerable number of hands for the enterprise; and in such a traffic, it may be easily conceived, that the morals of the crew could not be a subject of much consideration with the employer. French, Spanish, Portuguese, and others, were entered on board, most of them renegades, and they set sail on their evil voyage, with every hope of infamous success.

Those who deal in evil carry along with them the springs of their own destruction, upon which they will tread, in spite of every caution, and their imagined security is but the brink of the pit into which they are to fall. It was so with the captain of this slave-ship. He arrived in Africa, took in a considerable number of slaves, and in order to complete his cargo, went on shore, leaving his mate in charge of the vessel. This mate was a bold, wicked, reckless and ungovernable spirit, and perceiving in Benito de Soto a mind congenial with his own, he fixed on him as a fit person to join in a design he had conceived, of running away with the vessel, and becoming a pirate. Accordingly the mate proposed his plan to Soto, who not only agreed to join in it, but declared that he himself had been contemplating a similar enterprise during the voyage. They both were at once of a mind, and they lost no time in maturing their plot.

Their first step was to break the matter to the other members of the crew. In this they proceeded cautiously, and succeeded so far as to gain over twenty-two of the whole, leaving eighteen who remained faithful to their trust. Every means were used to corrupt the well disposed; both persuasion and threats were resorted to, but without effect, and the leader of the conspiracy, the mate, began to despair of obtaining the desired object. Soto, however, was not so easily depressed. He at once decided on seizing the ship upon the strength of his party: and without consulting the mate, he collected all the arms of the vessel, called the conspirators together, put into each of their possession a cutlass and a brace of pistols, and arming himself in like manner, advanced at the head of the gang, drew his sword, and declared the mate to be the commander of the ship, and the men who joined him part owners. Still, those who had rejected the evil offer remained unmoved; on which Soto ordered out the boats, and pointing to the land, cried out, “There is the African coast; this is our ship – one or the other must be chosen by every man on board within five minutes.”

This declaration, although it had the effect of preventing any resistance that might have been offered by the well disposed,

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to the taking of the vessel, did not change them from their purpose; they still refused to join in the robbery, and entered one by one into the boat, at the orders of Soto, and with but one pair of oars (all that was allowed to them) put off for the shore, from which they were then ten miles distant. Had the weather continued calm, as it was when the boat left the ship, she would have made the shore by dusk; but unhappily a strong gale of wind set in shortly after her departure, and she was seen by Soto and his gang struggling with the billows and approaching night, at such a distance from the land as she could not possibly accomplish while the gale lasted. All on board the ship agreed in opinion that the boat could not live, as they flew away from her at the rate of ten knots an hour, under close reefed topsails, leaving their unhappy messmates to their inevitable fate. Those of the pirates who were lately executed at Cadiz, declared that every soul in the boat perished.

The drunken uproar which that night reigned in the pirate ship was in horrid unison with the raging elements around her; contention and quarrelling followed the brutal ebriety of the pirates; each evil spirit sought the mastery of the others, and Soto's, which was the fiend of all, began to grasp and grapple for its proper place – the head of such a diabolical community. The mate (now the chief) at once gave the reins to his ruffian tyranny; and the keen eye of Soto saw that he who had fawned with him the day before, would next day rule him with an iron rod. Prompt in his actions as he was penetrating in his judgment, he had no sooner conceived a jealousy of the leader than he determined to put him aside; and as his rival lay in his drunken sleep, Soto put a pistol to his head, and deliberately shot him. For this act he excused himself to the crew, by stating to them that it was in *their* protection he did the act; that *their* interest was the other's death; and concluded by declaring himself their leader, and promising a golden harvest to their future labors, provided they obeyed him. Soto succeeded to the height of his wishes, and was unanimously hailed by the crew as their captain.

On board the vessel, as I before stated, were a number of slaves, and these the pirates had well secured under hatches. They now turned their attention to those half starved, half suffocated creatures; – some were for throwing them overboard, while others, not less cruel, but more desirous of gain, proposed to take them to some port in one of those countries that deal in human beings, and there sell them. The latter recommendation was adopted, and Soto steered for the West Indies, where he received a good price for his slaves. One of those wretched creatures, a boy, he reserved as a servant for himself; and this boy was destined by Providence to be the witness of the punishment of those white men who tore away from their homes himself and his brethren. He alone will carry back to his country the truth of Heaven's retribution, and heal the wounded feelings of broken kindred with the recital of it.

The pirates now entered freely into their villainous pursuit, and plundered many vessels; amongst others was an American brig, the treatment of which forms the *chef d'oeuvre* of their atrocity. Having taken out of this brig all the valuables they could find, they hatched down all hands to the hold, except a black man, who was allowed to remain on deck for the special purpose of affording in his torture an amusing exhibition to

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Soto and his gang. They set fire to the brig, then lay to, to observe the progress of the flames; and as the miserable African bounded from rope to rope, now climbing to the mast head – now clinging to the shrouds – now leaping to one part of the vessel, and now to another, – their enjoyment seemed raised to its highest pitch. At length the hatches opened to the devouring element, the tortured victim of their fiendish cruelty fell exhausted into the flames, and the horrid and revolting scene closed amidst the shouts of the miscreants who had caused it.

Of their other exploits, that which ranks next in turpitude, and which led to their overthrow, was the piracy of the *Morning Star*. They fell in with that vessel near the island Ascension, in the year 1828, as she was on her voyage from Ceylon to England. This vessel, besides a valuable cargo, had on board several passengers, consisting of a major and his wife, an assistant surgeon, two civilians, about five and twenty invalid soldiers, and three or four of their wives. As soon as Benito de Soto perceived the ship, which was at daylight on the 21st of February, he called up all hands, and prepared for attacking her; he was at the time steering on an opposite course to that of the *Morning Star*. On reconnoitring her, he at first supposed she was a French vessel; but Barbazan, one of his crew, who was himself a Frenchman, assured him the ship was British. "So much the better," exclaimed Soto, in English (for he could speak that language), "we shall find the more booty." He then ordered the sails to be squared, and ran before the wind in chase of his plunder, from which he was about two leagues distant.

The *Defensor de Pedro*, the name of the pirate ship, was a fast sailer, but owing to the press of canvas which the *Morning Star* hoisted soon after the pirate had commenced the chase, he did not come up with her so quickly as he had expected: the delay caused great uneasiness to Soto, which he manifested by muttering curses, and restlessness of manner. Sounds of savage satisfaction were to be heard from every mouth but his at the prospect; he alone expressed his anticipated pleasure by oaths, menaces, and mental inquietude. While Barbazan was employed in superintending the clearing of the decks, the arming and breakfasting of the men, he walked rapidly up and down, revolving in his mind the plan of the approaching attack, and when interrupted by any of the crew, he would run into a volley of imprecations. In one instance, he struck his black boy a violent blow with a telescope, because he asked him if he would have his morning cup of chocolate; as soon, however, as he set his studding sails, and perceived that he was gaining on the *Morning Star*, he became somewhat tranquil, began to eat heartily of cold beef, drank his chocolate at a draught, and coolly sat down on the deck to smoke a cigar.

In less than a quarter of an hour, the pirate had gained considerable on the other vessel. Soto now, without rising from where he sat, ordered a gun, with blank cartridge, to be fired, and the British colors to be hoisted: but finding this measure had not the effect of bringing the *Morning Star* to, he cried out, "Shot the long gun and give it her point blank." The order was obeyed, but the shot fell short of the intention, on which he jumped up and cursed the fellows for bunglers who had fired the gun. He then ordered them to load with canister shot, and took the match in his own hand. He did not, however, fire immediately, but waited until he was nearly abreast of his



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victim; then directing the aim himself, and ordering a man to stand by the flag to haul it down, fired with an air that showed he was sure of his mark. He then ran to haul up the Colombian colors, and having done so, cried out through the speaking trumpet, "Lower your boat down this moment, and let your captain come on board with his papers."

During this fearful chase the people on board the *Morning Star* were in the greatest alarm; but however their apprehensions might have been excited, that courage, which is so characteristic of a British sailor, never for a moment forsook the captain. He boldly carried on sail, and although one of the men fell from a wound, and the ravages of the shot were every where around him, he determined not to strike. But unhappily he had not a single gun on board, and no small arms that could render his courage availing. The tears of the women, and the prudent advice of the passengers overcoming his resolution, he permitted himself to be guided by the general opinion. One of the passengers volunteered himself to go on board the pirate, and a boat was lowered for the purpose. Both vessels now lay to within fifty yards of each other, and a strong hope arose in those on board the *Morning Star*, that the gentleman who had volunteered to go to the pirate, might, through his exertions, avert, at least, the worst of the dreaded calamity.

Some people here, in their quiet security, have made no scruple of declaring, that the commanding officer of the soldiers on board should not have so tamely yielded to the pirate, particularly as he had his wife along with him, and consequently a misfortune to dread, that might be thought even worse than death: but all who knew the true state of the circumstances, and reflect upon it, will allow that he adopted the only chance of escaping that, which was to be most feared by a husband. The long gun, which was on a pivot in the centre of the pirate ship, could in a few shots sink the *Morning Star*; and even had resistance been made to the pirates as they boarded her — had they been killed or made prisoners — the result would not be much better. It was evident that the *Defensor de Pedro* was the best sailer, consequently the *Morning Star* could not hope to escape; in fact, submission or total destruction was the only choice. The commanding officer, therefore, acted for the best when he recommended the former. There was some slight hope of escaping with life, and without personal abuse, by surrendering, but to contend must be inevitable death.

The gentleman who had gone in a boat to the pirate returned in a short time, exhibiting every proof of the ill treatment he had received from Soto and his crew. It appears that when the villains learned that he was not the captain, they fell upon and beat him, as well as the sailors along with him, in a most brutal manner, and with the most horrid imprecations told him, that if the captain did not instantly come, on his return to the vessel, they would blow the ship out of the water. This report as once decided the captain in the way he was to act. Without hesitation he stepped into the boat, taking with him his second mate, three soldiers and a sailor boy, and proceeded to the pirate. On going on board that vessel, along with the mate, Soto, who stood near the mainmast, with his drawn cutlass in his hand, desired him to approach, while the mate was ordered, by Barbazan, to go to the forecabin. Both these unfortunate individuals obeyed, and were instantly slaughtered.



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Soto now ordered six picked men to descend into the boat, amongst whom was Barbazan. To him the leader addressed his orders, the last of which was, to take care to put all in the prize to death, and then sink her.

The six pirates, who proceeded to execute his savage demand, were all armed alike, — they each carried a brace of pistols, a cutlass and a long knife. Their dress was composed of a sort of coarse cotton chequered jacket and trowsers, shirts that were open at the collar, red woollen caps, and broad canvas waistbelts, in which were the pistols and the knives. They were all athletic men, and seemed such as might well be trusted with the sanguinary errand on which they were despatched. While the boat was conveying them, Soto held in his hand a cutlass, reddened with the blood of the murdered captain, and stood scowling on them with silence: while another ruffian, with a lighted match, stood by the long gun, ready to support the boarding, if necessary, with a shot that would sweep the deck. As the boarders approached the *Morning Star*, the terror of the females became excessive; they clung to their husbands in despair, who endeavored to allay their fears by their own vain hopes, assuring them that a quiet submission nothing more than the plunder of the vessel was to be apprehended. But a few minutes miserably undeceived them. The pirates rapidly mounted the side, and as they jumped on deck, commenced to cut right and left at all within their reach, uttering at the same time the most dreadful oaths. The females, screaming, hurried to hide themselves below as well as they were able, and the men fell or fled before the pirates, leaving them entire masters of the decks.

When the pirates had succeeded in effectually prostrating all the people on deck, they drove most of them below, and reserved the remainder to assist in their operations. Unless the circumstances be closely examined, it may be wondered how six men could have so easily overcome a crew of English seamen supported by about twenty soldiers with a major at their head: — but it will not appear so surprising, when it is considered that the sailors were altogether unarmed, the soldiers were worn out invalids, and more particularly, that the pirate carried a heavy long gun, ready to sink her victim at a shot. Major Logie was fully impressed with the folly of opposing so powerful and desperate an enemy, and therefore advised submission as the only course for the safety of those under his charge; presuming no doubt that something like humanity might be found in the breasts even of the worst of men. But alas! he was woefully deceived in his estimate of the villains' nature, and felt, when too late, that even death would have been preferable to the barbarous treatment he was forced to endure.

Beaten, bleeding, terrified, the men lay huddled together in the hold, while the pirates proceeded in their work of pillage and brutality. Every trunk was hauled forth, every portable article of value heaped for the plunder; money, plate, charts, nautical instruments, and seven parcels of valuable jewels, which formed part of the cargo; these were carried from below on the backs of those men whom the pirates selected to assist them, and for two hours they were thus employed, during which time Soto stood upon his own deck directing the operations; for the vessels were within a hundred yards of each other. The scene which took place in the cabin exhibited a licentious brutality. The sick officer,



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Mr. Gibson, was dragged from his berth; the clothes of the other passengers stripped from their backs, and the whole of the cabin passengers driven on deck, except the females, whom they locked up in the round-house on deck, and the steward, who was detained to serve the pirates with wine and eatables. This treatment, no doubt hastened the death of Gibson; the unfortunate gentleman did not long survive it. As the passengers were forced up the cabin ladder, the feelings of Major Logie, it may be imagined, were of the most heart-rending description. In vain did he entreat to be allowed to remain; he was hurried away from even the chance of protecting his defenceless wife, and batted down with the rest in the hold, there to be racked with the fearful apprehensions of their almost certain doom.

The labors of the robbers being now concluded, they sat down to regale themselves, preparatory to the *chef d'oeuvre* of their diabolical enterprise; and a more terrible group of demi-devils, the steward declares, could not be well imagined than commanded his attention at the cabin table. However, as he was a Frenchman, and naturally polite, he acquitted himself of the office of cup-bearer, if not as gracefully, at least as anxiously, as ever did Ganymede herself. Yet, notwithstanding this readiness to serve the visitors in their gastronomic desires, the poor steward felt ill-requited; he was twice frightened into an icicle, and twice thawed back into conscious horror, by the rudeness of those he entertained. In one instance, when he had filled out a sparkling glass for a ruffian, and believed he had quite won the heart of the drinker by the act, he found himself grasped roughly and tightly by the throat, and the point of a knife staring him in the face. It seems the fellow who thus seized him, had felt between his teeth a sharp bit of broken glass, and fancying that something had been put in the wine to poison him, he determined to prove his suspicions by making the steward swallow what remained in the bottle from which the liquor had been drawn, and thus unceremoniously prefaced his command; however, ready and implicit obedience averted further bad consequences. The other instance of the steward's jeopardy was this; when the repast was ended, one of the gentlemen coolly requested him to waive all delicacy, and point out the place in which the captain's money was concealed. He might as well have asked him to produce the philosopher's stone. However, pleading the truth was of no use; his determined requisitor seconded the demand by snapping a pistol at his breast; having missed fire, he recocked, and again presented; but the fatal weapon was struck aside by Barbazan, who reproved the rashness with a threat, and thus averted the steward's impending fate. It was then with feelings of satisfaction he heard himself ordered to go down to the hold, and in a moment he was bolted in among his fellow sufferers.

The ruffians indulged in the pleasures of the bottle for some time longer, and then having ordered down the females, treated them with even less humanity than characterized their conduct towards the others. The screams of the helpless females were heard in the hold by those who were unable to render them assistance, and agonizing, indeed, must those screams have been to their incarcerated hearers! How far the brutality of the pirates was carried in this stage of the horrid proceeding, we can only surmise; fortunately, their lives were spared, although, as it afterwards appeared, the orders of Soto were to butcher every being on board; and it is thought that these orders

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were not put into action, in consequence of the villains having wasted so much time in drinking, and otherwise indulging themselves; for it was not until the loud voice of their chief was heard to recall them, that they prepared to leave the ship; they therefore contented themselves with fastening the women within the cabin, heaping heavy lumber on the hatches of the hold, and boring holes in the planks of the vessel below the surface of the water, so that in destroying the unhappy people at one swoop, they might make up for the lost time. They then left the ship, sinking fast to her apparently certain fate.

It may be reasonably supposed, bad as their conduct was towards the females, and pitiable as was the suffering it produced, that the lives of the whole left to perish were preserved through it; for the ship must have gone down if the women had been either taken out of her or murdered, and those in the hold inevitably have gone with her to the bottom. But by good fortune, the females succeeded in forcing their way out of the cabin, and became the means of liberating the men confined in the hold. When they came on deck, it was nearly dark, yet they could see the pirate ship at a considerable distance, with all her sails set and bearing away from them. They prudently waited, concealed from the possibility of being seen by the enemy, and when the night fell, they crept to the hatchway, and called out to the men below to endeavor to effect their liberation, informing them that the pirate was away and out of sight. They then united their efforts, and the lumber being removed, the hatches gave way to the force below, so that the released captives breathed of hope again. The delightful draught, however, was checked, when the ship was found to contain six feet of water! A momentary collapse took possession of all their newly excited expectations; cries and groans of despair burst forth, but the sailors' energy quickly returned, and was followed by that of the others; they set to work at the pumps, and by dint of labor succeeded in keeping the vessel afloat. Yet to direct her course was impossible; the pirates having completely disabled her, by cutting away her rigging and sawing the masts all the way through. The eye of Providence, however, was not averted from the hapless people, for they fell in with a vessel next day that relieved them from their distressing situation, and brought them to England in safety.

We will now return to Soto, and show how the hand of that Providence that secured his intended victims, fell upon himself and his wicked associates. Intoxicated with their infamous success, the night had far advanced before Soto learned that the people in the *Morning Star*, instead of being slaughtered, were only left to be drowned. The information excited his utmost rage. He reproached Barbazan, and those who had accompanied them in the boarding, with disobeying his orders, and declared that now there could be no security for their lives. Late as the hour was, and long as he had been steering away from the *Morning Star*, he determined to put back, in the hope of effectually preventing the escape of those in the devoted vessel, by seeing them destroyed before his eyes. Soto was a follower of the principle inculcated by the old maxim, "Dead men tell no tales;" and in pursuance of his doctrine, lost not a moment in putting about and running back. But it was too late; he could find no trace of the vessel, and so consoled himself with the belief that she was at the bottom of the sea, many fathoms below the ken and

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cognizance of Admiralty Courts.

Soto, thus satisfied, bent his course to Europe. On his voyage he fell in with a small brig, boarded, plundered, sunk her, and, that he might not again run the hazard of encountering living witnesses of his guilt, murdered the crew, with the exception of one individual, whom he took along with him, on account of his knowledge of the course to Corunna, whither he intended to proceed. But, faithful to his principles of self-protection, as soon as he had made full use of the unfortunate sailor, and found himself in sight of the destined port, he came up to him at the helm, which he held in his hand, "My friend," said he "is that the harbor of Corunna?" – "Yes," was the reply. "Then," rejoined Soto, "You have done your duty well, and I am obliged to you for your services." On the instant he drew a pistol and shot the man; then coolly flung his body overboard, took the helm himself, and steered into his native harbor as little concerned as if he had returned from an honest voyage. At this port he obtained papers in a false name, disposed of a great part of his booty, and after a short stay set out for Cadiz, where he expected a market for the remainder. He had a fair wind until he came within sight of the coast near that city. It was coming on dark and he lay to, expecting to go into his anchorage next morning, but the wind shifted to the westward, and suddenly began to blow a heavy gale; it was right on the land. He luffed his ship as close to the wind as possible, in order to clear a point that stretched outward, and beat off to windward, but his lee-way carried him towards the land, and he was caught when he least expected the trap. The gale increased – the night grew pitchy dark – the roaring breakers were on his lee-beam – the drifting vessel strikes, rebounds, and strikes again – the cry of horror rings through the flapping cordage, and despair is in the eyes of the demon-crew. Helpless they lie amid the wrath of the storm, and the darkened face of Heaven, for the first time, strikes terror on their guilty hearts. Death is before them, but not with a merciful quickness does he approach; hour after hour the frightful vision glares upon them, and at length disappears only to come upon them again in a more dreadful form. The tempest abates, and the sinners were spared for the time.

As the daylight broke they took to their boats, and abandoned the vessel to preserve their lives. But there was no repentance in the pirates; along with the night and the winds went the voice of conscience, and they thought no more of what had passed. They stood upon the beach gazing at the wreck, and the first thought of Soto, was to sell it, and purchase another vessel for the renewal of his atrocious pursuits. With the marked decision of his character, he proposed his intention to his followers, and received their full approbation. The plan was instantly arranged; they were to present themselves as honest, shipwrecked mariners to the authorities at Cadiz; Soto was to take upon himself the office of mate, or *contra maestra*, to an imaginary captain, and thus obtain their sanction in disposing of the vessel. In their assumed character, the whole proceeded to Cadiz, and presented themselves before the proper officers of the marine. Their story was listened to with sympathy, and for a few days every thing went on to their satisfaction. Soto had succeeded so well as to conclude the sale of the wreck with a broker, for the sum of one thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars; the contract was signed, but fortunately the money was



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not yet paid, when suspicion arose, from some inconsistencies in the pirates' account of themselves, and six of them were arrested by the authorities. Soto and one of his crew instantly disappeared from Cadiz, and succeeded in arriving at the neutral ground before Gibraltar, and six more made their escape to the Carraccas.

None are permitted to enter the fortress of Gibraltar, without permission from the governor, or a passport. Soto and his companion, therefore, took up their quarters at a Posade on the neutral ground, and resided there in security for several days. The busy and daring mind of the former could not long remain inactive; he proposed to his companion to attempt to enter the garrison in disguise and by stealth, but could not prevail upon him to consent. He therefore resolved to go in alone; and his object in doing so was to procure a supply of money by a letter of credit which he brought with him from Cadiz. His companion, more wise than he, chose the safer course; he knew that the neutral ground was not much controllable by the laws either of the Spanish or the English, and although there was not much probability of being discovered, he resolved not to trust to chance in so great a stake as his life; and he proved to have been right in his judgment, for had he gone to Gibraltar, he would have shared the same fate of his chief. This man is the only one of the whole gang, who has not met with the punishment of his crimes, for he succeeded in effecting his escape on board some vessel. It is not even suspected to what country he is gone; but his description, no doubt, is registered. The steward of the *Morning Star* informed me, that he is a tall, stout man, with fair hair, and fresh complexion, of a mild and gentle countenance, but that he was one of the worst villains of the whole piratical crew. I believe he is stated to be a Frenchman. Soto secured his admission into the garrison by a false pass, and took up his residence at an inferior tavern in a narrow lane, which runs off the main street of Gibraltar, and is kept by a man of the name of Basso. The appearance of this house suits well with the associations of the worthy Benito's life. I have occasion to pass the door frequently at night, for our barrack, (the Casement,) is but a few yards from it. I never look at the place without feeling an involuntary sensation of horror – the smoky and dirty nooks – the distant groups of dark Spaniards, Moors, and Jews, their sallow countenances made yellow by the light of dim oil lamps – the unceiled rafters of the rooms above, seen through unshuttered windows and the consciousness of their having covered the atrocious Soto, combine this effect upon me. In this den the villain remained for a few weeks, and during this time seemed to enjoy himself as if he had never committed a murder. The story he told Basso of his circumstances was, that he had come to Gibraltar on his way to Cadiz from Malaga, and was merely awaiting the arrival of a friend. He dressed expensively – generally wore a white hat of the best English quality, silk stockings, white trowsers, and blue frock coat. His whiskers were large and bushy, and his hair, which was very black, profuse, long and naturally curled, was much in the style of a London preacher of prophetic and anti-poetic notoriety. He was deeply browned with the sun, and had an air and gait expressive of his bold, enterprising, and desperate mind. Indeed, when I saw him in his cell and at his trial, although his frame was attenuated almost to a skeleton, the color of his

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face a pale yellow, his eyes sunken, and hair closely shorn; he still exhibited strong traces of what he had been, still retained his erect and fearless carriage, his quick, fiery, and malevolent eye, his hurried and concise speech, and his close and pertinent style of remark. He appeared to me such a man as would have made a hero in the ranks of his country, had circumstances placed him in the proper road to fame; but ignorance and poverty turned into the most ferocious robber, one who might have rendered service and been an honor to his sunken country. I should like to hear what the [phrenologists](#) say of his head; it appeared to me to be the most peculiar I had ever seen, and certainly, as far as the bump of *destructiveness* went, bore the theory fully out. It is rumored here that the skull has been sent to the *savans* of Edinburg; if this be the case, we shall no doubt be made acquainted with their sage opinions upon the subject, and great conquerors will receive a farther assurance of how much they resemble in their physical natures the greatest murderers.

When I visited the pirate in the Moorish castle where he was confined, he was sitting in his cold, narrow, and miserable cell, upon a pallet of straw, eating his coarse meal from a tin plate. I thought him more an object of pity than vengeance; he looked so worn with disease, so crushed with suffering, yet so affable, frank, and kind in his address; for he happened to be in a communicative mood, a thing that was by no means common with him. He spoke of his long confinement, till I thought the tears were about to start from his eyes, and alluded to his approaching trial with satisfaction; but his predominant characteristic, ferocity, appeared in his small piercing black eyes before I left him, as he alluded to his keeper, the Provost, in such a way that made me suspect his desire for blood was not yet extinguished. When he appeared in court on his trial, his demeanor was quite altered; he seemed to me to have suddenly risen out of the wretch he was in his cell, to all the qualities I had heard of him; he stood erect and unembarrassed; he spoke with a strong voice, attended closely to the proceedings, occasionally examined the witnesses, and at the conclusion protested against the justice of his trial. He sometimes spoke to the guards around him, and sometimes affected an air of carelessness of his awful situation, which, however, did not sit easy upon him. Even here the leading trait of his mind broke forth; for when the interpreter commenced his office, the language which he made use of being pedantic and affected, Soto interrupted him thus, while a scowl sat upon his brow that terrified the man of words: "I don't understand you, man; speak Spanish like others, and I'll listen to you." When the dirk that belonged to Mr. Robertson, the trunk and clothes taken from Mr. Gibson, and the pocket book containing the ill-fated captain's handwriting were placed before him, and proved to have been found in his room, and when the maid servant of the tavern proved that she found the dirk under his pillow every morning on arranging his bed; and when he was confronted with his own black slave, between two wax lights, the countenance of the villain appeared in its true nature, not depressed nor sorrowful, but vivid and ferocious; and when the patient and dignified governor, Sir George Don, passed the just sentence of the law upon him, he looked daggers at his heart, and assumed a horrid silence, more eloquent than words.



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The criminal persisted up to the day before his execution in asserting his innocence, and inveighing against the injustice of his trial, but the certainty of his fate, and the awful voice of religion, at length subdued him. He made an unreserved confession of his guilt, and became truly penitent; gave up to the keeper the blade of a razor which he had secreted between the soles of his shoes for the acknowledged purpose of adding suicide to his crimes, and seemed to wish for the moment that was to send him before his Creator.

I witnessed his execution, and I believe there never was a more contrite man than he appeared to be; yet there were no drivelling fears upon him – he walked firmly at the tail of the fatal cart, gazing sometimes at his coffin, sometimes at the crucifix which he held in his hand. The symbol of divinity he frequently pressed to his lips, repeated the prayers spoken in his ear by the attendant clergyman, and seemed regardless of every thing but the world to come. The gallows was erected beside the water, and fronting the neutral ground. He mounted the cart as firmly as he had walked behind it, and held up his face to Heaven and the beating rain, calm, resigned, but unshaken; and finding the halter too high for his neck, he boldly stepped upon his coffin, and placed his head in the noose, then watching the first turn of the wheels, he murmured "*adios todos*,"¹²⁷ and leaned forward to facilitate his fall.

The black slave of the pirate stood upon the battery trembling before his dying master to behold the awful termination of a series of events, the recital of which to his African countrymen, when he shall return to his home, will give them no doubt, a dreadful picture of European civilization. The black boy was acquitted at Cadiz, but the men who had fled to the Carraccas, as well as those arrested after the wreck, were convicted, executed, their limbs severed, and hung on tenter hooks, as a warning to all pirates.

127. "Farewell, all."

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➡ June: When the schooner *St. Helena* used by the East India Company's government of *St. Helena* was captured by *pirates*, they eliminated the crew by tying pairs back to back and shoving them over the rail.

A *negrero* flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Emilia*, master F. Lescaya, on its one and only known Middle Passage, had started with a cargo of 210 *enslaved* Africans out of Kalabari but arrived during this month at Havana, *Cuba* with only 192 for 18 had died in transit.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



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1831

➡ From this year into the next in the Falkland Islands, Captain Duncan of the USS *Lexington* would be investigating the capture of three American sealing vessels and seeking to protect American interests.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

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CONTINGENCY

ALTHOUGH VERY MANY OUTCOMES ARE OVERDETERMINED, WE TRUST
THAT SOMETIMES WE ACTUALLY MAKE REAL CHOICES.

➡ January: Capture by Malay [pirates](#) of the *Friendship*, and the murder of five members of its crew: the worst tragedy in the history of the [pepper](#) trade between Salem and [Sumatra](#) (the US Navy would of course retaliate).

SPICE

➡ February 16, Wednesday: Representative Mercer moved that the rule of the US House of Representatives in regard to motions be temporarily suspended, so that he might submit a resolution requesting the Executive branch of the federal government “to enter into negotiations with the maritime Powers of Europe, to induce them to enact laws declaring the African slave trade [piracy](#), and punishing it as such.” The House would not, however, allow its rule to be thus suspended (Gales and Seaton, REGISTER OF DEBATES, VII. 726).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 16 of 2 M 1831 / I desire to inculcate in my own mind, & would in other's if I could, a disposition to take the benefit of present goods, without looking behind or before, at ills that have happened or that may be perceived may happen - the longer I live the more I feel the force & verity of the saying that "the present time is only ours" & believe it is our duty to improve it in the best manner we can & at all times & in all things labour after a thankful humble state.- I know from experience this is sometimes hard to arrive at, but I believe we may attain to much more than is generally practiced by a careful & watchful disposition to keep out & keep down, all which would destroy in Gods Holy Mountain - all which would arise to lay waste the precious seed of life in our hearts - I do not conceive this to be effected of our selves, but as we cultivate the disposition we shall be assisted thro' the assistance & Mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord & Saviour, to know an establishment which the Storms & probations incident to this life will not effect or remove - some times the center may be permitted to be shaken but as we keep to it we shall find it sufficiently under all circumstances. - May I, may all who have



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had this precious shield of faith committed to us, not cast it away, as tho' it had never been anointed with Oil. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 3, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 3 of 3 M / Went to town & having Abby Rodman to see on board the Steam Boat for home I did not attend Meeting in town -perhaps it will be no more than honest to say that I forgot it till it was too late to go -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Inventor George Mortimer Pullman was born in Brocton, [New York](#).

Representative Mercer moved that the US House of Representatives temporarily suspend its rules so that he could submit a resolution. The House voted 108 over 36 to suspend and Mr. Mercer's resolution passed by a vote of 118 over 32.

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to renew, and to prosecute from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America as he may deem expedient for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as [piracy](#), under the laws of nations, by the consent of the civilized world." HOUSE JOURNAL, 21st Congress, 2d session, pages 426-8.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

 April 22, Friday: The net yearly revenue of the British monarch was reduced from £1,080,000 to £510,000.

The [pirates](#) Charles Gibbs, born in [Rhode Island](#) in 1794, and Thomas J. Wansley, were [hanged](#) at Bellevue Prison of [New-York](#).

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THE LIFE OF CHARLES GIBBS. CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS ATROCITIES COMMITTED IN THE WEST INDIES¹²⁸



This atrocious and cruel pirate, when very young became addicted to vices uncommon in youths of his age, and so far from the gentle reproof and friendly admonition, or the more severe chastisement of a fond parent, having its intended effect, it seemed to render him still worse, and to incline him to repay those whom he ought to have esteemed as his best friends and who had manifested so much regard for his welfare, with ingratitude and neglect. His infamous career and ignominious death on the gallows; brought down the "grey hairs of his parents in sorrow to the grave." The poignant affliction which the infamous crimes of children bring upon their relatives ought to be one of the most effective persuasions for them to refrain from vice. Charles Gibbs was born in the state of Rhode Island, in 1794; his parents and connexions were of the first respectability. When at school, he was very apt to learn, but so refractory and sulky, that neither the birch nor good counsel made any impression on him, and he was expelled from the school.

He was now made to labor on a farm; but having a great antipathy

128. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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to work, when about fifteen years of age, feeling a great inclination to roam, and like too many unreflecting youths of that age, a great fondness for the sea, he in opposition to the friendly counsel of his parents, privately left them and entered on board the United States sloop-of-war, *Hornet*, and was in the action when she captured the British sloop-of-war *Peacock*, off the coast of Pernambuco. Upon the return of the *Hornet* to the United States, her brave commander, Capt. Lawrence, was promoted for his gallantry to the command of the unfortunate *Chesapeake*, and to which he was followed by young Gibbs, who took a very distinguished part in the engagement with the *Shannon*, which resulted in the death of Lawrence and the capture of the *Chesapeake*. Gibbs states that while on board the *Chesapeake* the crew previous to the action, were almost in a state of mutiny, growing out of the non payment of the prize money, and that the address of Capt. Lawrence was received by them with coldness and murmurs.

After the engagement, Gibbs became with the survivors of the crew a prisoner of war, and as such was confined in Dartmoor prison until exchanged.

After his exchange, he returned to Boston, where having determined to abandon the sea, he applied to his friends in Rhode Island, to assist him in commencing business; they accordingly lent him one thousand dollars as a capital to begin with. He opened a grocery in Ann Street, near what was then called the *Tin Pot*, a place full of abandoned women and dissolute fellows. As he dealt chiefly in liquor, and had a "*License to retail Spirits*," his drunkery was thronged with customers. But he sold his groceries chiefly to loose girls who paid him in their coin, which, although it answered his purpose, would neither buy him goods or pay his rent, and he found his stock rapidly dwindling away without his receiving any cash to replenish it. By dissipation and inattention his new business proved unsuccessful to him. He resolved to abandon it and again try the sea for a subsistence. With a hundred dollars in his pocket, the remnant of his property, he embarked in the ship *John*, for Buenos Ayres, and his means being exhausted soon after his arrival there, he entered on board a Buenos Ayrean privateer and sailed on a cruise. A quarrel between the officers and crew in regard to the division of prize money, led eventually to a mutiny; and the mutineers gained the ascendancy, took possession of the vessel, landed the crew on the coast of Florida, and steered for the West Indies, with hearts resolved to make their fortunes at all hazards, and where in a short time, more than twenty vessels were captured by them and nearly *Four Hundred Human Beings Murdered!*

Havana was the resort of these [pirates](#) to dispose of their plunder; and Gibbs sauntered about this place with impunity and was acquainted in all the out of the way and bye places of that hot bed of pirates the Regla. He and his comrades even lodged in the very houses with many of the American officers who were sent out to take them. He was acquainted with many of the officers and was apprised of all their intended movements before they left the harbor. On one occasion, the American ship *Caroline*, was captured by two of their piratical vessels off Cape Antonio. They were busily engaged in landing the cargo, when the British sloop-of-war, *Jearus*, hove in sight and sent her barges to attack them. The pirates defended themselves for



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some time behind a small four gun battery which they had erected, but in the end were forced to abandon their own vessel and the prize and fly to the mountains for safety. The Jearus found here twelve vessels burnt to the water's edge, and it was satisfactorily ascertained that their crews, amounting to *one hundred and fifty persons had been murdered*. The crews, if it was thought not necessary otherways to dispose of them were sent adrift in their boats, and frequently without any thing on which they could subsist a single day; nor were all so fortunate thus to escape. "Dead men can tell no tales," was a common saying among them; and as soon as a ship's crew were taken, a short consultation was held; and if it was the opinion of a majority that it would be better to take life than to spare it, a single nod or wink from the captain was sufficient; regardless of age or sex, all entreaties for mercy were then made in vain; they possessed not the tender feelings, to be operated upon by the shrieks and expiring groans of the devoted victims! there was a strife among them, who with his own hands could despatch the greatest number, and in the shortest period of time.

Without any other motives than to gratify their hellish propensities (in their intoxicated moments), blood was not unnecessarily and unnecessarily shed, and many widows and orphans probably made, when the lives of the unfortunate victims might have been spared, and without the most distant prospect of any evil consequences (as regarded themselves), resulting therefrom.

Gibbs states that sometime in the course of the year 1819, he left Havana and came to the United States, bringing with him about \$30,000. He passed several weeks in the city of New York, and then went to Boston, whence he took passage for Liverpool in the ship Emerald. Before he sailed, however, he has squandered a large part of his money by dissipation and gambling. He remained in Liverpool a few months, and then returned to Boston. His residence in Liverpool at that time is satisfactorily ascertained from another source besides his own confession. A female now in New York was well acquainted with him there, where, she says, he lived like a gentleman, with apparently abundant means of support. In speaking of his acquaintance with this female he says, "I fell in with a woman, who I thought was all virtue, but she deceived me, and I am sorry to say that a heart that never felt abashed at scenes of carnage and blood, was made a child of for a time by her, and I gave way to dissipation to drown the torment. How often when the fumes of liquor have subsided, have I thought of my good and affectionate parents, and of their Godlike advice! But when the little monitor began to move within me, I immediately seized the cup to hide myself from myself, and drank until the sense of intoxication was renewed. My friends advised me to behave myself like a man, and promised me their assistance, but the demon still haunted me, and I spurned their advice."

In 1826, he revisited the United States, and hearing of the war between Brazil and the Republic of Buenos Ayres, sailed from Boston in the brig Hitty, of Portsmouth, with a determination, as he states, of trying his fortune in defence of a republican government. Upon his arrival he made himself known to Admiral Brown, and communicated his desire to join their navy. The admiral accompanied him to the Governor, and a Lieutenant's commission being given him, he joined a ship of 34 guns, called

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the 'Twenty Fifth of May.' "Here," says Gibbs, "I found Lieutenant Dodge, an old acquaintance, and a number of other persons with whom I had sailed. When the Governor gave me the commission he told me they wanted no cowards in their navy, to which I replied that I thought he would have no apprehension of my cowardice or skill when he became acquainted with me. He thanked me, and said he hoped he should not be deceived; upon which we drank to his health and to the success of the Republic. He then presented me with a sword, and told me to wear that as my companion through the doubtful struggle in which the republic was engaged. I told him I never would disgrace it, so long as I had a nerve in my arm. I remained on board the ship in the capacity of 5th Lieutenant, for about four months, during which time we had a number of skirmishes with the enemy. Having succeeded in gaining the confidence of Admiral Brown, he put me in command of a privateer schooner, mounting two long 24 pounders and 46 men. I sailed from Buenos Ayres, made two good cruises, and returned safely to port. I then bought one half of a new Baltimore schooner, and sailed again, but was captured seven days out, and carried into Rio Janeiro, where the Brazilians paid me my change. I remained there until peace took place, then returned to Buenos Ayres, and thence to New York. "After the lapse of about a year, which I passed in travelling from place to place, the war between France and Algiers attracted my attention. Knowing that the French commerce presented a fine opportunity for plunder, I determined to embark for Algiers and offer my services to the Dey. I accordingly took passage from New York, in the Sally Ann, belonging to Bath, landed at Barcelona, crossed to Port Mahon, and endeavored to make my way to Algiers. The vigilance of the French fleet prevented the accomplishment of my design, and I proceeded to Tunis. There finding it unsafe to attempt a journey to Algiers across the desert, I amused myself with contemplating the ruins of Carthage, and reviving my recollections of her war with the Romans. I afterwards took passage to Marseilles, and thence to Boston."

An instance of the most barbarous and cold blooded murder of which the wretched Gibbs gives an account in the course of his confessions, is that of an innocent and beautiful female of about 17 or 18 years of age! she was with her parents a passenger on board a Dutch ship, bound from Curracoa to Holland; there were a number of other passengers, male and female, on board, all of whom except the young lady above-mentioned were put to death; her unfortunate parents were inhumanly butchered before her eyes, and she was doomed to witness the agonies and to hear the expiring, heart-piercing groans of those whom she held most dear, and on whom she depended for protection! The life of their wretched daughter was spared for the most nefarious purposes – she was taken by the pirates to the west end of [Cuba](#), where they had a rendezvous, with a small fort that mounted four guns – here she was confined about two months, and where, as has been said by the murderer Gibbs, "she received such treatment, the bare recollection of which causes me to shudder!" At the expiration of the two months she was taken by the pirates on board of one of their vessels, and among whom a consultation was soon after held, which resulted in the conclusion that it would be necessary for their own personal safety, to put her to death! and to her a fatal dose of poison was accordingly administered,



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which soon proved fatal! when her pure and immortal spirit took its flight to that God, whom, we believe, will avenge her wrongs! her lifeless body was then committed to the deep by two of the merciless wretches with as much unconcern, as if it had been that of the meanest brute! Gibbs persists in the declaration that in this horrid transaction he took no part, that such was his pity for this poor ill-fated female, that he interceded for her life so long as he could do it with safety to his own! Gibbs in his last visit to Boston remained there but a few days, when he took passage to New Orleans, and there entered as one of the crew on board the brig Vineyard; and for assisting in the murder of the unfortunate captain and mate of which, he was justly condemned, and the awful sentence of death passed upon him! The particulars of the bloody transaction (agreeable to the testimony of Dawes and Brownrigg, the two principal witnesses,) are as follows: The brig Vineyard, Capt. William Thornby, sailed from New Orleans about the 9th of November, for Philadelphia, with a cargo of 112 bales of cotton, 113 hhds. sugar, 54 casks of molasses and 54,000 dollars in specie. Besides the captain there were on board the brig, William Roberts, mate, six seamen shipped at New Orleans, and the cook. Robert Dawes, one of the crew, states on examination, that when, about five days out, he was told that there was money on board, Charles Gibbs, E. Church and the steward then determined to take possession of the brig. They asked James Talbot, another of the crew, to join them. He said no, as he did not believe there was money in the vessel. They concluded to kill the captain and mate, and if Talbot and John Brownrigg would not join them, to kill them also. The next night they talked of doing it, and got their clubs ready. Dawes dared not say a word, as they declared they would kill him if he did; as they did not agree about killing Talbot and Brownrigg, two shipmates, it was put off. They next concluded to kill the captain and mate on the night of November 22, but did not get ready; but, on the night of the 23d, between twelve and one o'clock, as Dawes was at the helm, saw the steward come up with a light and a knife in his hand; he dropt the light and seizing the pump break, struck the captain with it over the head or back of the neck; the captain was sent forward by the blow, and halloed, oh! and murder! once; he was then seized by Gibbs and the cook, one by the head and the other by the heels, and thrown overboard. Atwell and Church stood at the companion way, to strike down the mate when he should come up. As he came up and enquired what was the matter they struck him over the head - he ran back into the cabin, and Charles Gibbs followed him down; but as it was dark, he could not find him - Gibbs came on deck for the light, with which he returned. Dawes' light being taken from him, he could not see to steer, and he in consequence left the helm, to see what was going on below. Gibbs found the mate and seized him, while Atwell and Church came down and struck him with a pump break and a club; he was then dragged upon deck; they called for Dawes to come to them, and as he came up the mate seized his hand, and gave him a death gripe! three of them then hove him overboard, but which three Dawes does not know; the mate when cast overboard was not dead, but called after them twice while in the water! Dawes says he was so frightened that he hardly knew what to do. They then requested him to call Talbot, who was in the forecastle, saying his prayers; he came up and said it would be his turn next! but they gave him some

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grog, and told him not to be afraid, as they would not hurt him; if he was true to them, he should fare as well as they did. One of those who had been engaged in the bloody deed got drunk, and another became crazy!

After killing the captain and mate, they set about overhauling the vessel, and got up one keg of Mexican dollars. They then divided the captain's clothes, and money – about 40 dollars, and a gold watch. Dawes, Talbot and Brownrigg, (who were all innocent of the murder,) were obliged to do as they were commanded – the former, who was placed at the helm, was ordered to steer for Long Island. On the day following, they divided several kegs of the specie, amounting to five thousand dollars each – they made bags and sewed the money up. After this division, they divided the remainder of the money without counting it. On Sunday, when about 15 miles S.S.E. of Southampton Light, they got the boats out and put half the money in each – they then scuttled the vessel and set fire to it in the cabin, and took to the boats. Gibbs, after the murder, took charge of the vessel as captain. From the papers they learnt that the money belonged to Stephen Girard. With the boats they made the land about daylight. Dawes and his three companions were in the long boat; the others, with Atwell, were in the jolly boat – on coming to the bar the boats struck – in the long boat, they threw overboard a trunk of clothes and a great deal of money, in all about 5000 dollars – the jolly boat foundered; they saw the boat fill, and heard them cry out, and saw them clinging to the masts – they went ashore on Barron Island, and buried the money in the sand, but very lightly. Soon after they met with a gunner, whom they requested to conduct them where they could get some refreshments. They were by him conducted to Johnson's (the only man living on the island,) where they staid all night – Dawes went to bed at about 10 o'clock – Jack Brownrigg set up with Johnson, and in the morning told Dawes that he had told Johnson all about the murder. Johnson went in the morning with the steward for the clothes, which were left on the top of the place where they buried the money, but does not believe they took away the money.

The prisoners, (Gibbs and Wansley,) were brought to trial at the February term of the United States Court, holden in the city of New York; when the foregoing facts being satisfactorily proved, they were pronounced guilty, and on the 11th March last, the awful sentence of the law was passed upon them in the following affecting and impressive manner: – The Court opened at 11 o'clock, Judge Betts presiding. A few minutes after that hour, Mr. Hamilton, District Attorney, rose and said – May it please the Court, Thomas J. Wansley, the prisoner at the bar, having been tried by a jury of his country, and found guilty of the murder of Captain Thornby, I now move that the sentence of the Court be pronounced upon that verdict.

By the Court. Thomas J. Wansley, you have heard what has been said by the District Attorney – by the Grand Jury of the South District of New York, you have been arraigned for the wilful murder of Captain Thornby, of the brig Vineyard; you have been put upon your trial, and after a patient and impartial hearing, you have been found Guilty. The public prosecutor now moves for judgment on that verdict; have you any thing to say, why the sentence of the law should not be passed upon you?



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Thomas J. Wansley. I will say a few words, but it is perhaps of no use. I have often understood that there is a great deal of difference in respect of color, and I have seen it in this Court. Dawes and Brownrigg were as guilty as I am, and these witnesses have tried to fasten upon me greater guilt than is just, for their life has been given to them. You have taken the blacks from their own country, to bring them here to treat them ill. I have seen this. The witnesses, the jury, and the prosecuting Attorney consider me more guilty than Dawes, to condemn me – for otherwise the law must have punished him; he should have had the same verdict, for he was a perpetrator in the conspiracy. Notwithstanding my participating, they have sworn falsely for the purpose of taking my life; they would not even inform the Court, how I gave information of money being on board; they had the biggest part of the money, and have sworn falsely. I have said enough. I will say no more. *By the Court.* The Court will wait patiently and hear all you have to say; if you have any thing further to add, proceed.

Wansley then proceeded. In the first place, I was the first to ship on board the *Vineyard* at New Orleans, I knew nobody; I saw the money come on board. The judge that first examined me, did not take my deposition down correctly. When talking with the crew on board, said the brig was an old craft, and when we arrived at Philadelphia, we all agreed to leave her. It was mentioned to me that there was plenty of money on board. Henry Atwell said "let's have it." I knew no more of this for some days. Atwell came to me again and asked "what think you of taking the money." I thought it was a joke, and paid no attention to it. The next day he said they had determined to take the brig and money, and that they were the strongest party, and would murder the officers, and he that informed should suffer with them. I knew Church in Boston, and in a joke asked him how it was made up in the ship's company; his reply, that it was he and Dawes. There was no arms on board as was ascertained; the conspiracy was known to the whole company, and had I informed, my life would have been taken, and though I knew if I was found out my life would be taken by law, which is the same thing, so I did not inform. I have committed murder and I know I must die for it.

By the Court. If you wish to add any thing further you will still be heard.

Wansley. No sir, I believe I have said enough.

The District Attorney rose and moved for judgment on Gibbs, in the same manner as in the case of Wansley, and the Court having addressed Gibbs, in similar terms, concluded by asking what he had to say why the sentence of the law should not now be passed upon him.

Charles Gibbs said, I wish to state to the Court, how far I am guilty and how far I am innocent in this transaction. When I left New Orleans, I was a stranger to all on board, except Dawes and Church. It was off



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Tortugas that Atwell first told me there was money on board, and proposed to me to take possession of the brig. I refused at that time. The conspiracy was talked of for some days, and at last I agreed that I would join. Brownrigg, Dawes, Church, and the whole agreed that they would. A few days after, however, having thought of the affair, I mentioned to Atwell, what a dreadful thing it was to take a man's life, and commit piracy, and recommended him to "abolish," their plan. Atwell and Dawes remonstrated with me; I told Atwell that if ever he would speak of the subject again, I would break his nose. Had I kept to my resolution I would not have been brought here to receive my sentence. It was three days afterwards that the murder was committed. Brownrigg agreed to call up the captain from the cabin, and this man, (pointing to Wansley,) agreed to strike the first blow. The captain was struck and I suppose killed, and I lent a hand to throw him overboard. But for the murder of the mate, of which I have been found guilty, I am innocent — I had nothing to do with that. The mate was murdered by Dawes and Church; that I am innocent of this I commit my soul to that God who will judge all flesh — who will judge all murderers and false swearers, and the wicked who deprive the innocent of his right. I have nothing more to say.

By the Court. Thomas J. Wansley and Charles Gibbs, the Court has listened to you patiently and attentively; and although you have said something in your own behalf, yet the Court has heard nothing to affect the deepest and most painful duty that he who presides over a public tribunal has to perform.

You, Thomas J. Wansley, conceive that a different measure of justice has been meted out to you, because of your color. Look back upon your whole course of life; think of the laws under which you have lived, and you will find that to white or black, to free or bond, there is no ground for your allegations; that they are not supported by truth or justice. Admit that Brownrigg and Dawes have sworn falsely; admit that Dawes was concerned with you; admit that Brownrigg is not innocent; admit, in relation to both, that they are guilty, the whole evidence has proved beyond a doubt that you are guilty; and your own words admit that you were an active agent in perpetrating this horrid crime. Two fellow beings who confided in you, and in their perilous voyage called in your assistance, yet you, without reason or provocation, have maliciously taken their lives.

If, peradventure, there was the slightest foundation for a doubt of your guilt, in the mind of the Court, judgment would be arrested, but there is none; and it now remains to the Court to pronounce the most painful duty that devolves upon a civil magistrate. The Court is persuaded of your guilt; it can form no other opinion. Testimony has been heard before the Court and Jury — from that we must form our opinion. We must proceed upon testimony, ascertain facts by evidence of witnesses, on which we must inquire, judge and determine as to guilt or innocence, by that evidence alone. You



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have been found guilty. You now stand for the last time before an earthly tribunal, and by your own acknowledgments, the sentence of the law falls just on your heads. When men in ordinary cases come under the penalty of the law there is generally some palliative – something to warm the sympathy of the Court and Jury. Men may be led astray, and under the influence of passion have acted under some long smothered resentment, suddenly awakened by the force of circumstances, depriving him of reason, and then they may take the life of a fellow being. Killing, under that kind of excitement, might possibly awaken some sympathy, but that was not your case; you had no provocation. What offence had Thornby or Roberts committed against you? They entrusted themselves with you, as able and trustworthy citizens; confiding implicitly in you; no one act of theirs, after a full examination, appears to have been offensive to you; yet for the purpose of securing the money you coolly determined to take their lives – you slept and deliberated over the act; you were tempted on, and yielded; you entered into the conspiracy, with cool and determined calculation to deprive two human beings of their lives, and it was done.

You, Charles Gibbs, have said that you are not guilty of the murder of Roberts; but were you not there, strongly instigating the murderers on, and without stretching out a hand to save him? – It is murder as much to stand by and encourage the deed, as to stab with a knife, strike with a hatchet, or shoot with a pistol. It is not only murder in law, but in your own feelings and in your own conscience. Notwithstanding all this, I cannot believe that your feelings are so callous, so wholly callous, that your own minds do not melt when you look back upon the unprovoked deeds of yourselves, and those confederated with you.

You are American citizens – this country affords means of instruction to all: your appearance and your remarks have added evidence that you are more than ordinarily intelligent; that your education has enabled you to participate in the advantages of information open to all classes. The Court will believe that when you were young you looked with strong aversion on the course of life of the wicked. In early life, in boyhood, when you heard of the conduct of men, who engaged in robbery – nay more, when you heard of cold blooded murder – how you must have shrunk from the recital. Yet now, after having participated in the advantages of education, after having arrived at full maturity, you stand here as robbers and murderers.

It is a perilous employment of life that you have followed; in this way of life the most enormous crimes that man can commit, are MURDER AND PIRACY. With what detestation would you in early life have looked upon the man who would have raised his hand against his officer, or have committed piracy! yet now you both stand here murderers and pirates, tried and found guilty – you Wansley of the murder of your Captain, and you, Gibbs,

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of the murder of your Mate. The evidence has convicted you of rising in mutiny against the master of the vessel, for that alone, the law is DEATH! – of murder and robbery on the high seas, for that crime, the law adjudges DEATH – of destroying the vessel and embezzling the cargo, even for scuttling and burning the vessel alone the law is DEATH; yet of all these the evidence has convicted you, and it only remains now for the Court to pass the sentence of the law. It is, that you, Thomas J. Wansley and Charles Gibbs be taken hence to the place of confinement, there to remain in close custody, that thence you be taken to the place of execution, and on the 22d April next, between the hours of 10 and 4 o'clock, you be both publicly hanged by the neck until you are DEAD – and that your bodies be given to the College of Physicians and Surgeons for dissection.

The Court added, that the only thing discretionary with it, was the time of execution; it might have ordered that you should instantly have been taken from the stand to the scaffold, but the sentence has been deferred to as distant a period as prudent – six weeks. But this time has not been granted for the purpose of giving you any hope for pardon or commutation of the sentence; – just as sure as you live till the twenty-second of April, as surely you will suffer death – therefore indulge not a hope that this sentence will be changed!

The Court then spoke of the terror in all men of death! – how they cling to life whether in youth, manhood or old age. What an awful thing it is to die! how in the perils of the sea, when rocks or storms threaten the loss of the vessel, and the lives of all on board, how the crew will labor, night and day, in the hope of escaping shipwreck and death! alluded to the tumult, bustle and confusion of battle – yet even there the hero clings to life. The Court adverted not only to the certainty of their coming doom on earth, but to THINK OF HEREAFTER – that they should seriously think and reflect of their FUTURE STATE! that they would be assisted in their devotions no doubt, by many pious men.

When the Court closed, Charles Gibbs asked, if during his imprisonment, his friends would be permitted to see him. The Court answered that that lay with the Marshal, who then said that no difficulty would exist on that score. The remarks of the Prisoners were delivered in a strong, full-toned and unwavering voice, and they both seemed perfectly resigned to the fate which inevitably awaited them. While Judge Betts was delivering his address to them, Wansley was deeply affected and shed tears – but Gibbs gazed with a steady and unwavering eye, and no sign betrayed the least emotion of his heart. After his condemnation, and during his confinement, his frame became somewhat enfeebled, his face paler, and his eyes more sunken; but the air of his bold, enterprising and desperate mind still remained. In his narrow cell, he seemed more like an object of pity than vengeance – was affable and communicative, and when he smiled, exhibited so mild and gentle a countenance, that no one would take him to be a villain. His conversation was concise and pertinent, and his style of illustration quite original.

Gibbs was married in Buenos Ayres, where he has a child now living. His wife is dead. By a singular concurrence of circumstances, the woman with whom he became acquainted in



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Liverpool, and who is said at that time to have borne a decent character, was lodged in the same prison with himself. During his confinement he wrote her two letters – one of them is subjoined, to gratify the perhaps innocent curiosity which is naturally felt to know the peculiarities of a man's mind and feelings under such circumstances, and not for the purpose of intimating a belief that he was truly penitent. The reader will be surprised with the apparent readiness with which he made quotations from Scripture.

"BELLEVUE PRISON, March 20, 1831.

"It is with regret that I take my pen in hand to address you with these few lines, under the great embarrassment of my feelings placed within these gloomy walls, my body bound with chains, and under the awful sentence of death! It is enough to throw the strongest mind into gloomy prospects! but I find that Jesus Christ is sufficient to give consolation to the most despairing soul. For he saith, that he that cometh to me I will in no ways cast out. But it is impossible to describe unto you the horror of my feelings. My breast is like the tempestuous ocean, raging in its own shame, harrowing up the bottom of my soul! But I look forward to that serene calm when I shall sleep with Kings and Counsellors of the earth. There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary are at rest! – There the prisoners rest together – they hear not the voice of the oppressor; and I trust that there my breast will not be ruffled by the storm of sin – for the thing which I greatly feared has come upon me. I was not in safety, neither had I rest; yet trouble came. It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth to him good. When I saw you in Liverpool, and a peaceful calm wafted across both our breasts, and justice no claim upon us, little did I think to meet you in the gloomy walls of a strong prison, and the arm of justice stretched out with the sword of law, awaiting the appointed period to execute the dreadful sentence. I have had a fair prospect in the world, at last it budded, and brought forth the gallows. I am shortly to mount that scaffold, and to bid adieu to this world, and all that was ever dear to my breast. But I trust when my body is mounted on the gallows high, the heavens above will smile and pity me. I hope that you will reflect on your past, and fly to that Jesus who stands with open arms to receive you. Your character is lost, it is true. When the wicked turneth from the wickedness that they have committed, they shall save their soul alive.

"Let us imagine for a moment that we see the souls standing before the awful tribunal, and we hear its dreadful sentence, depart ye cursed into everlasting fire. Imagine you hear the awful lamentations of a soul in hell. It would be enough to melt your heart, if it was as hard as adamant. You would fall upon your knees and plead for God's mercy, as a famished person would for food, or as a dying criminal would for a pardon. We soon, very soon, must go the way whence we shall ne'er return. Our names will be struck off the records of the living, and enrolled in the vast catalogues of the dead.



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But may it ne'er be numbered with the damned. – I hope it will please God to set you at your liberty, and that you may see the sins and follies of your life past. I shall now close my letter with a few words which I hope you will receive as from a dying man; and I hope that every important truth of this letter may sink deep in your heart, and be a lesson to you through life.

“Rising griefs distress my soul,
And tears on tears successive roll –
For many an evil voice is near,
To chide my woes and mock my fear –
And silent memory weeps alone,
O'er hours of peace and gladness known.

“I still remain your sincere friend,
CHARLES GIBBS.”

In another letter which the wretched Gibbs wrote after his condemnation to one who had been his early friend, he writes as follows: – “Alas! it is now, and not until now, that I have become sensible of my wicked life, from my childhood, and the enormity of the crime, for which I must shortly suffer an ignominious death! – I would to God that I never had been born, or that I had died in my infancy! – the hour of reflection has indeed come, but come too late to prevent justice from cutting me off – my mind recoils with horror at the thoughts of the unnatural deeds of which I have been guilty! – my repose rather prevents than affords me relief, as my mind, while I slumber, is constantly disturbed by frightful dreams of my approaching awful dissolution!”

On Friday, April twenty-second, Gibbs and Wansley paid the penalty of their crimes. Both prisoners arrived at the gallows about twelve o'clock, accompanied by the marshal, his aids, and some twenty or thirty United States' marines. Two clergymen attended them to the fatal spot, where everything being in readiness, and the ropes adjusted about their necks, the Throne of Mercy was fervently addressed in their behalf. Wansley then prayed earnestly himself, and afterwards joined in singing a hymn. These exercises concluded, Gibbs addressed the spectators nearly as follows:

MY DEAR FRIENDS,
My crimes have been heinous – and although I am now about to suffer for the murder of Mr. Roberts, I solemnly declare my innocence of the transaction. It is true, I stood by and saw the fatal deed done, and stretched not forth my arm to save him; the technicalities of the law believe me guilty of the charge – but in the presence of my God – before whom I shall be in a few minutes – I declare I did not murder him.

I have made a full and frank confession to Mr. Hopson, which probably most of my hearers present have already read; and should any of the friends of those whom I have been accessory to, or engaged in the murder of, be now present, before my Maker I beg their forgiveness – it is the only boon I ask – and as I hope for pardon through the blood of Christ, surely this request will not be withheld by man, to a worm like myself, standing as I



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do, on the very verge of eternity! Another moment, and I cease to exist – and could I find in my bosom room to imagine that the spectators now assembled had forgiven me, the scaffold would have no terrors, nor could the precept which my much respected friend, the marshal of the district, is about to execute. Let me then, in this public manner, return my sincere thanks to him, for his kind and gentlemanly deportment during my confinement. He was to me like a father, and his humanity to a dying man I hope will be duly appreciated by an enlightened community.

My first crime was *piracy*, for which my *life* would pay for forfeit on conviction; no punishment could be inflicted on me further than that, and therefore I had nothing to fear but detection, for had my offences been millions of times more aggravated than they are now, *death* must have satisfied all.

Gibbs having concluded, Wansley began. He said he might be called a pirate, a robber, and a murderer, and he was all of these, but he hoped and trusted God would, through Christ, wash away his aggravated crimes and offences, and not cast him entirely out. His feelings, he said, were so overpowered that he hardly knew how to address those about him, but he frankly admitted the justness of the sentence, and concluded by declaring that he had no hope of pardon except through the atoning blood of his Redeemer, and wished that his sad fate might teach others to shun the broad road to ruin, and travel in that of virtue, which would lead to honor and happiness in this world, and an immortal crown of glory in that to come.

He then shook hands with Gibbs, the officers, and clergymen – their caps were drawn over their faces, a handkerchief dropped by Gibbs as a signal to the executioner caused the cord to be severed, and in an instant they were suspended in air. Wansley folded his hands before him, soon died with very trifling struggles. Gibbs died hard; before he was run up, and did not again remove them, but after being near two minutes suspended, he raised his right hand and partially removed his cap, and in the course of another minute, raised the same hand to his mouth. His dress was a blue round-about jacket and trousers, with a foul anchor in white on his right arm. Wansley wore a white frock coat, trimmed with black, with trousers of the same color. After the bodies had remained on the gallows the usual time, they were taken down and given to the surgeons for dissection. Gibbs was rather below the middle stature, thick set and powerful. The form of Wansley was a perfect model of manly beauty.



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July 1, Friday: [Pirates](#) Joseph Gadett and Thomas Colinett were [hanged](#) in the rear of [Boston](#)'s Leverett Street jail.

[Robert Schumann](#), writing in his diary, for the 1st time mentioned his other alter-ego and twin to Florestan, Eusebius.

Jose Antonio de Oliveira Leite de Barros, conde de Basto replaced Nuno Caetano Alvares Pereira de Melo, duque de Cadaval as Prime Minister of Portugal.

Dr. Samuel Guthrie created [chloroform](#) in his private chemistry laboratory in Sackett's Harbor, [New York](#). Within a year, this chemical would be developed independently by the Frenchman Eugene Soubeiran and the German Justus von Leibig. Although none of them would consider using it as an anesthetic, the ether of chloroform would eventually be widely used in that manner — though today it has been replaced by less toxic substances.

The Geburtstagkantate Eilt herbei, des Hauses Glieder for chorus and piano by Otto Nicolai to words possibly by Gneinzus, was performed for the initial time for the birthday of Frau Landrathin Wilhelmine von Munchhausen.



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1832



February 6-9: To teach the natives of the town of Quallah Battoo on the island of Sumatra to be polite and civilized after they had plundered the American vessel *Friendship*, a US naval force stormed their fort. Here is the story as it is told by Westerners to Westerners:

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[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**PIRACY****PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING****AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF THE MALAY PIRATES OF THE INDIAN OCEAN.**

WITH A NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INHABITANTS OF QUALLAH BATTOO, COMMANDED BY COMMODORE DOWNES¹²⁹



A glance at the map of the East India Islands will convince us that this region of the globe must, from its natural configuration and locality; be peculiarly liable to become the seat of piracy. These islands form an immense cluster, lying as if it were in the high road which connects the commercial nations of Europe and Asia with each other, affording a hundred fastnesses from which to waylay the traveller. A large proportion of the population is at the same time confined to the coasts or the estuaries of rivers; they are fishermen and mariners; they are barbarous and poor, therefore rapacious, faithless and sanguinary. These are circumstances, it must be confessed, which militate strongly to beget a piratical character. It is not surprising, then, that the Malays should have been notorious for their depredations from our first

129. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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acquaintance with them.

Among the tribes of the Indian Islands, the most noted for their piracies are, of course, the most idle, and the least industrious, and particularly such as are unaccustomed to follow agriculture or trade as regular pursuits. The agricultural tribes of Java, and many of Sumatra, never commit piracy at all; and the most civilized inhabitants of Celebes are very little addicted to this vice.

Among the most confirmed pirates are the true Malays, inhabiting the small islands about the eastern extremity of the straits of Malacca, and those lying between Sumatra and Borneo, down to Billitin and Cavimattir. Still more noted than these, are the inhabitants of certain islands situated between Borneo and the Phillipines, of whom the most desperate and enterprising are the Soolos and Illanoons, the former inhabiting a well known group of islands of the same name, and the latter being one of the most numerous nations of the great island of Magindando. The depredations of the proper Malays extend from Junkceylon to Java, through its whole coast, as far as Grip to Papir and Kritti, in Borneo and the western coast of Celebes. In another direction they infest the coasting trade of the Cochin Chinese and Siamese nations in the Gulf of Siam, finding sale for their booty, and shelter for themselves in the ports of Tringham, Calantan and Sahang. The most noted piratical stations of these people are the small islands about Lingin and Rhio, particularly Galang, Tamiang and Maphar. The chief of this last has seventy or eighty proas fit to undertake piratical expeditions.

The Soolo pirates chiefly confine their depredations to the Phillipine Islands, which they have continued to infest, with little interruption, for near three centuries, in open defiance of the Spanish authorities, and the numerous establishments maintained to check them. The piracies of the Illanoons, on the contrary, are widely extended, being carried on all the way from their native country to the Spice Islands, on one side, and to the Straits of Malacca on the other. In these last, indeed, they have formed, for the last few years, two permanent establishments; one of these situated on Sumatra, near Indragiri, is called Ritti, and the other a small island on the coast of Linga, is named Salangut. Besides those who are avowed pirates, it ought to be particularly noticed that a great number of the Malayan princes must be considered as accessories to their crimes, for they afford them protection, contribute to their outfit, and often share in their booty; so that a piratical proa is too commonly more welcome in their harbours than a fair trader.

The Malay piratical proas are from six to eight tons burden, and run from six to eight fathoms in length. They carry from one to two small guns, with commonly four swivels or rantakas to each side, and a crew of from twenty to thirty men. When they engage, they put up a strong bulwark of thick plank; the Illanoon proas are much larger and more formidable, and commonly carry from four to six guns, and a proportionable number of swivels, and have not unfrequently a double bulwark covered with buffalo hides; their crews consist of from forty to eighty men. Both, of course, are provided with spears, krisses, and as many fire arms as they can procure. Their modes of attack are cautious and cowardly, for plunder and not fame is their object. They lie concealed under the land, until they find a fit object and



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opportunity. The time chosen is when a vessel runs aground, or is becalmed, in the interval between the land and sea breezes. A vessel underway is seldom or never attacked. Several of the marauders attack together, and station themselves under the bows and quarters of a ship when she has no longer steerage way, and is incapable of pointing her guns. The action continues often for several hours, doing very little mischief; but when the crew are exhausted with the defence, or have expended their ammunition, the pirates take this opportunity of boarding in a mass. This may suggest the best means of defence. A ship, when attacked during a calm, ought, perhaps, rather to stand on the defensive, and wait if possible the setting in of the sea breeze, than attempt any active operations, which would only fatigue the crew, and disable them from making the necessary defence when boarding is attempted. Boarding netting, pikes and pistols, appear to afford effectual security; and, indeed, we conceive that a vessel thus defended by resolute crews of Europeans or Americans stand but little danger from any open attack of pirates whatsoever; for their guns are so ill served, that neither the hull or the rigging of a vessel can receive much damage from them, however much protracted the contest. The pirates are upon the whole extremely impartial in the selection of their prey, making little choice between natives and strangers, giving always, however, a natural preference to the most timid, and the most easily overcome.

When an expedition is undertaken by the Malay pirates, they range themselves under the banner of some piratical chief noted for his courage and conduct. The native prince of the place where it is prepared, supplies the adventurers with arms, ammunition and opium, and claims as his share of the plunder, the female captives, the cannon, and one third of all the rest of the booty. In Nov. 1827, a principal chief of pirates, named Sindana, made a descent upon Mamoodgoo with forty-five proas, burnt three-fourths of the campong, driving the rajah with his family among the mountains. Some scores of men were killed, and 300 made prisoners, besides women and children to half that amount. In December following, when I was there, the people were slowly returning from the hills, but had not yet attempted to rebuild the campong, which lay in ashes. During my stay here (ten weeks) the place was visited by two other piratical chiefs, one of which was from Kylie, the other from Mandhaar Point under Bem Bowan, who appeared to have charge of the whole; between them they had 134 proas of all sizes.

Among the most desperate and successful pirates of the present day, Raga is most distinguished. He is dreaded by people of all denominations, and universally known as the "prince of pirates." For more than seventeen years this man has carried on a system of piracy to an extent never before known; his expeditions and enterprises would fill a large volume. They have invariably been marked with singular cunning and intelligence, barbarity, and reckless inattention to the shedding of human blood. He has emissaries every where, and has intelligence of the best description. It was about the year 1813 Raga commenced operations on a large scale. In that year he cut off three English vessels, killing the captains with his own hands. So extensive were his depredations about that time that a proclamation was issued from Batavia, declaring the east coast of Borneo to be under strict blockade. Two British sloops of war

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scoured the coast. One of which, the Elk, Capt. Reynolds, was attacked during the night by Raga's own proa, who unfortunately was not on board at the time. This proa which Raga personally commanded, and the loss of which he frequently laments, carried eight guns and was full of his best men.

An European vessel was faintly descried about three o'clock one foggy morning; the rain fell in torrents; the time and weather were favorable circumstances for a surprise, and the commander determined to distinguish himself in the absence of the Rajah Raga, gave directions to close, fire the guns and board. He was the more confident of success, as the European vessel was observed to keep away out of the proper course on approaching her. On getting within about an hundred fathoms of the Elk they fired their broadside, gave a loud shout, and with their long oars pulled towards their prey. The sound of a drum beating to quarters no sooner struck the ear of the astonished Malays than they endeavored to get away: it was too late; the ports were opened, and a broadside, accompanied with three British cheers, gave sure indications of their fate. The captain hailed the Elk, and would fain persuade him it was a mistake. It was indeed a mistake, and one not to be rectified by the Malayan explanation. The proa was sunk by repeated broadsides, and the commanding officer refused to pick up any of the people, who, with the exception of five were drowned; these, after floating four days on some spars, were picked up by a Pergottan proa, and told the story to Raga, who swore anew destruction to every European he should henceforth take. This desperado has for upwards of seventeen years been the terror of the Straits of Macassar, during which period he has committed the most extensive and dreadful excesses sparing no one. Few respectable families along the coast of Borneo and Celebes but have to complain of the loss of a proa, or of some number of their race; he is not more universally dreaded than detested; it is well known that he has cut off and murdered the crews of more than forty European vessels, which have either been wrecked on the coasts, or entrusted themselves in native ports. It is his boast that twenty of the commanders have fallen by his hands. The western coast of Celebes, for about 250 miles, is absolutely lined with proas belonging principally to three considerable rajahs, who act in conjunction with Raga and other pirates. Their proas may be seen in clusters of from 50, 80, and 100 (at Sediano I counted 147 laying on the sand at high water mark in parallel rows,) and kept in a horizontal position by poles, completely ready for the sea. Immediately behind them are the campongs, in which are the crews; here likewise are kept the sails, gunpowder, &c. necessary for their equipment. On the very summits of the mountains, which in many parts rise abruptly from the sea, may be distinguished innumerable huts; here reside people who are constantly on the lookout. A vessel within ten miles of the shore will not probably perceive a single proa, yet in less than two hours, if the tide be high, she may be surrounded by some hundreds. Should the water be low they will push off during the night. Signals are made from mountain to mountain along the coast with the utmost rapidity; during the day time by flags attached to long bamboos; at night, by fires. Each chief sends forth his proas, the crews of which, in hazardous cases, are infuriated with opium, when they will most assuredly take the vessel if she be not better provided than most merchantmen.

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Mr. Dalton, who went to the Pergottan river in 1830 says, "whilst I remained here, there were 71 proas of considerable sizes, 39 of which were professed pirates. They were anchored off the point of a small promontory, on which the rajah has an establishment and bazaar. The largest of these proas belonged to Raga, who received by the fleet of proas, in which I came, his regular supplies of arms and ammunition from Singapore. Here nestle the principal pirates, and Raga holds his head quarters; his grand depot was a few miles farther up. Rajah Agi Bota himself generally resides some distance up a small river which runs eastward of the point; near his habitation stands the principal bazaar, which would be a great curiosity for an European to visit if he could only manage to return, which very few have. The Raga gave me a pressing invitation to spend a couple of days at his country house, but all the Bugis' nacodahs strongly dissuaded me from such an attempt. I soon discovered the cause of their apprehension; they were jealous of Agi Bota, well knowing he would plunder me, and considered every article taken by him was so much lost to the Sultan of Coti, who naturally would expect the people to reserve me for his own particular plucking. When the fact was known of an European having arrived in the Pergottan river, this amiable prince and friend of Europeans, impatient to seize his prey, came immediately to the point from his country house, and sending for the nacodah of the proa, ordered him to land me and all my goods instantly. An invitation now came for me to go on shore and amuse myself with shooting, and look at some rare birds of beautiful plumage which the rajah would give me if I would accept of them; but knowing what were his intentions, and being well aware that I should be supported by all the Bugis' proas from Coti, I feigned sickness, and requested that the birds might be sent on board. Upon this Agi Bota, who could no longer restrain himself, sent off two boats of armed men, who robbed me of many articles, and would certainly have forced me on shore, or murdered me in the proa had not a signal been made to the Bugis' nacodahs, who immediately came with their people, and with spears and krisses, drove the rajah's people overboard. The nacodahs, nine in number, now went on shore, when a scene of contention took place showing clearly the character of this chief. The Bugis from Coti explained, that with regard to me it was necessary to be particularly circumspect, as I was not only well known at Singapore, but the authorities in that settlement knew that I was on board the Sultan's proa, and they themselves were responsible for my safety. To this circumstance alone I owe my life on several occasions, as in the event of any thing happening to me, every nacodah was apprehensive of his proa being seized on his return to Singapore; I was therefore more peculiarly cared for by this class of men, and they are powerful. The rajah answered the nacodahs by saying, I might be disposed of as many others had been, and no further notice taken of the circumstance; he himself would write to Singapore that I had been taken by an alligator, or bitten by a snake whilst out shooting; and as for what property I might have in the proa he would divide it with the Sultan of Coti. The Bugis, however, refused to listen to any terms, knowing the Sultan of Coti would call him to an account for the property, and the authorities of Singapore for my life. Our proa, with others, therefore dropped about four miles down the river, where we took in fresh water.

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Here we remained six days, every argument being in vain to entice me on shore. At length the Bugis' nacodahs came to the determination to sail without passes, which brought the rajah to terms. The proas returned to the point, and I was given to understand I might go on shore in safety. I did so, and was introduced to the rajah whom I found under a shed, with about 150 of his people; they were busy gambling, and had the appearance of what they really are, a ferocious set of banditti. Agi Bota is a good looking man, about forty years of age, of no education whatever; he divides his time between gaming, opium and cockfighting; that is in the interval of his more serious and profitable employment, piracy and rapine. He asked me to produce what money I had about me; on seeing only ten rupees, he remarked that it was not worth while to win so small a sum, but that if I would fight cocks with him he would lend me as much money as I wanted, and added it was beneath his dignity to fight under fifty reals a battle. On my saying it was contrary to an Englishman's religion to bet wagers, he dismissed me; immediately after the two rajahs produced their cocks and commenced fighting for one rupee a side. I was now obliged to give the old Baudarre five rupees to take some care of me, as whilst walking about, the people not only thrust their hands into my pockets, but pulled the buttons from my clothes. Whilst sauntering behind the rajah's campong I caught sight of an European woman, who on perceiving herself observed, instantly ran into one of the houses, no doubt dreading the consequences of being recognized. There are now in the house of Agi Bota two European women; up the country there are others, besides several men. The Bugis, inimical to the rajah, made no secret of the fact; I had heard of it on board the proa, and some person in the bazaar confirmed the statement. On my arrival, strict orders had been given to the inhabitants to put all European articles out of sight. One of my servants going into the bazaar, brought me such accounts as induced me to visit it. In one house were the following articles: four Bibles, one in English, one in Dutch, and two in the Portuguese languages; many articles of wearing apparel, such as jackets and trowsers, with the buttons altered to suit the natives; pieces of shirts tagged to other parts of dress; several broken instruments, such as quadrants, spy glasses (two,) binnacles, with pieces of ship's sails, bolts and hoops; a considerable variety of gunner's and carpenter's tools, stores, &c. In another shop were two pelisses of faded lilac color; these were of modern cut and fashionably made. On enquiring how they became possessed of these articles, I was told they were some wrecks of European vessels on which no people were found, whilst others made no scruple of averring that they were formerly the property of people who had died in the country. All the goods in the bazaar belonged to the rajah, and were sold on his account; large quantities were said to be in his house up the river; but on all hands it was admitted Raga and his followers had by far the largest part of what was taken. A Mandoor, or head of one of the campongs, showed me some women's stockings, several of which were marked with the letters S.W.; also two chemises, one with the letters S.W.; two flannel petticoats, a miniature portrait frame (the picture was in the rajah's house,) with many articles of dress of both sexes. In consequence of the strict orders given on the subject I could see no more; indeed there were both difficulty and danger



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attending these inquiries. I particularly wanted to obtain the miniature picture, and offered the Mandoor fifty rupees if he could procure it; he laughed at me, and pointing significantly to his kris, drew one hand across my throat, and then across his own, giving me to understand such would be the result to us both on such an application to the rajah. It is the universal custom of the pirates, on this coast, to sell the people for slaves immediately on their arrival, the rajah taking for himself a few of the most useful, and receiving a percentage upon the purchase money of the remainder, with a moiety of the vessel and every article on board. European vessels are taken up the river, where they are immediately broken up. The situation of European prisoners is indeed dreadful in a climate like this, where even the labor of natives is intolerable; they are compelled to bear all the drudgery, and allowed a bare sufficiency of rice and salt to eat."

It is utterly impossible for Europeans who have seen these pirates at such places as Singapore and Batavia, to form any conception of their true character. There they are under immediate control, and every part of their behaviour is a tissue of falsehood and deception. They constantly carry about with them a smooth tongue, cringing demeanor, a complying disposition, which always asserts, and never contradicts; a countenance which appears to anticipate the very wish of the Europeans, and which so generally imposes upon his understanding, that he at once concludes them to be the best and gentlest of human beings; but let the European meet them in any of their own campongs, and a very different character they will appear. The character and treacherous proceeding narrated above, and the manner of cutting off vessels and butchering their crews, apply equally to all the pirates of the East India Islands, by which many hundred European and American vessels have been surprised and their crews butchered.

On the 7th of February, 1831, the ship Friendship, Capt. Endicott, of Salem (Mass.,) was captured by the Malays while lying at Quallah Battoo, on the coast of Sumatra. In the forenoon of the fatal day, Capt. Endicott, Mr. Barry, second mate, and four of the crew, it seems went on shore as usual, for the purpose of weighing pepper, expecting to obtain that day two boat loads, which had been promised them by the Malays. After the first boat was loaded, they observed that she delayed some time in passing down the river, and her crew being composed of Malays, was supposed by the officers to be stealing pepper from her, and secreting it in the bushes. In consequence of this conjecture, two men were sent off to watch them, who on approaching the boat, saw five or six Malays leap from the jungle, and hurry on board of her. The former, however, supposed them to be the boat's crew, as they had seen an equal number quit her previous to their own approach. In this they were mistaken, as will subsequently appear. At this time a brig hove in sight, and was seen standing towards Soo Soo, another pepper port, distant about five miles. Capt. Endicott, on going to the beach to ascertain whether the brig had hoisted any colors, discovered that the boat with pepper had approached within a few yards of the Friendship, manned with an unusual number of natives.

It appears that when the pepper boats came alongside of the Friendship, as but few of the hands could work at a time, numbers

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of the Malays came on board, and on being questioned by Mr. Knight, the first officer, who was in the gangway, taking an account of the pepper, as to their business, their reply was, that they had come to see the vessel. Mr. Knight ordered them into their boat again, and some of them obeyed, but only to return immediately to assist in the work of death, which was now commenced by attacking Mr. Knight and the rest of the crew on board. The crew of the vessel being so scattered, it was impossible to concentrate their force so as to make a successful resistance. Some fell on the fore-castle, one in the gangway, and Mr. Knight fell upon the quarter deck, severely wounded by a stab in the back while in the act of snatching from the bulwarks a boarding pike with which to defend himself.

The two men who were taking the pepper on a stage, having vainly attempted to get on board to the assistance of their comrades, were compelled to leap into the sea. One of them, Charles Converse, of Salem, being severely wounded, succeeded in swimming to the bobstays, to which he clung until taken on board by the natives, and from some cause he was not afterwards molested. His companion, John Davis, being unable to swim, drifted with the tide near the *boat tackle*, or *davit falls*, the blocks being overhauled down near the water; one of these he laid hold of, which the Malays perceiving, dropped their boat astern and despatched him! the cook sprang into a canoe along side, and in attempting to push off she was capsized; and being unable to swim, he got on the bottom, and paddled ashore with his hands, where he was made prisoner. Gregory, an Italian, sought shelter in the foretop-gallant cross-trees, where he was fired at several times by the Malays with the muskets of the *Friendship*, which were always kept loaded and ready for use while on the coast.

Three of the crew leaped into the sea, and swam to a point of land near a mile distant, to the northward of the town; and, unperceived by the Malays on shore, pursued their course to the northward towards Cape Felix, intending to go to the port of Annalaboo, about forty-five miles distant. Having walked all night, they found themselves, on the following morning, near the promontory, and still twenty-five miles distant from Annalaboo. When Mr. Endicott, Mr. Barry, and the four seamen arrived at the beach, they saw the crew jumping into the sea; the truth now, with all its horrors, flashed upon his mind, that the vessel was attacked, and in an instant they jumped on board the boat and pushed off; at the same time a friendly rajah named Po Adam, sprang into the boat; he was the proprietor of a port and considerable property at a place called Pulo Kio, but three miles distant from the mouth of the river Quallah Battoo. More business had been done by the rajah during the eight years past than by any other on the pepper coast; he had uniformly professed himself friendly to the Americans, and he has generally received the character of their being honest. Speaking a little English as he sprang into the boat, he exclaimed, "Captain, you got trouble; Malay kill you, he kill Po Adam too!" Crowds of Malays assembled on both sides of the river, brandishing their weapons in a menacing manner, while a ferry boat, manned with eight or ten of the natives, armed with spears and krisses, pushed off to prevent the officers' regaining their ship. The latter exhibited no fear, and flourished the cutlass of Po Adam in a menacing manner from the bows of the boat; it so intimidated the



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Malays that they fled to the shore, leaving a free passage to the ship; but as they got near her they found that the Malays had got entire possession of her; some of them were promenading the deck, others were making signals of success to the people on shore, while, with the exception of one man aloft, not an individual of the crew could be seen. Three Malay boats, with about fifty men, now issued from the river in the direction of the ship, while the captain and his men, concluding that their only hope of recovering their vessel was to obtain assistance from some other ships, directed their course towards Muchie, where they knew that several American vessels were lying at anchor. Three American captains, upon hearing the misfortunes of their countrymen, weighed anchor immediately for Quallah Battoo, determined, if possible, to recover the ship. By four o'clock on the same day they gained an anchorage off that place; the Malays, in the meantime, had removed on shore every moveable article belonging to the ship, including specie, besides several cases of opium, amounting in all to upwards of thirty thousand dollars. This was done on the night of the 9th, and on the morning of the 10th, they contrived to heave in the chain cable, and get the anchor up to the bows; and the ship was drifting finely towards the beach, when the cable, not being stopped abaft the bitts, began suddenly to run out with great velocity; but a bight having by accident been thrown forward of the windlass, a riding turn was the consequence, and the anchor, in its descent, was suddenly checked about fifteen fathoms from the hawse. A squall soon after coming on, the vessel drifted obliquely towards the shore, and grounded upon a coral reef near half a mile to the southward of the town. The next day, having obtained a convenient anchorage, a message was sent by a friendly Malay who came on board at Soo Soo, demanding the restoration of the ship. The rajah replied that he would not give her up, but that they were welcome to take her if they could; a fire was now opened upon the Friendship by the vessels, her decks were crowded with Malays, who promptly returned the fire, as did also the forts on shore. This mode of warfare appeared undecided, and it was determined to decide the contest by a close action. A number of boats being manned and armed with about thirty officers and men, a movement was made to carry the ship by boarding. The Malays did not wait the approach of this determined attack, but all deserted the vessel to her lawful owners, when she was taken possession of and warped out into deep water. The appearance of the ship, at the time she was boarded, begged all description; every part of her bore ample testimony of the scene of violence and destruction with which she had been visited. The objects of the voyage were abandoned, and the Friendship returned to the United States. The public were unanimous in calling for a redress of the unparalleled outrage on the lives and property of citizens of the United States. The government immediately adopted measures to punish so outrageous an act of piracy by despatching the frigate Potomac, Commodore Downs, Commander. The Potomac sailed from New York the 24th of August, 1831, after touching at Rio Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope. She anchored off Quallah Battoo in February 1832, disguised as a Danish ship, and came to in merchantman style, a few men being sent aloft, dressed in red and blue flannel shirts, and one sail being clewed up and furled at a time. A reconnoitering party were sent on shore disguised



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as pepper dealers, but they returned without being able to ascertain the situations of the forts. The ship now presented a busy scene; it was determined to commence an attack upon the town the next morning, and every necessary preparation was accordingly made, muskets were cleaned, cartridge-boxes buckled on, cutlasses examined and put in order, &c.

At twelve o'clock at night, all hands were called, those assigned to take part in the expedition were mustered, when Lieut. Shubrick, the commander of the detachment, gave them special orders; when they entered the boats and proceeded to the shore, where they effected a landing near the dawn of day, amid a heavy surf, about a mile and a half to the north of the town, undiscovered by the enemy, and without any serious accident having befallen them, though several of the party were thoroughly drenched by the beating of the surf, and some of their ammunition was injured.

The troops then formed and took up their line of march against the enemy, over a beach of deep and heavy sand. They had not proceeded far before they were discovered by a native at a distance, who ran at full speed to give the alarm. A rapid march soon brought them up with the first fort, when a division of men, under the command of Lieut. Hoff, was detached from the main body, and ordered to surround it. The first fort was found difficult of access, in consequence of a deep hedge of thorn-bushes and brambles with which it was environed. The assault was commenced by the pioneers, with their crowes and axes, breaking down the gates and forcing a passage. This was attended with some difficulty, and gave the enemy time for preparation. They raised their warwhoop, and resisted most manfully, fighting with spears, sabres, and muskets. They had also a few brass pieces in the fort, but they managed them with so little skill as to produce no effect, for the balls uniformly whizzed over the heads of our men. The resistance of the Malays was in vain, the fort was stormed, and soon carried; not, however, till almost every individual in it was slain. Po Mahomet, a chief of much distinction, and who was one of the principal persons concerned in the outrage on the Friendship was here slain; the mother of Chadoolah, another rajah, was also slain here; another woman fell at this port, but her rank was not ascertained; she fought with the spirit of a desperado. A seaman had just scaled one of the ramparts, when he was severely wounded by a blow received from a weapon in her hands, but her life paid the forfeit of her daring, for she was immediately transfixed by a bayonet in the hands of the person whom she had so severely injured. His head was wounded by a javelin, his thumb nearly cut off by a sabre, and a ball was shot through his hat.

Lieutenants Edson and Ferret proceeded to the rear of the town, and made a bold attack upon that fort, which, after a spirited resistance on the part of the Malays, surrendered. Both officers and marines here narrowly escaped with their lives. One of the natives in the fort had trained his piece in such a manner as to rake their whole body, when he was shot down by a marine while in the very act of applying a match to it. The cannon was afterwards found to have been filled with bullets. This fort, like the former, was environed with thick jungle, and great difficulty had been experienced in entering it. The engagement had now become general, and the alarm universal. Men, women and children were seen flying in every direction, carrying the few

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articles they were able to seize in the moments of peril, and some of the men were cut down in the flight. Several of the enemy's proas, filled with people, were severely raked by a brisk fire from the six pounder, as they were sailing up the river to the south of the town, and numbers of the natives were killed. The third and most formidable fort was now attacked, and it proved the most formidable, and the co-operation of the several divisions was required for its reduction; but so spirited was the fire poured into it that it was soon obliged to yield, and the next moment the American colors were seen triumphantly waving over its battlements. The greater part of the town was reduced to ashes. The bazaar, the principal place of merchandize, and most of the private dwellings were consumed by fire. The triumph had now been completed over the Malays; ample satisfaction had been taken for their outrages committed upon our own countrymen, and the bugle sounded the return of the ship's forces; and the embarkation was soon after effected. The action had continued about two hours and a half, and was gallantly sustained both by officers and men, from its commencement to its close. The loss on the part of the Malays was near a hundred killed, while of the Americans only two lost their lives. Among the spoils were a Chinese gong, a Koran, taken at Mahomet's fort, and several pieces of rich gold cloth. Many of the men came off richly laden with spoils which they had taken from the enemy, such as rajah's scarfs, gold and silver chunam boxes, chains, ear rings and finger rings, anklets and bracelets, and a variety of shawls, krisses richly hilted and with gold scabbards, and a variety of other ornaments. Money to a considerable amount was brought off. That nothing should be left undone to have an indelible impression on the minds of these people, of the power of the United States to inflict punishment for aggressions committed on her commerce, in seas however distant, the ship was got underway the following morning, and brought to, with a spring on her cable, within less than a mile of the shore, when the larboard side was brought to bear nearly upon the site of the town. The object of the Commodore, in this movement, was not to open an indiscriminate or destructive fire upon the town and inhabitants of Quallah Battoo, but to show them the irresistible power of thirty-two pound shot, and to reduce the fort of Tuca de Lama, which could not be reached on account of the jungle and stream of water, on the morning before, and from which a fire had been opened and continued during the embarkation of the troops on their return to the ship. The fort was very soon deserted, while the shot was cutting it to pieces, and tearing up whole cocoa-trees by the roots. In the afternoon a boat came off from the shore, bearing a flag of truce to the Commodore, beseeching him, in all the practised forms of submission of the east, that he would grant them peace, and cease to fire his big guns. Hostilities now ceased, and the Commodore informed them that the objects of his government in sending him to their shores had now been consummated in the punishment of the guilty, who had committed their piracies on the Friendship. Thus ended the intercourse with Quallah Battoo. The Potomac proceeded from this place to China, and from thence to the Pacific Ocean; after looking to the interests of the American commerce in those parts she arrived at Boston in 1834, after a three years' absence.

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 August 20, Monday: Piracy occurred:

HISTORY OF THE ADVENTURES,
CAPTURE AND EXECUTION
OF THE SPANISH PIRATES¹³⁰



In the Autumn of 1832, there was anchored in the "Man of War Grounds," off the Havana, a clipper-built vessel of the fairest proportions; she had great length and breadth of beam, furnishing stability to bear a large surface of sail, and great depth to take hold of the water and prevent drifting; long, low in the waist, with lofty raking masts, which tapered away till they were almost too fine to be distinguished, the beautiful arrowy sharpness of her bow, and the fineness of her gradually receding quarters, showed a model capable of the greatest speed in sailing. Her low sides were painted black, with one small, narrow ribband of white. Her raking masts were clean scraped, her ropes were hauled taught, and in every point she wore the appearance of being under the control of seamanship and strict discipline. Upon going on board, one would be struck with

130. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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surprise at the deception relative to the tonnage of the schooner, when viewed at a distance. Instead of a small vessel of about ninety tons, we discover that she is upwards of two hundred; that her breadth of beam is enormous; and that those spars which appeared so light and elegant, are of unexpected dimensions. In the centre of the vessel, between the fore and main masts, there is a long brass thirty-two pounder, fixed upon a carriage revolving in a circle, and so arranged that in bad weather it can be lowered down and housed; while on each side of the deck were mounted guns of smaller calibre.

This vessel was fashioned, at the will of avarice, for the aid of cruelty and injustice; it was an African slaver – the schooner *Panda*. She was commanded by Don Pedro Gilbert, a native of Catalonia, in Spain, and son of a grandee; a man thirty-six years of age, and exceeding handsome, having a round face, pearly teeth, round forehead, and full black eyes, with beautiful raven hair, and a great favorite with the ladies. He united great energy, coolness and decision, with superior knowledge in mercantile transactions, and the Guinea trade; having made several voyages after slaves. The mate and owner of the *Panda* was Don Bernardo De Soto, a native of Corunna, Spain, and son, of Isidore De Soto, manager of the royal revenue in said city; he was now twenty-five years of age, and from the time he was fourteen had cultivated the art of navigation, and at the age of twenty-two had obtained the degree of captain in the India service. After a regular examination the correspondent diploma was awarded him. He was married to Donna Petrona Pereyra, daughter of Don Benito Pereyra, a merchant of Corunna. She was at this time just fifteen, and ripening into that slight fullness of form, and roundness of limb, which in that climate mark the early passing from girl into woman. Her complexion was the dark olive tinge of Spain; her eyes jet black, large and lustrous. She had great sweetness of disposition and ingenuousness.

To the strictest discipline De Soto united the practical knowledge of a thorough seaman. But "the master spirit of the whole," was Francisco Ruiz, the carpenter of the *Panda*. This individual was of the middle size, but muscular, with a short neck. His hair was black and abundant, and projected from his forehead, so that he appeared to look out from under it, like a bonnet. His eyes were dark chestnut, but always restless; his features were well defined; his eye-lashes, jet black. He was familiar with all the out-of-the-way places of the Havana, and entered into any of the dark abodes without ceremony. From report his had been a wild and lawless career. The crew were chiefly Spaniards, with a few Portuguese, South Americans, and half castes. The cook was a young Guinea negro, with a pleasant countenance, and good humored, with a sleek glossy skin, and tattooed on the face; and although entered in the schooner's books as free, yet was a slave. In all there were about forty men. Her cargo was an assorted one, consisting in part of barrels of rum, and gunpowder, muskets, cloth, and numerous articles, with which to purchase slaves.

The *Panda* sailed from the Havana on the night of the 20th of August; and upon passing the Moro Castle, she was hailed, and asked, "where bound?" She replied, St. Thomas. The schooner now steered through the Bahama channel, on the usual route towards the coast of Guinea; a man was constantly kept at the mast head,

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on the lookout; they spoke a corvette, and on the morning of the 20th Sept., before light, and during the second mate's watch, a brig was discovered heading to the southward. Capt. Gilbert was asleep at the time, but got up shortly after she was seen, and ordered the *Panda* to go about and stand for the brig. A consultation was held between the captain, mate and carpenter, when the latter proposed to board her, and if she had any specie to rob her, confine the men below, and burn her. This proposition was instantly acceded to, and a musket was fired to make her heave to.

This vessel was the American brig *Mexican*, Capt. Butman. She had left the pleasant harbor of Salem, Mass., on the last Wednesday of August, and was quietly pursuing her voyage towards Rio Janeiro. Nothing remarkable had happened on board, says Captain B., until half past two o'clock, in the morning of September 20th, in lat. 38, 0, N., lon. 24, 30, W. The attention of the watch on deck was forcibly arrested by the appearance of a vessel which passed across our stern about half a mile from us. At 4 A.M. saw her again passing across our bow, so near that we could perceive that it was a schooner with a fore top sail and top gallant sail. As it was somewhat dark she was soon out of sight. At daylight saw her about five miles off the weather quarter standing on the wind on the same tack we were on, the wind was light at SSW and we were standing about S.E. At 8 A.M. she was about two miles right to windward of us; could perceive a large number of men upon her deck, and one man on the fore top gallant yard looking out; was very suspicious of her, but knew not how to avoid her. Soon after saw a brig on our weather bow steering to the N.E. By this time the schooner was about three miles from us and four points forward of the beam. Expecting that she would keep on for the brig ahead of us, we tacked to the westward, keeping a little off from the wind to make good way through the water, to get clear of her if possible. She kept on to the eastward about ten or fifteen minutes after we had tacked, then wore round, set square sail, steering directly for us, came down upon us very fast, and was soon within gun shot of us, fired a gun and hoisted patriot colors and backed main topsail. She ran along to windward of us, hailed us to know where we were from, where bound, &c. then ordered me to come on board in my boat. Seeing that she was too powerful for us to resist, I accordingly went, and soon as I got along-side of the schooner, five ruffians instantly jumped into my boat, each of them being armed with a large knife, and told me to go on board the brig again; when they got on board they insisted that we had got money, and drew their knives, threatening us with instant death and demanding to know where it was. As soon as they found out where it was they obliged my crew to get it up out of the run upon deck, beating and threatening them at the same time because they did not do it quicker. When they had got it all upon deck, and hailed the schooner, they got out their launch and came and took it on board the schooner, viz: ten boxes containing twenty thousand dollars; then returned to the brig again, drove all the crew into the forecabin, ransacked the cabin, overhauling all the chests, trunks, &c. and rifled my pockets, taking my watch, and three doubloons which I had previously put there for safety; robbed the mate of his watch and two hundred dollars in specie, still insisting that there was more money in the hold. Being answered in the negative, they beat me severely over the back,

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said they knew that there was more, that they should search for it, and if they found any they would cut all our throats. They continued searching about in every part of the vessel for some time longer, but not finding any more specie, they took two coils of rigging, a side of leather, and some other articles, and went on board the schooner, probably to consult what to do with us; for, in eight or ten minutes they came back, apparently in great haste, shut us all below, fastened up the companion way, fore-scuttle and after hatchway, stove our compasses to pieces in the binnacles, cut away tiller-ropes, halliards, braces, and most of our running rigging, cut our sails to pieces badly; took a tub of tarred rope-yarn and what combustibles they could find about deck, put them in the caboose house and set them on fire; then left us, taking with them our boat and colors. When they got alongside of the schooner they scuttled our boat, took in their own, and made sail, steering to the eastward.

As soon as they left us, we got up out of the cabin scuttle, which they had neglected to secure, and extinguished the fire, which if it had been left a few minutes, would have caught the mainsail and set our masts on fire. Soon after we saw a ship to leeward of us steering to the S.E. the schooner being in pursuit of her did not overtake her whilst she was in sight of us.

It was doubtless their intention to burn us up altogether, but seeing the ship, and being eager for more plunder they did not stop fully to accomplish their design. She was a low strait schooner of about one hundred and fifty tons, painted black with a narrow white streak, a large head with the horn of plenty painted white, large maintopmast but no yards or sail on it. Mast raked very much, mainsail very square at the head, sails made with split cloth and all new; had two long brass twelve pounders and a large gun on a pivot amidships, and about seventy men, who appeared to be chiefly Spaniards and mulattoes.

The object of the voyage being frustrated by the loss of the specie, nothing now remained but for the *Mexican* to make the best of her way back to Salem, which she reached in safety. The government of the United States struck with the audacity of this piracy, despatched a cruiser in pursuit of them. After a fruitless voyage in which every exertion was made, and many places visited on the coast of Africa, where it was supposed the rascals might be lurking, the chase was abandoned as hopeless, no clue being found to their "whereabouts."

The *Panda* after robbing the *Mexican*, pursued her course across the Atlantic, and made Cape Monte; from this she coasted south, and after passing Cape Palmas entered the Gulf of Guinea, and steered for Cape Lopez which she reached in the first part of November. Cape Lopez de Gonzalves, in lat. $0^{\circ} 36' 2''$ south, long. $80^{\circ} 40' 4''$ east, is so called from its first discoverer. It is covered with wood but low and swampy, as is also the neighboring country. The extensive bay formed by this cape is fourteen miles in depth, and has several small creeks and rivers running into it. The largest is the river Nazareth on the left point of which is situated King Gula's town the only assemblage of huts in the bay. Here the cargo of the *Panda* was unloaded, the greater part was entrusted to the king, and with the rest Capt. Gilbert opened a factory and commenced buying various articles of commerce, as tortoise shell, gum, ivory, palm oil, fine straw carpeting, and slaves. After remaining here a short time the crew became sickly and Capt. Gilbert sailed for Prince's Island to recover the



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health of his crew. Whilst at Prince's Island news arrived of the robbery of the *Mexican*. And the pirate left with the utmost precipitation for Cape Lopez, and the better to evade pursuit, a pilot was procured; and the vessel carried several miles up the river Nazareth. Soon after the *Panda* left Prince's Island, the British brig of war, *Curlew*, Capt. Trotter arrived, and from the description given of the vessel then said to be lying in the Nazareth, Capt. Trotter knew she must be the one, that robbed the *Mexican*; and he instantly sailed in pursuit. On nearing the coast, she was discovered lying up the river; three boats containing forty men and commanded by Capt. Trotter, started up the river with the sea breeze and flood tide, and colors flying to take the desperadoes; the boats kept in near the shore until rounding a point they were seen from the *Panda*. The [pirates](#) immediately took to their boats, except Francisco Ruiz who seizing a fire brand from the camboose went into the magazine and set some combustibles on fire with the laudable purpose of blowing up the assailants, and then paddled ashore in a canoe. Capt. Trotter chased them with his boats, but could not come up with them, and then boarded the schooner which he found on fire. The first thing he did was to put out the fire which was in the magazine, below the cabin floor; here was found a quantity of cotton and brimstone burning and a slow match ignited and communicating with the magazine, which contained sixteen casks of powder.

The *Panda* was now warped out of the river and anchored off the negro town of Cape Lopez. Negotiations were now entered into for the surrender of the pirates. An officer was accordingly sent on shore to have an interview with the king. He was met on the beach by an ebony chief calling himself duke. "We followed the duke through the extensive and stragglng place, frequently buried up to the ankles in sand, from which the vegetation was worn by the constant passing and repassing of the inhabitants. We arrived at a large folding door placed in a high bamboo and palm tree fence, which inclosed the king's establishment, ornamented on our right by two old honeycombed guns, which, although dismounted, were probably, according to the practice of the coast, occasionally fired to attract the attention of passing vessels, and to imply that slaves were to be procured. On the left of the enclosure was a shed, with a large ship's bell suspended beneath, serving as an alarum bell in case of danger, while the remainder was occupied with neatly built huts, inhabited by the numerous wives of the king.

"We sent in to notify him of our arrival; he sent word out that we might remain outside until it suited his convenience. But as such an arrangement did not suit ours, we immediately entered, and found sitting at a table the king. He was a tall, muscular, ugly looking negro, about fifty years of age. We explained the object of our visit, which was to demand the surrender of the white men, who were now concealed in the town, and for permission to pass up the river in pursuit of those who had gone up that way. He now expressed the most violent indignation at our presumption in demanding the pirates, and the interview was broken off by his refusing to deliver up a single man."

We will now return to the pirates. While at Prince's Island,

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Capt. Gilbert bought a magnificent dressing case worth nearly a thousand dollars and a patent lever watch, and a quantity of tobacco, and provisions, and two valuable cloth coats, some Guinea cloth and black and green paint. The paint, cloth and coats were intended as presents for the African king at Cape Lopez. These articles were all bought with the money taken from the *Mexican*. After arriving at the Nazareth, \$4000 were taken from the trunk, and buried in the yard of a negro prince. Four of the pirates then went to Cape Lopez for \$11,000, which had been buried there. Boyga, Castillo, Guzman, and the "State's Evidence," Ferez, were the ones who went. Ferez took the bags out, and the others counted the money; great haste was made as the mosquitoes were biting intolerably. \$5000 were buried for the captain in canvas bags about two feet deep, part of the money was carried to Nazareth, and from there carried into the mountains and there buried. A consultation was held by Capt. Gilbert, De Soto, and Ruiz, and the latter said, if the money was not divided, "there would be the devil to pay." The money was now divided in a dark room and a lantern used; Capt. Gilbert sat on the floor with the money at his side. He gave the mate about \$3000, and the other officers \$1000, each; and the crew from \$300 to \$500, each. The third mate having fled, the captain sent him \$1000, and Ruiz carried it to him. When the money was first taken from the *Mexican*, it was spread out on the companion way and examined to see if there was any gold amongst it; and then put into bags made of dark coarse linen; the boxes were then thrown overboard. After the division of the money the pirates secreted themselves in the woods behind Cape Lopez. Perez and four others procured a boat, and started for Fernando Po; they put their money in the bottom of the boat for ballast, but was thrown overboard, near a rock and afterwards recovered by divers; this was done to prevent detection. The captain, mate, and carpenter had a conversation respecting the attempt of the latter, to blow her up, who could not account for the circumstance, that an explosion had not taken place; they told him he ought to have burst a barrel of powder over the deck and down the stairs to the magazine, loaded a gun, tied a fish line to the lock and pulled it when he came off in the canoe.

The *Panda* being manned by Capt. Trotter and an English crew, commenced firing on the town of Cape Lopez, but after firing several shots, a spark communicated with the magazine and she blew up. Several men were killed, and Captain Trotter and the others thrown into the water, when he was made prisoner with several of his crew, by the King, and it required considerable negotiations to get them free.

The pirates having gone up the river, an expedition was now equipped to take them if possible. The long-boat and pinnace were instantly armed, and victualled for several weeks, a brass gun was mounted on the bows of each, and awnings fixed up to protect the crew from the extreme heat of the sun by day, and the heavy dews at nightfall. As the sea-breeze and the flood-tide set in, the boats again started and proceeded up the river. It was ascertained the war-canoes were beyond where the *Panda* was first taken; for fear of an ambuscade great caution was observed in proceeding. "As we approached a point, a single native was observed standing near a hut erected near the river, who, as we approached, beckoned, and called for us to land. We endeavored to do so, but fortunately the water was too shallow



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to approach near enough.

"We had hardly steered about for the channel, when the man suddenly rushed into the bushes and disappeared. We got into the channel, and continued some time in deep water, but this suddenly shoaled, and the boats grounded near a mangrove, just as we came in sight of a village. Our crew jumped out, and commenced tracking the boat over the sand, and while thus employed, I observed by means of my glass, a crowd of natives, and some of the pirates running down the other side of a low point, apparently with the intention of giving us battle, as they were all armed with spears and muskets."

The men had just succeeded in drawing the boats into deep water, when a great number of canoes were observed coming round the point, and at the same instant another large party running down to launch; some more on the beach, when they joined those already afloat, in all made above twenty-eight canoes, and about one hundred and fifty men. Having collected all their forces, with loud whooping and encouraging shouts to one another, they led towards us with great celerity.

We prepared instantly for battle; the awnings were got down to allow room to use the cutlasses and to load the muskets. The brass guns were loaded with grape shot. They now approached uttering terrific yells, and paddling with all speed. On board the canoes the pirates were loading the guns and encouraging the natives. Bernardo de Soto and Francisco Ruiz were conspicuous, in manoeuvring the negro boats for battle, and commenced a stragglng fire upon the English boats. In them all was still, each man had a cutlass by his side, and a loaded musket in his hand. On arriving within pistol-shot a well directed fire was poured into them, seconded by a discharge of the three pounders; many of the balls took effect, and two of the canoes were sunk. A brisk fire was kept up on both sides; a great number of the negroes were killed, and a few of the pirates; the English loss was small. The negroes now became panic-struck, and some paddled towards the shore, others jumped overboard and swam; the sharks caught several. Captain Gilbert and De Soto were now caught, together with five of the crew; Ruiz and the rest escaped to a village, some ways inland, and with the aid of a telescope it was perceived the negroes were rapidly gathering to renew the combat, urged on by Ruiz and the other pirates; after dislodging them from this village, negotiations were entered into by the king of Cape Lopez, who surrendered Ruiz and several men to Captain Trotter. They were carried in the brig Curlew to Fernando Po, and after an examination, were put in irons and conveyed to England, and there put on board the British gun-brig Savage, and arrived in the harbor of Salem on the 26th August, 1834. Her commander, Lieut. Loney, waited upon the authorities of Salem, and after the usual formalities, surrendered the prisoners into their hands – stating that the British Government waived their right to try and punish the prisoners, in favor of the United States, against whom the principal offence had been committed. The pirates were landed at Crowningshield wharf, and taken from thence in carriages to the Town hall; twelve of them, handcuffed in pairs, took their places at the bar. They were all young and middle-aged, the oldest was not over forty. Physiognomically, they were not uncommonly ill looking, in general, although there were exceptions, and they were all clean and wholesome in their appearance. They were now removed to

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Boston and confined in prison, where one of them, named Manuel Delgarno cut his throat with a piece of glass, thus verifying the old proverb, *that those born to be hung, will never be drown'd!*

On the 11th of November, Don Pedro Gilbert, *Captain*, Don Bernardo de Soto, *Mate*, Francisco Ruiz, *Carpenter*, Nicola Costa, *Cabin-boy*, aged 15, Antonio Ferrer, *Cook*, and Manuel Boyga, Domingo de Guzman, *an Indian*, Juan Antonio Portana, Manuel Castillo, Angel Garcia, Jose Velasquez, and Juan Montenegro, *alias* Jose Basilio de Castro, were arraigned before the Circuit Court of the United States, charged with the crime of Piracy. Joseph Perez appeared as *State's evidence*, and two Portuguese sailors who were shipped on board the *Panda* at Prince's Island, as witnesses. After a jury was empanelled, Mr. Dunlap, the District Attorney, rose and said – "This is a solemn, and also an unusual scene. Here are twelve men, strangers to our country and to our language, indicted for a heinous offence, and now before you for life or death. They are indicted for a daring crime, and a flagrant violation of the laws, not only of this, but of every other civilized people." He then gave an outline of the commission of the robbery of the *Mexican*. Numerous witnesses were examined, amongst whom were the captain, mate, and several seamen of the *Mexican*, who recognized several of the pirates as being the individuals who maltreated them, and took the specie. When Thomas Fuller, one of the crew of the *Mexican* was called upon to identify Ruiz, he went up to him and struck him a violent blow on the shoulder. Ruiz immediately started up, and with violent gesticulations protested against such conduct, and was joined by his companions. The Court reprimanded the witness severely. The trial occupied *fourteen days*. The counsel for the prisoners were David L. Child, Esq., and George Hillard, Esq., who defended them with great ability. Mr. Child brought to the cause his untiring zeal, his various and profound learning; and exhibited a labour, and *desperation* which showed that he was fully conscious of the weight of the load – the dead lift – he had undertaken to carry. Mr. Hillard concluded his argument, by making an eloquent and affecting appeal to the jury in behalf of the boy Costa and Antonio Ferrer, the cook, and alluded to the circumstance of Bernardo de Soto having rescued the lives of 70 individuals on board the American ship *Minerva*, whilst on a voyage from Philadelphia to Havana, when captain of the brig *Leon*.

If, gentlemen, said he, you deem with me, that the crew of the *Panda*, (supposing her to have robbed the *Mexican*,) were merely servants of the captain, you cannot convict them. But if you do not agree with me, then all that remains for me to do, is to address a few words to you in the way of mercy. It does not seem to me that the good of society requires the death of all these men, the sacrifice of such a hecatomb of human victims, or that the sword of the law should fall till it is clogged with massacre. *Antonio Ferrer* is plainly but a servant. He is set down as a free black in the ship's papers, but that is no proof that he is free. Were he a slave, he would in all probability be represented as free, and this for obvious reasons. He is in all probability a slave, and a native African, as the tattooing on his face proves beyond a doubt. At any rate, he is but a servant. Now will you make misfortune pay the penalty of guilt? Do not, I entreat you, lightly condemn this man to death. Do not



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throw him in to make up the dozen. The regard for human life is one of the most prominent proofs of a civilized state of society. The Sultan of Turkey may place women in sacks and throw them into the Bosphorus, without exciting more than an hour's additional conversation at Constantinople. But in our country it is different. You well remember the excitement produced by the abduction and death of a single individual; the convulsions which ensued, the effect of which will long be felt in our political institutions. You will ever find that the more a nation becomes civilized, the greater becomes the regard for human life. There is in the eye, the form, and heaven-directed countenance of man, something holy, that forbids he should be rudely touched.

The instinct of life is great. The light of the sun even in chains, is pleasant; and life, though supported but by the damp exhalations of a dungeon, is desirable. Often, too, we cling with added tenacity to life in proportion as we are deprived of all that makes existence to be coveted.

"The weariest and most loathed worldly life.
That age, ache, penury and imprisonment
Can lay on Nature, is a Paradise
To that we fear of Death."

Death is a fearful thing. The mere mention of it sometimes blanches the cheek, and sends the fearful blood to the heart. It is a solemn thing to break into the "bloody house of life." Do not, because this man is but an African, imagine that his existence is valueless. He is no drift weed on the ocean of life. There are in his bosom the same social sympathies that animate our own. He has nerves to feel pain, and a heart to throb with human affections, even as you have. His life, to establish the law, or to further the ends of justice, is not required. Taken, it is to us of no value; given to him, it is above the price of rubies.

And *Costa*, the cabin boy, only fifteen years of age when this crime was committed – shall he die? Shall the sword fall upon his neck? Some of you are advanced in years – you may have children. Suppose the news had reached you, that your son was under trial for his life, in a foreign country – (and every cabin boy who leaves this port may be placed in the situation of this prisoner,) – suppose you were told that he had been executed, because his captain and officers had violated the laws of a distant land; what would be your feelings? I cannot tell, but I believe the feelings of all of you would be the same, and that you would exclaim, with the Hebrew, "My son! my son! would to God I had died for thee." This boy *has* a father; let the form of that father rise up before you, and plead in your hearts for his offspring. Perhaps he has a mother, and a home. Think of the lengthened shadow that must have been cast over that home by his absence. Think of his mother, during those hours of wretchedness, when she has felt hope darkening into disappointment, next into anxiety, and from anxiety into despair. How often may she have stretched forth her hands in supplication, and asked, even the winds of heaven, to bring her tidings of him who was away? Let the supplications of that mother touch your hearts, and shield their object from the law.

After a luminous charge by Judge Story, the jury retired to agree upon their verdict, and at 9 o'clock the next morning came in



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with their verdict.

Clerk. Gentlemen of the Jury, have you agreed upon your verdict?

Jury. We have.

Clerk. Who shall speak for you?

Jury. Our foreman.

The prisoners were then directed severally to rise as soon as called, and receive the verdict of the jury. The Captain, *Pedro Gilbert*, was the first named. He arose, raised his hand, and regarded the jury with a firm countenance and steady eye.

Clerk. Jurors look upon the prisoner; prisoner look upon the jurors. How say you, Gentlemen, is the prisoner at the bar, *Pedro Gilbert*, guilty or not guilty?

Foreman. GUILTY.

The same verdict was pronounced against *De Soto* (the mate) *Ruiz*, (the carpenter,) *Boyga*, *Castillo*, *Garcia* and *Montenegro*. But *Costa*, (the cabin-boy,) *Ferrer* (the negro,) *Guzman*, *Portana*, and *Velasquez*, were declared NOT GUILTY.

After having declared the verdict of the Jury, the Foreman read to the Court the following recommendation to mercy:

"The sympathies of the Jury have been strongly moved in behalf of *Bernardo de Soto*, on account of his generous, noble and self-sacrificing conduct in saving the lives of more than 70 human beings, constituting the passengers and crew of the ship *Minerva*; and they desire that his case should be presented to the merciful consideration of the Government."

Judge Story replied that the wish of the jury would certainly be complied with both by the Court and the prosecuting officer.

"The appearance and demeanor of Captain Gilbert are the same as when we first saw him; his eye is undimmed, and decision and command yet sit upon his features. We did not discern the slightest alteration of color or countenance when the verdict of the jury was communicated to him; he merely slightly bowed and resumed his seat. With *De Soto* the case was different. He is much altered; has become thinner, and his countenance this morning was expressive of the deepest despondency. When informed of the contents of the paper read by the foreman of the jury, he appeared much affected, and while being removed from the Court, covered his face with his handkerchief."

Immediately after the delivery of the verdict, the acquitted prisoners, on motion of Mr. Hillard, were directed to be discharged, upon which several of the others loudly and angrily expressed their dissatisfaction at the result of the trial. *Castillo* (a *half-caste*, with an extremely mild and pleasing countenance,) pointed towards heaven, and called upon the Almighty to bear witness that he was innocent; *Ruiz* uttered some words with great vehemence; and *Garcia* said "all were in the same ship; and it was strange that some should be permitted to escape while others were punished." Most of them on leaving the Court uttered some invective against "the *picaro* who had sworn



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their lives away.”

On *Costa*, the cabin boy, (aged 16) being declared “Not Guilty” some degree of approbation was manifested by the audience, but instantly checked by the judge, who directed the officers to take into custody, every one expressing either assent or dissent. We certainly think the sympathy expressed in favor of *Costa* very ill placed, for although we have not deemed ourselves at liberty to mention the fact earlier, his conduct during the whole trial was characterized by the most reckless effrontery and indecorum. Even when standing up to receive the verdict of the jury, his face bore an impudent smile, and he evinced the most total disregard of the mercy which had been extended towards him.

About this time vague rumors reached Corunna, that a Captain belonging to that place, engaged in the Slave Trade, had turned Pirate, been captured, and sent to America with his crew for punishment. Report at first fixed it upon a noted slave-dealer, named Begaro. But the astounding intelligence soon reached Senora de Soto, that her husband was the person captured for this startling crime. The shock to her feelings was terrible, but her love and fortitude surmounted them all; and she determined to brave the terrors of the ocean, to intercede for her husband if condemned, and at all events behold him once more. A small schooner was freighted by her own and husband’s father, and in it she embarked for New-York. After a boisterous passage, the vessel reached that port, when she learned her husband had already been tried and condemned to die. The humane people of New-York advised her to hasten on to Washington, and plead with the President for a pardon. On arriving at the capital, she solicited an interview with General Jackson, which was readily granted. From the circumstance of her husband’s having saved the lives of seventy Americans, a merciful ear was turned to her solicitations, and a pardon for De Soto was given her, with which she hastened to Boston, and communicated to him the joyful intelligence.

Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, to all to whom these presents shall come, *Greeting*: Whereas, at the October Term, 1834, of the Circuit Court of the United States, Bernardo de Soto was convicted of Piracy, and sentenced to be hung on the 11th day of March last from which sentence a respite was granted him for three months, bearing date the third day of March, 1835, also a subsequent one, dated on the fifth day of June, 1835, for sixty days. And whereas the said Bernardo de Soto has been represented as a fit subject for executive clemency –

Now therefore, I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, in consideration of the premises, divers good and sufficient causes me thereto moving, have pardoned, and hereby do pardon the said Bernardo de Soto, from and after the 11th August next, and direct that he be then discharged from confinement. In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents. Done at the City of Washington the sixth day of July, AD. 1835, and of the independence of the United States and sixtieth. Andrew Jackson.

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On the fatal morning of June 11th, 1835, Don Pedro, Juan Montenegro, Manuel Castillo, Angel Garcia and Manuel Boyga, were, agreeably to sentence, summoned to prepare for immediate execution. On the night previous, a mutual agreement had been entered into to commit suicide. Angel Garcia made the first attempt by trying to open the veins of each arm with a piece of glass; but was prevented. In the morning, however, while preparations were making for the execution, Boyga succeeded in inflicting a deep gash on the left side of his neck, with a piece of tin. The officer's eyes had been withdrawn from him scarcely a minute, before he was discovered lying on his pallet, with a convulsive motion of his knees, from loss of blood. Medical aid was at hand, the gash sewed up, but he did not revive. Two Catholic clergymen attended them on the scaffold, one a Spanish priest. They were executed in the rear of the jail. When the procession arrived at the foot of the ladder leading up to the platform of the gallows the Rev. Mr. Varella looking directly at Capt. Gilbert, said, "Spaniards, ascend to heaven." Don Pedro mounted with a quick step, and was followed by his comrades at a more moderate pace, but without the least hesitation. Boyga, unconscious of his situation and destiny, was carried up in a chair, and seated beneath the rope prepared for him. Gilbert, Montenegro, Garcia and Castillo all smiled subduedly as they took their stations on the platform. Soon after Capt. Gilbert ascended the scaffold, he passed over to where the apparently lifeless Boyga was seated in the chair, and kissed him. Addressing his followers, he said, "Boys, we are going to die; but let us be firm, for we are innocent." To Mr. Peyton, the interpreter, he said, "I die innocent, but I'll die like a noble Spaniard. Good bye, brother." The Marshal having read the warrant for their execution, and stated that de Soto was respited *sixty* and Ruiz *thirty* days, the ropes were adjusted round the necks of the prisoners, and a slight hectic flush spread over the countenance of each; but not an eye quailed, nor a limb trembled, not a muscle quivered. The fatal cord was now cut, and the platform fell, by which the prisoners were launched into eternity. After the execution was over, Ruiz, who was confined in his cell, attracted considerable attention, by his maniac shouts and singing. At one time holding up a piece of blanket, stained with Boyga's blood, he gave utterance to his ravings in a sort of recitative, the burden of which was - "This is the red flag my companions died under!"

After the expiration of Ruiz' second respite, the Marshal got two surgeons of the United States Navy, who understood the Spanish language, to attend him in his cell; they, after a patient examination pronounced his madness a counterfeit, and his insanity a hoax. Accordingly, on the morning of Sept. 11th, the Marshal, in company with a Catholic priest and interpreter entered his cell, and made him sensible that longer evasion of the sentence of the law was impossible, and that he must surely die. They informed him that he had but half an hour to live, and retired; when he requested that he might not be disturbed during the brief space that remained to him, and turning his back to the open entrance to his cell, he unrolled some fragments of printed prayers, and commenced reading them to himself. During this interval he neither spoke, nor heeded those who were watching him; but undoubtedly suffered extreme mental agony. At one minute he would drop his chin on his bosom, and stand



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motionless; at another would press his brow to the wall of his cell, or wave his body from side to side, as if wrung with unutterable anguish. Suddenly, he would throw himself upon his knees on the mattress, and prostrate himself as if in prayer; then throwing his prayers from him, he would clutch his rug in his fingers, and like a child try to double it up, or pick it to pieces. After snatching up his rug and throwing it away again and again, he would suddenly resume his prayers and erect posture, and stand mute, gazing through the aperture that admitted the light of day for upwards of a minute. This scene of imbecility and indecision, of horrible prostration of mind, ceasing in some degree when the Catholic clergyman re-entered his cell.

At 10 o'clock, the prisoner was removed from the prison, and during his progress to the scaffold, though the hue of death was on his face, and he trembled in every joint with fear, he chanted with a powerful voice an appropriate service from the Catholic ritual. Several times he turned round to survey the heavens which at that moment were clear and bright above him and when he ascended the scaffold after concluding his prayer, he took one long and steadfast look at the sun, and waited in silence his fate. His powers, mental and physical had been suddenly crushed with the appalling reality that surrounded him; his whole soul was absorbed with one master feeling, the dread of a speedy and violent death. He quailed in the presence of the dreadful paraphernalia of his punishment, as much as if he had been a stranger to deeds of blood, and never dealt death to his fellow man as he ploughed the deep, under the black flag of piracy, with the motto of "Rob, Kill, and Burn." After adjusting the rope, a signal was given. The body dropped heavily, and the harsh abrupt shock must have instantly deprived him of sensation, as there was no voluntary action of the hands afterwards. Thus terminated his career of crime in a foreign land without one friend to recognize or cheer him, or a single being to regret his death.

The Spanish Consul having requested that the bodies might not be given to the faculty, they were interred at night under the direction of the Marshal, in the Catholic burial-ground at Charlestown. There being no murder committed with the piracy, the laws of the United States do not authorize the court to order the bodies for dissection.



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December 2, Monday: The [pirate](#) Henry Joseph was [hanged](#) in [Boston](#)'s Leverett Street jailyard.

Cesar Franck began harmony lessons with Joseph Daussoigne at the Royal Conservatory of Liege.



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➡ February: The Boston attorney [David Lee Child](#) sent his wife [Lydia Maria Child](#) to [Washington DC](#), to appeal to Attorney General Benjamin Butler and then to President [Andrew Jackson](#) on behalf of a prisoner, for a stay of [execution](#). (Since the Spaniards aboard the pirate vessel *Panda* would be hanged in Boston in June, and since the master of that vessel would be pardoned by the President, and since David was in fact the defense attorney on that case, may we presume that Maria's visit asking for a stay of execution had to do with these [pirates](#)?)

➡ May: [David Lee Child](#) traveled to [Washington DC](#) to appeal the guilty verdict for the *Panda* crew of Spanish [pirates](#).

Upset over [Lydia Maria Child](#)'s unreasonable stance in regard to the [abolition](#) of human slavery, the Boston Athenæum canceled her library privileges — for access to materials needed for her research, in the future she would need to rely on friends.

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June 11, Thursday: Pedro Gilbert, Manuel Costello, Monelle Bogga, Jose Bassello De Costa, and Angela Garcia, Spanish [pirates](#) from aboard the *Panda*, were [hanged](#) in the rear of the Leverett Street jail of [Boston](#). Although the Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#) had faithfully attended the trials in Boston of the accused dozen pirates, on the day of execution of the 6 who had committed murder he was so alienated by the jeering, drunken mob of spectators that he had to walk away before the hangings began.¹³¹



(One of the convicted men, Don Bernardo de Soto, a native of Corunna, Spain and the mate and owner of the pirate vessel *Panda*, had been pardoned by President Andrew Jackson after a personal appeal from his lovely young wife, Donna Petrona Pereyra de Soto, and on consideration of his having while previously the captain of the brig *Leon* rescued 70 individuals on board the American ship *Minerva* during a voyage from Philadelphia to Havana.)

131. Beginning at about this point, in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, the authorities were becoming uncomfortable and embarrassed at the enthusiasm with which the crowds attending public hangings were greeting the public humiliation of the condemned. Sheriffs gradually would be beginning to enhance their personal standing among the influential members of the communities which they served, by carrying out such executions within prison courtyards to which they could admit as spectators only the privileged few to whom they might be willing to grant passes.

During this year, also, England was beginning to proscribe the use of [hanging](#) as a punishment for housebreaking, forgery, and "bodily harm dangerous to life with the intent to murder."



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, to all to whom these presents shall come,

Greeting:

Whereas, at the October Term, 1834, of the Circuit Court of the United States, Bernardo de Soto was convicted of Piracy, and sentenced to be hung on the 11th day of March last from which sentence a respite was granted him for three months, bearing date the third day of March, 1835, also a subsequent one, dated on the fifth day of June, 1835, for sixty days. And whereas the said Bernardo de Soto has been represented as a fit subject for executive clemency –

Now therefore, I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, in consideration of the premises, divers good and sufficient causes me thereto moving, have pardoned, and hereby do pardon the said Bernardo de Soto, from and after the 11th August next, and direct that he be then discharged from confinement. In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents.

Done at the City of Washington the sixth day of July, AD. 1835, and of the independence of the United States and sixtieth.


Andrew Jackson.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1836

 March 17, Thursday, 1836: The Constitution of the Republic of Texas: enslavement was to be for life (with no possibility of manumission ever); whether or not it should be legal to breed local negro slaves for sale would be an issue to be determined from time to time by the legislature in their wisdom; however, engaging in the international slave trade was to be a capital crime.

§ 9. All persons of color who were slaves for life before coming to Texas shall remain so. "Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from bringing their slaves into the republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States; ... the importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is forever prohibited, and declared to be piracy." LAWS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS (Houston, 1838), I. 19.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 17th of 3rd M 1836 / Our meeting was small owing to its being Stormy - Father was not there having a bad cold - It was a silent but solid & to me comfortable Meeting

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 27, Palm Sunday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 27th of 3 M / Our Meetings were silent, but solid good seasons. Father yet confined with a very havy cold & lame back -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

In Kirtland, Ohio, the 1st [Mormon](#) temple began to be dedicated (this would be a drawn-out process).



At Fort Defiance (Presidio La Bahia) in the town of Goliad, General Jose de Urrea, acting reluctantly under repeated direct orders of President of [Mexico](#) Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, who considered these foreigners to have the same legal standing as [pirates](#), had 303 [Texian](#) prisoners of war marched out in three columns in three different directions, and then gunned down. Of the 40 who had been unable to walk, 39 were killed inside the fort. The commanding officer, Colonel James W. Fannin, was the last to be executed, and asked the firing squad to shoot him in the heart rather than in the face — so of course they shot him in the face. Of the 303 men in the three columns, 28 were able to feign death and escape.¹³²

Now I tell what I know in Texas in my early youth,
 (I tell not the fall of Alamo,
 Not one escaped to tell the fall of Alamo,
 The hundred and fifty are dumb yet at Alamo,)
 'Tis the tale of the murder in cold blood of four hundred and twelve young men.

Retreating they had form'd in a hollow square with their baggage for breastworks,
 Nine hundred lives out of the surrounding enemy's, nine times their number, was the price they took in
 advance,
 Their colonel was wounded and their ammunition gone,
 They treated for an honorable capitulation, receiv'd writing and seal, gave up their arms and march'd back
 prisoners of war.

They were the glory of the race of rangers,
 Matchless with horse, rifle, song, supper, courtship,
 Large, turbulent, generous, handsome, proud, and affectionate,
 Bearded, sunburnt, drest in the free costume of hunters,
 Not a single one over thirty years of age.

The second First-day morning they were brought out in squads and massacred, it was beautiful early
 summer,
 The work commenced about five o'clock and was over by eight.

None obey'd the command to kneel,
 Some made a mad and helpless rush, some stood stark and straight,
 A few fell at once, shot in the temple or heart, the living and dead lay together,
 The maim'd and mangled dug in the dirt, the new-comers saw them there,
 Some half-kill'd attempted to crawl away,
 These were despatch'd with bayonets or batter'd with the blunts of muskets.
 A youth not seventeen years old seiz'd his assassin till two more came to release him,
 The three were all torn and cover'd with the boy's blood.

132. Some 100 others were also executed (by the way, at this point [Halley's Comet](#) was finally fading from being visible to the naked eye).

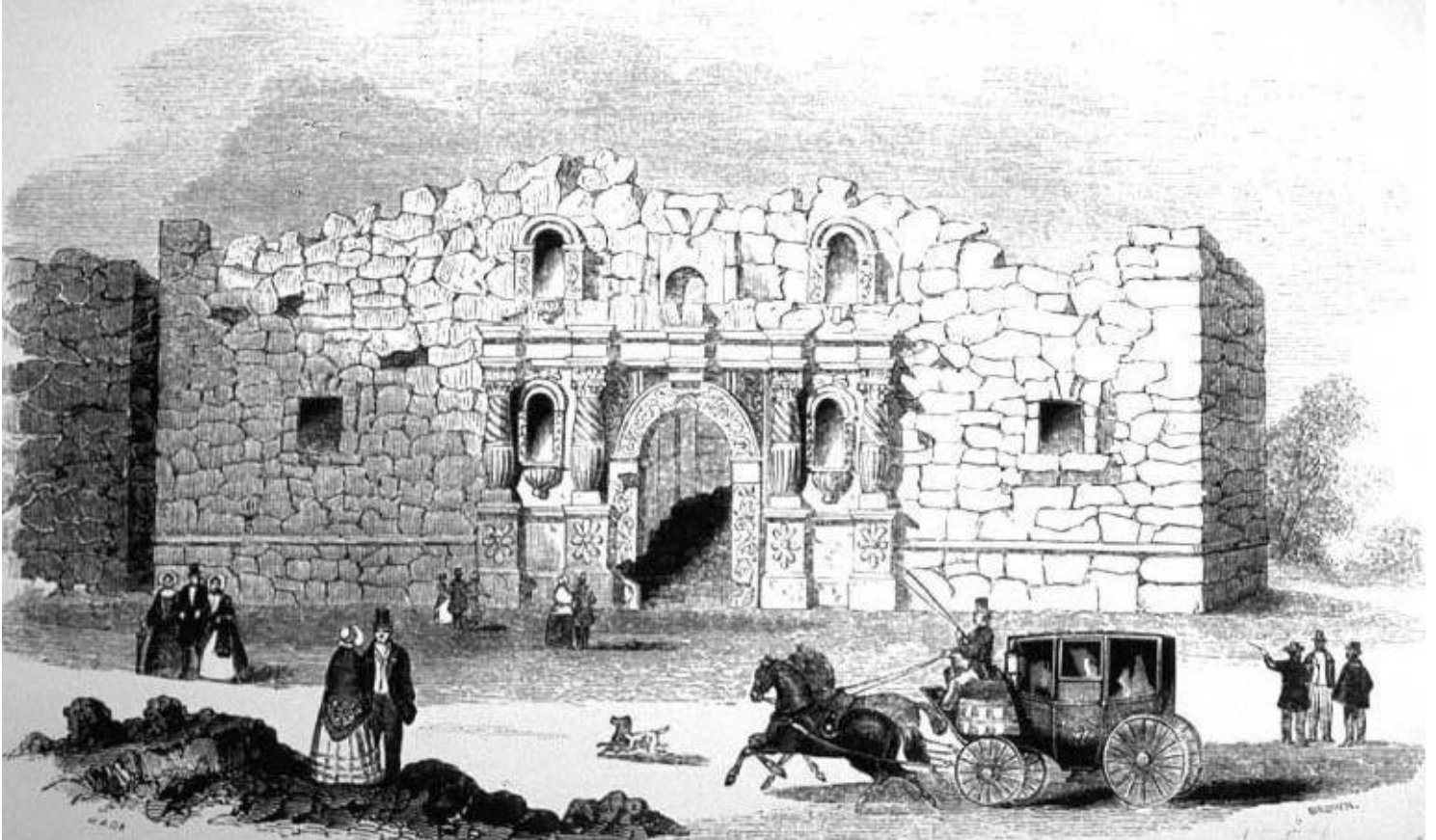
PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

At eleven o'clock began the burning of the bodies;
That is the tale of the murder of the four hundred and twelve young men.

SONG OF MYSELF, 34

— Walt Whitman **WALT WHITMAN**,



December 21, Wednesday: At the Theatre de la Bourse of Paris, *L'ambadrice*, an opera comique by Daniel-Francois-Esprit Auber to words of Scribe, was performed for the initial time.

In [Texas](#), it was made abundantly clear that the [slave-trade](#) was [piracy](#), and that the penalty for piracy would be death. Having slaves is fine — but you need to be very careful how you come by them.

§ 1. "Be it enacted ..., That if any person or persons shall introduce any African negro or negroes, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the ninth section of the general provisions of the constitution, ... except such as are from the United States of America, and had been held as slaves therein, be considered guilty of piracy; and upon conviction thereof, before any court having cognizance of the same, shall suffer death, without the benefit of clergy."

§ 2. The introduction of Negroes from the United States of America, except of those legally held as slaves there, shall be piracy. LAWS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS (Houston, 1838), I. 197. Cf. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 27th Congress, 1st session, No. 34, page 42.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1837

The selling price of a "prime field hand," a male between the ages of 18 and 25, in good condition, reached a peak of \$1,300 in Virginia, and began to decline.

SLAVERY

Uriah Phillips Levy installed his widowed mother in Monticello. She would reside there until her death.

When a Virginia farmer, Anthony Backhouse, plowed up a box containing gold and silver coins at the mouth of Tanners creek, adjoining Pomfret, the Norfolk Herald reported that "The opinion of course has precedence, that his money was one of the numerous deposits made on our coast by Blackbeard." -Whatever their origin, the value of the coins totaled to \$14,000.

PIRATES

Charles Ellms's THE PIRATE'S OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS was published in Portland by Sanborn & Carter and in Philadelphia by Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co.¹³³



PIRATES

133. This pleasantly illustrated work of dubious accuracy would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1838

December 24, Monday to January 4, Friday: A US naval force landed to indiscriminately punish natives of the towns of Quallah Battoo and Muckie (Mukki) on the island of Sumatra, for local depredations against American shipping. Is it going to be a balance of terror? —Then you will learn to fear the righteous white man.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

PIRATES

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1840

During the 1840s John Percival, the reckless naval hero known as “Mad Jack” or “Roaring Jack,” scored many triumphs over [pirates](#).

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1842

July 29: There was a report from the Caribbean, of the capture of some [pirates](#):

any as the ca- Go- for blic The re- tion ting es,) pro- that of had n of ad- tic, ent can urg- ned an ov- mn 15i- re- the : to

on fifty thousand dollars was insured in New- York on the cargo.

CAPTURE OF PIRATES.

BALTIMORE, JULY 27.—Captain ALLEN, of the schooner Elizabeth, arrived here this morning, in 10 days from Matanzas, informs that they came out of that place on the 17th inst. under convoy of the United States' schooner Terrier, to the mouth of the harbor, where they fell in with the U. S. ship John Adams, bound to New York, and parted with her of Abaco. About two days previous to the sailing of the Elizabeth, accounts were received of two more American vessels being taken off the harbor, carried to Seawapa Bay, and their masts cut away—no account had been received of their crews. The words "New York" had been seen on their sterns. On the 10th, near Matanzas, a Colombian privateer schooner, (armed with one long gun,) fell in with a fleet of *Pirates*: the same that have been committing the late lawless depredations off Matanzas; they consisted of two small schooners and a feluche, and, by a *ruse*, the Colombian schooner brought them into action at close quarters; when, after a desperate action, killing many, she succeeded in capturing the two schooners. The feluche made her escape with sweeps, and came into Matanzas, when they were taken up and imprisoned by the authorities of that place. Their confinement was supposed a *sham*. The Pirates reported that the Colombian shot eight of them on deck of the first schooner taken, after ascertaining their characters.

Melancholy Shipwreck.—The brig Jesse, which sailed from Three Rivers, Prince Edward's Is-

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PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1844

December: A decision was made to erect a monument to the crew of the brig *Waterwitch*, that had sunk while liberating [slaves](#).

LOST AT SEA



In this month Spain yet again warned the US government that its refusal to pay indemnities for the [La Amistad](#) was going to have serious international repercussions.¹³⁴

134. Has it occurred to you to wonder why, when in 1842 the surviving 35 of the black [privateers](#) of the Amistad mutiny had been sent back to Africa aboard the bark *Gentleman*, they had been sent home as mere charity wards with nobody ever thinking to return to them their prize schooner *La Amistad* admittedly worth \$70,000 — which they had won fair and square with their blood, sweat, and tears? For sure, had it been 35 surviving free white [privateers](#), they would not have been denied this booty which belonged to them, but because they were instead free blacks, it never even **occurred** to any of the white players in this legal drama to give them their prize schooner back! One of the open issues of this drama, therefore, is: what happened to the [La Amistad](#)? **Where did this valuable piece of property go? Which white men were allowed to profit from it?** Our history books are, of course, silent. This is it seems a question which, because of the ingrained nature of our racism, it has never occurred to us to pose:



"In those parts of the Union in which the negroes are no longer slaves, they have in no wise drawn nearer to the whites. On the contrary, the prejudice of the race appears to be stronger in the States which have abolished slavery ... and nowhere is it so intolerant as in those States where servitude has never been known."



— Alexis de Tocqueville



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1846

January: Spain again warned that the US government's refusal to pay indemnities for the [La Amistad](#) was going to have serious international repercussions.¹³⁵

135. Has it occurred to you to wonder why, when in 1842 the surviving 35 of the black [privateers](#) of the Amistad mutiny had been sent back to Africa aboard the bark *Gentleman*, they had been sent home as mere charity wards with nobody ever thinking to return to them their prize schooner *La Amistad* admittedly worth \$70,000 — which they had won fair and square with their blood, sweat, and tears? For sure, had it been 35 surviving free white privateers, they would not have been denied this booty which belonged to them, but because they were instead free blacks, it never even **occurred** to any of the white players in this legal drama to give them their prize schooner back! One of the open issues of this drama, therefore, is: what happened to the [La Amistad](#)? **Where did this valuable piece of property go? Which white men were allowed to profit from it?** Our history books are, of course, silent. This is it seems a question which it has never occurred to us to pose.

1847

B. Barker, Esq.'s BLACKBEARD; OR, THE PIRATE OF THE ROANOKE. A TALE OF THE ATLANTIC was published by F. Gleason at the Flag of Our Union Office, at the corner of Court and Tremont Streets in Boston:

<http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/1/7/8/6/17863/17863-h/17863-h.htm>

February: New colors were presented to the [St. Helena](#) Militia.

A bill proposed by a Southern senator was approved, whereby the Spanish government would be offered the comparatively low value of \$50,000 in full settlement for the [La Amistad](#). (The House of Representatives would fail to go along with this Senate initiative.)¹³⁶



136. Has it occurred to you to wonder why, when in 1842 the surviving 35 of the black [privateers](#) of the Amistad mutiny had been sent back to Africa aboard the bark *Gentleman*, they had been sent home as mere charity wards with nobody ever thinking to return to them their prize schooner *La Amistad* admittedly worth \$70,000 — which they had won fair and square with their blood, sweat, and tears? For sure, had it been 35 surviving free white [privateers](#), they would not have been denied this booty which belonged to them, but because they were instead free blacks, it never even **occurred** to any of the white players in this legal drama to give them their prize schooner back! One of the open issues of this drama, therefore, is: what happened to the [La Amistad](#)? **Where did this valuable piece of property go? Which white men were allowed to profit from it?** Our history books are, of course, silent. This is a question which it has never occurred to us to pose.

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BLACKBEARD:

OR,
THE PIRATE OF THE ROANOKE.



Portrait of Blackbeard, the Pirate of the Roanoke.

F. GLEASON'S PUBLISHING HALL,
CORNER OF TREMONT AND COURT STREETS, BOSTON.
S. FRENCH, 293 Broadway, New York. A. WINCH, 116 Chestnut St., Philadela.
STRATTON & BARNARD, 121 Main Street, Cincinnati. T. S. HAWKS,
Post Office Building, Buffalo. J. A. ROYS, 37 Woodward Avenue,
Detroit. WM. TAYLOR, North Street, Baltimore. FLETCH-
ER & SELLERS, Rue Champs Elysees, New Orleans.
1847.

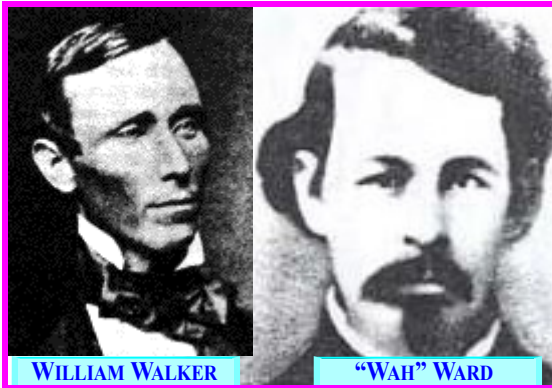
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PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1849

At the age of 17 or 18, [Frederick Townsend Ward](#) again signed ship's papers, this time as a 1st mate. (He would later boast of having been during the ensuing decade a Texas Ranger, and a Californian gold-miner, and an instructor in the Mexican military service, and an officer in the French army of the Crimea. He would also claim to have gone [filibustering](#) with William Walker, perhaps the expedition to Sonora, [Mexico](#) in 1853 or the expedition to Nicaragua in 1857, and confess that for this he had been outlawed by his own government. There is no record to substantiate any of this, and it has been noticed that he liked to impress people and display his manliness, and that in his retelling of it a good story would never suffer.)



September/October: The first [filibustering](#) expedition by Narciso López, invading [Cuba](#), ended after a couple of months in failure.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

October 11, Tuesday: It may well have been on this day that [Henry Thoreau](#) found the 1741 silver French coin in the sands of the Wellfleet ocean beach as described in [CAPE COD](#), and then proceeded impishly to exercise his walking companion [Ellery Channing](#) with delusions of [pirate](#) treasure.¹³⁷



TIMELINE OF SHIPWRECKS

137. The coin Thoreau found may well have been the common "Black Dog." During the French regime in Canada, paper currency had been in use but the lowest paper denomination had been 7 sols 6 deniers. There had remained, therefore, a need for coins of low denomination, for making change and for small transactions. The most widely used coins were those made of *billon* (low-grade silver), of which the most important was the *sou marque* illustrated below:



These coins, struck between 1738 and 1764, had circulated not only in France but also in her colonies and, prior to 1760, large shipments of them had been sent to New France (Canada). The denomination was 2 sols (24 deniers). These *sous marques* had not been very popular because their silver content was low. In circulation, they tended to turn black, and for that reason they gained the nickname "black dogs" in the French colonies of the West Indies. However, because of the continuing shortage of small change, for some time after the British conquest they had continued to circulate in Canada.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

CAPE COD: In the year 1717, a noted pirate named Bellamy was led on to the bar off Wellfleet by the captain of a *snow* which he had taken, to whom he had offered his vessel again if he would pilot him into Provincetown Harbor. Tradition says that the latter threw over a burning tar-barrel in the night, which drifted ashore, and the pirates followed it. A storm coming on, their whole fleet was wrecked, and more than a hundred dead bodies lay along the shore. Six who escaped shipwreck were executed. "At times to this day" (1793), says the historian of Wellfleet, "there are King William and Queen Mary's coppers picked up, and pieces of silver called cob-money. The violence of the seas moves the sands on the outer bar, so that at times the iron caboose of the ship [that is, Bellamy's] at low ebbs has been seen." Another tells us that, "For many years after this shipwreck, a man of a very singular and frightful aspect used every spring and autumn to be seen travelling on the Cape, who was supposed to have been one of Bellamy's crew. The presumption is that he went to some place where money had been secreted by the pirates, to get such a supply as his exigencies required. When he died, many pieces of gold were found in a girdle which he constantly wore."

As I was walking on the beach here in my last visit, looking for shells and pebbles, just after that storm which I have mentioned as moving the sand to a great depth, not knowing but I might find some cob-money, I did actually pick up a French crown piece, worth about a dollar and six cents, near high-water mark, on the still moist sand, just under the abrupt, caving base of the bank. It was of a dark slate color, and looked like a flat pebble, but still bore a very distinct and handsome head of Louis XV., and the usual legend on the reverse, *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum* (Blessed be the Name of the Lord), a pleasing sentiment to read in the sands of the sea-shore, whatever it might be stamped on, and I also made out the date, 1741. Of course, I thought at first that it was that same old button which I have found so many times, but my knife soon showed the silver. Afterward, rambling on the bars at low tide, I cheated my companion by holding up round shells (*Scutellæ*) between my fingers, whereupon he quickly stripped and came off to me.

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It may well have been at this point that Thoreau visited the 88-year-old Wellfleet oysterman, John Young Newcomb, whom Thoreau took to be 60 or 70. To see the correct age, we need only inspect his tombstone:



CAPE COD: Having walked about eight miles since we struck the beach, and passed the boundary between Wellfleet and Truro, a stone post in the sand, -for even this sand comes under the jurisdiction of one town or another,- we turned inland over barren hills and valleys, whither the sea, for some reason, did not follow us, and, tracing up a Hollow, discovered two or three sober-looking houses within half a mile, uncommonly near the eastern coast. Their garrets were apparently so full of chambers, that their roofs could hardly lie down straight, and we did not doubt that there was room for us there. Houses near the sea are generally low and broad. These were a story and a half high; but if you merely counted the windows in their gable-ends, you would think that there were many stories more, or, at any rate, that the half-story was the only one thought worthy of being illustrated. The great number of windows in the ends of the houses, and their irregularity in size and position, here and elsewhere on the Cape, struck us agreeably, -as if each of the various occupants who had their *cunabula* behind had punched a hole where his necessities required it, and, according to his size and stature, without regard to outside effect. There were windows for the grown folks, and windows for the children, -three or four apiece; as a certain man had a large hole cut in his barn-door for the cat, and another smaller one for the kitten. Sometimes they were so low under the eaves that I thought they must have perforated the plate beam for another apartment, and I noticed some which were triangular, to fit that part more exactly. The ends of the houses had thus as many muzzles as a revolver, and, if the inhabitants have the same habit of staring out the windows that some of our neighbors have, a traveller must stand a small chance with them.

[CAT](#)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

CAPE COD: Our host told us that the sea-clam, or hen, was not easily obtained; it was raked up, but never on the Atlantic side, only cast ashore there in small quantities in storms. The fisherman sometimes wades in water several feet deep, and thrusts a pointed stick into the sand before him. When this enters between the valves of a clam, he closes them on it, and is drawn out. It has been known to catch and hold coot and teal which were preying on it. I chanced to be on the bank of the Acushnet at New Bedford one day since this, watching some ducks, when a man informed me that, having let out his young ducks to seek their food amid the samphire (*Salicornia*) and other weeds along the river-side at low tide that morning, at length he noticed that one remained stationary, amid the weeds, something preventing it from following the others, and going to it he found its foot tightly shut in a quahog's shell. He took up both together, carried them to his home, and his wife opening the shell with a knife released the duck and cooked the quahog. The old man said that the great clams were good to eat, but that they always took out a certain part which was poisonous, before they cooked them. "People said it would kill a cat." I did not tell him that I had eaten a large one entire that afternoon, but began to think that I was tougher than a cat. He stated that pedlers came round there, and sometimes tried to sell the women folks a skimmer, but he told them that their women had got a better skimmer than *they* could make, in the shell of their clams; it was shaped just right for this purpose. -They call them "skim-alls" in some places. He also said that the sun-squawl was poisonous to handle, and when the sailors came across it, they did not meddle with it, but heaved it out of their way. I told him that I had handled it that afternoon, and had felt no ill effects as yet. But he said it made the hands itch, especially if they had previously been scratched, or if I put it into my bosom, I should find out what it was.

CAT



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

CAPE COD: The light-house keeper said that when the wind blowed strong on to the shore, the waves ate fast into the bank, but when it blowed off they took no sand away; for in the former case the wind heaped up the surface of the water next to the beach, and to preserve its equilibrium a strong undertow immediately set back again into the sea which carried with it the sand and whatever else was in the way, and left the beach hard to walk on; but in the latter case the undertow set on, and carried the sand with it, so that it was particularly difficult for shipwrecked men to get to land when the wind blowed on to the shore, but easier when it blowed off. This undertow, meeting the next surface wave on the bar which itself has made, forms part of the dam over which the latter breaks, as over an upright wall. The sea thus plays with the land holding a sand-bar in its mouth awhile before it swallows it, as a cat plays with a mouse; but the fatal gripe is sure to come at last. The sea sends its rapacious east wind to rob the land, but before the former has got far with its prey, the land sends its honest west wind to recover some of its own. But, according to Lieutenant Davis, the forms, extent, and distribution of sand-bars and banks are principally determined, not by winds and waves, but by tides.

PEOPLE C
CAPE CC

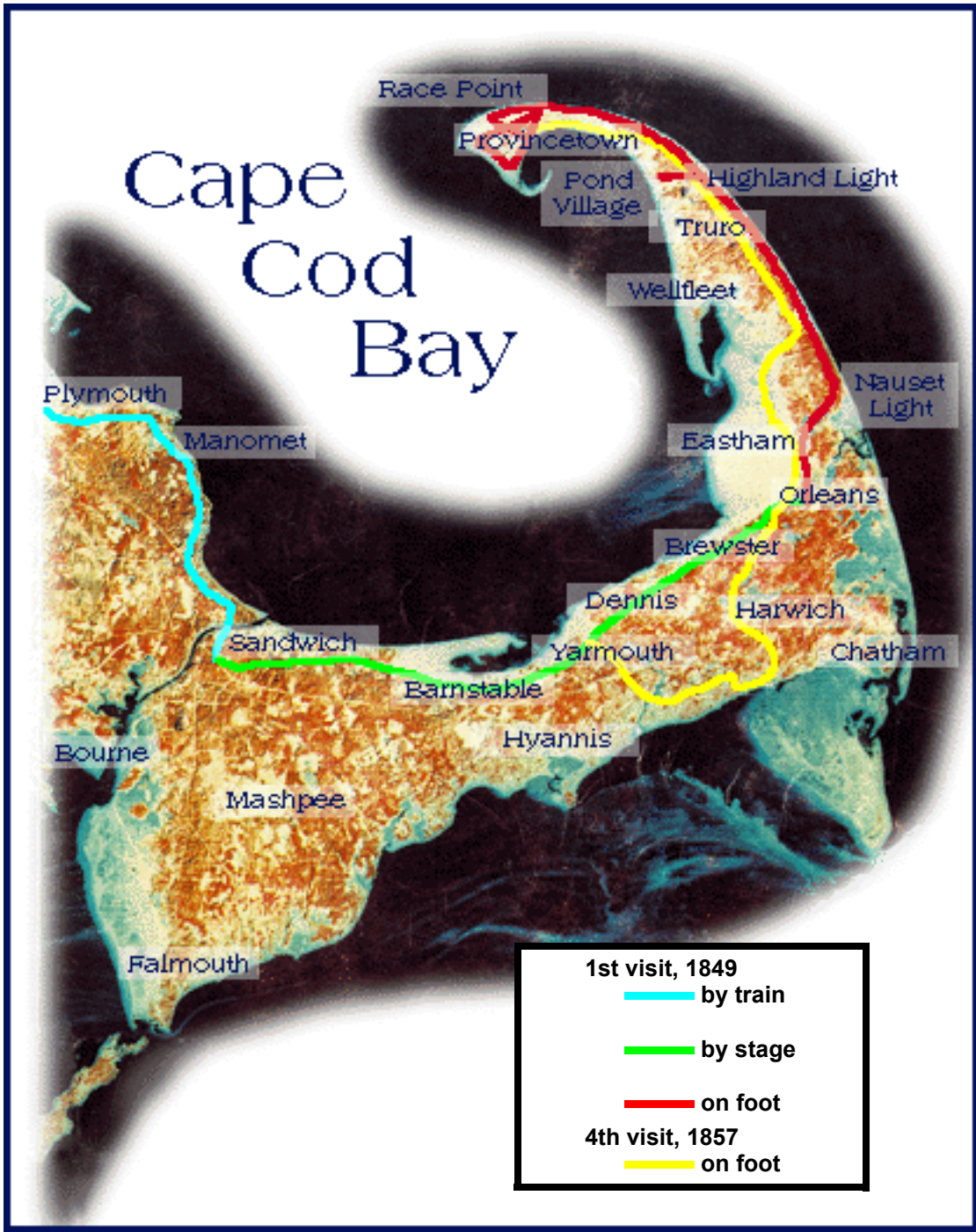
CAT

CHARLES HENRY DAVIS

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

THOREAU'S 1ST VISIT TO MANAMOYIK (CAPE COD)



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

November 25, Sunday morning: Handbills were out, asking for information on the whereabouts of the missing [Doctor George Parkman](#).



[Professor John White Webster](#) was burning more and more body parts in the assay oven, but burning something as wet as a human body sure takes a heck of a lot of firewood, doesn't it? At the trial, there would be expert testimony from another [Boston](#) medico, who had had problems when he attempted to burn the body of "a [pirate](#)" after dissecting it — for one thing, his neighbors had been complaining about the smell of burning flesh that was permeating the neighborhood.



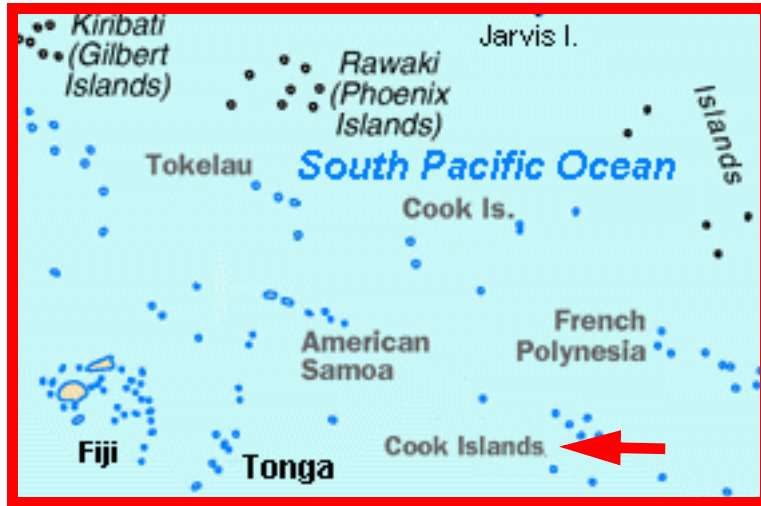
According to BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS OF THE TOWN OF [CONCORD](#), MASSACHUSETTS (Groton, 1894), Charles Bartlett of Concord & Nancy Fuller of Groton filed an intention to marry.

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

1850

During this decade a ship out of Tahiti doing salvage on a wreck in the reef of Suwarrow atoll in the [Cook Islands](#) discovered a box containing \$15,000 in coins.



(OK, it wasn't [pirate](#) treasure exactly, but something for nothing will make your day.)

PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

April 25, Thursday: THE TRADITIONAL HISTORY AND CHARACTERISTIC SKETCHES OF THE OJIBWAY NATION BY [G. COPWAY](#), OR, KAH-GE-GA-GAH-BOWH, CHIEF OF THE OJIBWAY NATION. ILLUSTRATED BY DARLY (Boston: Sanborn, Carter, Bazin & Co., 25 & 29 Cornhill.

Invitations to Indians to come and worship in the spring are made in the following form :—



The whole story would thus read :—

“Hark to the words of the Sa-ge-mah.”

“The Great Medicine Lodge will be ready in eight days,”

“Ye who live in the woods and near the Lakes and by streams of water, come with your canoes or by land to the worship of the Great Spirit.”

In the above, the wigwam and the medicine pale or worship, represent the depositories of medicine, record and work. The Lodge is represented with men in it; the dots above indicate the number of days.

These picture representations were used by the Ojibways until the introduction of European manners among them. When this occurred, they neglected in a great degree their correspondence with other nations, except by special messengers, and became very cautious in giving information respecting their religious worship to the whites, because they, the whites, ridiculed it.

CHIEF KAH-GE-GA-GAH-BOWH

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Narciso López had as a Cuban official planned a revolution against Spain, but in 1848 he had fled to the United States when this was discovered. He had obtained American aid and had already planned one such filibustering expedition to [Cuba](#) in 1848 which had not succeeded.



At this point the steamer *Georgiana*, with about 200 Kentucky [filibusters](#) on board, left new Orleans for Chagres, Panama as part of his new expedition against Cárdenas intending to seize the island of [Cuba](#) from Spain. (This expedition also would fail. In 1851 a 3rd such expedition would gain a foothold on the island, but would be defeated with López himself being captured and, it goes without saying, executed.)

May 2, Thursday: The steamer *Susan Loud*, with 150 more Louisianan [filibusters](#), followed the *Georgiana*.

May 19, Sunday: The 2d [filibustering](#) expedition of Narciso López, consisting of five authentic [Cubans](#) plus numerous US adventurers from Southern states, briefly took control of Cárdenas, but a skirmish with Spanish forces forced them back to sea.

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1851

August 11, Monday: A 3d [filibustering](#) expedition led by General Narciso López, this one made up of 435 adventurers, landed at Bahía Honda about 40 miles to the west of the port of [Havana](#).



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August 13, Wednesday: At the village of Las Pozas in [Cuba](#), Spanish forces defeated López's [filibustering](#) army.

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August 16, Saturday: Some of López's [filibusters](#) having been captured at sea, they had been taken to [Havana](#), and on this day the last 51 members of the regiment (excepting Narciso López himself) were executed by [firing squad](#).



August 16, Saturday: Agrimonia Eupatoria small flowered (yellow) plant with hispid fruit 2 or 3 feet high turnpike at Tuttle's peatmead. Hemp –Cannabis sativa said by Gray to have been introduced not named by Bigelow –is it not a native?

BIGELOW 

It is true man can and does live by preying on other animals, but this is a miserable way of sustaining himself –and he will be regarded as a benefactor of his race –along with Prometheus & Christ –who shall teach men to live on a more innocent & wholesome diet. Is it not already acknowledged to be a reproach that man is a carnivorous animal?

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September 1, Monday: On this day Narciso López was executed publicly at [Havana](#). Before his death he shouted, most accurately, “My death will not change the destiny of [Cuba](#)!”



GEN. LOPEZ

Of course, this [filibuster](#) might as well have shouted “My death is not going to affect the price of cigars!” or “Cuba remains an island!” or “Long live the Queen of Ethiopia!” He could have shouted just anything, as long as he did not attempt to deliver the sort of very lengthy political speech that might have fatigued his audience.

In New Orleans, former associates of López would form a secret society called “Order of the Lone Star.” The goal of the order would of course be, what else, to incorporate [Cuba](#) into the United States of America. With 50 chapters in 8 southern states and an estimated membership of 15,000-20,000, the order would develop a plan to invade the island during the summer of 1852 in conjunction with a revolt on the island itself, the “Conspiracy of Vuelta Abajo” organized in Pinar del Río by López’s wealthy brother-in-law Francisco de

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Frías.



September 1, Monday: Mikania scandens with its purplish white flowers now covering the button bushes and willows by the side of the stream.
 Bidens Chrysanthemoides Large flowered Bidens edge of River- Various colored Polygonums standing high among the bushes & weeds by river side-white & reddish-& red.
 Is not disease the rule of existence? There is not a lily pad floating on the river but has has been riddled by insects- Almost every shrub and tree has its gall-oftentimes esteemed its chief ornament-and hardly to be distinguished from the fruit. If misery loves company-misery has company enough- Now at midsummer find me a perfect leaf-or fruit.
 The fruit of the trilliums is very handsome I found some a month ago a singular **red**-angular cased pulp drooping with the old anthers surrounding it $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diam.
 -and now there is another kind a dense crowded cluster of many ovoid berries-turning from green to scarlet or bright brick color- Then there is the mottled fruit of the clustered Solomons seal-and also the greenish with blue meat fruit of the Convallaria Multiflora dangling from the axils of the leaves-
 I suspect that the common wild bean vine of the gardens must be the Polygonum Convolvulus or Black bindweed. though I do not find the 3 styles.
 Found a Utricularia on the North branch without leaves but slight sheathes 7 or 8 flowered upright 6 or 8 inches high where the water had gone down rooted yellow.- with racemed **pedicels about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch** long-no bladders nor inflated leaves.
 Then there is the small floating marry gold or sun flower of the river-corolla spreading but little $\frac{7}{8}$ inch- petals 8 ribbed yellow obovate lanceolate blunt rounded $\frac{5}{8}$ inch long tubular at base-stand at ang of 45° / Calyx double outer 5 leaves green & spreading inner 8 leaves close to petals & yellowish at tips. Calyx half as



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long as corolla—florets more than half as long as corolla—5 stamens & one pistil in a yellow cup with 5 lanceolate segments— Compound flower—though stamens are not **decidedly** united by their anthers. Pistil rising above stamens divided in two at top & curling over each way, Stem 3 to 5 feet long—hollow & cellular— $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{10}$ inch diameter upper or emersed 2 or 3 sets of leaves crosswise opposite lanceolate broad at base—fringe serrate—clasping sub-connate The rest immersed opposite—capillaceo—multipartite forming a dark cylindrical mass in shallow parts of rivers—covered with small fish ova or perchance bladders?



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1852

Senator [James Murray Mason](#) of Virginia called again for payment of Spain's *La Amistad* claim.

[Of course, the schooner in question did not belong to Spain, or to any Spaniard or Spaniards. It was a prize vessel, and it belonged to the surviving 35 of the black [privateers](#) of the mutiny who had been sent back to Africa aboard the bark *Gentleman*, who had been sent home as mere charity wards with nobody ever thinking to return to them their conquest which they had won fair and square with their blood, sweat, and tears, admittedly worth \$70,000. For sure, had it been 35 surviving free white privateers, they would not have been denied this booty which belonged to them, but because they were instead free blacks, it had never even **occurred** to any of the white players in this legal drama, such as the collective wit of the seven Supreme Court justices involved in puzzling out this puzzle, to give them their prize schooner back! One of the open issues of this drama, therefore, is: what actually had happened to the schooner *La Amistad*? **Where had this valuable piece of property gone to? Which American white men had been allowed to profit from it?** Our history books are, of course, silent — this being a question which it has never ever occurred to us to pose.]

[THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY](#)

1853

The adventurer William Walker, five-foot-two and weighing a hundred pounds dripping wet, careering among our little brown brothers, led an expedition of USers in an attempt to capture the state of Sonora, [Mexico](#). He was known as *un filibustero*, in Central America, which was shortened in the US to “[a filibuster](#).”



This term had originated in Holland during the freebooting years, when a Dutch sea captain who looted the Spanish gold ships was known as a *vrijbouter*, literally a “free robber.” This term had passed directly into English as “freebooter,” but via the French *fribustier* and then the Spanish *filibustero*, it has eventually here passed into English again, as “a filibuster,” a sort of problematic person — rather than as at present, an opportunistic stalling activity that takes place on the floor of Congress.



These actual Southern states of mind and these customs and modes of behavior, together with the singular characters who expressed and upheld them, appeared occasionally in the books of the time, enough to excite one's regret that literature so failed to do justice to life in the South. What would not readers in later days have given for a genius of the fifties, a Virginian Turgenev, a Gogol of South Carolina, who could have amplified the glimpses that actual writers conveyed of the picturesque, noble or fantastic people of the South. What made many of these characters so striking was that they lived in a timeless world, a society that was little touched by modern conditions, so that they embodied traits of the eighteenth, seventeenth, sixteenth centuries, either wholly unaltered or so altered as to be still more striking. There was William Walker, for one example, the filibuster from Tennessee, a well-trained surgeon who had studied medicine in Paris, in whom all the accretions of the modern man merely threw into bolder relief a character that properly belonged in Elizabethan times. Half-consciously an agent of the cotton kingdom that aspired to be an empire, this latter-day Cortes had much of the original in him, and Sam Houston had still more of the ancient swashbuckler in a composition that savoured, like so many others, of the militant South. Knight-errancy and quixotism thrived on every hand there, ideals of the moment were mingled with ideals of the past, and men could be taken for practical leaders who ignored in their dreams of romance the most essential elements in the situation.



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1855

Victor Place, who had succeeded [Paul Émile Botta](#), tried to send 235 cases of artifacts from Kish, Khorsabad, Nimrud, and Assurbanipal's palace in Nineveh from Mosul down the Tigris and the Shatt al-Arab to Basra, where they were to be loaded on a ship bound for the Louvre in Paris and for the British Museum in London. A barge and four rafts were used, the rafts transporting two human headed winged bulls and two winged Genii as well as other artifacts. The vessels were topheavy and during the journey there would be several attacks by "[Arab pirates](#)." On March 21st or 23d, after passing the toll station at Zejeyyak (Zecheiya), the pirates would ram the barge, sinking it near the left bank of the river "one and a half hours downriver from Al-Qurna." Then a raft carrying a winged bull would sink in the middle of the Shatt-al-Arab near Kout el Fiengoui. Several attempts to recover the sunk materials would fail, and only the contents of two rafts would complete the trip to Basra. Among artifacts that had been lost was a famous relief depicting the sack of the Urartian town of Musasir during Sargon II's 8th campaign.

August 3, Friday: [Castle Garden](#) at the foot of Manhattan Island, with its D-shaped sandstone artillery fort [Castle Clinton](#) which had been in use as New-York's concert hall, was, with the inauguration of the first immigration restrictions,¹³⁸ leased to the State of New York and recycled into being the Emigrant Lading Depot which would by the year 1890 process some 8,000,000 incoming Americans (approximately two out of every three persons arriving). At this point it had just been surrounded by fill to make it into part of Manhattan Island, and separated off from the open wharves and the rest of Battery Park by a wooden fence.

US forces would, on this and the following two days, engage in battle with [pirates](#) near [Hong Kong](#).

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote a note of thanks to Dix & Edwards of [Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art](#) for payment of \$35.⁰⁰ for "The Beach."

*Concord Aug 3^d
1855*

Mess^{rs} Dix & Edwards

Your check for thirty-five dollars in payment for my article in the August number of Putnam's Monthly has come duly to hand — for which accept the acknowledgments of

Yrs respectfully

Henry D. Thoreau

PS. Will you please forward the following note to the Editor?

138. Before this there had been no restriction upon immigration to the United States of America, other of course than the Constitutional compromise that subsequent to 1808 one would not be permitted to immigrate as a slave.

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1856

October 8, Wednesday: While searching for [pirates](#), [Chinese](#) officials and soldiers boarded a ship moored in the Pearl River upriver from [Hong Kong](#). The ship was an old Portuguese hull that had been re-rigged as a junk, and had



been engaging in the illicit opium traffic. Although the ship's crew was Chinese, its captain was an Irishman. Although it seems not to have been flying a flag, at an earlier point it had purchased the right to fly the flag of England, an entitlement which its skipper or owners had allowed to expire without renewal. The name of this vessel being the *Arrow*, the war which would ensue, further colonialist fun and games, would therefore be termed by some the "Arrow War," although in the context of history it is now referred to as the 2d Opium War. This is because the local British officials determined that they would defend this vessel of curious legitimacy as if she were sacred soil: one of the local British officials reported that a local Chinese official had "laughed at me ... threatened me with violence, and I was actually struck one blow." Clearly this "blow" was an insulting gesture rather than a harmful act, since the Brit did not report being injured in the encounter, but that was considered just as bad by the proud local British officials and so they demanded "an apology for what has taken place, and an assurance that the British flag shall, in future, be respected" and began to reinforce their demand by a six-day general bombardment of Canton harbor, pausing only out of respect for their Lord on the Sabbath. We just cannot allow heathens to get away with their crap like that! American vessels moored in the river, seeing such fun, began to assist with the bombardment, and thus one American came to be killed by return fire

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from the shore.



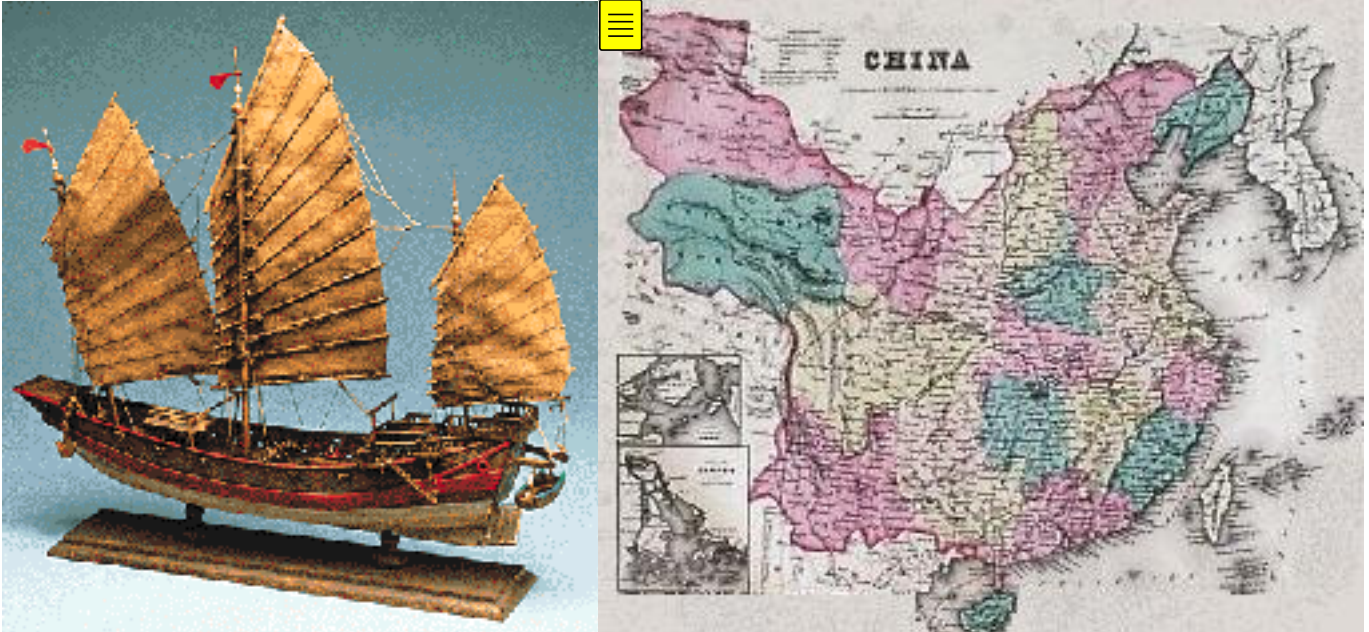
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1857

[Thomas De Quincey](#) and James Hogg published a pamphlet on [China](#).

Captain “Bully” Haynes took part in a raid by the authorities on a fleet of 30 armed [pirate](#) junks preying on Pearl River traffic between Guangzhou, [Macau](#), and [Hong Kong](#), and personally apprehended the pirate leader, Eli Boggs. (Both Haynes and Boggs were United States citizens.)



March 6, Friday: [Edwin Coppoc](#) was [disowned](#) by the Red Cedar Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in the West Branch/[Springdale](#) area of Iowa outside of Iowa City, on account of his having gone dancing.

President James Buchanan appointed [John Buchanan Floyd](#) as Secretary of War and [Lewis Cass](#) as Secretary of State. Floyd would soon demonstrate incompetence, and Cass would be sympathetic with American [“filibusterers”](#) and would be instrumental in having Commodore Hiram Paulding removed from his command after he landed US Marines in Nicaragua to compel the removal of the filibustering William Walker.



US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS



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[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR MARCH 6th]

April/May: Late in April, [Herman Melville](#) toured [Switzerland](#), [Germany](#), and the Netherlands.

In Nicaragua, Commander C.H. Davis of the United States Navy, with some marines, received the surrender of William Walker and his gang of [filibusters](#), who had been attempting to get control of the country, thus protecting these Americans from the retaliation of the native allies who had been opposing their intrusion.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

November/December: The USS *Saratoga*, USS *Wabash*, and USS *Fulton* interfered with yet another attempt of the gang of filibusters led by William Walker, to seize control of Nicaragua, Commodore Hiram Paulding using his marines to compel their removal to the United States. This interference with the [filibusters](#) would be tacitly disavowed by Secretary of State [Lewis Cass](#) — this interfering commodore would be forced into early retirement.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)



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1859

February: During arguments for the annexation of [Cuba](#), Senator [James Murray Mason](#) of Virginia called again for payment of Spain's [La Amistad](#) claim.

[Of course, the schooner in question did not belong to Spain, or to any Spaniard or Spaniards. It was a prize vessel, and it belonged to the surviving 35 of the black [privateers](#) of the mutiny who had been sent back to Africa aboard the bark *Gentleman*, who had been sent home as mere charity wards with nobody ever thinking to return to them their conquest which they had won fair and square with their blood, sweat, and tears, admittedly worth \$70,000. For sure, had it been 35 surviving free white [privateers](#), they would not have been denied this booty which belonged to them, but because they were instead free blacks, it had never even **occurred** to any of the white players in this legal drama, such as the collective wit of the seven Supreme Court justices involved in puzzling out this puzzle, to give them their prize schooner back! One of the open issues of this drama, therefore, is: what actually had happened to the schooner *La Amistad*? **Where had this valuable piece of property gone to? Which American white men had been allowed to profit from it?** Our history books are, of course, silent, this being a question which it has never ever occurred to us to pose.]



"There is only one way to accept America and that is in hate; one must be close to one's land, passionately close in some way or other, and the only way to be close to America is to hate it; it is the only way to love America."



— Lionel Trilling

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1860

Having failed in his 1853 attempt to make this world a better world by capturing the state of Sonora, Mexico and in his 1857 attempt to make this world a better world by seizing the country of Nicaragua, the "filibuster" William Walker and his faithful band of USers made one last attempt to make this world a better world by making a stab at the country of Honduras. As those who live by the rifle tend to die by the rifle, when Mr. Walker was captured his captors made this world into the quite wonderful and nonviolent world it now is, by offing him:



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March 5, Monday: The US and Spain agreed to submit the issue of reparations for the [La Amistad](#) to arbitration.



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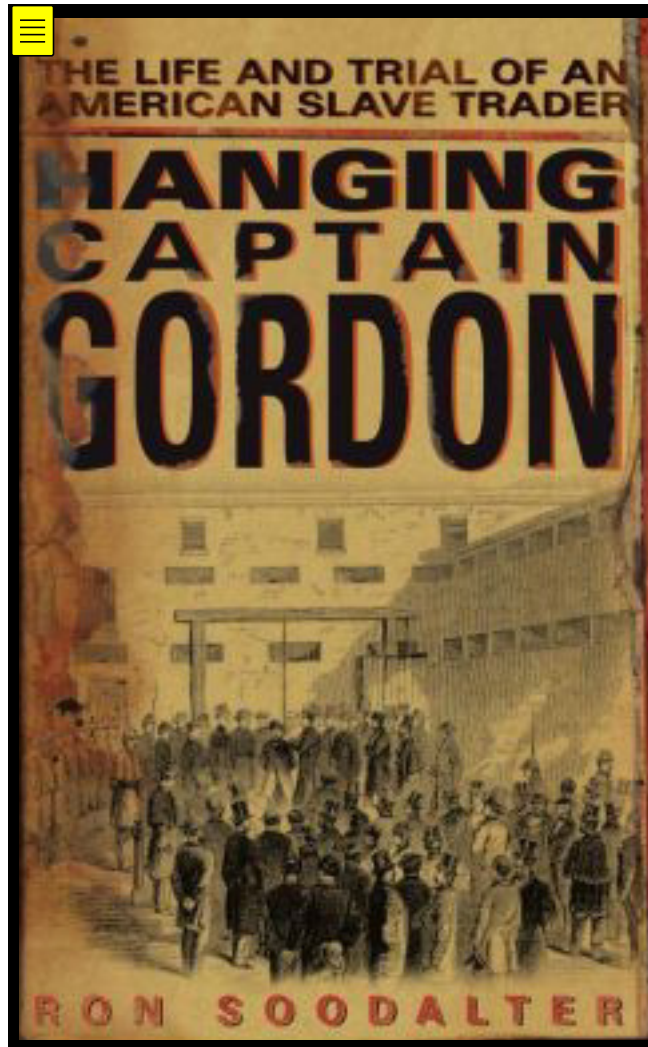
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October: A [Rhode Island](#) “Copperhead” sympathizer with the Southern [slavemasters](#), critical of the [abolitionists](#), wrote: “I consider that from the first, we are the aggressors — We are everlastingly assaulting them from the time Hoar was first sent to S Carolina.”

Captain [Nathaniel Gordon](#), who had been caught redhanded engaging in the [international slave trade](#), was arraigned before a [New-York](#) circuit court on this capital charge equivalent to [piracy](#) on the high seas.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



DEAD MAN WALKING

This pompous ass of a sea captain could easily have escaped, since he was paying his jailer \$50 per day to let him roam the streets of New-York during the day — but instead he would choose to sit out his trial procedures, since he had complete confidence that nobody would really ever want to burn a white man’s ass merely for harming the lives of black people. After all, although what he had done had been a capital crime for two full generations of human life, in fact since January 1, 1812, nobody had **ever ever ever** so much as had their fingers slapped!

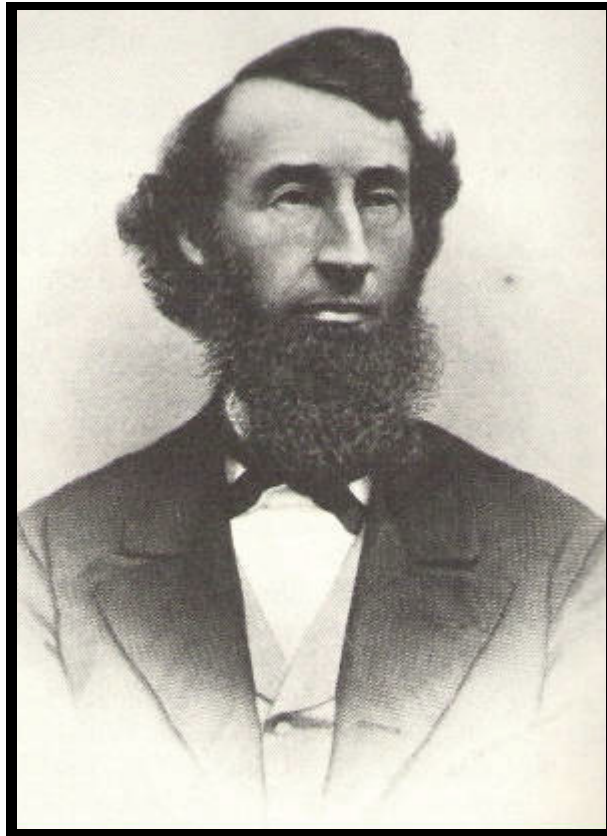
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1861

➡ [Charles Wilkes](#) was placed in command of the USS *San Jacinto*, which sailed in pursuit of the Confederate privateer *Sumter*.

November 30, Saturday: In [New-York](#), Captain [Nathaniel Gordon](#) was convicted of the capital offense of having engaged in the [international slave trade](#) off the coast of Africa in violation of the capital federal ordinance of May 15, 1820, and was condemned to be [hanged](#) as a [pirate](#):



Oops, my bad

(Mmmm, this looks dreadfully like the end of the road, doesn't it? –Sentenced to be hanged by the neck until you are dead dead dead? Actually, our nation had gotten itself into this situation a number of times before, and in each and every instance the problem been dealt with by means of a straightforward and automatic Presidential pardon. –So, you might suppose that the arrogant and selfrighteous Captain Gordon would have been in fear of his life at this point, but if you suppose that, you might be in error.)

UNITED STATES v. GORDON. 25 F.Cas. 1364
Circuit Court, S. D. New York.
Nov. 8, 1861; Nov. 30, 1861.

This was an indictment against the defendant [[Nathaniel Gordon](#)], under the 5th section of the act of May 15, 1820 (3 Stat. 601), for forcibly confining and detaining, on the 8th of August, 1860, on waters within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States, and within the jurisdiction of this court,



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and out of the limits of any state or district, on board of the ship *Erie*, owned wholly or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, a citizen or citizens of the United States, certain negroes, not having been held to service by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make such negroes slaves, he being, at the time of the commission of the crime, one of the ship's company of the ship, and a citizen of the United States, and the Southern district of New York being the district in which he was apprehended and into which he was first brought. The trial took place before NELSON, Circuit Justice, and SHIPMAN, District Judge, and a jury.

E. Delafield Smith, Dist. Atty., for the United States.
Gilbert Dean, for defendant.

NELSON, Circuit Justice (charging jury).

The 5th section of the act of May 15, 1820, under which the prisoner is indicted, provides, "that if any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel, owned wholly or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall forcibly confine or detain, or aid and abet in forcibly confining or detaining, on board such ship or vessel, any negro or mulatto not held to service by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States," with intent to make him a slave, such person shall be adjudged a pirate, and, on conviction, shall suffer death. There are two counts in the indictment, to which we shall call your attention, and to which the observations that we shall make on the law of the case will be confined. The first count is, in substance, that the prisoner, one of the ship's company of the ship *Erie*, owned in whole or in part by American citizens, in the river Congo, did piratically, feloniously, and forcibly confine and detain eight hundred negroes on board, with intent to make them slaves. The third count is, that the prisoner, a citizen of the United States, one of the ship's company of the ship *Erie*, a foreign vessel, engaged in the slave trade, in the river Congo, did piratically and forcibly confine and detain eight hundred negroes on board such vessel, with intent to make them slaves. Under the statute which we have read to you, in order to make out the offence against the prisoner, it is necessary, on the part of the government, to prove, either that he is a citizen of the United States, or that the vessel on which he served, with which he was engaged in the slave trade, belonged, in whole or in part, to citizens of the United States. If the prisoner is a citizen of the United States, then the crime charged against him, of forcibly detaining these negroes, may be made out, if he was on board of a foreign vessel. But, if he was not a citizen of the United States, but a foreigner, then, in order to charge him with the crime, it must appear that it was committed upon an American vessel, or at least a vessel owned, in whole or in part, by citizens of the United States. Two questions, therefore, become material: 'First— Was the prisoner at the bar a citizen? Now, proof is given by two witnesses, that they knew

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both his father and his mother in Portland, Maine, before their marriage. They were both residents of that place. The witnesses also knew them after their marriage, in the same place, and knew the prisoner, the fruit of that marriage, when two or three years old. The question is, upon this testimony— Was the prisoner a native-born citizen, born in Portland or in the United States? It has been argued, by the counsel for the prisoner, that there is some evidence that the mother, after the marriage, was in the habit of going with her husband, who was a sea captain, upon foreign voyages; and it is insisted that, upon this state of facts, the prisoner may have been born abroad. Perhaps, the presumption being, upon the evidence, that he was born in Portland, a prima facie case being made out that he was born there, the burden would rest upon him, to show that he was born abroad. But we take it to be settled law, that, although he was born in a foreign country, yet if his father and mother were American citizens, and did not have the design of removing to the foreign country, but touched there in the course of a voyage which the father made as a sea captain, the child would still be regarded as an American citizen.

Next, gentlemen, as to the character of the vessel. Was she an American vessel, or owned, in whole or in part, by American citizens? It appears that she was built in the United States, and belonged to American citizens, and made a voyage from England to Havana; and, it is insisted that, after her arrival at Havana, she was sold and transferred by those American citizens. We have the account from Mr. Post, who owned three-fourths of her at the time of the sale. He states, that though he was not present at the time of the sale, yet one of the other part owners, Mr. Knudsen, was with the vessel as its master, and that he received from Havana, in March, 1860, the proceeds of the sale, and had no doubt that she had been sold and transferred. Perhaps, on this evidence, it would be difficult to deny that a sale and transfer was made of this vessel out of those American owners, so far at least as Mr. Post is concerned; and he says, also, that he accounted with the other part owners for their share of the price. The difficulty, in this part of the case, is, that it is not enough to show that the title to this vessel was conveyed by these American owners in March, 1860. That is not sufficient, because, before any change can be made in the character of a vessel, after it has been proved that she belonged to American owners, it must appear that the transfer was made to a foreigner. To whom this vessel was transferred, we have no evidence in the case. But, as I before said to you, gentlemen, it is not necessary, upon this branch of the case, that the prisoner should be a citizen, and, also, that the vessel should be an American vessel. It is sufficient, if either of these facts exists, for the commission of the crime charged in the indictment.

This brings us, gentlemen, to the merits of the case, and the question is, is the prisoner guilty or not, of forcibly confining or detaining the negroes on board of this vessel, in the Congo river, with the intent of making them slaves? This is the issue in the case, so far as the real merits are involved. Now, you have the evidence, on the part of the government, of Martin, Green, Alexander, and Hetelberg, four seamen on board of the Erie, who shipped in Havana, in April, 1860, a short time after this alleged sale and transfer. They have detailed to you



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the circumstances of their employment as seamen, the cargo with which the vessel was laden at that port – some 150 or more hogsheads of liquor, a number of barrels of pork and beef, bags of beans, barrels of bread and rice, and some 250 bundles of shooks, with a corresponding number of hoops, for the purpose of being subsequently manufactured into barrels or casks. Now, it may be material for you to inquire, in entering upon the consideration of this issue, whether this was a bona fide cargo, for lawful trade and commerce, or whether it was a cargo fitted out and intended to be used in the slave trade. The vessel was of some 500 tons. If this was a fitting out for the purpose of engaging in the slave trade, and the prisoner at the bar had a knowledge of this intended service of the vessel, then that fact would accompany him to the Congo river, and will have its weight and its influence upon your minds, as to the connection that he had with the transaction that occurred there, in receiving these negroes on board and detaining them. It may undoubtedly be assumed, without any injustice, as a matter of law, the prisoner being the master of the vessel at the port of Havana, and for her voyage to the Congo river, that if this cargo was fitted out for that purpose, if it was a cargo not only proper for that purpose, but intended for that purpose, he, as master, who had the control and charge of the vessel in procuring the cargo, in stowing it, and in shipping the seamen, is chargeable with a knowledge of these facts. Now, these four witnesses, whom you have seen on the stand, have detailed the progress of the voyage from Havana to the Congo river, and the taking of these negroes on board, and the starting from the river on the return voyage to Havana. Their testimony has been so frequently referred to by counsel, and commented upon by them, that I shall not take up your time in going over it. The four concur in the account which they have given of the voyage. They state that, after they had been out some thirty days, and had discovered the provisions and freight on board, a suspicion arose, in the minds of the sailors, that the vessel might be intended for the slave trade, and that they disclosed this suspicion to the captain, assigning to him the reason and grounds of it. The captain, however, disclaimed any such purpose, rebuked the suspicion, and ordered them forward. They all concur in stating that, after the vessel arrived in the Congo river, and while the persons connected with her, and those who furnished the cargo of negroes, were engaged in putting the negroes on board, the captain continued in command of her, so far as they saw, and exercised the same control over the vessel, and her management, and the putting on board of these negroes, as he had previously exercised in the course of the voyage. They also state that, after the negroes were put on board, they were called aft, and were applied to for the purpose of ascertaining whether they would continue to serve as seamen on the return voyage, and were told that, if they would, they should be paid a dollar a head for every negro landed at [Cuba](#). They also state, especially some of them, that the prisoner gave a direction for hoisting the anchor, and directed the course of the vessel when she came out of the river. These are the material facts which have been testified to by the witnesses for the prosecution. On the part of the prisoner, you have the testimony of the first and second mates, who, in all these respects, with, perhaps, one exception, contradict these four witnesses. They state that, after the arrival of the vessel



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and the discharge of the cargo, the prisoner no longer exercised any control over the management of the vessel, and the control of the vessel and her navigation were passed over to the hands of another person, first, to Mr. Hill, who died, and afterwards to Mr. Manuel, whom they regarded as the captain of the vessel; and that subsequently the prisoner had no management or control of her. One of them, the mate, I think, states that he was present when the seamen were applied to, with the view of ascertaining whether they would serve on the return voyage, and his statement differs from the account given by the seamen in this: He says, that the prisoner applied to the seamen, on behalf of the owners of the vessel, and that, as agent, or on behalf of the owners, holding a letter in his hand at the time, which purported to be an authority, he made this offer to them, for the purpose of engaging them. This is the only discrepancy, so far as regards that fact testified to by the seamen.

Now, as I before stated to you, if the prisoner at the bar, as master of this vessel, at Havana, had a knowledge that she was fitted out, equipped, and provisioned for a voyage to the Congo river, on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of engaging in the slave trade, then, in view of the fact of his entering upon that voyage, conducting the vessel to a foreign coast, remaining in her, and coming back with her, or starting to come back with her, before she was captured, this previous knowledge of the prisoner, and his engagement to navigate the vessel for that purpose, will have its influence as to the purpose for which he was found upon the vessel in the Congo river, at the time the negroes were put on board; and it is entitled to whatever weight you may think it deserves, in aiding or supporting the testimony of the four seamen, and will raise the question, for your consideration and decision, whether or not the transfer was a part of the original plan of carrying out this engagement of the vessel in the slave trade, and, if such, colorable and not bona fide. This, however, is a question for your consideration and determination.

Now, we have said that, in order to sustain the charge against the prisoner, it must appear that these negroes were "forcibly" confined and detained on board of that vessel, for the purpose of making them slaves – for the purpose of bringing them to [Cuba](#), or elsewhere, to make them slaves. This word "forcibly," which is a material element in the crime charged, does not mean physical or manual force. Even the crime of robbery, in which force is a peculiar element of the crime, it being the taking violently the property of another from his person, need not be accompanied with or consist of actual force. Any conduct, on the part of the robber, putting the person deprived of his goods in bodily fear and terror, is equivalent to actual force. And so in this case. These negroes were collected at the place where they were put on board, in [barracoons](#), and were there under restraint by the persons who furnished them at the ship's side. They were in bondage at the time, and under the control of those persons, who transferred them to the vessel. They came upon the deck of the vessel in that condition, and it would be strange, indeed, if it was made necessary by the law, that it should be shown that they made personal, physical resistance at the time, against being put on board and detained on board, under all these circumstances. It is sufficient that they were under moral restraint and fear – their wills controlled by this superior





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power exercised over their minds and bodies; and any person participating in that forcible detention, that sort of detention, is a principal, participating in the guilt of the offence.

Then, as to the intent of making them slaves. This, undoubtedly, is a question of fact for the jury. You must find it, but you can find it as an inference from the surrounding circumstances attending their being put on board and forcibly detained on board. If any other purpose, any lawful purpose, had been shown to you by the evidence in the case, undoubtedly it would have been pertinent and satisfactory for the purpose of rebutting such a presumption of intent. But, in the absence of any such evidence, it is for you to say whether the inference is warranted by the testimony.

These are all the observations that we deem in advisable to submit to you, but we will call back your minds to the material question, so that you may look into the case with intelligence and comprehend the real issue involved in the case, which is—Were these negroes, that were put on board of the Erie, in the Congo river, in August, 1860, forcibly detained or confined, with the intention of making them slaves, and did the prisoner, on board of that vessel, at the time, participate in that confinement and detention? If he did, he is guilty of this offence, under the statute. If he did not, he is innocent.

The jury found the defendant guilty. He subsequently made, before NELSON, Circuit Justice, and SHIPMAN, District Judge, a motion for an arrest of judgment and a motion for a new trial.

SHIPMAN, District Judge.

We have carefully considered the point submitted to us, on the motions for an arrest of judgment and for a new trial, and the arguments of counsel thereon. In disposing of these motions, we do not deem it important to discuss any exceptions taken to the form of the indictment, except such as apply to the first and third counts, inasmuch as it was upon those two counts that we put the case to the jury. If either one of those counts is good, the indictment is sufficient to support the verdict.

The only objection taken to the form of the first and third counts is, that they do not aver, in the precise words of the statute, the condition of the negroes, as "not held to service by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States," at the time of the commission of the offence, the language of the indictment being, "not having been held to service, &c." It is argued that, if the defendant had been able to prove that they had been once held to service, at some time prior to the commission of the offence, this averment would have been negatived, and he would have been entitled to an acquittal. But this, we think, only proves that the language of the indictment, in this particular, is more comprehensive than was necessary. The indictment charges him with having forcibly confined and detained the negroes, they not having been held to service, &c., that is, not having been held to service at the time he so confined and detained them, or at any time previous. The fact that the terms of the averment are somewhat broader than those of the statute is not material, so long as they cover the offence described in the latter.

To the objection that there was no such proof that the vessel



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upon which the offence was committed, was "owned wholly, or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States," as would warrant a conviction on the first count, we cannot accede. The government proved that she was built in, and owned by citizens of, the United States. This fixed the national character of the vessel, and this character and ownership would be presumed to continue until they were shown to have been changed. To show such a change, the burden of proof was on the defendant. The evidence offered only tended to show that a sale was made of the vessel at Havana, but without showing to whom such sale was made. It is urged, by the defendant's counsel, that, inasmuch as the sale claimed to have been proved was made in a foreign country, the law will presume, until the contrary is shown, that it was made to foreigners. We think there is no foundation, in law or reason, upon which such a presumption can rest.

In support of that part of the indictment which charges that the defendant was an American citizen at the time of committing the offence, the government proved that his father and mother were residents of Portland, in the state of Maine, for many years, both before and after their marriage, and before the birth of the defendant, and while he was a small child. It also appeared, from the testimony of the same witnesses, that his father was a sea captain, and that sometimes his wife, the defendant's mother, accompanied him on his foreign voyages. The defendant's counsel claimed, that it appeared, from this evidence, that he might have been born abroad, and that, if he was, he was not a citizen of the United States, and, therefore, not amenable to those criminal laws of the United States which are limited in terms to its citizens. The court instructed the jury, however, that, even if the defendant was born during one of those voyages which the father made as a sea captain, without any intention of removing to, but merely touching at, foreign countries, he would still be regarded in law as an American citizen, although thus born abroad, provided his parents were American citizens. The defendant's counsel excepted to this part of the charge, on the ground that it did not lay down the correct rule of law applicable to children of American parents, born in foreign countries. Without here discussing the general principles of law applicable to that subject, it is a sufficient answer to the exception taken in this case, that the charge on this point, taken in connection with the facts in evidence to which it was to be applied, clearly referred to a possible birth of the defendant on board of his father's American vessel, while the latter was in a foreign country, in the course of the voyage. We are clearly of opinion, that there was no error in this part of the charge.

The only remaining objection that we deem it necessary to notice, is, that, if the Erie was a foreign vessel, even admitting the citizenship of Gordon, this court has not the jurisdiction to try him for an act committed on the river Congo, in the Portuguese dominions, and not on tide waters. There are two answers to this objection: First. There is no proof that the Erie was a foreign vessel, but the proof is clear and uncontradicted that she was an American vessel, owned by American citizens. Second. The allegation, in the indictment, that the offence was committed "in the river Congo, on the coast of Africa, on waters within the admiralty and maritime



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jurisdiction of the United States, and within the jurisdiction of this court," is, we think, fully sustained by the proof. The proof is, that the negroes were taken on board in the Congo river, some distance from its mouth, but where it is several miles broad, and really an arm of the sea. The proof is clear and uncontradicted, that the offence of confining and detaining the negroes on board was continuous and uninterrupted, until her capture in the Atlantic Ocean, several miles from land. Of course, it was committed in the very mouth of the river, where its broad expanse is lost in the Atlantic, and where the jurisdiction of every nation, over its citizens or its ships, clearly extends. The other exceptions to these two counts and to the charge, are overruled.

Upon all these points, we are clearly of opinion, that there is no error in the indictment, and that none intervened on the trial, and that the jurisdiction of the court is beyond dispute. We are, therefore, constrained to deny the application for a certificate of division, which is asked for by the defendant, to enable him to carry the case to the supreme court. It is hardly necessary for me to add that these views are the result of consultation, and are fully concurred in by Mr. Justice NELSON.

Sentence of death being about to be passed on the defendant by Judge SHIPMAN, holding the court alone, in the absence of Mr. Justice NELSON, it was objected by the counsel for the defendant, that this could not be done, because the trial had taken place before both of the judges. Judge SHIPMAN stated, that he and Mr. Justice NELSON had agreed, on consultation, that it was competent for the court, when held by only one of the judges, to pass the sentence.

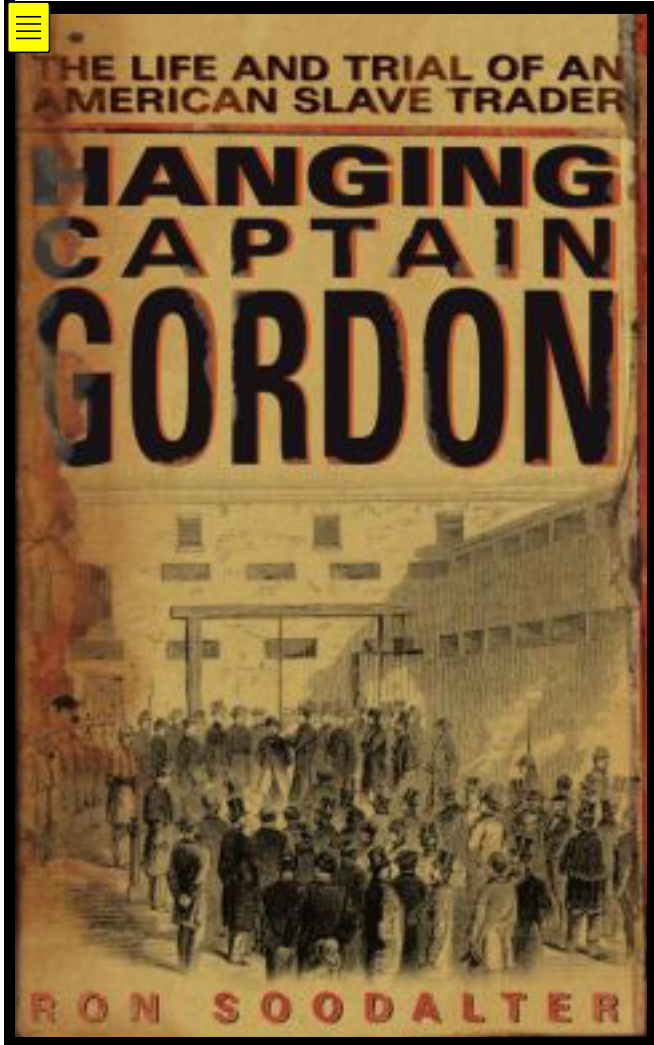
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1864

November 12, Saturday: Back from service in the Mediterranean, protecting US merchant shipping there from the activities of Confederate raiders, the USS *Constellation* would be serving for a couple of years with the US West Gulf Blockading Squadron. United States Yeoman Safford would report, off St. Thomas, that “We were to cruise about the West Indies trying to capture Rebel [privateers](#) and cruisers and blockade runners. The process of reasoning ... seems to be that our ship is supposed to be in European waters, and there is no United States warship resembling her cruising about here, and consequently she might approach closely to a Rebel vessel or blockade runner without exciting suspicion....”

US CIVIL WAR

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20TH CENTURY

1945

While clearing rubble from the cellar of his bombed-out home in Saint Malo, Yves Hemar is alleged to have discovered a seared manuscript which appeared to be by an unknown [buccaneer](#) named Louis Le Golif. This would be published in 1954 as *THE MEMOIRS OF A BUCCANEER. BEING A WONDROUS AND UNREPENTANT ACCOUNT OF THE PRODIGIOUS ADVENTURES AND AMOURS OF KING LOUIS XIV'S LOYAL SERVANT*, KNOWN FOR HIS SINGULAR WOUND AS *BORGNEFESSE, CAPTAIN OF THE BUCCANEERS*. The adventures were described as taking place sometime during 1645-1660. Since the text mentions *Sieur Raveneau de Lussan's JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE INTO THE SOUTH SEAS IN 1684 AND THE FOLLOWING YEARS WITH THE FILIBUSTERS*, which was printed in 1689, it is clear that if this text is authentic, its author must have been at least 50 years old at the time of writing.



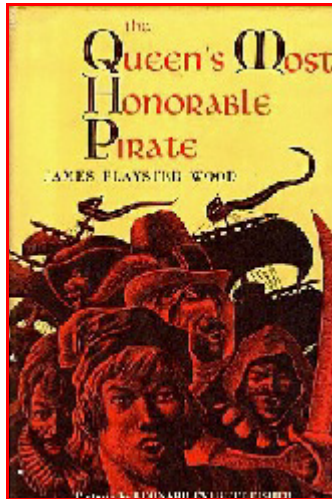


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1961

James Playsted Wood's THE QUEEN'S MOST HONORABLE [PIRATE](#).





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1969

Edward Rowe Snow's TRUE TALES AND CURIOUS LEGENDS — DRAMATIC STORIES FROM THE YANKEE PAST was published in New York City (273 pages, illustrated with photos and drawings):

America's first treasure diver, who sought gold at the bottom of Boston Harbor; pirate Thomas Tew, Henry Thoreau, and a treasure chest buried near Walden Pond; the witches of Massachusetts, not one of whom was burned in Salem....

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1984

Recovery of the [pirate](#) treasure of [Samuel Bellamy](#)'s *Whydah* and *Mary Anne* began in great secrecy off Cape Cod. (While walking the sand cliffs of Wellfleet on or about October 11, 1849, [Henry Thoreau](#) had found an old silver French coin demonstrably not from that wreck of the night of April 26, 1717.)



The more than 100,000 artifacts since recovered constitute the world's only authenticated pirate treasure. This trove includes more than 2,000 coins, the majority of them Spanish silver Reales "pieces of eight." The hoard includes denominations which date from the 1670s to 1715. There are nine Spanish gold Escudos, better known as "Doubloons," which date from 1688 to 1712 and include denominations of 1, 2 and 8 Escudos. Some of the gold coins were minted in [Mexico](#), others perhaps in Lima. A smattering of British and Scottish coins indicate capture of English and Scottish vessels. The British coins include a Charles II crown dated 1667 and a couple of William III half crowns dated 1697. There is a solitary Scottish bawbee coin, but no French coins have been recovered. Other precious materials include fine examples of Akan gold jewelry and a number of gold bars and ingots. The pieces of African jewelry recovered from the *Whydah* amount to the earliest known collection of this art but much of it had been broken up, and the gold bars and ingots bear score marks testifying to the manner in which the plunder had been apportioned among the members of the pirate band. The weapons recovered include elegant pistols. There are nautical instruments which probably had been seized from law-abiding master mariners. Leather goods also survived in the sands of the seabed and include a pouch, and a shoe and stocking last worn almost 300 years ago. The discovery of a teapot with a human shoulder bone wedged into it testifies to the terror of the storm.



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1985

Willard Hallam Bonner's *HARP ON THE SHORE: THOREAU AND THE SEA* (Completed and edited by George R. Levine. Albany NY: State U of New York P).

William F. Robinson commented that as he recently retraced Henry Thoreau's steps on the sand cliffs of Wellfleet where Thoreau had found one silver French coin on or about October 11, 1849, he looked out "at a vessel where divers were, unknown to us ashore, bringing up the fabulous treasures from the wreck of the *Whidah*, Bellamy's pirate ship" of the dark and stormy night of April 26, 1717.¹³⁹

The more than 100,000 artifacts since recovered from [Samuel Bellamy](#)'s prize constitute the world's only authenticated [pirate](#) treasure. This trove includes more than 2,000 coins, the majority of them Spanish silver Reales "pieces of eight." The hoard includes denominations which date from the 1670s to 1715. There are nine Spanish gold Escudos, better known as "Doubloons," which date from 1688 to 1712 and include denominations of 1, 2 and 8 Escudos. Some of the gold coins were minted in [Mexico](#), others perhaps in Lima. A smattering of British and Scottish coins indicate capture of English and Scottish vessels. The British coins include a Charles II crown dated 1667 and a couple of William III half crowns dated 1697. There is a solitary Scottish bawbee coin, but no French coins have been recovered — making it rather less than likely that the coin Thoreau had picked out of the sand and so impishly exercised his traveling companion with would have been part of this pirate treasure. Other precious materials include fine examples of Akan gold jewelry and a number of gold bars and ingots. The pieces of African jewelry recovered from the *Whydah* amount to the earliest known collection of this art but much of it had been broken up, and the gold bars and ingots bear score marks testifying to the manner in which the plunder had been apportioned among the members of the pirate band. The weapons recovered include elegant pistols. There are nautical instruments which probably had been seized from law-abiding master mariners. Leather goods also survived in the sands of the seabed and include a pouch, and a shoe and stocking last worn almost 300 years ago. The discovery of a teapot with a human shoulder bone wedged into it testifies to the terror of the storm.

139. In making this linkage, Robinson is of course exercising us in much the same manner that Thoreau himself had exercised his traveling companion on the cape, for the coin Thoreau picked up was dated 1741 and thus would not even have been minted until a generation after the body of the [pirate](#) Bellamy had vanished into the bellies of the sand sharks and other scavengers off that beach.

1997

On page 19 of his AN UNDERGROUND EDUCATION: THE UNAUTHORIZED AND OUTRAGEOUS SUPPLEMENT TO EVERYTHING YOU THOUGHT YOU KNEW ABOUT ART, SEX, BUSINESS, CRIME, SCIENCE, MEDICINE, AND OTHER FIELDS OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE (NY: Random House / Doubleday / Anchor Books), Richard Zacks accused [Henry Thoreau](#) of “utter deception.” This author indicates that it was the following straightforward falsehood which had so enraged him:

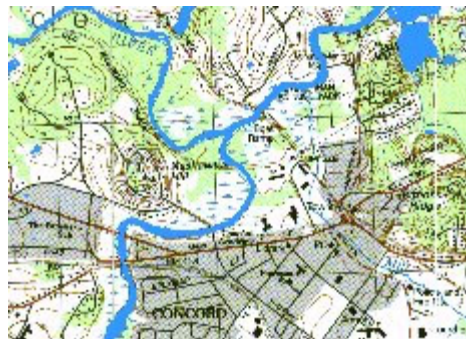
WALDEN: WHEN I wrote the following pages, or rather the bulk of them, I lived alone, in the woods, a mile from any neighbor, in a house which I had built myself, on the shore of Walden Pond, in Concord, Massachusetts, and earned my living by the labor of my hands only. I lived there two years and two months. At present I am a sojourner in civilized life again.

Look me in the eye ...



Would I lie to you?

This taxi driver points out, in dismissal of the above as a blatant falsehood, that in fact Henry could see the Concord/Lincoln road from the doorway of his shanty, and could hear the whistles of the locomotives on the Boston/Fitchburg line!



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"Enlightening...reports the annals of ugly behavior
and stupid ideas with a certain deadly glee...
fantastic...and anarchistic."

—ESQUIRE

AN UNDERGROUND EDUCATION

THE UNAUTHORIZED AND OUTRAGEOUS
SUPPLEMENT TO EVERYTHING YOU THOUGHT
YOU KNEW ABOUT ART, SEX, BUSINESS,
CRIME, SCIENCE, MEDICINE, AND
OTHER FIELDS OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

RICHARD ZACKS



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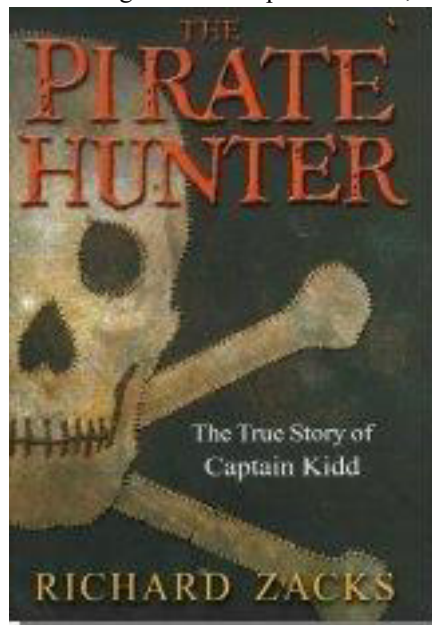
–Thoreau also was “meat-eating.” –He also was a “Harvard grad.” –Etc.

Zacks suggests that Thoreau “even raided the family cookie jar.” (Since, except for the stuff about the cookies, of course Zacks could have obtained all this info from a more careful perusal of the WALDEN text, the charge that Zacks has detected examples of blatant falsehood is a charge that cannot be maintained — but very likely, page one is about as far as this Zacks would have gotten into the book.)

This author Zacks who has so relentlessly exposed Thoreau as a fraud and wimp is also the author of the book that finally redeemed the reputation of Captain [William Kidd](#) from generations of undeserved calumny.



You see, it is all false, it has all been a historical lie — Captain Kidd deserves the benefit of our doubt — not only had that man not actually been a [pirate](#), he had been hanged actually because he had made himself unpopular as the relentless official scourge of the real pirates! Yeah, really!





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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: December 22, 2016



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.

Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in



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the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.



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THE PIRATES' WHO'S WHO

Giving Particulars of the Lives & Deaths of the Pirates & Buccaneers

BY PHILIP GOSSE

ILLUSTRATED

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**I DEDICATE THIS BOOK
TO
MY FELLOW-MEMBERS OF
THE FOUNTAIN CLUB
WITH THE EARNEST HOPE THAT NOTHING
IT CONTAINS MAY INCITE THEM TO
EMULATE ITS HEROES**



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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A PAGE FROM THE LOG-BOOK OF CAPTAIN DAMPIER

PRESSING A PIRATE TO PLEAD

A PIRATE BEING HANGED AT EXECUTION DOCK, WAPPING

ANNE BONNY AND MARY READ, CONVICTED OF PIRACY NOVEMBER 28TH, 1720, IN
JAMAICA

CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW ROBERTS



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PREFACE

Let it be made clear at the very outset of this Preface that the pages which follow do not pretend to be a history of piracy, but are simply an attempt to gather together, from various sources, particulars of those redoubtable pirates and buccaneers whose names have been handed down to us in a desultory way.

I do not deal here with the children of fancy; I believe that every man, or woman too – since certain of the gentler sex cut no small figure at the game – mentioned in this volume actually existed.

A time has come when every form of learning, however preposterous it may seem, is made as unlaborious as possible for the would-be student. Knowledge, which is after all but a string of facts, is being arranged, sorted, distilled, and set down in compact form, ready for rapid assimilation. There is little fear that the student who may wish in the future to become master of any subject will have to delve into the original sources in his search after facts and dates.

Surely pirates, taking them in their broadest sense, are as much entitled to a biographical dictionary of their own as are clergymen, race-horses, or artists in ferro-concrete, who all, I am assured, have their own "Who's Who"? Have not the medical men their Directory, the lawyers their List, the peers their Peerage? There are books which record the names and the particulars of musicians, schoolmasters, stockbrokers, saints and bookmakers, and I dare say there is an average adjuster's almanac. A peer, a horse, dog, cat, and even a white mouse, if of blood sufficiently blue, has his pedigree recorded somewhere. Above all, there is that astounding and entertaining volume, "Who's Who," found in every club smoking-room, and which grows more bulky year by year, stuffed with information about the careers, the hobbies, and the marriages of all the most distinguished persons in every profession, including very full details about the lives and doings of all our journalists. But on the club table where these books of ready reference stand with "Whitaker," "ABC," and "Ruff's Guide to the Turf," there is just one gap that the compiler of this work has for a long while felt sorely needed filling. There has been until now no work that gives immediate and trustworthy information about the lives, and – so sadly important in their cases – the deaths of our pirates and buccaneers.

In delving in the volumes of the "Dictionary of National Biography," it has been a sad disappointment to the writer to find so little space devoted to the careers of these picturesque if, I must admit, often unseemly persons. There are, of course, to be found a few pirates with household names such as Kidd, Teach, and Avery. A few, too, of the buccaneers, headed by the great Sir Henry Morgan, come in for their share. But I compare with indignation the meagre show of pirates in that monumental work with the rich profusion of divines! Even during the years when piracy was at its height – say from 1680 until 1730 – the pirates are utterly swamped by the theologians. Can it be that these two professions flourished most vigorously side by side,



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and that when one began to languish, the other also began to fade?

Even so there can be no excuse for the past and present neglect of these sea-adventurers. But a change is beginning to show itself. Increasing evidence is to be found that the more intelligent portions of the population of this country, and even more so the enlightened of the great United States of America, are beginning to show a proper interest in the lives of the pirates and buccaneers. That this should be so amongst the Americans is quite natural, when it is remembered what a close intimacy existed between their Puritan forefathers of New England and the pirates, both by blood relation and by trade, since the pirates had no more obliging and ready customers for their spoils of gold dust, stolen slaves, or church ornaments, than the early settlers of New York, Massachusetts, and Carolina.

In beginning to compile such a list as is to be found in this volume, a difficulty is met at once. My original intention was that only pirates and buccaneers should be included. To admit privateers, corsairs, and other sea-rovers would have meant the addition of a vast number of names, and would have made the work unwieldy, and the very object of this volume as a book of ready reference would not have been achieved. But the difficulty has been to define the exact meaning of a pirate and of a buccaneer. In the dictionary a pirate is defined as "a sea-robber, marauder, one who infringes another's copyright"; while a buccaneer is described as "a sea-robber, a pirate, especially of the Spanish-American coasts." This seems explicit, but a pirate was not a pirate from the cradle to the gallows. He usually began his life at sea as an honest mariner in the merchant service. He perhaps mutinied with other of the ship's crew, killed or otherwise disposed of the captain, seized the ship, elected a new commander, and sailed off "on the account." Many an honest seaman was captured with the rest of his ship's crew by a pirate, and either voluntarily joined the freebooters by signing their articles, or, being a good navigator or "sea-artist," was compelled by the pirates to lend them his services. Others, again, were in privateer ships, which carried on a legitimate warfare against the shipping of hostile countries, under a commission or letter of marque.

Often the very commission or letter of marque carried about so jealously by some shady privateer was not worth the paper it was written on, nor the handful of doubloons paid for it. One buccaneer sailed about the South Seas, plundering Spanish ships and sacking churches and burning towns, under a commission issued to him, for a consideration, by the Governor of a Danish West India island, himself an ex-pirate. This precious document, adorned with florid scrolls and a big, impressive seal, was written in Danish. Someone with a knowledge of that language had an opportunity and the curiosity to translate it, when he found that all it entitled the bearer to do was to hunt for goats and pigs on the Island of Hispaniola, and nothing more.

When, at the conclusion of hostilities, peace was declared, the crew of a privateer found it exceedingly irksome to give up the roving life, and were liable to drift into piracy. Often it happened that, after a long naval war, crews were disbanded,



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ships laid up, and navies reduced, thus flooding the countryside with idle mariners, and filling the roads with begging and starving seamen. These were driven to go to sea if they could find a berth, often half starved and brutally treated, and always underpaid, and so easily yielded to the temptation of joining some vessel bound vaguely for the "South Sea," where no questions were asked and no wages paid, but every hand on board had a share in the adventure.

The buccaneers were a great source of piracy also. When a war was on hand the English Government was only too glad to have the help of these daring and skilful seamen; but when peace was declared these allies began to lead to international complications, and means had to be taken to abolish them, and to try and turn them into honest settlers in the islands. But when a man has for years lived the free life, sailed out from [Jamaica](#) a pauper, to return in six weeks or less with, perhaps, a bag of gold worth two, three, or four thousand pounds, which he has prided himself on spending in the taverns and gambling-hells of Port Royal in a week, how can he settle down to humdrum uneventful toil, with its small profits? Thus he goes back "on the account" and sails to some prearranged rendezvous of the "brethren of the coast."

To write a whole history of piracy would be a great undertaking, but a very interesting one. Piracy must have begun in the far, dim ages, and perhaps when some naked savage, paddling himself across a tropical river, met with another adventurer on a better tree-trunk, or carrying a bigger bunch of bananas, the first act of piracy was committed. Indeed, piracy must surely be the third oldest profession in the world, if we give the honour of the second place to the ancient craft of healing. If such a history were to include the whole of piracy, it would have to refer to the Phœnicians, to the Mediterranean sea-rovers of the days of Rome, who, had they but known it, held the future destiny of the world in their grasp when they, a handful of pirates, took prisoner the young Julius Caesar, to ransom him and afterwards to be caught and crucified by him. The Arabs in the Red Sea were for many years past-masters of the art of piracy, as were the Barbary corsairs of Algiers and Tunis, who made the Mediterranean a place of danger for many generations of seamen. All this while the Chinese and Malays were active pirates, while the Pirate coast of the Persian Gulf was feared by all mariners. Then arose the great period, beginning in the reign of Henry VIII., advancing with rapid strides during the adventurous years of Queen Elizabeth, when many West of England squires were wont to sell their estates and invest all in a ship in which to go cruising on the Spanish Main, in the hope of taking a rich Spanish galleon homeward bound from Cartagena and Porto Bello, deep laden with the riches of Peru and Mexico.

Out of these semi-pirate adventurers developed the buccaneers, a ruffianly, dare-devil lot, who feared neither God, man, nor death.

By the middle of the eighteenth century piracy was on the wane, and practically had died out by the beginning of the nineteenth, the final thrust that destroyed it being given by the American and English Navies in the North Atlantic and West Indian Seas. But by this time piracy had degenerated to mere sea-robbing, the



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days of gallant and ruthless sea-battles had passed, and the pirate of those decadent days was generally a Spanish-American half-breed, with no courage, a mere robber and murderer.

The advent of the telegraph and of steam-driven ships settled for ever the account of the pirates, except in China, when even to this day accounts reach us, through the Press, of piratical enterprises; but never again will the black, rakish-looking craft of the pirate, with the Jolly Roger flying, be liable to pounce down upon the unsuspecting and harmless merchantman.

The books devoted to the lives and exploits of buccaneers and pirates are few. Indeed, but two stand out prominently, both masterpieces of their kind. One, "The Bucaniers of America, or a True Account of the Most Remarkable Assaults Committed of Late Years upon the Coasts of the West Indies," etc., was written by a sea-surgeon to the buccaneers, A.O. Exquemelin, a Dutchman, and was published at Amsterdam in 1679.

Many translations were made, the first one in English being published in 1684 by William Crooke, at the Green Dragon, without Temple Bar, in [London](#). The publication of this book was the cause of a libel action brought by Sir Henry Morgan against the publisher; the buccaneer commander won his case and was granted £200 damages and a public apology. In this book Morgan was held up as a perfect monster for his cruel treatment to his prisoners, but although Morgan resented this very much, the statement that annoyed him much more was that which told the reader that Morgan came of very humble stock and was sold by his parents when a boy, to serve as a labourer in [Barbadoes](#).

The greatest work on pirates was written in 1726 by Captain Charles Johnson. The original edition, now exceedingly rare, is called "A General History of the Pyrates, from Their First Rise and Settlement in the Island of Providence, to the Present Time," and is illustrated by interesting engravings.

Another edition, in 1734, is a handsome folio called "A General History of the Lives and Adventures of the Most Famous Highwaymen," etc., "To which is added a Genuine Account of the Voyages and Plunders of the Most Notorious Pyrates," and contains many full-page copperplates by J. Basire and others. The pirates are given only a share in the pages of this book, but it has some very fine engravings of such famous pirates as Avery, Roberts, Low, Lowther, and "Blackbeard."

The third edition of the "History of Pirates," of 1725, has a quaint frontispiece, showing the two women pirates, Anne Bonny and Mary Read, in action with their swords drawn, upon the deck of a ship. While the fourth edition, published in 1726, in two volumes, contains the stories of the less well-known South-Sea Rovers.

After studying the subject of piracy at all closely, one cannot but be struck by the number of pirates who came from Wales. Welshmen figure not only amongst the rank and file, but amongst the leaders. Morgan, of course, stands head and shoulders above the rest. It is curious how certain races show particular adaptability for certain callings. Up to two hundred years ago the chief pirates were Welshmen; to-day most of our haberdashers hail from the same land of the leek. It would be interesting to try and fathom the reason why these two callings, at first sight



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so dissimilar, should call forth the qualities in a particular race. Perhaps some of our leading haberdashers and linen drapers will be willing to supply the answer.

I sometimes wonder what happens to the modern pirates; I mean the men who, had they lived 200 years ago, would have been pirates. What do they find to exercise their undoubted, if unsocial, talents and energies to-day? Many, I think, find openings of an adventurous financial kind in the City.

Politics, again, surely has its buccaneers. One can imagine, for example, some leading modern politician – let us say a Welshman – who, like Morgan, being a brilliant public speaker, is able by his eloquence to sway vast crowds of listeners, whether buccaneers or electors, a man of quick and subtle mind, able to recognize and seize upon the main chance, perfectly ruthless in his methods when necessity requires, and one who, having achieved the goal on which he had set his ambition, discards his party or followers, as Morgan did his buccaneers after the sacking of Panama. Nor is Europe to-day without a counterpart to the ruffian crews who arrogantly “defied the world and declared war on all nations.”

One great difficulty which the author of this work is met with is to decide who was, and who was not, a pirate.

Certain friends who have taken a kindly, if somewhat frivolous, interest in the compilation of this work have inquired if Sir Francis Drake was to be included; and it must be admitted that the question is not an easy one to answer. The most fervent patriot must admit that the early voyages of Drake were, to put it mildly, of a buccaneering kind, although his late voyages were more nearly akin to privateering cruises than piracy. But if, during the reign of King Philip, a Spaniard had been asked if Drake was a pirate, he would certainly have answered, “Yes,” and that without any hesitation whatever. So much depends upon the point of view.

In the 1814 edition of Johnson’s “History of Highwaymen and Pirates,” the famous Paul Jones holds a prominent place as a pirate, and is described in no half measures as a traitor; yet I doubt if in the schools of America to-day the rising young citizens of “God’s Own Country” are told any such thing, but are probably, and quite naturally, taught to look upon Paul Jones as a true patriot and a brave sailor. Again, there is Christopher Columbus, the greatest of all explorers, about whom no breath of scandal in the piratical way was ever breathed, who only escaped being a pirate by the fact that his was the first ship to sail in the Caribbean Sea; for there is little doubt that had the great navigator found an English ship lying at anchor when he first arrived at the Island of San Salvador, an act of piracy would have immediately taken place.

For the student who is interested there are other writers who have dealt with the subject of piracy, such as the buccaneers Ringrose, Cooke, Funnell, Dampier, and Cowley; Woodes Rogers, with his “Voyage to the South Seas”; Wafer, who wrote an amusing little book in 1699 describing his hardships and adventures on the Isthmus of Darien. Of modern writers may be recommended Mr. John Masefield’s “Spanish Main,” “The Buccaneers in the West Indies,” by C.H. Haring, and the latest publication of the



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Marine Research Society of Massachusetts, entitled "The Pirates of the New England Coast," and last, but far from least, the works of Mr. A. Hyatt Verrill.

The conditions of life on a pirate ship appear to have been much the same in all vessels. On procuring a craft by stealing or by mutiny of the crew, the first thing to do was to elect a commander. This was done by vote amongst the crew, who elected whoever they considered the most daring amongst them, and the best navigator. The next officer chosen was the quartermaster. The captain and quartermaster once elected, the former could appoint any junior officers he chose, and the shares in any plunder they took was divided according to the rank of each pirate. The crew were then searched for a pirate who could write, and, when found, this scholar would be taken down to the great cabin, given pen, ink, and paper, and after the articles had been discussed and decided upon, they were written down, to be signed by each member of the crew. As an example, the articles drawn up by the crew of Captain John Phillips on board the *Revenge* are given below in full:

1.

Every man shall obey civil Command; the Captain shall have one full Share and a half in all Prizes; the Master, Carpenter, Boatswain and Gunner shall have one Share and quarter.

2.

If any Man shall offer to run away, or keep any Secret from the Company, he shall be marroon'd with one Bottle of Powder, one Bottle of Water, one small Arm, and Shot.

3.

If any Man shall steal any Thing in the Company, or game, to the value of a Piece of Eight, he shall be Marroon'd or shot.

4.

If at any Time we should meet another Marrooner (that is, Pyrate,) that Man that shall sign his Articles without the Consent of our Company, shall suffer such Punishment as the Captain and Company shall think fit.

5.

That Man that shall strike another whilst these Articles are in force, shall receive Moses's Law (that is 40 Stripes lacking one) on the bare Back.

6.

That Man that shall snap his Arms, or smoak Tobacco in the Hold, without a cap to his Pipe, or carry a Candle lighted without a Lanthorn, shall suffer the same Punishment as in the former Article.

7.

That Man that shall not keep his Arms clean, fit for an Engagement, or neglect his Business, shall be cut off from his Share, and suffer such other Punishment as the Captain and the Company shall think fit.

8.



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If any Man shall lose a Joint in time of an Engagement, shall have 400 Pieces of Eight; if a limb, 800.

9.

If at any time you meet with a prudent Woman, that Man that offers to meddle with her, without her Consent, shall suffer present Death.

These formalities took time and much argument and the drinking of many bowls of punch, and, when once settled, the next business was to make a flag. The Jolly Roger, consisting of a human skull and two crossed thigh-bones, was generally portrayed in black and white. Some crews preferred a study in red and white. More enterprising captains with imagination and taste, such as Captain Bartholomew Roberts, who was a truly remarkable man and the greatest pirate who ever "declared war upon all the world," aimed at something more elaborate. Roberts flew several flags, all made to his own design.

On one was depicted a "human anatomy," holding a rummer, or glass, of punch in one bony hand, and a flaming sword in the other. Another favourite flag of Roberts had a huge portrait of himself, sword in hand, and two skulls.

Another had a "skellington" standing with either foot firmly placed on a skull, and under one skull were embroidered the letters A.B.H., under the other A.M.H., which letters stood for a Barbadian's head and a Martinican's head, to warn any inhabitant of either of these islands what to expect if he was so unfortunate as to be taken prisoner by Bartholomew, who never forgot nor forgave two occasions on which he was very roughly handled by ships from [Barbadoes](#) and Martinique.

The weak point in all pirate ships was the lack of discipline. Time and again some successful enterprise, almost completed, was thrown away by lack of discipline. No captain could be certain of his command or crew. If he did anything they disapproved of, the crew would throw him in chains into the hold, or as likely overboard, and elect another. It is on record that one ship had elected thirteen different commanders in a few months. Some of the big men retained their commands, Roberts holding the record, for a pirate, of four years, until his death; while Bartholomew Sharp holds the record for a buccaneer.

Having procured a vessel, perhaps little more than a fishing-boat, sometimes only an open row-boat, the embryo pirates would paddle along some coast until they came across an unsuspecting craft, one not too big for the desperadoes to attack. Hiding their arms, they would row alongside, and then suddenly, with shouts and curses, board the vessel, kill any who resisted, and start a cruise in their new ship, their number being increased by volunteers or forced men from amongst the prize's crew. Cruising thus, the pirates would gradually get together a small fleet of the fastest and best sailing vessels among their prizes and increase their crew as they went along.

Both the buccaneers and the pirates had their favourite haunts and places of rendezvous. These had to be within easy sailing distance of one or more regular trade routes, and at the same time had to be in some quiet spot unlikely to be visited by strange craft, and, besides being sheltered from storms, must



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have a suitable beach on which their vessels could be careened and the hulls scraped of barnacles and weeds. The greatest stronghold of the buccaneers was at Tortuga, or Turtle Island, a small island lying off the west coast of Hispaniola. Here in their most piping days flourished a buccaneer republic, where the seamen made their own laws and cultivated the land for sugar-cane and yams. Occasionally the Spaniards or the French, without any warning, would swoop down on the settlement and break up the small republic, but sooner or later the buccaneers would be back once again in possession.

The favourite and most flourishing headquarters of the West India pirates was at New Providence Island in the Bahama Islands, occupied to-day by the flourishing town of Nassau, now the headquarters of those worthy descendants of the pirates, the bootleggers, who from the old port carry on their exciting and profitable smuggling of whisky into the United States.

The numerous bays and islands lying off the coast of South Carolina were very popular with the free booters in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; while Port Royal, in [Jamaica](#), was noted from early days as the port from which the most famous buccaneers sailed for the Spanish Main, and to which they returned with their plunder.

The French filibusters and pirates mostly used the Virgin Islands, while the Dutch patronized their own islands of Cura ao, Saba, and St. Eustatius. But the buccaneers did not allow the chance of nationality to divide them, for Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Dutchmen, all "brethren of the coast," sailed together and plundered the Spaniard in open and equal friendship.

An entirely different group of pirates arose in the South Seas, with their headquarters in Madagascar. Here the pirates went farther towards forming a permanent society than at any other time during their history, with the exception of the Barbary corsairs, who had their strongly fortified settlements for many years at Algiers, Tunis, and Sallee.

The origin of the buccaneers is interesting, and I cannot do better than quote the opening chapter of Clark Russell's "Life of William Dampier," in the English Men of Action Series, published by Messrs. Macmillan in 1889. He writes:

"In or about the middle of the seventeenth century, the Island of San Domingo, or Hispaniola as it was then called, was haunted and overrun by a singular community of savage, surly, fierce, and filthy men. They were chiefly composed of French colonists, whose ranks had from time to time been enlarged by liberal contributions from the slums and alleys of more than one European city and town. These people went dressed in shirts and pantaloons of coarse linen cloth, which they steeped in the blood of the animals they slaughtered. They wore round caps, boots of hogskin drawn over their naked feet, and belts of raw hide, in which they stuck their sabres and knives. They also armed themselves with firelocks, which threw a couple of balls, each weighing two ounces. The places where they dried and salted their meat were called *boucans*, and from this term they came to be styled *bucaniers*, or buccaneers, as we spell it. They were hunters by trade, and savages in their habits. They chased and



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slaughtered horned cattle and trafficked with the flesh, and their favourite food was raw marrow from the bones of the beasts which they shot. They ate and slept on the ground, their table was a stone, their bolster the trunk of a tree, and their roof the hot and sparkling heavens of the Antilles."

The Spaniards, who were jealous of any other nation than their own having a foothold in America, determined to get rid of these wild but hitherto harmless buccaneers. This they accomplished, and in time drove the cattle-hunters out of Hispaniola; and to make sure that the unwelcome visitors should not return, they exterminated all the wild cattle. This was the worst mistake the Spaniards could have made, for these wild men had to look for other means of supporting themselves, and they joined the freebooters and thus began the great period of piracy which was the cause of the ultimate breaking-up of the Spanish power in the West Indies.

Of the life on board buccaneer and pirate ships a somewhat hazy and incomplete picture reaches us. The crews were usually large compared with the number of men carried in other ships, and a state of crowded discomfort must have been the result, especially in some crazy old vessel cruising in the tropics or rounding the Horn in winter. Of the relationship between the sea-rovers and the fair sex it would be best, perhaps, to draw a discreet veil. The pirates and the buccaneers looked upon women simply as the spoils of war, and were as profligate with these as with the rest of their plunder. I do not know if I am disclosing a secret when I mention that my friend Mr. Hyatt Verrill, who is an authority on the subject of the lives of the pirates, is about to publish a book devoted to the love affairs of these gentry. I confess to looking forward with pleasure and a certain degree of trepidation to reading his book and to seeing how he will deal with so delicate a subject.

We know that Sir Henry Morgan was married and provided for his widow in his will.

Captain Kidd, wife, and child, resided in New York, in the utmost conjugal happiness and respectability, but then Kidd was a martyr and no pirate.

Captain Rackam, the dashing "Calico Jack," ran away to sea with the woman pirate, Mrs. Anne Bonny, and they lived together happily on board ship and on land, as did Captain and Mrs. Cobham. The only other pirate I know of who took a "wife" to sea with him was Captain Pease, who flourished in a half-hearted way — half-hearted in the piratical, but not the matrimonial sense — in the middle of the nineteenth century.

A certain settler in New Zealand in the "early days" describes a visit he paid to Captain Pease and his family on board that pirate's handy little schooner, lying at anchor in a quiet cove at that island.

On stepping aboard, the guest was warmly welcomed by a short, red-faced man, bald of head and rotund in figure, of about fifty-five years of age. His appearance suggested a successful grocer rather than a pirate. On the deck were seated two ladies, one nearing middle age, the other young and undoubtedly pretty. At the feet of these ladies sprawled several small children. Captain Pease proceeded to introduce his guest to these as Mrs.



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Pease No. 1 and Mrs. Pease No. 2. The ladies continued their sewing while a conversation took place on various subjects. Presently, taking out his watch, the pirate turned to the younger lady, observing that it was nearing teatime. Mrs. Pease No. 2, laying down her sewing, went to the cabin, from which the rattle of teacups and the hiss of a boiling kettle were soon heard. Tea being announced as ready, the party entered the cabin, Mrs. Pease senior taking the place at the head of the table and pouring out the tea while the younger Mrs. Pease very prettily handed round the cups and bread and butter, the guest particularly noticing with what respect and thoughtfulness she looked after the wants of the elder Mrs. Pease.

As a pirate Captain Pease was second or even third rate, confining his daring to seizing small unarmed native craft, or robbing the stores of lonely white traders on out-of-the-way atolls. But as a married man he showed himself to be a master; matrimony was his strong suit, domesticity his trump card. He gave one valuable hint to his guest, which was this: "Never take more than two wives with you on a voyage, and choose 'em with care."

One is apt to disassociate serious matrimony, and still less responsible paternity, with the calling of piracy, but with Captain Pease this was far from being the case. Every one of his wives – for he had others on shore – contributed her mite, or two, to the growing family, and the Captain really could not say which of his offspring he was most proud of. It seems at first strange that a man of Captain Pease's appearance, figure, and settled habits, almost humdrum, should have been such an undoubted success with the ladies; but that he was a success there can be no doubt. Perhaps his calling had a good deal to do with this attraction he had for them.

Before bringing this Preface to a conclusion, there is one other aspect of piracy upon which I will touch.

Death, portrayed by a skeleton, was the device on the flag beneath which they fought; and a skeleton was for ever threatening to emerge from its cupboard aboard every pirate vessel.

The end of most of the pirates and a large proportion of the buccaneers was a sudden and violent one, and few of them died in their beds. Many were killed in battle, numbers of them were drowned. Not a few drank themselves to death with strong [Jamaica](#) rum, while many of the buccaneers died of malaria and yellow fever contracted in the jungles of Central America, and most of the pirates who survived these perils lived only to be hanged.

It is recorded of a certain ex-prizefighter and pirate, Dennis McCarthy, who was about to be hanged at New Providence Island in 1718, that, as he stood on the gallows, all bedecked with coloured ribbons, as became a boxer, he told his admiring audience that his friends had often, in joke, told him he would die in his shoes; and so, to prove them liars, he kicked off his shoes amongst the crowd, and so died without them.

The trial of a pirate was usually a rough and ready business, and the culprit seldom received the benefit of any doubt that might exist.



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If he made any defence at all, it was usually to plead that he had been forced to join the pirates against his wish, and that he had long been waiting for an opportunity to escape.

Once condemned to death, and the date of execution decided, the prisoner, if at Newgate, was handed over to the good offices of the prison Ordinary; or, if in New England, to such vigorous apostles of Christianity as the Rev. Cotton or the Rev. Increase Mather. The former of these two famous theologians was pastor of the North Church in [Boston](#), and the author of a very rare work published in 1695, called "An History of Some Criminals Executed in This Land." Cotton Mather preached many a "hanging" sermon to condemned pirates, a few of which can still be read. One of these, preached in 1704, is called "A Brief Discourse occasioned by a Tragical Spectacle of a Number of Miserables under Sentence of Death for Piracy."

The Reverend Doctor made a speciality of these "hanging" sermons, and was a thorough master of his subject, as is shown by the following passage taken from the above "Brief Discourse":

"The Privateering Stroke so easily degenerates into the Piratical; and the Privateering Trade is usually carried on with an Unchristian Temper, and proves an Inlet unto so much Debauchery and Iniquity."

On the Sunday previous to an execution the condemned pirates were taken to church to listen to a sermon while they were "exhibited" to the crowded and gaping congregation. On the day of the execution a procession was formed, which marched from the gaol to the gallows.

At the head was carried a silver oar, the emblem from very early days of a pirate execution. Arrived at the gibbet, the prisoner, who always dressed himself in his, or someone else's, best clothes, would doff his hat and make a speech.

Sometimes the bolder spirits would speak in a defiant and unrepentant way; but most of them professed a deep repentance for their sins and warned their listeners to guard against the temptation of drink and avarice. After the prisoner's death the bodies of the more notorious pirates were taken down and hanged in chains at some prominent spot where ships passed, in order to be a warning to any mariners who had piratical leanings.

The number of pirates or buccaneers who died in their beds must have been very small, particularly amongst the former; and I have been able to trace but a single example of a tombstone marking the burial-place of a pirate. This is, or was until recently, to be found in the graveyard at Dartmouth, and records the resting-place of the late Captain Thomas Goldsmith, who commanded the *Snap Dragon*, of Dartmouth, in which vessel he amassed much riches during the reign of Queen Anne, and died, apparently not regretted, in 1714. Engraved upon his headstone are the following lines:

Men that are virtuous serve the Lord;
And the Devil's by his friends ador'd;
And as they merit get a place
Amidst the bless'd or hellish race;
Pray then ye learned clergy show
Where can this brute, Tom Goldsmith, go?



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Whose life was one continual evil
Striving to cheat God, Man and Devil.



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THE PIRATES' WHO'S WHO

AISA. Barbary corsair.

A famous Mediterranean pirate, and one of Dragut's admirals in the sixteenth century.

ALCANTRA, Captain Mansel.

A Spaniard. Commanded a pirate brig, the *Macrinarian*. Committed many outrages. Took the Liverpool packet *Topaz*, from Calcutta to [Boston](#), in 1829, near St. Helena, murdering the whole crew. In the same year he took the *Candace*, from [Marblehead](#), and plundered her. The supercargo of the *Candace* was an amateur actor, and had on board a priest's black gown and broad brimmed hat. These he put on and sat in his cabin pretending to tell his beads. On the pirates coming to rob him, they all crossed themselves and left him, so that he alone of the whole company was not robbed.

ALEXANDER, John.

A Scotch buccaneer; one of Captain Sharp's crew. Drowned on May 9th, 1681. Captain Sharp, with a party of twenty-four men, had landed on the Island of Chiva, off the coast of Peru, and taken several prisoners, amongst whom was a shipwright and his man, who were actually at work building two great ships for the Spaniards. Sharp, thinking these men would be very useful to him, took them away, with all their tools and a quantity of ironwork, in a dory, to convey them off to his ship. But the dory, being overladen, sank, and Alexander was drowned. On the evening of May 12th his body was found; which they took up, and next day "threw him overboard, giving him three French vollies for his customary ceremony."

ALI BASHA.

Of Algiers. Barbary corsair. Conquered the Kingdom of Tunis in the sixteenth century, and captured many Maltese galleys. He brought the development of organized piracy to its greatest perfection.

In 1571 Ali Basha commanded a fleet of no fewer than 250 Moslem galleys in the battle of Lepanto, when he was severely defeated, but escaped with his life.

ALLESTON, Captain.

Commanded a vessel of eighteen tons, no guns, and a crew of twenty-four. In March, 1679, sailed in company with eight other vessels, under command of Captain Harris, to the Coast of Darien, and marched on foot across the isthmus, on his way attacking and sacking Santa Maria.

AMAND or ANNAND, Alexander.

Of [Jamaica](#). One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew in the *Royal James*. Hanged on November 8th, 1718, at White Point, [Charleston](#), South Carolina, and buried in the marsh below low-water mark.

AMEER, Ibrahim.

An admiral of an Arabian fleet of Red Sea pirates. In 1816 he



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captured four British merchant vessels on their way to Surat.

ANDRESON, Captain Cornelius.

A Dutch pirate. Sailed from [Boston](#) in 1674 with Captain Roderigo to plunder English ships along the coast of Maine, in a vessel called the *Penobscot Shallop*.

Tried at [Cambridge](#), Massachusetts, sentenced to death, but later on pardoned. Afterwards fought very bravely for the English colonists against the Indians.

ANDROEAS, Captain.

A Chief or Captain of the Darien Indians, who in 1679 conducted the buccaneers under Coxon and Harris across the isthmus to attack Santa Maria and afterwards to make an attempt on Panama.

Captain Androeas had a great esteem for the English, partly because the buccaneers were kind to the Indians, and partly because of the Indians' fear and hatred of the Spaniards. He afterwards led back a party of malcontents under Captain Coxon from the Pacific side of the isthmus.

ANGORA, Sultan of Timor.

Refusing to allow the East India Company to station garrisons on Timor, he was driven out of the whole of his island except the chief town, also called Angora.

Deciding to take revenge, he turned pirate and went to sea in command of a small fleet of five well-armed prows and several galleys. His first prize was a packet brig carrying despatches from Calcutta to the English General before Angora. Captain Hastings, the commander, a near relation of Warren Hastings, and a gallant officer, had thrown the despatches overboard, for which he was hanged, while the crew were sent to prison at Angora and afterwards poisoned. His next prize was an East Indian ship, the *Edward*, Captain Harford, the crew of which were also poisoned. Cruising off Bombay he defeated a vessel sent out by the Government to attack him. After taking other English vessels, Angora met with a richly laden ship from Burmah, a country whose sovereign he was on friendly terms with, but the Sultan-pirate took this ship and drowned every soul on board except one woman, who, owing to her great beauty, he kept for himself. His next victim was a well-armed Malay praam, which he captured after a severe fight. The crew he shackled and threw overboard, while he burnt the vessel. Paying another visit to Bombay, he caught the garrison unprepared, blew up the fort, and sailed off with some sheep, cows, and pigs. A few days later the pirate seized an English packet, *St. George*, and after he had tortured to death the captain, the terrified crew joined his service. Returning to Timor with his plunder, he was surprised by the arrival off the port of H.M.S. *Victorious*, seventy-four guns, which had been sent to take him. Slipping out of harbour unobserved in the night in his fastest sailing praam, he escaped to Trincomalee in Ceylon, where the East India Company decided to allow him to remain undisturbed.

ANGRIA.

Brother of a famous pirate, Angora, Sultan of Timor. When the Sultan retired from practice to the Island of Ceylon he gave his brother his praam, a fast vessel armed with thirty-eight guns.

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Angria's brother Angora had been dethroned from the Island of Timor by the English Government, and this had prevented the former from all hope of succeeding as Sultan. Owing to this, Angria, a very vindictive man, nursed against the English Government a very real grievance. Declaring himself Sultan of another smaller island, Little Timor, he sailed out to look for spoil. His first victim was the *Elphinston*, which he took some eighty miles off Bombay. Putting the crew of forty-seven men into an open boat, without water, and with scarcely room to move, he left them. It was in the hottest month of the year, and only twenty-eight of them reached Bombay alive.

Angria, being broad-minded on the subject of his new profession, did not limit himself to taking only English vessels, for meeting with two Chinese junks, laden with spices and riches, he plundered them both, and tying the crew back to back threw them into the sea to drown. One of the Chinamen, while watching his companions being drowned, managed to get a hand free from his ropes, and, taking his dagger, stabbed Angria, but, missing his heart, only wounded him in the shoulder. To punish him the pirate had the skin cut off his back and then had him beaten with canes. Then lashing him firmly down to a raft he was thrown overboard. After drifting about for three days and nights he was picked up, still alive, by a fishing-boat and carried to Bombay, where, fully recovered, he lived the rest of his days.

Angria continued his activities for three years, during which space he was said to have murdered in cold blood over 500 Englishmen. He was eventually chased by Commander Jones in H.M.S. *Asia*, sixty-four guns, into Timor, and after a close siege of the town for twelve months, Angria was shot by one of the mob while haranguing them from a balcony.

After Commander Jones's death his widow built a tower at Shooter's Hill, by Woolwich Common, to perpetuate the memory of her husband who had rid the Indian Ocean of the tyrant Angria.

The following lines are from the pen of Robert Bloomfield, and allude to this monument:

Yon far-famed monumental tower
Records the achievements of the brave,
And Angria's subjugated power,
Who plunder'd on the Eastern Wave.

ANSTIS, Captain Thomas.

The first mention of the name of this notorious pirate occurs in the year 1718, when we hear of him shipping himself at Providence in a sloop called the *Buck* in company with five other rascals who were conspiring together to seize the vessel and with her go "a-pyrating."

Of these five, one was Howel Davis, who was afterwards killed in an affair at the Island of Princes; another, Denman Topping, who was killed in the taking of a rich Portuguese ship on the coast of Brazil; a third, Walter Kennedy, was eventually hanged at Execution Dock, while the two others, who escaped the usual end of pirates - that is, by hanging, shooting, or drowning in saltwater or rum - disappeared into respectable obscurity in employment of some sort in the City of [London](#).

This party of six conspirators was the nucleus of a very powerful



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combination of pirates, which eventually came under the command of the famous Captain Roberts.

Anstis's pirate career began as did most others. They cruised about amongst the West India Islands, seizing and plundering all merchant ships they chanced upon, and, if we are to believe some of the stories that were circulated at the time of their treatment of their prisoners, they appear to have been an even rougher lot of scoundrels than was usual.

Before long they seized a very stout ship, the *Morning Star*, bound from Guinea to Carolina, and fitted her up with thirty-two cannons taken from another prize; manned her with a crew of one hundred men, and put Captain John Fenn in command. Anstis, as the elder officer, could have had command of this newer and larger ship, but he was so in love with his own vessel, the *Good Fortune*, which was an excellent sailer, that he preferred to remain in her.

The party now had two stout ships, but, as so often happened, trouble began to ferment amongst the crew. A large number of these had been more or less forced to "go a-pyrating," and were anxious to avoid the consequences, so they decided to send a round-robin – that is, a petition – signed by all with their names in a circle so that no rogue could be held to be more prominent than any other, to ask for the King's pardon.

This round-robin was addressed to "his most sacred Majesty George, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith," etc.

This petition was sent to England by a merchant vessel then sailing from [Jamaica](#), while the crews hid their ships amongst the mangrove swamps of a small uninhabited island off the coast of Cuba. Here they waited for nine months for an answer to their petition to the King, living on turtle, fish, rice, and, of course, rum *ad lib.* as long as it lasted.

To pass the time various diversions were instigated, particularly dancing – a pastime in great favour amongst pirates. We have a most amusing account left us of a mock court of justice held by them to try one another of piracy, and he who was on one day tried as the prisoner would next day take his turn at being Judge.

This shows a grim sense of humour, as most of those who took part in these mock trials were certain to end their careers before a real trial unless they came to a sudden and violent end beforehand.

Here is an account of one such mock-trial as given to Captain Johnson, the historian of the pirates, by an eyewitness:

"The Court and Criminals being both appointed, as also Council to plead, the Judge got up in a Tree, and had a dirty Taurpaulin hung over his shoulder; this was done by Way of Robe, with a Thrum Cap on his Head, and a large Pair of Spectacles upon his Nose. Thus equipp'd, he settled himself in his Place; and abundance of Officers attending him below, with Crows, Handspikes, etc., instead of Wands, Tipstaves, and such like.... The Criminals were brought out, making a thousand sour Faces; and one who acted as Attorney-General opened the Charge against them; their Speeches were very laconick, and their whole



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Proceedings concise. We shall give it by Way of Dialogue.

"Attor. Gen.: 'An't please your Lordship, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, here is a Fellow before you that is a sad Dog, a sad sad Dog; and I humbly hope your Lordship will order him to be hang'd out of the Way immediately.... He has committed Pyracy upon the High Seas, and we shall prove, an't please your Lordship, that this Fellow, this sad Dog before you, has escaped a thousand Storms, nay, has got safe ashore when the Ship has been cast away, which was a certain Sign he was not born to be drown'd; yet not having the Fear of hanging before his Eyes, he went on robbing and ravishing Man, Woman and Child, plundering Ships Cargoes fore and aft, burning and sinking Ship, Bark and Boat, as if the Devil had been in him. But this is not all, my Lord, he has committed worse Villanies than all these, for we shall prove, that he has been guilty of drinking Small-Beer; and your Lordship knows, there never was a sober Fellow but what was a Rogue. My Lord, I should have spoke much finer than I do now, but that as your Lordship knows our Rum is all out, and how should a Man speak good Law that has not drank a Dram.... However, I hope, your Lordship will order the Fellow to be hang'd.'

"Judge: '... Hearkee me, Sirrah ... you lousy, pittiful, ill-look'd Dog; what have you to say why you should not be tuck'd up immediately, and set a Sun-drying like a Scare-crow?... Are you guilty, or not guilty?'

"Pris.: 'Not guilty, an't please your Worship.'

"Judge: 'Not guilty! say so again, Sirrah, and I'll have you hang'd without any Tryal.'

"Pris.: 'An't please your Worship's Honour, my Lord, I am as honest a poor Fellow as ever went between Stem and Stern of a Ship, and can hand, reef, steer, and clap two Ends of a Rope together, as well as e'er a He that ever cross'd salt Water; but I was taken by one George Bradley' (the Name of him that sat as Judge,) 'a notorious Pyrate, a sad Rogue as ever was unhang'd, and he forc'd me, an't please your Honour.'

"Judge: 'Answer me, Sirrah.... How will you be try'd?'

"Pris.: 'By G- and my Country.'

"Judge: 'The Devil you will.... Why then, Gentlemen of the Jury, I think we have nothing to do but to proceed to Judgement.'

"Attor. Gen.: 'Right, my Lord; for if the Fellow should be suffered to speak, he may clear himself, and that's an Affront to the Court.'

"Pris.: 'Pray, my Lord, I hope your Lordship will consider ...'

"Judge: 'Consider!... How dare you talk of considering?... Sirrah, Sirrah, I never consider'd in all my Life.... I'll make it Treason to consider.'

"Pris.: 'But, I hope, your Lordship will hear some reason.'

"Judge: 'D'ye hear how the Scoundrel prates?... What have we to do with the Reason?... I'd have you to know, Raskal, we don't sit here to hear Reason ... we go according to Law.... Is our Dinner ready?'

"Attor. Gen.: 'Yes, my Lord.'



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"Judge: 'Then hear'ee you Raskal at the Bar; hear me, Sirrah, hear me.... You must suffer, for three reasons; first, because it is not fit I should sit here as Judge, and no Body be hanged.... Secondly, you must be hanged, because you have a damn'd hanging Look.... And thirdly, you must be hanged, because I am hungry; for, know, Sirrah, that 'tis a Custom, that whenever the Judge's Dinner is ready before the Tryal is over, the Prisoner is to be hanged of Course.... There's Law for you, ye Dog.... So take him away Gaoler.'"

In August, 1722, the pirates sailed out from their hiding-place and waylaid the ship which was returning to [Jamaica](#) with the answer to the petition, but to their disappointment heard that no notice had been taken of their round-robin by the Government at home.

No time was lost in returning to their old ways, for the very next day both pirate ships left their hiding-place and sailed out on the "grand account."

But now their luck deserted them, for the *Morning Star* was run aground on a reef by gross neglect on the part of the officers and wrecked. Most of the crew escaped on to an island, where Captain Anstis found them next day, and no sooner had he taken aboard Captain Fenn, Phillips, the carpenter, and a few others, than all of a sudden down upon them came two men-of-war, the *Hector* and the *Adventure*, so that Anstis had barely time to cut his cables and get away to sea, hotly pursued by the *Adventure*. The latter, in a stiff breeze, was slowly gaining on the brigantine when all of a sudden the wind dropped, the pirates got out the sweeps, and thus managed, for the time being, to escape. In the meantime the *Hector* took prisoner the forty pirates remaining on the island.

Anstis soon got to work again, and captured several prizes. He then sailed to the Island of Tobago to clean and refit his ship. Just when all the guns and stores had been landed and the ship heeled, as ill-luck would have it, the *Winchester*, man-of-war, put into the bay; and the pirates had barely time to set their ship on fire and to escape into the woods. Anstis had by now lost all authority over his discontented crew, and one night was shot while asleep in his hammock.

ANTONIO.

Captain of the Darien Indians and friend to the English buccaneers.

ARCHER, John Rose.

He learnt his art as a pirate in the excellent school of the notorious Blackbeard.

In 1723 he was, for the time being, in honest employment in a Newfoundland fishing-boat, which was captured by Phillips and his crew. As Phillips was only a beginner at piracy, he was very glad to get the aid of such an old hand at the game as John Archer, whom he promptly appointed to the office of quartermaster in the pirate ship. This quick promotion caused some murmuring amongst Phillips's original crew, the carpenter, Fern, being particularly outspoken against it.

Archer ended his days on the gallows at [Boston](#) on June 2nd, 1724,



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and we read that he "dy'd very penitent, with the assistance of two grave Divines to attend him."

ARGALL.

Licensed and titled buccaneer. Believed to have buried a rich treasure in the Isles of Shoals, off Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the seventeenth century.

ARMSTRONG.

Born in [London](#). A deserter from the Royal Navy. One of Captain Roberts's crew taken by H.M.S. *Swallow*, from which ship he had previously deserted.

In an account of his execution on board H.M.S. *Weymouth* we read: "Being on board a Man of War there was no Body to press him to an Acknowledgement of the Crime he died for, nor of sorrowing in particular for it, which would have been exemplary, and made suitable Impressions on seamen; so that his last Hour was spent in lamenting and bewailing his Sins in general, exhorting the Spectators to an honest and good life, in which alone they could find Satisfaction."

This painful scene ended by the condemned singing with the spectators a few verses of the 140th Psalm: at the conclusion of which, at the firing of a gun, "he was tric'd up at the Fore Yard."

Died at the age of 34.

ARNOLD, Sion.

A Madagascar pirate, who was brought to New England by Captain Shelley in 1699.

ASHPLANT, Valentine.

Born in the Minories, [London](#). He served with Captain Howell Davis, and later with Bartholomew Roberts. He was one of the leading lights of Roberts's crew, a member of the "House of Lords."

He took part in the capture and plundering of the *King Solomon* at Cape Apollonia, North-West Coast of Africa, in January, 1719, when the pirates, in an open boat, attacked the ship while at anchor. Ashplant was taken prisoner two years later by H.M.S. *Swallow*. Tried for piracy at Cape Coast Castle and found guilty in March, 1722, and hanged in chains there at the age of 32.

ATWELL.

A hand aboard the brig *Vineyard* in 1830, he took part with Charles Gibbs and others in a mutiny in which both the captain and mate was murdered.

AUGUR, Captain John.

A pirate of New Providence, Bahama Islands. He accepted the royal pardon in 1718, and impressed the Governor, Woodes Rogers, so favourably that he was placed in command of a sloop to go and trade amongst the islands. A few days out Augur met with two sloops, "the sight of which dispelled all memory of their late good intention," and turning pirates once more, they seized the two sloops and took out of them money and goods to the value of £500.



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The pirates now sailed for Hispaniola, but with bad luck, or owing to retribution, a sudden hurricane arose which drove them back to the one spot in the West Indies they must have been most anxious to avoid – that is, the Bahama Islands. Here the sloop became a total wreck, but the crew got ashore and for a while lay hidden in a wood. Rogers, hearing where they were, sent an armed sloop to the island, and the captain by fair promises induced the eleven marooned pirates to come aboard. Taking these back to Providence, Rogers had them all tried before a court of lately converted pirates, and they were condemned to be hanged. While standing on the gallows platform the wretched culprits reproached the crowd of spectators, so lately their fellow-brethren in piracy, for allowing their old comrades to be hanged, and urging them to come to the rescue. But virtue was still strong in these recent converts, and all the comfort the criminals got was to be 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 the now irritated and in no-wise abashed Augur, "I do heartily repent: I repent I have not done more Mischief, and that we did not cut the Throats of them that took us, and I am extremely sorry that you an't all hang'd as well as we."

AUSTIN, James.

Captured with the rest of Captain John Quelch's crew in the brigantine *Charles*. Escaped for a time, but was caught and secured in the gaol at Piscataqua, and later on tried for piracy at the Star Tavern at [Boston](#) in June, 1704.

AVERY, Captain John, *alias* Henry Every, *alias* Captain Bridgeman. Nicknamed "Long Ben," or the "Arch-Pirate."

In the year 1695, when at the height of his career, Avery caught the public's fancy as no other pirate ever did, with the possible exception of Captain Kidd. So much so that his achievements, or supposed achievements, formed the plot of several popular novels and plays.

Charles Johnson wrote a play called "The Successful Pyrate," which work ran into several editions, and was acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane.

The scene in this play was laid in the Island of Madagascar, and the hero was modelled on Captain Avery.

This pirate was a Devonshire man, being born near Plymouth about the year 1665, and was bred to the sea. He sailed on several voyages as mate aboard a merchantman. He was later appointed first officer in an armed privateer *The Duke*, Commander Captain Gibson, which sailed from Bristol for Spain, being hired by the Spaniards for service in the West Indies against the French pirates.

Avery soon plotted a mutiny, which was carried out while *The Duke* lay at anchor in Cadiz Harbour; the ship was seized, and the captain put ashore. Avery was elected captain, and he renamed the ship the *Charles the Second*. For more than a year Avery sailed in this vessel, preying without distinction upon persons of all nations and religions.

After leaving Spain he first sailed to the Isle of May, holding the Portuguese governor for ransom till provisions were sent on



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board. He took near here three English ships, then sailed to the coast of Guinea to procure slaves. To catch these Avery would anchor off a village and hoist English colours. The trusting negroes would then paddle off to the ship in canoes, bringing gold to traffic with. At a given signal these natives would be seized, clapped in irons, and thrown into the hold.

Avery next sailed to the Island of Princes, where he attacked two Danish ships, and took them both. The next place the pirates touched at was Madagascar, from there they sailed to the Red Sea to await the fleet expected from Mocha. To pass the time and to earn an honest penny the pirates called in at a town called Meat, there to sell to the natives some of their stolen merchandise. But the cautious inhabitants refused to do any business with these suspicious looking merchants, so in order to punish them the pirates burnt down their town. They next visited Aden, where they met two other English pirate ships, and were soon joined by three others from America, all on the same enterprise.

Expecting the Mocha fleet to come along, they waited here, but the fleet slipped past the pirates in the night. Avery was after them the next morning, and catching them up, singled out the largest ship, fought her for two hours, and took her. She proved to be the *Gunsway*, belonging to the Great Mogul himself, and a very valuable prize, as out of her they took 100,000 pieces of eight and a like number of chequins, as well as several of the highest persons of the court who were passengers on a pilgrimage to Mecca. It was rumoured that a daughter of the Great Mogul was also on board. Accounts of this exploit eventually reached England, and created great excitement, so that it soon became the talk of the town that Captain Avery had taken the beautiful young princess to Madagascar, where he had married her and was living in royal state, the proud father of several small princes and princesses.

The Mogul was naturally infuriated at this outrage on his ship, and threatened in retaliation to lay waste all the East India Company's settlements.

Having got a vast booty, Avery and his friends sailed towards Madagascar, and on the way there Avery, as admiral of the little fleet, signalled to the captain of the other sloops to come aboard his vessel. When they arrived Avery put before them the following ingenious scheme. He proposed that the treasures in the two sloops should, for safety, be put into his keeping till they all three arrived in Madagascar. This, being agreed to, was done, but during the night, after Avery had explained matters to his own men, he altered his course and left the sloops, and never saw them again. He now sailed away with all the plunder to the West Indies, arriving safely at New Providence Island in the Bahamas, where he offered the Governor a bribe of twenty pieces of eight and two pieces of gold to get him a pardon. Avery arrived in 1696 at [Boston](#), where he appears to have successfully bribed the Quaker Governor to let him and some of his crew land with their spoils unmolested. But the pirate did not feel quite safe, and also thought it would be wellnigh impossible to sell his diamonds in the colony without being closely questioned as to how he came by them. So, leaving America, he sailed to the North of Ireland, where he sold the sloop. Here the crew finally dispersed, and Avery stopped some time in Dublin, but was still



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unable to dispose of his stolen diamonds. Thinking England would be a better place for this transaction, he went there, and settled at Bideford in Devon. Here he lived very quietly under a false name, and through a friend communicated with certain merchants in Bristol. These came to see him, accepted his diamonds and some gold cups, giving him a few pounds for his immediate wants, and took the valuables to Bristol to sell, promising to send him the money procured for them. Time dragged on, but nothing came from the Bristol merchants, and at last it began to dawn on Avery that there were pirates on land as well as at sea. His frequent letters to the merchants brought at the most but a few occasional shillings, which were immediately swallowed up by the payment of his debts for the bare necessities of life at Bideford. At length, when matters were becoming desperate, Avery was taken ill and died "not being worth as much as would buy him a coffin." Thus ended Avery, "the Grand Pirate," whose name was known all over Europe, and who was supposed to be reigning as a king in Madagascar when all the while he was hiding and starving in a cottage at Bideford.

AYLETT, Captain.

This buccaneer was killed by an explosion of gunpowder on board the *Oxford* during a banquet of Morgan's captains off Hispaniola in 1669.

BAILY, Job, or Bayley.

Of [London](#). One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Hanged at [Charleston](#) in 1718.

BAKER, Captain.

One of Gasparilla's gang up to 1822, when they were broken up by the United States Navy. His favourite hunting-ground was the Gulf of Mexico.

BALL, Roger.

One of Captain Bartholomew's crew in the *Royal Fortune*. Captured by H.M.S. *Swallow* off the West Coast of Africa. He had been terribly burnt by an explosion of a barrel of gunpowder, and while seated "in a private corner, with a look as sullen as winter," a surgeon of the king's ship came up and asked him how he came to be blown up in that frightful manner. "Why," says he, "John Morris fired a pistol into the powder, and if he had not done it, I would." The surgeon, with great kindness, offered to dress the prisoner's wounds, but Ball, although in terrible pain, refused to allow them to be touched. He died the same night.

BALLET, John. Buccaneer.

Third mate on board Woodes Rogers's ship, the *Duke*, but was by profession a surgeon, in which latter capacity he had sailed on a previous voyage with Dampier.

BALTIZAR, Captain.

A terror to all shipping in the Gulf of Mexico in the early part of the nineteenth century. Brought to [Boston](#) as a prisoner in 1823, taken thence to Kingston, [Jamaica](#), and there hanged. For some extraordinary reason the American juries seldom would condemn a pirate to death, so that whenever possible the pirate



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prisoners were handed over to the English, who made short shift with them.

BANNISTER, Captain.

Ran away from Port Royal, [Jamaica](#), in June, 1684, on a "privateering" venture in a ship of thirty guns. Caught and brought back by the frigate *Ruby*, and put on trial by the Lieutenant-Governor Molesworth, who was at that time very active in his efforts to stamp out piracy in the West Indies.

Bannister entirely escaped punishment, capital or otherwise, as he was released by the grand jury on a technical point, surely most rare good fortune for the captain in days when the law was elastic enough to fit most crimes, and was far from lenient on piracy. Six months later the indefatigable captain again eluded the forts, and for two years succeeded in dodging the frigates sent out by Governor Molesworth to capture him. Finally, in January, 1687, Captain Spragge sailed victoriously into Port Royal with Bannister and three other buccaneers hanging at the yard-arm, "a spectacle of great satisfaction to all good people, and of terror to the favourers of pirates."

BARBAROSSA, or "Redbeard" (his real name was URUJ). Barbary Corsair.

Son of a Turkish renegade and a Christian mother. Born in the Island of Lesbos in the Egean Sea, a stronghold of the Mediterranean pirates.

In 1504 Barbarossa made his headquarters at Tunis, in return for which he paid the Sultan one-fifth of all the booty he took. One of his first and boldest exploits was the capture of two richly laden galleys belonging to Pope Julius II., on their way from Genoa to Civita Vecchia. Next year he captured a Spanish ship with 500 soldiers on board. In 1512 he was invited by the Moors to assist them in an attempt to retake the town and port of Bujeya from the Spaniards. After eight days of fighting, Barbarossa lost an arm, and the siege was given up, but he took away with him a large Genoese ship. In 1516 Barbarossa changed his headquarters to Jijil, and took command of an army of 6,000 men and sixteen galliots, with which he attacked and captured the Spanish fortress of Algiers, of which he became Sultan. Barbarossa was by now vastly rich and powerful, his fleets bringing in prizes from Genoa, Naples, Venice, and Spain.

Eventually Charles V. of Spain sent an army of 10,000 troops to North Africa, defeated the corsairs, and Barbarossa was slain in battle.

BARBE, Captain Nicholas.

Master of a Breton ship, the *Mychell*, of St. Malo, owned by Hayman Gillard. Captured by an English ship in 1532. Her crew was made up of nine Bretons and five Scots.

BARNARD, Captain. Buccaneer.

In June, 1663, this buccaneer sailed from Port Royal to the Orinoco. He took and plundered the town of Santo Tomas, and returned the following March.

BARNES, Captain.

In 1677 several English privateers surprised and sacked the town of Santa Marta in the Spanish Main. To save the town from being



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burnt, the Governor and Bishop became hostages until a ransom had been paid. These the pirates, under the command of Captains Barnes and Coxon, carried back to [Jamaica](#) and delivered up to Lord Vaughan, the Governor of the island. Vaughan treated the Bishop well, and hired a vessel specially to send him back to Castagona, for which kindness "the good old man was exceedingly pleased."

BARNES, Henry.

Of [Barbadoes](#). Tried for piracy at [Newport](#) in 1723, but found to be not guilty.

BARROW, James.

Taken by Captain Roberts out of the *Martha snow* (Captain Lady). Turned pirate and served in the *Ranger* in 1721.

BELLAMY, Captain Charles. Pirate, Socialist, and orator. A famous West Indian filibuster.

He began life as a wrecker in the West Indies, but this business being uncertain in its profits, and Bellamy being an ambitious young man, he decided with his partner, Paul Williams, to aim at higher things, and to enter the profession of piracy. Bellamy had now chosen a calling that lent itself to his undoubted talents, and his future career, while it lasted, was a brilliant one.

Procuring a ship, he sailed up and down the coast of Carolina and New England, taking and plundering numerous vessels; and when this neighbourhood became too hot for him he would cruise for a while in the cooler climate of Newfoundland.

Bellamy had considerable gifts for public speaking, and seldom missed an opportunity of addressing the assembled officers and crews of the ships he took, before liberating or otherwise disposing of them.

His views were distinctly Socialistic. On one occasion, in an address to a Captain Beer, who had pleaded to have his sloop returned to him, Captain Bellamy, after clearing his throat, began as follows: "I am sorry," he said, "that you can't have your sloop again, for I scorn to do anyone any mischief - when it is not to my advantage - though you are a sneaking puppy, and so are all those who will submit to be governed by laws which rich men have made for their own security, for the cowardly whelps have not the courage otherwise to defend what they get by their knavery. But damn ye altogether for a pack of crafty rascals, and you, who serve them, for a parcel of hen-hearted numbskulls! They vilify us, the scoundrels do, when there is the only difference that they rob the poor under cover of the law, forsooth, and we plunder the rich under the protection of our own courage. Had you not better make one of us than sneak after these villains for employment?"

Bellamy's fall came at last at the hands of a whaler captain. At the time he was in command of the *Whidaw* and a small fleet of other pirate craft, which was lying at anchor in the Bay of Placentia in Newfoundland. Sailing from Placentia for Nantucket Shoals, he seized a whaling vessel, the *Mary Anne*. As the skipper of the whaler knew the coast well, Bellamy made him pilot of his small fleet. The cunning skipper one night ran his ship on to a sand-bank near Eastman, Massachusetts, and the rest of the fleet



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followed his stern light on to the rocks. Almost all the crews perished, only seven of the pirates being saved. These were seized and brought to trial, condemned, and hanged at [Boston](#) in 1726. The days spent between the sentence and the hanging were not wasted, for we read in a contemporary account that "by the indefatigable pains of a pious and learned divine, who constantly attended them, they were at length, by the special grace of God, made sensible of and truly penitent for the enormous crimes they had been guilty of."

BELVIN, James.

Bo'son to Captain Gow, the pirate. He had the reputation of being a good sailor but a bloodthirsty fellow. Was hanged at Wapping in June, 1725.

BEME, Francis.

In 1539 this Baltic pirate was cruising off Antwerp, waiting to waylay English merchant vessels.

BENDALL, George, or Bendeall.

A flourishing pirate, whose headquarters, in the early eighteenth century, were in New Providence Island.

In the year 1717, King George offered a free pardon to all freebooters who would come in and give themselves up. But the call of the brotherhood was too strong for a few of the "old hands," and Bendall, amongst others, was off once again to carry on piracy around the Bahama and Virgin Islands. Within a few years these last "die-hards" were all killed, drowned, caught, or hanged.

BENNETT, William.

An English soldier, who deserted from Fort Loyal, Falmouth, Marne, in 1689, and joined the pirate Pounds. Was sent to prison at [Boston](#), where he died.

BILL, Philip.

Belonged to the Island of St. Thomas. One of Captain Roberts's crew. Hanged at the age of 27.

BISHOP.

An Irishman. Chief mate to the pirate Captain Cobham.

BISHOP, Captain.

In 1613, Bishop and a few other English seamen set up as pirates at Marmora on the Barbary Coast.

BISHOP, William.

One of Avery's crew. Hanged at Execution Dock in 1691.

BLADS, William.

Born in [Rhode Island](#). One of Captain Charles Harris's crew. Hanged at [Newport](#) on July 19th, 1723. Age 28.

BLAKE, Benjamin.

A [Boston](#) boy, taken prisoner with Captain Pounds's crew at Tarpaulin Cove.

BLAKE, James.



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One of Captain Teach's crew. Hanged in 1718 at Virginia.

BLEWFIELD, Captain, or Blauvelt.

In 1649 this Dutch pirate brought a prize into [Newport, Rhode Island](#). In 1663 was known to be living among the friendly Indians at Cape Gratia de Dios on the Spanish Main. He commanded a barque carrying three guns and a crew of fifty men. He was very active in the logwood cutting in Honduras. Whether the town and river of Bluefield take their name from this pirate is uncertain, but the captain must many a time have gone up the river into the forests of Nicaragua on his logwood cutting raids.

BLOT, Captain. French filibuster.

In 1684 was in command of *La Quagone*, ninety men, eight guns.

BOLIVAR, Lieutenant.

This Portuguese pirate was first officer to Captain Jonnia. He was a stout, well-built man of swarthy complexion and keen, ferocious eyes, huge black whiskers and beard, and a tremendously loud voice. He took the [Boston](#) schooner *Exertion* at Twelve League Key on December 17th, 1821.

BOND, Captain.

Of Bristol.

In 1682 arrived at the Cape Verde Islands. Having procured leave to land on Mayo Island, on the pretence of being an honest merchant in need of provisions, particularly of beef and goats, Bond and his crew seized and carried away some of the principal inhabitants. A year later John Cooke and Cowley arrived at Mayo in the *Revenge*, but were prevented by the inhabitants from landing owing to their recent treatment at the hands of Bond.

BONNET, Major Stede, *alias* Captain Thomas, *alias* Edwards.

The history of this pirate is both interesting and unique. He was not brought up to the seafaring life; in fact, before he took to piracy, he had already retired from the Army, with the rank of Major. He owned substantial landed property in [Barbadoes](#), lived in a fine house, was married, and much respected by the quality and gentry of that island. His turning pirate naturally greatly scandalized his neighbours, and they found it difficult at first to imagine whatever had caused this sudden and extraordinary resolution, particularly in a man of his position in Society. But when the cause at last came to be known, he was more pitied than blamed, for it was understood that the Major's mind had become unbalanced owing to the unbridled nagging of Mrs. Bonnet. Referring to this, the historian Captain Johnson writes as follows: "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 qualified for the Business, as not understanding maritime Affairs." Whatever the cause of the Major's "disorder of mind," the fact remains that at his own expense he fitted out a sloop armed with ten guns and a crew of seventy men. The fact that he honestly paid in cash for this ship is highly suspicious of a

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deranged mind, since no other pirate, to the writer's knowledge, ever showed such a nicety of feeling, but always stole the ship in which to embark "on the account." The Major, to satisfy the curious, gave out that he intended to trade between the islands, but one night, without a word of farewell to Mrs. Bonnet, he sailed out of harbour in the *Revenge*, as he called his ship, and began to cruise off the coast of Virginia. For a rank amateur, Bonnet met with wonderful success, as is shown by a list of the prizes he took and plundered in this first period of his piracy:

The *Anne*, of Glasgow (Captain Montgomery).

The *Turbet*, of [Barbadoes](#), which, after plundering, he burnt, as he did all prizes from [Barbadoes](#).

The *Endeavour* (Captain Scott).

The *Young*, of Leith.

The plunder out of these ships he sold at Gardiner Island, near New York.

Cruising next off the coast of Carolina, Bonnet took a brace of prizes, but began to have trouble with his unruly crew, who, seeing that their captain knew nothing whatever of sea affairs, took advantage of the fact and commenced to get out of hand. Unluckily for Bonnet, he at this time met with the famous Captain Teach, or Blackbeard, and the latter, quickly appreciating how matters stood, ordered the Major to come aboard his own ship, while he put his lieutenant, Richards, to command Bonnet's vessel. The poor Major was most depressed by this undignified change in his affairs, until Blackbeard lost his ship in Topsail Inlet, and finding himself at a disadvantage, promptly surrendered to the King's proclamation and allowed Bonnet to reassume command of his own sloop. But Major Bonnet had been suffering from qualms of conscience latterly, so he sailed to Bath Town in North Carolina, where he, too, surrendered to the Governor and received his certificate of pardon. Almost at once news came of war being declared between England and France with Spain, so Bonnet hurried back to Topsail, and was granted permission to take back his sloop and sail her to St. Thomas's Island, to receive a commission as a privateer from the French Governor of that island. But in the meanwhile Teach had robbed everything of any value out of Bonnet's ship, and had marooned seventeen of the crew on a sandy island, but these were rescued by the Major before they died of starvation. Just as the ship was ready to sail, a bumboat came alongside to sell apples and cider to the sloop's crew, and from these they got an interesting piece of news. They learnt that Teach, with a crew of eighteen men, was at that moment lying at anchor in Ocracock Inlet. The Major, longing to revenge the insult he had suffered from Blackbeard, and his crew remembering how he had left them to die on a desert island, went off in search of Teach, but failed to find him. Stede Bonnet having received his pardon in his own name, now called himself Captain Thomas and again took to piracy, and evidently had benefited by his apprenticeship with Blackbeard, for he was now most successful, taking many prizes off the coast of Virginia, and later in Delaware Bay.

Bonnet now sailed in a larger ship, the *Royal James*, so named from feelings of loyalty to the Crown. But she proved to be very leaky, and the pirates had to take her to the mouth of Cape Fear

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River for repairs. News of this being carried to the Council of South Carolina, arrangements were made to attempt to capture the pirate, and a Colonel William Rhet, at his own expense, fitted out two armed sloops, the *Henry* (eight guns and seventy men) and the *Sea Nymph* (eight guns and sixty men), both sailing under the direct command of the gallant Colonel. On September 25th, 1718, the sloops arrived at Cape Fear River, and there sure enough was the *Royal James*, with three sloops lying at anchor behind the bar. The pirate tried to escape by sailing out, but was followed by the Colonel's two vessels until all three ran aground within gunshot of each other. A brisk fight took place for five hours, when the Major struck his colours and surrendered. There was great public rejoicing in [Charleston](#) when, on October 3rd, Colonel Rhet sailed victoriously into the harbour with his prisoners. But next day Bonnet managed to escape out of prison and sailed to Swillivant's Island. The indefatigable Colonel Rhet again set out after the Major, and again caught him and brought him back to [Charleston](#).

The trial of Stede Bonnet and his crew began on October 28th, 1718, at [Charleston](#), and continued till November 12th, the Judge being Nicholas Trot. Bonnet was found guilty and condemned to be hanged. Judge Trot made a speech of overwhelming length to the condemned, full of Biblical quotations, to each of which the learned magistrate gave chapter and verse. In November, 1718, the gallant, if unfortunate, Major was hanged at White Point, [Charleston](#).

Apart from the unusual cause for his turning pirate, Bonnet is interesting as being almost the only case known, otherwise than in books of romance, of a pirate making his prisoners walk the plank.

BONNY, Anne. Female pirate.

Anne was born in County Cork, and her father was an Attorney-at-Law, who practised his profession in that city, her mother being lady's maid to the attorney's lawful wife.

The story of the events which led to the existence of Anne may be read in Johnson's "History of the Pyrates," where it is recounted in a style quite suggestive of Fielding. In spite of its sad deficiency in moral tone, the narrative is highly diverting. But as this work is strictly confined to the history of the pirates and not to the amorous intrigues of their forbears, we will skip these pre-natal episodes and come to the time when the attorney, having lost a once flourishing legal practice, sailed from Ireland to Carolina to seek a fortune there, taking his little daughter Anne with him. In new surroundings fortune favoured the attorney, and he soon owned a rich plantation, and his daughter kept house for him.

Anne was now grown up and a fine young woman, but had a "fierce and courageous temper," which more than once led her into scrapes, as, on one occasion, when in a sad fit of temper, she slew her English servant-maid with a case-knife. But except for these occasional outbursts of passion she was a good and dutiful girl. Her father now began to think of finding a suitable young man to be a husband for Anne, which would not be hard to do, since Anne, besides her good looks, was his heir and would be well provided for by him. But Anne fell in love with a good-



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looking young sailor who arrived one day at [Charleston](#), and, knowing her father would never consent to such a match, the lovers were secretly married, in the expectation that, the deed being done, the father would soon become reconciled to it. But on the contrary, the attorney, on being told the news, turned his daughter out of doors and would have nothing more to do with either of them. The bridegroom, finding his heiress worth not a groat, did what other sailors have done before and since, and slipped away to sea without so much as saying good-bye to his bride. But a more gallant lover soon hove in sight, the handsome, rich, dare-devil pirate, Captain John Rackam, known up and down the coast as "Calico Jack." Jack's methods of courting and taking a ship were similar – no time wasted, straight up alongside, every gun brought to play, and the prize seized. Anne was soon swept off her feet by her picturesque and impetuous lover, and consented to go to sea with him in his ship, but disguised herself in sailor's clothes before going on board. The lovers sailed together on a piratical honeymoon until certain news being conveyed to Captain Rackam by his bride, he sailed to Cuba and put Anne ashore at a small cove, where he had a house and also friends, who he knew would take good care of her. But before long Anne was back in the pirate ship, as active as any of her male shipmates with cutlass and marlinspike, always one of the leaders in boarding a prize.

However, the day of retribution was at hand. While cruising near [Jamaica](#) in October, 1720, the pirates were surprised by the sudden arrival of an armed sloop, which had been sent out by the Governor of that island for the express purpose of capturing Rackam and his crew. A fight followed, in which the pirates behaved in a most cowardly way, and were soon driven below decks, all but Anne Bonny and another woman pirate, Mary Read, who fought gallantly till taken prisoners, all the while flaunting their male companions on their cowardly conduct. The prisoners were carried to [Jamaica](#) and tried for piracy at St. Jago de la Vega, and convicted on November 28th, 1720. Anne pleaded to have her execution postponed for reasons of her condition of health, and this was allowed, and she never appears to have been hanged, though what her ultimate fate was is unknown. On the day that her lover Rackam was hanged he obtained, by special favour, permission to see Anne, but must have derived little comfort from the farewell interview, for all he got in the way of sympathy from his lady love were these words – that "she was sorry to see him there, but if he had fought like a Man, he need

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not have been hang'd like a Dog."

**BOON, John.**

Member of the Council of Carolina under Governor Colleton, and expelled from it "for holding correspondence with pirates," 1687.

BOOTH, Samuel.

Of [Charleston](#). One of Major Bonnet's crew. Hanged at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, in 1718.

BOURNANO, Captain, or de Bernanos.

In 1679 this famous French filibuster commanded a ship of ninety tons, armed with six guns, and manned by a crew of eighty-six French sailors. Joined Captain Bartholomew Sharp when he was preparing his expedition to assault the town of Santa Maria. Bournano was a useful ally, as he was much liked by the Darien Indians, but his crew quarrelled with the English buccaneers, and they left Sharp's company. In the year 1684, Bournano, known by then as Le Sieur de Bernanos, commanded a ship, *La Schite*, carrying a crew of sixty men and armed with eight guns.

la BOUSE, Captain Oliver, or de la Bouche.

French pirate.

When Captain Howel Davis had taken and sacked the fort at Gambia and with his crew was spending a day in revelry, a ship was reported, bearing down on them in full sail. The pirates prepared to fight her, when she ran up the Black Flag and proved to be a French pirate ship of fourteen guns and sixty-four hands, half French and half negroes, commanded by Captain La Bouse. A great many civilities passed between the two captains, and they agreed to sail down the coast together. Arriving at Sierra Leone, they found a tall ship lying at anchor. This ship they



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attacked, firing a broadside, when she also ran up the Black Flag, being the vessel of the notorious Captain Cocklyn. For the next two days the three captains and their crews "spent improving their acquaintance and friendship," which was the pirate expression for getting gloriously drunk. On the third day they attacked and took the African Company's Fort. Shortly afterwards the three captains quarrelled, and each went his own way. In 1718 La Bouse was at New Providence Island. In 1720 this pirate commanded the *Indian Queen*, 250 tons, armed with twenty-eight guns, and a crew of ninety men. Sailing from the Guinea Coast to the East Indies, de la Bouche lost his ship on the Island of Mayotta, near Madagascar.

The captain and forty men set about building a new vessel, while the remainder went off in canoes to join Captain England's pirates at Johanna.

BOWEN.

A Bristol man. In 1537, when the Breton pirates were becoming very daring along the south coast of England and Wales, Bowen contrived to capture fourteen of these robbers, who had landed near Tenby, and had them put in prison.

BOWEN, Captain John.

The practice of this South Sea pirate extended from Madagascar to Bengal. He commanded a good ship, the *Speaker*, a French vessel, owned by an English company interested in the slave trade, which Bowen had captured by a cunning ruse. He afterwards lost his ship off Mauritius, but was well treated by the Dutch Governor, who supplied doctors, medicine, and food to the shipwrecked pirates. After three months' hospitality on the island, Bowen procured a sloop, and in March, 1701, sailed for Madagascar. As a parting friendly gift to the Governor, he gave him 2,500 pieces of eight and the wreck of the *Speaker*, with all the guns and stores. On arriving at Madagascar, Bowen erected a fort and built a town. Shortly after this a ship, the *Speedy Return*, and a brigantine were so very thoughtless as to put into the port, and paid for this thoughtlessness by being promptly seized by Bowen. With these two vessels Bowen and his merry men went "a-pyrating" again, and with great success, for in a short time they had gathered together over a million dollars in coin, as well as vast quantities of valuable merchandise. The pirates then, most wisely, considering that they had succeeded well enough, settled down amongst their Dutch friends in the Island of Mauritius to a quiet and comfortable life on shore.

BOWMAN, William.

A seaman; one of the party which crossed the Isthmus of Darien on foot with Dampier in 1681. Wafer records that Bowman, "a weakly Man, a Taylor by trade," slipped while crossing a swollen river, and was carried off by the swift current, and nearly drowned by the weight of a satchel he carried containing 400 pieces of eight.

BOYD, Robert.

Of Bath Town, North Carolina. Sailed with Major Stede Bonnet in the *Royal James*. Hanged on November 8th, 1718, at [Charleston](#).

BOYZA.



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A Columbian. One of Captain Gilbert's crew in the *Panda*. Hanged at [Boston](#) in June, 1835.

BRADISH, Captain Joseph.

A notorious pirate. Born at [Cambridge](#), Massachusetts, on November 28th, 1672. In March, 1689, was in [London](#) out of a berth, and shipped as mate in the hake-boat *Adventure*, bound for Borneo on an interloping trade.

In September, 1698, when most of the officers and passengers were ashore at the Island of Polonais, Bradish and the crew cut the cable and ran away with the ship. The crew shared the money which was found in the bread-room, and which filled nine chests, amounting to about 3,700 Spanish dollars.

Bradish sailed the *Adventure* to [Long Island](#), arriving there on March 19th, 1699. After leaving their money and jewels on Nassau Island, they sank their ship. Most of the crew bought horses at the neighbouring farmhouses and disappeared. Bradish and a few others were rash enough to go to Massachusetts, where they were promptly arrested and placed in the [Boston](#) Gaol. But the gaolkeeper, one Caleb Ray, was a relation of Bradish, and allowed him to escape. An offer of a reward of £200 brought the escaped prisoner back, and he sailed in irons on H.M.S. *Advice*, with Kidd and other pirates, to England, and was hanged in chains in [London](#) at Hope Dock in 1700.

BRADLEY, George.

Master of Captain Fenn's ship, the *Morning Star*, wrecked on the Grand Caymans in August, 1722. The crew got ashore on an island and hid in the woods. Bradley and the other pirates afterwards surrendered themselves to an English sloop, and were carried to Bermuda. Bradley escaped to England, and was last heard of at Bristol.

BREAKES, Captain Hiram.

This Dutch pirate was the second son of a well-to-do councillor of the Island of Saba in the West Indies. Hiram was appointed in the year 1764 to a ship which traded between that island and Amsterdam. In the latter port, Hiram, who was now 19 years of age and a handsome fellow standing over six feet in height, fell in love with a certain Mrs. Snyder.

Getting command of a small ship that traded between Schiedam, in Holland, and Lisbon, Breakes for some time sailed between these ports. Returning to Amsterdam, he and Mrs. Snyder murdered that lady's husband, but at the trial managed to get acquitted.

Breakes's next exploit was to steal his employer's ship and cargo and go out as a pirate, naming his vessel the *Adventure*. His first exploit was a daring one. Sailing into Vigo Harbour in full view of the forts, he seized a vessel, the *Acapulco*, lately come from Valparaiso, and took her off. On plundering her they found 200,000 small bars of gold, each about the size of a man's finger. The captain and crew of this Chilian vessel were all murdered. Breakes preferred the *Acapulco* to his own ship, so he fitted her up and sailed in her to the Mediterranean.

Breakes was one of the religious variety of pirate, for after six days of robbing and throat-slitting he would order his crew to clean themselves on the Sabbath and gather on the quarter-



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deck, where he would read prayers to them and would often preach a sermon "after the Lutheran style," thus fortifying the brave fellows for another week of toil and bloodshed.

Gifted with unlimited boldness, Breakes called in at Gibraltar and requested the Governor to grant him a British privateer's commission, which the Governor did "for a consideration." Sailing in the neighbourhood of the Balearic Islands, he took a few ships, when one day, spying a nunnery by the sea-shore in Minorca, he proposed to his crew that they should fit themselves out with a wife apiece.

This generous offer was eagerly accepted, and the crew, headed by Captain Breakes, marched up to the nunnery unopposed, and were welcomed at the door by the lady abbess. Having entered the peaceful cloister, each pirate chose a nun and marched back to the ship with their spoils. Soon after this Breakes decided to retire from piracy, and returned to Amsterdam to claim Mrs. Snyder. But he found that she had but lately been hanged for poisoning her little son, of which the pirate was father. This tragedy so preyed upon the mind of Captain Breakes that he turned "melancholy mad" and drowned himself in one of the many dykes with which that city abounds.

BRECK, John.

One of the crew of the brigantine *Charles* (Captain John Quelch). Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704.

BREHA, Captain, *alias* Landresson.

BRENNINGHAM, Captain.

Of [Jamaica](#) and Tortuga. In 1663 commanded a frigate of six guns and seventy men.

BRIERLY, John, *alias* Timberhead.

Of Bath Town in North Carolina. One of the crew of the *Royal James*. Hanged at [Charleston](#) in November, 1718.

BRIGHT, John.

Of St. Margaret's, Westminster. One of the crew of Captain Charles Harris. Hanged at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), in July, 1723, at the age of 25.

BRINKLEY, James.

Of Suffolk, England. One of Captain Charles Harris's crew. Hanged for piracy at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), on July 19th, 1723. Age 28.

BRODLEY, Captain Joseph, or Bradley, sometimes called "Lieutenant-Colonel." "An ancient and expert pirate."

Appointed Vice-Admiral by Morgan in his expedition up the Chagre River. He was a tough old pirate, and had proved himself a terror to the Spaniards, particularly when Mansvelt took the Isle of St. Catharine. In 1676 Brodley was sent by Morgan to capture the Castle of Chagre, a very strongly garrisoned fort. All day the pirates kept up a furious attack, but were driven back. At last, when it seemed impossible for the pirates ever to succeed in entering the castle, a remarkable accident happened which altered the whole issue. One of the pirates was



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wounded by an arrow in his back, which pierced his body and came out the opposite side. This he instantly pulled out at the side of his breast; then, taking a little cotton, he wound it about the arrow, and, putting it into his musket, he shot it back into the castle. The cotton, kindled by the powder, set fire to several houses within the castle, which, being thatched with palm-leaves, took fire very easily. This fire at last reached the powder magazine, and a great explosion occurred. Owing to this accident of the arrow the pirates were eventually able to take the Castle of Chagre. This was one of the finest and bravest defences ever made by the Spaniards. Out of 314 Spanish soldiers in the castle, only thirty survived, all the rest, including the Governor, being killed. Brodley was himself severely wounded in this action and died as a consequence ten days later.

BROOKS, Joseph (senior).

One of Blackbeard's crew in the *Queen Ann's Revenge*. Killed on November 22nd, 1718, at North Carolina.

BROOKS, Joseph (junior).

One of Blackbeard's crew in the *Queen Ann's Revenge*. Taken prisoner by Lieutenant Maynard on November 22nd, 1718. Carried to Virginia, where he was tried and hanged.

BROWN, Captain.

A notorious latter-day pirate, who "worked" the east coast of Central America in the early part of the nineteenth century.

BROWN, Captain.

On July 24th, 1702, sailed from [Jamaica](#) in command of the *Blessing* – ten guns and crew of seventy-nine men, with the famous Edward Davis on board – to attack the town of Tolu on the Spanish Main. The town was taken and plundered, but Brown was killed, being shot through the head.

BROWN, Captain Nicholas.

Surrendered to the King's pardon for pirates at New Providence, Bahamas, in 1718. Soon afterwards he surrendered to the Spanish Governor of Cuba, embraced the Catholic faith, and turned pirate once more; and was very active in attacking English ships off the Island of [Jamaica](#).

BROWN, John.

Of Durham, England. One of Captain Charles Harris's crew. Hanged at the age of 29 years at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), in 1723.

BROWN, John.

Of Liverpool. One of Captain Harris's crew. Found guilty of piracy at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), in 1723, but recommended to the King's favour, perhaps in view of his age, being but 17 years old.

BROWNE, Captain James.

A Scotchman.

In 1677, when in command of a mixed crew of English, Dutch, and French pirates, he took a Dutch ship trading in negroes off the coast of Cartagena. The Dutch captain and several of his crew were killed, while the cargo of 150 negroes was landed in a



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remote bay on the coast of [Jamaica](#).

Lord Vaughan sent a frigate, which captured about a hundred of the negro slaves and also Browne and eight of his pirate crew. The captain and crew were tried for piracy and condemned. The crew were pardoned, but Browne was ordered to be executed. The captain appealed to the Assembly to have the benefit of the Act of Privateers, and the House of Assembly twice sent a committee to the Governor to beg a reprieve. Lord Vaughan refused this and ordered the immediate execution of Browne. Half an hour after the hanging the provost-marshal appeared with an order, signed by the Speaker, to stop the execution.

BROWNE, Edward.

Of York River, Virginia. One of Captain Pounds's crew. Wounded at Tarpaulin Cove in 1689.

BROWNE, John, *alias* Mamme.

An English sailor who joined the Barbary pirates at Algiers and turned Mohammedan. Taken in the *Exchange* in 1622 and carried a prisoner to Plymouth.

BROWNE, Richard. Surgeon.

Surgeon-General in Morgan's fleet which carried the buccaneers to the Spanish Main. He wrote an account of the disastrous explosion on board the *Oxford* during a banquet given to Morgan and the buccaneer commanders on January 2nd, 1669, off Cow Island to the south of Hispaniola, at which the details were being discussed for an attack on Cartagena.

Browne writes: "I was eating my dinner with the rest when the mainmasts blew out and fell upon Captains Aylett and Bigford and others and knocked them on the head. I saved myself by getting astride the mizzenmast." Only Morgan and those who sat on his side of the dinner-table were saved.

Browne, who certainly was not biased towards Morgan in his accounts of his exploits, is one of the few narrators who gives the buccaneer Admiral credit for moderation towards his prisoners, particularly women.

BUCK, Eleazer.

One of Captain Pounds's crew. Tried at [Boston](#) in 1689 for piracy and found guilty, but pardoned on payment of a fine of twenty marks.

BUCKENHAM, Captain.

In 1679 sailed from England to the West Indies. He was taken by the Spaniards off Campeachy and carried to Mexico. A seaman, Russel, also a prisoner there, and who escaped afterwards, reported to Lionel Wafer that he last saw Captain Buckenham with a log chained to his leg and a basket on his back, crying bread about the streets of the city of Mexico for his master, a baker.

BULL, Captain Dixey.

Born in [London](#) of a respectable family, and in 1631 went to [Boston](#), where he received a grant of land at York on the coast of Maine. Became a "trader for bever" in New England. In June, 1632, while in Penobscot Bay, a French pinnace arrived and seized his shallop and stock of "coats, ruggs, blanketts,



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bisketts, etc." Annoyed by this high-handed behaviour, Bull collected together a small crew and turned pirate, thus being the very first pirate on the New England coast. Bull took several small vessels, and was not caught by the authorities, who sent out small armed sloops to search for him, and nothing more was heard of this pioneer pirate after 1633, although rumour said that he had reached England in safety.

BULL, Mr.

A member of the crew of Coxon's canoe, he was killed in the famous attack by the buccaneers on the Spanish Fleet off Panama in 1680.

BULLOCK. Surgeon.

One of the crew at the second disastrous attack by Captain Sharp on the town of Arica, when the buccaneers were driven out of the town. All escaped who could, except the surgeons, who, in a most unprofessional way, had been indulging somewhat freely in the wines of the country during the battle, and consequently were in no condition to take their places with the retreating force. The surgeons, after being taken prisoner, were persuaded to disclose to the Spaniards the prearranged signals by smoke from two fires, which was to be given in case of a successful taking of the town, to bring up the boats that were hiding on the shore, ready to take the buccaneers back to their ships. Fortunately the buccaneers on the shore arrived just as the canoes were getting under way, otherwise the whole remnant of them would have perished. The only one of these disreputable surgeons whose name we know is Dr. Bullock. Some months afterwards it was ascertained, through a prisoner, that the Spaniards "civilly entertained these surgeons, more especially the women." Surgeons, even such surgeons as these, were considered to be valuable in those days in the out-of-the-way Spanish colonies.

BUNCE, Charles.

Born at Exeter; died at the age of 26. Taken by Captain Roberts out of a Dutch galley in 1721, he joined the pirates, to be eventually hanged in 1722. He made a moving speech from the gallows, "disclaiming against the gilded Bates of Power, Liberty, and Wealth that had ensnared him amongst the pirates," earnestly exhorting the spectators to remember his youth, and ending by declaring that "he stood there as a beacon upon a Rock" (the gallows standing on one) "to warn erring Marriners of Danger."

BURDER, William.

Mayor of Dover. It may seem strange to accuse the mayor of so important a seaport as Dover of being a pirate, but it is difficult to see how William Burder is to escape the accusation when we learn that in the year 1563 he captured 600 French vessels and a large number of neutral craft, which he plundered, and also no fewer than sixty-one Spanish ships, to the very natural annoyance of the King of Spain, whose country was at this time at peace with England.

BURGESS, Captain Samuel South.

Born and bred in New York, he was a man of good education, and began his career on a privateer in the West Indies. Later on he

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was sent by a Mr. Philips, owner and shipbuilder, to trade with the pirates in Madagascar. This business Burgess augmented with a little piracy on his own account, and after taking several prizes he returned to the West Indies, where he disposed of his loot. He then proceeded to New York, and, purposely wrecking his vessel at Sandy Hook, landed in the guise of an honest shipwrecked mariner.

Burgess settled down for a time to a well-earned rest, and married a relative of his employer, Mr. Philips.

Philips sent him on two further voyages, both of which were run on perfectly honest lines, and were most successful both to owner and captain. But a later voyage had an unhappy ending. After successfully trading with the pirates in Madagascar, Burgess was returning home, carrying several pirates as passengers, who were returning to settle in America, having made their fortunes. The ship was captured off the Cape of Good Hope by an East Indiaman, and taken to Madras. Here the captain and passengers were put in irons and sent to England to be tried. The case against Burgess fell through, and he was liberated. Instead of at once getting away, he loitered about [London](#) until one unlucky day he ran across an old pirate associate called Culliford, on whose evidence Burgess was again arrested, tried, and condemned to death, but pardoned at the last moment by the Queen, through the intercession of the Bishop of [London](#). After a while he procured the post of mate in the *Neptune*, a Scotch vessel, which was to go to Madagascar to trade liquors with the pirates who had their headquarters in that delectable island. On arrival at Madagascar a sudden hurricane swept down, dismasted the *Neptune*, and sank two pirate ships. The chief pirate, Halsey, as usual, proved himself a man of resource. Seeing that without a ship his activities were severely restricted, he promptly, with the help of his faithful and willing crew, seized the *Neptune*, this satisfactory state of affairs being largely facilitated by the knowledge that the mate, Burgess, was all ripe to go on the main chance once more. The first venture of this newly formed crew was most successful, as they seized a ship, the *Greyhound*, which lay in the bay, the owners of which had but the previous day bought – and paid for – a valuable loading of merchandise from the pirates. This was now taken back by the pirates, who, having refitted the *Neptune*, set forth seeking fresh adventures and prizes. The further history of Burgess is one of constant change and disappointment.

While serving under a Captain North, he was accused of betraying some of his associates, and was robbed of all his hard-earned savings. For several years after this he lived ashore at a place in Madagascar called Methalage, until captured by some Dutch rovers, who soon after were themselves taken by French pirates. Burgess, with his former Dutch captain, was put ashore at Johanna, where, under the former's expert knowledge, a ship was built and sailed successfully to Youngoul, where Burgess got a post as third mate on a ship bound to the West Indies. Before sailing, Burgess was sent, on account of his knowledge of the language, as ambassador to the local King. Burgess, unfortunately for himself, had in the past said some rather unkind things about this particular ruler, and the offended monarch, in revenge, gave Burgess some poisoned liquor to drink, which quickly brought to an end an active if chequered career.



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BURGESS, Captain Thomas.

One of the pirates of the Bahama Islands who surrendered to King George in 1718 and received the royal pardon. He was afterwards drowned at sea.

BURK, Captain.

An Irishman, who committed many piracies on the coast of Newfoundland. Drowned in the Atlantic during a hurricane in 1699.

CACHEMAR...E, Captain. French filibuster.

Commanded the *St. Joseph*, of six guns and a crew of seventy men. In 1684 had his headquarters at San Domingo.

CÆSAR.

A negro. One of Teach's crew hanged at Virginia in 1718. CÆsar, who was much liked and trusted by Blackbeard, had orders from him to blow up the *Queen Ann's Revenge* by dropping a lighted match into the powder magazine in case the ship was taken by Lieutenant Maynard. CÆsar attempted to carry out his instructions, but was prevented from doing so by two of the surrendered pirates.

CÆSAR, Captain.

One of Gasparilla's gang of pirates who hunted in the Gulf of Mexico. His headquarters were on Sanibel Island.

CALLES, Captain John, or Callis.

A notorious Elizabethan pirate, whose activities were concentrated on the coast of Wales.

We quote Captain John Smith, the founder of Virginia, who writes: "This Ancient pirate Callis, who most refreshed himselfe upon the Coast of Wales, who grew famous, till Queene Elizabeth of Blessed Memory, hanged him at Wapping."

Calles did not die on the gallows without an attempt at getting let off. He wrote a long and ingenious letter to Lord Walsyngham, bewailing his former wicked life and promising, if spared, to assist in ridding the coast of pirates by giving particulars of "their roads, haunts, creeks, and maintainers." One of the chief of these "maintainers," or receivers of stolen property, was Lord O'Sullivan, or the Sullivan Bere of Berehaven. In spite of a long and very plausible plea for pity, this "ancient and wicked pyrate" met his fate on the gibbet at Wapping.

CAMMOCK, William.

A seaman under Captain Bartholomew Sharp. He died at sea on December 14th, 1679, off the coast of Chile. "His disease was occasioned by a sunfit, gained by too much drinking on shore at La Serena; which produced in him a *celenture*, or malignant fever and a hiccough." He was buried at sea with the usual honours of "three French vollies."

CANDOR, Ralph.

Tried for piracy with the rest of Captain Lowther's crew at St. Kitts in March, 1723, and acquitted.

CANNIS, *alias* Cannis Marcy.



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A Dutch pirate who acted as interpreter to Captain Bartholomew Sharp's South Sea Expedition. Captain Cox and Basil Ringmore took him with them after the sacking of Hilo in 1679, to come to terms with the Spanish cavalry over the ransoming of a sugar mill. On Friday, May 27th, 1680, while ashore with a watering party in the Gulf of Nicoya, the interpreter, having had, no doubt, his fill of buccaneering, ran away.

CARACCIOLI, Signor, *alias* D'Aubigny.

An Italian renegade priest, who became an atheist, Socialist, and revolutionist, and was living at Naples when Captain Fourbin arrived there in the French man-of-war *Victoire*.

Caraccioli met and made great friends with a young French apprentice in the ship, called *Misson*, and a place was found for him on board. The ex-priest proved himself to be a brave man in several engagements with the Moors and with an English warship, and was quickly promoted to be a petty officer.

Caraccioli, by his eloquence, soon converted most of the crew to believe in his theories, and when Captain Fourbin was killed in an action off Martinique with an English ship, *Misson* took command and appointed the Italian to be his Lieutenant, and continued to fight the English ship to a finish. The victorious crew then elected *Misson* to be their captain, and decided to "bid defiance to all nations" and to settle on some out-of-the-way island. Capturing another English ship off the Cape of Good Hope, Caraccioli was put in command of her, and the whole of the English crew voluntarily joined the pirates, and sailed to Madagascar. Here they settled, and the Italian married the daughter of a black Island King; an ideal republic was formed, and our hero was appointed Secretary of State.

Eventually Caraccioli died fighting during a sudden attack made on the settlement by a neighbouring tribe.

CARMAN, Thomas.

Of Maidstone in Kent. Hanged at [Charleston](#) in 1718 with the rest of Major Bonnet's crew.

CARNES, John.

One of Blackbeard's crew. Hanged at Virginia in 1718.

CARR, John.

A Massachusetts pirate, one of Hore's crew, who was hiding in [Rhode Island](#) in 1699.

CARTER, Dennis.

Tried for piracy in June, 1704, at the Star Tavern in [Boston](#). One of John Quelch's crew.

CARTER, John.

Captured by Major Sewall in the *Larimore* galley, and brought into Salem. One of Captain Quelch's crew. Tried at [Boston](#) in 1704.

CASTILLO.

A Columbian sailor in the schooner *Panda*. Hanged for piracy at [Boston](#) on June 11th, 1835.



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La CATA.

A most blood-thirsty pirate and one of the last of the West Indian gangs.

In 1824, when La Cata was cruising off the Isle of Pines, his ship was attacked by an English cutter only half his size. After a furious fight the cutter was victorious, and returned in triumph to [Jamaica](#) with the three survivors of the pirates as prisoners. One of these was found out at the trial to be La Cata himself. Hanged at Kingston, [Jamaica](#).

CHANDLER, Henry, *alias* Rammetham Rise.

Born in Devonshire, his father kept a chandler's shop in Southwark. An English *renegado* at Algiers, who had turned Mohammedan and had become an overseer in the pirates' shipyards. He was a man of some authority amongst the Moors, and in 1621 he appointed a slave called Goodale to become master of one of the pirate ships, the *Exchange*, in which one Rawlins also sailed. Owing to the courage and ingenuity of the latter, the European slaves afterwards seized the ship and brought her into Plymouth; Chandler being thrown into gaol and afterwards hanged.

CHEESMAN, Edward.

Taken prisoner out of the *Dolphin*, on the Banks of Newfoundland, by the Pirate Phillips in 1724. With the help of a fisherman called Fillmore, he killed Phillips and ten other pirates and brought the ship into [Boston](#) Harbour.

CHEVALLE, Daniel.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew. Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704.

CHILD, Thomas.

In the year 1723, at the age of 15, he was tried for piracy at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#). This child must have seen scores of cold-blooded murders committed while he sailed with Low and Harris. Found to be not guilty.

CHRISTIAN, Captain.

In 1702 the town of Tolu was sacked by Captain Brown of the *Blessing*. Brown was killed, and Christian was elected to be captain in his stead. Davis tells us that "Christian was an old experienced soldier and privateer, very brave and just in all his actions." He had lived for a long while amongst the Darien Indians, with whom he was on very friendly terms.

CHULY, Daniel.

Tried for piracy at [Boston](#), Massachusetts, in 1706.

CHURCH, Charles.

Of St. Margaret's, Westminster. One of Captain Charles Harris's crew. Hanged on July 19th, 1723 at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#).

CHURCH, Edward.

In 1830 he served in the brig *Vineyard*, from New Orleans to Philadelphia. Took part in the mutiny which was planned by the notorious pirate Charles Gibbs.

CHURCH, William.

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Of the *Gertruycht* of Holland. At the trial at West Africa in 1722 of the crew of Bartholomew Roberts's, four of the prisoners – W. Church, Phil. Haak, James White, and Nicholas Brattle – were proved to have "served as Musick on board the *Royal Fortune*, being taken out of several merchant ships, having had an uneasy life of it, having sometimes their Fiddles, and often their Heads broke, only for excusing themselves, as saying they were tired, when any Fellow took it in his Head to demand a Tune." Acquitted.

CHURCHILL, John.

One of Captain George Lowther's crew. Captured by the *Eagle* sloop at the Island of Blanco, not far from Tortuga. Hanged on March 11th, 1722, at St. Kitts.

CLARKE, Jonathan.

Of [Charleston](#), South Carolina. One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Tried for piracy at [Charleston](#) in 1718, and found to be not guilty.

CLARKE, Richard, *alias* Jafar.

A renegade English sailor, who turned "Turk" – that is, became a Mohammedan – and was appointed chief gunner on one of the Barbary pirate ships. Captured in the *Exchange*, and brought into Plymouth in 1622. He was hanged.

CLARKE, Robert.

Governor of New Providence, Bahama Islands. Instead of trying to stamp out the pirates, he did all he could to encourage them, by granting letters of marque to such men as Coxon, to go privateering, these letters being quite illegal. The proprietors of the Bahama Islands turned Clarke out and appointed in his place Robert Lilburne in 1682.

CLIFFORD, John.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew; tried at the Star Tavern at [Boston](#) in 1704 for piracy. All the accused pleaded "Not guilty" except Clifford and two others who turned Queen's evidence.

CLINTON, Captain.

One of the notorious sixteenth century pirates "who grew famous until Queene Elizabeth of blessed memory, hanged them at Wapping."

COBHAM, Captain.

Of Poole in Dorsetshire. At the age of 18 he took to smuggling. His biographer tells us that even at this comparatively early age Cobham "was cautious and prudent, and though he intrigued with the ladies, he managed to keep it secret." Cobham was very successful as a smuggler, on one occasion landing a cargo of ten thousand gallons of brandy at Poole. But a little later on his vessel was captured by a King's cutter. This annoyed the young captain, and he bought a cutter at Bridport, mounted fourteen guns in her, and turned pirate. Out of his very first prize, an Indiaman, which he boarded off the Mersey, he took a sum of £40,000, and then scuttled the ship and drowned the crew.

Cobham, calling in at Plymouth, met a damsel called Maria, whom he took on board with him, which at first caused some murmuring

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amongst his crew, who were jealous because they themselves were not able to take lady companions with them on their voyages, for, as the same biographer sagely remarks, "where a man is married the case is altered, no man envies him his happiness; but where he only keeps a girl, every man says, 'I have as much right to one as he has.'" Nevertheless, Maria proved herself a great success, for when any member of the crew was to be punished Maria would use her influence with the captain to get him excused or his punishment lessened, thus winning the affection of all on board. The English Channel becoming too dangerous for Cobham, he sailed across the Atlantic and lay in wait for vessels between Cape Breton and Prince Edward Isle, and took several prizes. In one of these he placed all the crew in sacks and threw them into the sea. Maria, too, took her part in these affairs, and once stabbed to the heart, with her own little dirk, the captain of a Liverpool brig, the *Lion*, and on another occasion, to indulge her whim, a captain and his two mates were tied up to the windlass while Maria shot them with her pistol. Maria always wore naval uniform, both at sea and when in port; in fact, she entered thoroughly into the spirit of the enterprise.

Cobham now wished to retire from the sea, but Maria urged him to further efforts, as she had set her heart on his buying her a beautiful place in England called Mapleton Hall, near Poole.

Maria's last act at sea was to poison the whole crew of an Indiaman, who were prisoners in irons aboard the pirate ship.

Cobham having made a vast fortune, at last decided to settle down, and he bought a large estate near Havre from the Duc de Chartres. It was on the coast, and had a snug little harbour of its own, where the retired pirate kept a small pleasure yacht in which he and Maria used to go for fishing expeditions. One day, when they were out on one of these picnics, a West India brig lay becalmed near by, and Cobham and his crew went on board to visit the captain of the merchant ship. But the temptation proved too strong, and Cobham suddenly shooting the captain, Maria and the yacht's crew quickly despatched the rest. Carrying the prize to Bordeaux, he sold her for a good price. This was Cobham's last act of piracy, and soon afterwards he was made a magistrate, and presided at the county courts. Maria, it was thought, possibly owing to remorse, poisoned herself with laudanum and died. Cobham lived to a good old age, and eventually passed away, leaving many descendants, who, a hundred years ago, "were moving in the first grade at Havre."

COBHAM, Mrs. Maria.

A bloodthirsty and ambitious woman pirate, the wife of Captain Cobham, late of Poole in Dorset.

COCKLYN, Captain Thomas.

In 1717 was in the Bahama Islands when Woodes Rogers arrived at New Providence Island with King George's offer of pardon to those pirates who came in and surrendered themselves. Cocklyn, like many others, after surrendering, fell again into their wicked ways, and ended by being hanged. Only a year after receiving the royal pardon we hear of him being in company with Davis and La Bouse and several other notorious pirates at Sierra Leone, when he was in command of a tall ship of twenty-four guns.



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Cocklyn ended his life on the gallows.

COFRECINA, Captain.

A notorious Spanish-American pirate who was very troublesome in the South Atlantic in the early part of the last century. Eventually captured by Midshipman Hull Foot of the U.S. Navy in March, 1825, at St. Thomas Isle. Executed in Porto Rico by the terrible Spanish method of the garotte.

COLE, Captain John.

Commander of the *Eagle*, alias the *New York Revenge's Revenge*. Tried, condemned, and hanged in 1718 at [Charleston](#). His was a brilliant career while it lasted, but was cut short after a brief and meteoric spell.

COLE, Samuel.

One of Captain Fly's crew. Tried and condemned for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1726. On the way to the gallows the culprits were taken to church, where they had to listen to a long sermon from Dr. Colman, bringing home to the wretched creatures their dreadful sins and their awful future.

COLLIER, Captain Edward.

Commanded the *Oxford*, a King's ship, which was sent from England to [Jamaica](#) at the earnest request of Governor Modyford, for a "nimble frigate," to help keep control over the increasingly turbulent buccaneers. Collier's first act was to seize a French man-of-war, a privateer called the *Cour Volent*, of La Rochelle, commanded by M. la Vivon, his excuse being that the Frenchmen had robbed an English vessel of provisions. Collier was appointed to be Morgan's Vice-Admiral, and a few days later the *Oxford* was blown up accidentally while a conference of buccaneer captains was taking place.

In 1670, with six ships and 400 men, the buccaneers sailed for the Spanish Main and sacked the city of Rio de la Hacha. Collier led the left wing in the famous and successful attack on Panama City with the rank of colonel.

Richard Brown reports that Collier could on occasions be very cruel, and that he even executed a Spanish friar on the battlefield after quarter had been given to the vanquished. On their return to the coast after the sacking of Panama, Collier was accused, with Morgan and the other commanders, of having cheated the seamen of their fair share of the plunder, and of deserting them, and then sailing off in the ships with the supplies of food as well as the plunder.

COLLINS, Thomas.

This Madagascar pirate was a carpenter by trade, who had by 1716 retired from the sea and lived in splendour in that island. Collins was made Governor of the pirate colony, and built a small fort for its defence, which the pirates armed with the guns taken out of their ship, which had by long use grown old and crazy, and was of no further use to them.

COMRY, Adam.

Surgeon to the ship *Elizabeth*, taken by Captain Bartholomew Roberts's squadron. Gave evidence at the trial of George Wilson



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and another sea-surgeon, Scudamore, that the former had borrowed from Comry a "clean shirt and drawers, for his better appearance and reception." When visiting Captain Bartholomew Roberts's ship, Comry was forced to serve as surgeon on board one of Roberts's vessels.

CONDENT, Captain, also Congdon or Conden.

Born at Plymouth in Devonshire. Condent was quartermaster in a New York sloop, at the Island of New Providence, when Governor Woodes Rogers arrived there in 1718. The captain of the sloop seems to have thought best to leave rather than wait to welcome the new Governor. When only a few days out, one of the crew, an Indian, who had been cruelly treated, attempted, in revenge, to blow up the ship. This was prevented by Condent, who with great courage leapt into the hold and shot the Indian, but not before the latter had fired at him and broken his arm. The crew, to show the relief they felt at being saved from a sudden death, hacked to pieces the body of the Indian, while the gunner, ripping open the dead man's belly, tore out his heart, which he boiled and ate.

Turning their attention from cannibalism to piracy, the pirates took a prize, the *Duke of York*, but disputes arising, the captain and part of the crew sailed in the prize, while Condent was elected captain of the sloop, and headed across the Atlantic for the Cape Verde Islands, where he found the salt fleet, of twenty small vessels, lying at anchor off the Island of Mayo, all of which he took. Sailing next to the Island of St. Jago, he took a Dutch ship. This proving a better ship than the sloop, Condent transferred himself and crew into her, and named her the *Flying Dragon*, presenting the sloop to the mate of an English prize, who he had forced to go with him. From thence Condent sailed away for the coast of Brazil, taking several Portuguese ships which, after plundering, he let go. After cleaning the *Flying Dragon* on Ferdinando Island, the pirates took several more prizes, and then one day met with a Portuguese man-of-war of seventy guns. Coming up with her, the Portuguese hailed the pirates, and they answered "from [London](#) bound for Buenos Ayres." The man-of-war, to pay a compliment to the ship of her English ally, manned the shrouds and cheered him, and while this amicable demonstration of marine brotherly feeling was taking place, Captain Condent came up alongside and suddenly fired a broadside and a volley of small arms into the man-of-war, and a smart engagement followed, in which the pirates were worsted, and were lucky to escape.

Sailing away round the Cape of Good Hope, Condent arrived at the pirate stronghold at the Island of Johanna, where he took on board some of Captain Halsey's crew, and, reinforced by these skilled masters in the craft of piracy, took several rich East Indiamen off the Malabar coast.

Calling in at the Isle of St. Mary, one of the Mascerenas group, he met with another Portuguese ship of seventy guns, which he was fortunate enough to make a prize of. In this ship they found amongst the passengers the Viceroy of Goa. Carrying this rich prize to Zanzibar, they plundered her of a large amount of money.

Having now gathered a vast fortune, they thought it time to give up piracy, so they returned to the Island of St. Mary, where



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they made a share of their plunder, and the company broke up, many of them settling down amongst the natives. Captain Condent and some others sent from here a petition to the Governor of Mauritius asking for a pardon, and received answer that he would take them into his protection if they would destroy their ships. Having done this, they sailed to Mauritius, where they settled down, and Captain Condent married the Governor's sister-in-law.

A few years later the captain and his wife left the island and sailed to France, settling at St. Malo, where Condent drove a considerable trade as a merchant.

COOK, Captain Edward, or Edmund.

Was on the Pacific coast with Captains Sharp and Sawkins, 1680. Being unable to keep order amongst his unruly crew, he resigned his ship and command to Captain John Cox, a New Englander. He commanded a barque in the successful sacking of Porto Bello in the same year in company with Sharp, Coxon, and others.

On land engagements his flag was a red one striped with yellow, on which was a device of a hand and sword.

COOK, George, *alias* Ramedam.

An English renegade amongst the Barbary pirates of Algiers. Was gunner's mate when captured in the *Exchange* in 1622. Brought to Plymouth and hanged.

COOK, William.

Servant to Captain Edmund Cook, and was found, on being searched, to have on him a paper with the names of all his fellow pirates written on it, and was suspected of having prepared it to give to some of the Spanish prisoners. For this, Captain Walters put him in irons on January 7th, 1681.

He died on board ship on Monday, February 14th, 1681, off the coast of Chile.

COOKE, Captain John.

This buccaneer was born in the Island of St. Christopher. "A brisk, bold man," he was promoted to the rank of quartermaster by Captain Yankey. On taking a Spanish ship, Cooke claimed the command of her, which he was entitled to, and would have gone in her with an English crew had not the French members of the crew, through jealousy, sacked the ship and marooned the Englishmen on the Island of Avache. Cooke and his men were rescued by another French buccaneer, Captain Tristram, and taken to the Island of Dominica. Here the English managed to get away with the ship, leaving Tristram and his Frenchmen behind on land. Cooke, now with a ship of his own, took two French ships loaded with wine. With this valuable cargo he steered northward, and reached Virginia in April, 1683. He had no difficulty in selling his wine for a good price to the New Englanders, and with the profits prepared for a long voyage in his ship, the *Revenge*. He took on board with him several famous buccaneers, including Dampier and Cowley, the latter as sailing master. They first sailed to Sierra Leone, then round the Horn to the Island of Juan Fernandez. Here Cooke was taken ill. His next stop was at the Galapagos Islands. Eventually Cooke died a mile or two off the coast of Cape Blanco in Mexico. His body was rowed ashore to be buried, accompanied by an armed guard of twelve seamen.



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While his grave was being dug three Spanish Indians came up, and asked so many questions as to rouse the suspicions of the pirates, who seized them as spies, but one escaping, he raised the whole countryside.

COOPER, Captain.

Commanded a pirate sloop, the *Night Rambler*. On November 14th, 1725, he took the *Perry* galley (Captain King, commander), three days out from [Barbadoes](#), and the following day a French sloop, and carried both prizes to a small island called Aruba, near CuraÁao, where they plundered them and divided the spoil amongst the crew. The crews of the two prizes were kept on the island by Cooper for seventeen days, and would have starved if the pirate's doctor had not taken compassion on them and procured them food.

Upton, boatswain in the *Perry*, joined the pirates, and was afterwards tried and hanged in England.

COOPER, Captain.

On October 19th, 1663, he brought into Port Royal, [Jamaica](#), two Spanish prizes, one the *Maria of Seville*, a royal azogue carrying 1,000 quintals of quicksilver for the King of Spain's mines in Mexico, besides oil, wine, and olives. Also a number of prisoners were taken, including several friars on their way to Campeachy and Vera Cruz. The buccaneers always rejoiced at capturing a priest or a friar, and these holy men generally experienced very rough treatment at the hands of the pirates.

Cooper's ship was a frigate of ten guns, and a crew of eighty men.

CORBET, Captain.

Sailed with Captain Heidon from Bantry Bay in the *John of Sandwich* in 1564 to search for a good prize in which he might go a-pirating on his own account. The ship was wrecked on the Island of Alderney, and all the crew arrested. Corbett and several others escaped in a small boat.

CORNELIUS, Captain.

A contemporary of Howard Burgess North and other Madagascar pirates.

de COSSEY, Stephen James.

With three other pirates was tried and convicted in June, 1717, before the Vice-Admiralty Court at [Charleston](#). The President of the Court was Judge Trot, a terror to all pirates, as he never failed to hang a guilty one. De Cossey and the other prisoners were found guilty of piratically taking the vessels *Turtle Dove*, *Penelope*, and the *Virgin Queen*.

COWARD, William.

In November, 1689, with three men and a boy he rowed out to the ketch *Elinor* (William Shortrigs, master), lying at anchor in [Boston](#) Harbour, and seized the vessel and took her to Cape Cod. The crew of the ketch could make no resistance as they were all down with the smallpox. The pirates were caught and locked up in the new stone gaol in [Boston](#). Hanged on January 27th, 1690.

COWLEY, Captain C.



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M.A. Cantab.

A man of high intelligence and an able navigator. In the year 1683 he sailed from Achamach or Cape Charles in Virginia for Dominica as sailing master of a privateer, the *Revenge* (eight guns and fifty-two men), in company with Dampier and Captain John Cooke. As soon as they were away from the land, they turned buccaneers or pirates, and sailed to Sierra Leone in West Africa. Thence to the coast of Brazil, round the Horn, where Cowley mentions that owing to the intense cold weather the crew were able, each man, to drink three quarts of burnt brandy a day without becoming drunk.

On February 14th the buccaneers were abreast of Cape Horn, and in his diary Cowley writes: "We were choosing valentines and discoursing on the Intrigues of Woman, when there arose a prodigious storm," which lasted till the end of the month, driving them farther south than any ship had ever been before; "so that we concluded the discoursing of Women at sea was very unlucky and occasioned the storm." Cowley, who was addicted to giving new names to islands, not only named one Pepys Island, but when he arrived at the Galapagos Islands, he rechristened them most thoroughly, naming one King Charles Island, while others he named after the Dukes of York, Norfolk, and Albemarle, and Sir John Narborough. Feeling, no doubt, that he had done enough to honour the great, and perhaps to have insured himself against any future trouble with the authorities when he returned home, he named one small island "Cowley's Enchanted Isle."

The Earl of Alington, Lord Culpepper, Lord Wenman, all had islands in this group christened with their names and titles.

In September, 1684, Cowley, now in the *Nicholas*, separated from Davis, and sailed from Ampalla for San Francisco, and then started west to cross the Pacific Ocean. On March 14th, 1685, at seven o'clock in the morning, after a voyage of 7,646 miles, land was at last seen, which proved to be the Island of Guan.

The Spanish Governor was most friendly to the visitors, and when complaint was made to him that the buccaneers had killed some of his Indian subjects he "gave us a Toleration to kill them all if we would." Presents were exchanged, Cowley giving the Governor a valuable diamond ring, one, no doubt, taken off the hand of some other loyal subject of the King of Spain. Here the pirates committed several atrocious cruelties on the Indians, who wished to be friends with the foreigners.

In April they arrived at Canton to refit, and while there, thirteen Tartar ships arrived laden with Chinese merchandise, chiefly valuable silks. Cowley wanted to attack and plunder them, but his crew refused to do so, saying "they came for gold and silver, and not to be made pedlars, to carry packs on their backs," to Cowley's disgust, for he complains, "had Reason but ruled them, we might all have made our Fortunes and have done no Christian Prince nor their subjects any harm at all." Thence they sailed to Borneo, the animals and birds of which island Cowley describes. Sailing next to Timor, the crew mutinied, and Cowley and eighteen others bought a boat and sailed in her to Java, some 300 leagues. Here they heard of the death of King Charles II., which caused Cowley to get out his map of the Galapagos Islands, and to change the name of Duke of York Island



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to King James Island. At Batavia Cowley procured a passage in a Dutch ship to Cape Town. In June, 1686, he sailed for Holland after much health drinking and salutes of 300 guns, arriving in that country in September, and reaching [London](#), "through the infinite Mercy of God," on October 12th, 1686.

COX, Captain John. Buccaneer.

Born in New England, and considered by some of his fellow buccaneers "to have forced kindred upon Captain Sharp" – the leader of the fleet – "out of old acquaintance, only to advance himself." Thus he was made Vice-Admiral to Captain Sharp, in place of Captain Cook, whose crew had mutinied and refused to sail any longer under his command. Cox began his captaincy by getting lost, but after a fortnight rejoined the fleet off the Island of Plate, on the coast of Peru, "to the great joy of us all." This island received its name from the fact that Sir Francis Drake had here made a division of his spoils, distributing to each man of his company sixteen bowlfuls of doubloons and pieces of eight. The buccaneers rechristened it Drake's Island.

Cox took part in the attack on the town of Hilo in October, 1679, sacked the town and burnt down the large sugar factory outside. He led a mutiny against his relative and benefactor, Captain Sharp, on New Year's Day, 1681, being the "main promoter of their design" to turn him out. Sharp afterwards described his old friend as a "true-hearted dissembling New-England Man," who he had promoted captain "merely for old acquaintance-sake."

COXON, Captain John. Buccaneer.

One of the most famous of the "Brethren of the Coast." In the spring of 1677, in company of other English buccaneers, he surprised and plundered the town of Santa Marta on the Spanish Main, carrying away the Governor and the Bishop to [Jamaica](#).

In 1679 Coxon, with Sharp and others, was fitting out an expedition in [Jamaica](#) to make a raid in the Gulf of Honduras, which proved very successful, as they brought back 500 chests of indigo, besides cocoa, cochineal, tortoiseshell, money, and plate.

Coxon was soon out again upon a much bolder design, for in December, 1679, he met Sharp, Essex, Allinson, Row, and other buccaneer chiefs at Point Morant, and in January set sail for Porto Bello. Landing some twenty leagues from the town, they marched for four days, arriving in sight of the town on February 17th, "many of them being weak, being three days without any food, and their feet cut with the rocks for want of shoes." They quickly took and plundered the town, hurrying off with their spoils before the arrival of strong Spanish reinforcements. The share of each man in this enterprise came to one hundred pieces of eight. A warrant was issued by Lord Carlisle, the Governor of [Jamaica](#), for the apprehension of Coxon for plundering Porto Bello, and another was issued soon after by Morgan, when acting as Governor, but nothing seems to have resulted from these. Sailing north to Boca del Toro, they careened their ships, and were joined by Sawkins and Harris. From this place the buccaneers began, in April, 1680, to land and cross the Isthmus of Darien, taking the town of Santa Maria on the way. Quarrels took place between Coxon, who was, no doubt, a hot-tempered man,



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and Harris, which led to blows. Coxon was also jealous of the popular young Captain Sawkins, and refused to go further unless he was allowed to lead one of the companies. After sacking the town of Santa Maria, the adventurers proceeded in canoes down the river to the Pacific. Seizing two small vessels they found there, and accompanied by a flotilla of canoes, they steered for Panama, and, with the utmost daring, attacked, and eventually took, the Spanish fleet of men-of-war – one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of the buccaneers.

Coxon now quarrelled again with his brother leaders, and began a march back across the isthmus; his party of seventy malcontents including Dampier and Wafer, who each published accounts of their journey. By 1682 Coxon seems to have so ingratiated himself with the Jamaican authorities as to be sent in quest of a troublesome French pirate, Jean Hamlin, who was playing havoc with the English shipping in his vessel, *La Trompeuse*.

Later in the same year Coxon procured letters of marque from Robert Clarke, the Governor of New Providence Island, himself nothing better than a pirate, to go cruising as a "privateer." Coxon was continually being arrested and tried for piracy, but each time he managed to escape the gallows. We do not know the name of the ship Coxon commanded at this date, but it was a vessel of eighty tons, armed with eight guns, and carrying a crew of ninety-seven men.

COYLE, Captain Richard.

Born at Exeter in Devonshire. An honest seafaring man until, when sailing as mate with Captain Benjamin Hartley, they arrived at Ancona with a cargo of pilchards. Here the captain took on board a new carpenter, called Richardson, who soon became a close friend of the mate's. These two brought about a mutiny, attacked the captain, and threw him, still alive, over the side to drown. Coyle was elected captain, and they sailed as pirates, in which capacity they were a disgrace to an ancient calling. After a visit to Minorca, which ended with ignominy, they sailed to Tunis, where Coyle told such a plausible yarn as to deceive the Governor into believing that he had been the master of a vessel lost in a storm off the coast of Sardinia. The pirates were supplied with money by the British Consul in Tunis; but Coyle, while in his cups, talked too freely, so that the true story of his doings got to the Consul's ears, who had him arrested and sent to [London](#) to be lodged in the Marshalsea Prison. Tried at the Old Bailey, he was sentenced to death, and was hanged at Execution Dock on January 25th, 1738.

CRACKERS, Captain.

A retired pirate who settled at Sierra Leone, and was living there in 1721. He had been famous in his day, having robbed and plundered many a ship. He owned the best house in the settlement, and was distinguished by having three cannons placed before his door, which he was accustomed to fire salutes from whenever a pirate ship arrived or left the port. He was the soul of hospitality and good fellowship, and kept open-house for all pirates, buccaneers, and privateersmen.

CRISS, Captain John, *alias* "Jack the Bachelor."



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A native of Lorne in the North of Ireland. His father was a fisherman, and little Jack used to go out with him, and then help him sell his fish at Londonderry. The lad grew up into a bold and handsome young fellow, "and many a girl cocked cap at him and he had great success amongst the ladies, and intrigued with every woman that gave him any encouragement."

Tiring of the monotony and low profits of a fisherman's calling, Jack turned smuggler, carrying cargoes of contraband goods from Guernsey to Ireland. Making a tidy sum at this, he bought himself a French galliot, and sailing from Cork, he began to take vessels off the coast of France, selling them at Cherbourg. The young pirate took no risks of information leaking out, for he drowned all his prisoners. Cruising in the Mediterranean, Criss met with his usual success, and, not content with taking ships, he plundered the seaport of Amalfi on the coast of Calabria. Calling at Naples, Criss put up at the Ferdinand Hotel, where one morning he was found dead in his bed. It was discovered afterwards that, in spite of his nickname, he was married to three wives.

CULLEN, Andrew.

Of Cork in Ireland. Brother of Pierce Cullen. One of the crew of Captain Roche's ship. After the crew had mutinied and turned pirate he posed as the supercargo.

CULLEN, Pierce.

Of Cork in Ireland. One of Captain Philip Roche's gang.

CULLIFORD, Captain, of the Mocha.

A Madagascar pirate. Little is known of him except that one day in the streets of [London](#) he recognized and denounced another pirate called Burgess.

CUMBERLAND, George, Third Earl of, 1558-1605.

M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. After taking his degree at Cambridge he migrated to Oxford for the purpose of studying geography.

So many books have been written about this picturesque and daring adventurer that it is not necessary to do more than mention his name here, as being perhaps the finest example of a buccaneer that ever sacked a Spanish town.

He led twelve voyages to the Spanish Main, fitting them out at his own expense, and encountering the same dangers and hardships as his meanest seaman.

He married in 1577 at the age of nineteen, and sailed on his first voyage in 1586. Cumberland was greatly esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, and always wore in his hat a glove which she had given him.

There is sufficient evidence to show that the Earl was not prompted to spend his life and fortune on buccaneering voyages merely by greed of plunder, but was chiefly inspired by intense love of his country, loyalty to his Queen, and bitter hatred of the Spaniards.

CUNNINGHAM, Captain William.

Had his headquarters at New Providence Island, in the Bahamas.



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Refused the royal offer of pardon to the pirates in 1717, and was later caught and hanged.

CUNNINGHAM, Patrick.

Found guilty at [Newport](#) in 1723, but reprieved.

CURTICE, Joseph.

One of Captain Teach's crew in the *Queen Ann's Revenge*. Killed on November 22nd, 1718, off the coast of North Carolina.

DAMPIER, Captain William. Buccaneer, explorer, and naturalist.

Born at East Coker in the year 1652.

Brought up at first to be a shopkeeper, a life he detested, he was in 1669 apprenticed to a ship belonging to Weymouth, and his first voyage was to France. In the same year he sailed to Newfoundland, but finding the bitter cold unbearable, he returned to England. His next voyage, which he called "a warm one," was to the East Indies, in the *John and Martha*, and suited him better.

Many books have been written recounting the voyages of Dampier, but none of these are better reading than his own narrative, published by James and John Knapton in [London](#). This popular book ran into many editions, the best being the fourth, published in 1729, in four volumes. These volumes are profusely illustrated by maps and rough charts, and also with crude cuts, which are intended to portray the more interesting and strange animals, birds, fishes, and insects met with in his voyages round the globe.

In 1673 Dampier enlisted as a seaman in the *Royal Prince*, commanded by the famous Sir Edward Spragge, and fought in the Dutch war.

A year later he sailed to [Jamaica](#) in the *Content*, to take up a post as manager of a plantation belonging to a Colonel Hellier. His restless spirit soon revolted against this humdrum life on a plantation, and Dampier again went to sea, sailing in a small trading vessel amongst the islands.

Dampier's first step towards buccaneering was taken when he shipped himself on a small ketch which was sailing from Port Royal to load logwood at the Bay of Campeachy. This was an illegal business, as the Spanish Government claimed the ownership of all that coast, and did their best to prevent the trade. Dampier found some 250 Englishmen engaged in cutting the wood, which they exchanged for rum. Most of these men were buccaneers or privateers, who made a living in this way when out of a job afloat. When a ship came into the coast, these men would think nothing of coming aboard and spending thirty and forty pounds on rum and punch at a single drinking bout.

Dampier returned afterwards to take up logwood cutting himself, but met with little success, and went off to Beef Island. He had by this time begun to take down notes of all that appeared to him of interest, particularly objects of natural history. For example, he described, in his own quaint style, an animal he found in this island.

"The Squash is a four-footed Beast, bigger than a Cat. Its Head is much like a Foxes, with short Ears and a long Nose. It has



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pretty short Legs and sharp Claws, by which it will run up trees like a Cat. The flesh is good, sweet, wholesome Meat. We commonly skin and roast it; and then we call it pig; and I think it eats as well. It feeds on nothing but good Fruit; therefore we find them most among the Sapadillo-Trees. This Creature never rambles very far, and being taken young, will become as tame as a Dog, and be as roguish as a Monkey."

Dampier's first act of actual piracy was when he joined in an attack on the Spanish fort of Alvarado, but although the fort was taken, the townspeople had time to escape with all their valuables before the pirates could reach them. Returning to England in 1678, he did not remain long at home, for in the beginning of 1679 he sailed for [Jamaica](#) in a vessel named the *Loyal Merchant*. Shortly after reaching the West Indies, he chanced to meet with several well-known buccaneers, including Captains Coxon, Sawkins, and Sharp. Joining with these, he sailed on March 25th, 1679, for the Province of Darien, "to pillage and plunder these parts." Dampier says strangely little about his adventures for the next two years, but a full description of them is given by Ringrose in his "Dangerous Voyage and Bold Adventures of Captain Sharp and Others in the South Sea," published as an addition to the "History of the Buccaneers of America" in 1684.

This narrative tells how the buccaneers crossed the isthmus and attacked and defeated the Spanish Fleet off Panama City. After the death of their leader, Sawkins, the party split up, and Dampier followed Captain Sharp on his "dangerous and bold voyage" in May, 1680.

In April, 1681, after various adventures up and down the coast of Peru and Chile, further quarrels arose amongst the buccaneers, and a party of malcontents, of which number Dampier was one, went off on their own account in a launch and two canoes from the Island of Plate, made famous by Drake, and landed on the mainland near Cape San Lorenzo. The march across the Isthmus of Darien has been amusingly recounted by the surgeon of the party, Lionel Wafer, in his book entitled "A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America," published in [London](#) in 1699.



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A PAGE FROM THE LOG-BOOK OF CAPTAIN DAMPIER.

On reaching the Atlantic, Dampier found some buccaneer ships and joined them, arriving at Virginia in July, 1682. In this country he resided for a year, but tells little about it beyond hinting that great troubles befell him. In April, 1683, he joined a privateer vessel, the *Revenge*, but directly she was out of sight of land the crew turned pirates, which had been their intention all along. Two good narratives have been written of this voyage, one by Dampier, and the other by Cowley, the sailing-master. This venture ended in the famous circumnavigation of the world, and Dampier described every object of interest he met with, including the country and natives of the north coast of Australia, which had never been visited before by Europeans. Dampier must have found it very difficult to keep his journal so carefully and regularly, particularly in his early voyages, when he was merely a seaman before the mast or a petty officer. He tells us that he carried about with him a long piece of hollow bamboo, in which he placed his manuscript for safe keeping, waxing the ends to keep out the sea water.

After almost endless adventures and hardships, he arrived back in England in September, 1691, after a voyage of eight years, and an absence from England of twelve, without a penny piece in his pocket, nor any other property except his unfortunate friend Prince Jeoly, whom he sold on his arrival in the Thames, to supply his own immediate wants. Dampier's next voyage was in the year 1699, when he was appointed to command H.M.S. *Roebuck*, of twelve guns and a crew of fifty men and boys, and victualled for twenty months' cruise. The object of this voyage was to explore and map the new continent to the south of the East Indies which Dampier had discovered on his previous voyage. Had he in this next voyage taken the westward course, as he originally intended, and sailed to Australia round the Horn, it is possible that Dampier would have made many of the discoveries for which James Cook afterwards became so famous, and by striking the east coast of Australia would very likely have antedated the civilisation of that continent by fifty years. But he was persuaded, partly by his timid crew, and perhaps in some measure by his own dislike of cold temperatures, to sail by the eastward route and to double the Cape of Good Hope. The story of this voyage is given by Dampier in his book, published in 1709, "A Voyage to New Holland, etc., in the Year 1699."

After spending some unprofitable weeks on the north coast of Australia, failing to find water or to make friends with the aboriginals, scurvy broke out amongst his somewhat mutinous crew, and he sailed to New Guinea, the coast of which he saw on New Year's Day, 1700.

By this time the *Roebuck* was falling to pieces, her wood rotten, her hull covered with barnacles. Eventually, using the pumps day and night, they arrived, on February 21st, 1701, at Ascension Island, where the old ship sank at her anchors. Getting ashore with their belongings, they waited on this desolate island until April 3rd, when four ships arrived, three of them English men-of-war.



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I was told, only the other day, by a friend who lives in the Island of St. Helena, and whose duties take him at least once each year to Ascension Island, that a story still survives amongst the inhabitants of these islands that there is hidden somewhere in the sandhills a treasure, which Dampier is believed to have put there for safe keeping, but for some reason never removed. But poor Dampier never came by a treasure in this or any other of his voyages, and though the legend is a pleasant one, it is a legend and nothing more. Dampier went on board one of the men-of-war, the *Anglesea*, with thirty-five of his crew. Taken to [Barbadoes](#), he there procured a berth in another vessel, the *Canterbury*, in which he sailed to England.

Dampier had now made so great a name for himself by his two voyages round the globe that he was granted a commission by Prince George of Denmark to sail as a privateer in the *St. George*, to prey on French and Spanish ships, the terms being: "No purchase, no pay." Sailing as his consort was the *Cinque Ports*, whose master was Alexander Selkirk, the original of Robinson Crusoe. This voyage, fully recounted in Dampier's book, is a long tale of adventure, hardship, and disaster, and the explorer eventually returned to England a beggar. However, his travels made a great stir, and he was allowed to kiss the Queen's hand and to have the honour of relating his adventures to her.

Dampier's last voyage was in the capacity of pilot or navigating officer to Captain Woodes Rogers in the *Duke*, which sailed with another Bristol privateer, the *Duchess*, in 1708. The interesting narrative of this successful voyage is told by Rogers in his book, "A Cruising Voyage Round the World," etc., published in 1712. Another account was written by the captain of the *Duchess*, Edward Cooke, and published in the same year. This last voyage round the world ended at Erith on October 14th, 1711, and was the only one in which Dampier returned with any profit other than to his reputation as an explorer and navigator.

Dampier was now fifty-nine years of age, and apparently never went to sea again. In fact, he henceforth disappears from the stage altogether, and is supposed to have died in Colman Street in [London](#), in the year 1715. Of Dampier's early life in England little is known, except that he owned, at one time, a small estate in Somersetshire, and that in 1678 he married "a young woman out of the family of the Duchess of Grafton." There is an interesting picture of Dampier in the National Portrait Gallery, painted by T. Murray, and I take this opportunity to thank the directors for their kind permission to reproduce this portrait.

One other book Dampier wrote, called a "Discourse of Winds," an interesting work, and one which added to the author's reputation as a hydrographer. There is little doubt that Defoe was inspired by the experiences and writings of Dampier, not only in his greatest work, "Robinson Crusoe," but also in "Captain Singleton," "Colonel Jack," "A New Voyage Round the World," and many of the maritime incidents in "Roxana" and "Moll Flanders."

DAN, Joseph.

One of Avery's crew. Turned King's witness at his trial in 1696, and was not hanged.

DANIEL, Captain. A French filibuster.

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The name of this bloodthirsty pirate will go down to fame as well as notoriety by his habit of combining piracy with strict Church discipline. Harling recounts an example of this as follows, the original account of the affair being written by a priest, M. Labat, who seems to have had rather a weak spot in his heart for the buccaneer fraternity:

"Captain Daniel, in need of provisions, anchored one night off one of the 'Saintes,' small islands near Dominica, and landing without opposition, took possession of the house of the curÉ and of some other inhabitants of the neighbourhood. He carried the curÉ and his people on board his ship without offering them the least violence, and told them that he merely wished to buy some wine, brandy and fowls. While these were being gathered, Daniel requested the curÉ to celebrate Mass, which the poor priest dared not refuse. So the necessary sacred vessels were sent for and an altar improvised on the deck for the service, which they chanted to the best of their ability. As at Martinique, the Mass was begun by a discharge of artillery, and after the Exaudiat and prayer for the King, was closed by a loud 'Vive la Roi!' from the throats of the buccaneers. A single incident, however, somewhat disturbed the devotions. One of the buccaneers, remaining in an indecent attitude during the Elevation, was rebuked by the captain, and instead of heeding the correction, replied with an impertinence and a fearful oath. Quick as a flash Daniel whipped out his pistol and shot the buccaneer through the head, adjuring God that he would do as much to the first who failed in his respect to the Holy Sacrifice. The shot was fired close by the priest, who, as we can readily imagine, was considerably agitated. 'Do not be troubled, my father,' said Daniel; 'he is a rascal lacking in his duty and I have punished him to teach him better.'" A very efficacious means, remarks Labat, of preventing his falling into another like mistake. After the Mass the body of the dead man was thrown into the sea, and the curÉ was recompensed for his pains by some goods out of their stock and the present of a negro slave.

DANIEL, Stephen.

One of Captain Teach's crew. Hanged for piracy in Virginia in 1718.

DANSKER, Captain.

A Dutch pirate who cruised in the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century, using the North African coast as his base. He joined the Moors and turned Mohammedan. In 1671 Admiral Sir Edward Spragge was with a fleet at Bougie Bay, near Algiers, where, after a sharp fight, he burnt and destroyed a big fleet of the Moorish pirates, amongst those killed being the renegade Dansker.

DARBY, John.

A [Marblehead](#) fisherman, one of the crew of the ketch *Mary*, of Salem, captured by Captain Pound. He joined the pirates, and was killed at Tarpaulin Cove.

DAVIS, Captain Edward. Buccaneer and pirate.

Flourished from 1683-1702. According to Esquemiling, who knew Davis personally, his name was John, but some authorities call him Edward, the name he is given in the "Dictionary of National



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Biography.”

In 1683 Davis was quartermaster to Captain Cook when he took the ship of Captain Tristian, a French buccaneer, of *Petit Guave* in the West Indies. Sailed north to cruise off the coast of Virginia. From there he sailed across the Atlantic to West Africa, and at Sierra Leone came upon a Danish ship of thirty-six guns, which he attacked and took. The pirates shifted their crew into this ship, christening her the *Bachelor's Delight*, and sailed for Juan Fernandez in the South Pacific, arriving there in March, 1684. Here they met with Captain Brown, in the *Nicholas*, and together sailed to the Galapagos Islands. About this time Captain Cook died, and Davis was elected captain in his place. Cruising along the coasts of Chile and Peru, they sacked towns and captured Spanish ships. On November 3rd Davis landed, and burnt the town of Paita. Their principal plan was to waylay the Spanish Fleet on its voyage to Panama. This fleet arrived off the Bay of Panama on May 28th, 1685, but the buccaneers were beaten and were lucky to escape with their lives. At the Gulf of Ampalla, Davis had to put his sick on shore, as spotted fever raged amongst the crew. Davis then cruised for a while with the buccaneer Knight, sacking several towns.

Deciding to return to the West Indies with their plunder, several of the crew, who had lost all their share by gambling, were left, at their own request, on the Island of Juan Fernandez. Davis then sailed round the Horn, arriving safely at [Jamaica](#) with a booty of more than 50,000 pieces of eight, besides quantities of plate and jewels.

At Port Royal, after he had accepted the offer of pardon of King James II., Davis sailed to Virginia and settled down at Point Comfort. We hear no more of him for the next fourteen years, until July 24th, 1702, when he sailed from [Jamaica](#) in the *Blessing* (Captain Brown; twenty guns, seventy-nine men), to attack the town of Tolu on the Spanish Main, which was plundered and burnt. Davis next sailed to the Samballoe, and, guided by the Indians, who were friendly to the buccaneers, but hated the Spaniards, they attacked the gold-mines, where, in spite of most cruel tortures, they got but little gold. The crew next attacked Porto Bello, but found little worth stealing in that much harassed town.

Davis is chiefly remarkable for having commanded his gang of ruffians in the Pacific for nearly four years. To do this he must have been a man of extraordinary personality and bravery, for no other buccaneer or pirate captain ever remained in uninterrupted power for so long a while, with the exception of Captain Bartholomew Roberts.

DAVIS, Captain Howel.

This Welsh pirate was born at Milford in Monmouthshire. He went to sea as a boy, and eventually sailed as chief mate in the *Cadogan* snow, of Bristol, to the Guinea Coast. His ship was taken off Sierra Leone by the pirate England, and the captain murdered. Davis turned pirate, and was given command of this old vessel, the *Cadogan*, in which to go "on the account." But the crew refused to turn pirate, and sailed the ship to [Barbadoes](#), and there handed Davis over to the Governor, who imprisoned him



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for three months and then liberated him. As no one on the island would offer him employment, Davis went to New Providence Island, the stronghold of the West India pirates.

Arrived there, he found that Captain Woodes Rogers had only lately come from England with an offer of a royal pardon, which most of the pirates had availed themselves of. Davis got employment under the Governor, on board the sloop, the *Buck*, to trade goods with the French and Spanish settlements. The crew was composed of the very recently reformed pirates, and no sooner was the sloop out of sight of land than they mutinied and seized the vessel, Davis being voted captain, on which occasion, over a bowl of punch in the great cabin, the new captain made an eloquent speech, finishing by declaring war against the whole world. Davis proved himself an enterprising and successful pirate chief, but preferred, whenever possible, to use strategy and cunning rather than force to gain his ends. His first prize was a big French ship, which, although Davis had only a small sloop and a crew of but thirty-five men, he managed to take by a bold and clever trick. After taking a few more ships in the West Indies, Davies sailed across the Atlantic to the Island of St. Nicholas in the Cape Verde Islands. Here he and his crew were a great social success, spending weeks on shore as the guests of the Governor and chief inhabitants. When Davis reluctantly left this delightful spot, five of his crew were missing, "being so charmed with the Luxuries of the Place, and the Conversation of some Women, that they stayed behind."

Davis now went cruising and took a number of vessels, and arrived eventually at St. Jago. The Portuguese Governor of this island did not take at all kindly to his bold visitor, and was blunt enough to say he suspected Davis of being a pirate. This suspicion his crew took exception to, and they decided they could not let such an insult pass, so that very night they made a sudden attack on the fort, taking and plundering it.

Davis sailed away next morning to the coast and anchored off the Castle of Gambia, which was strongly held for the African Company by the Governor and a garrison of English soldiers. Davis, nothing daunted, proposed to his merry men a bold and ingenious stratagem by which they could take the castle, and, the crew agreeing, it was carried out with so much success that they soon had the castle, Governor, and soldiers in their possession, as well as a rich spoil of bars of gold; and all these without a solitary casualty on either side. After this brilliant coup, many of the soldiers joined the pirates. The pirates were attacked shortly afterwards by a French ship commanded by Captain La Bouse, but on both ships hoisting their colours, the Jolly Roger, they understood each other and fraternized, and then sailed together to Sierra Leone, where they attacked a tall ship they found lying there at anchor. This ship also proved to be a pirate, commanded by one Captain Cocklyn, so the three joined forces and assaulted the fort, which, after a sharp bombardment, surrendered. Davis was then elected commander of the pirate fleet, but one night, when entertaining the other captains in his cabin, all having drunk freely of punch, they started to quarrel, and blows were threatened, when Davis, with true Celtic eloquence, hiccupped out the following speech:



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"Hearke ye, you Cocklyn and La Bouse. I find by strengthening you I have put a rod into your Hands to whip myself, but I'm still able to deal with you both; but since we met in Love, let us part in Love, for I find that three of a Trade can never agree." Alone once more, Davis had prodigious success, taking prize after prize, amongst others the *Princess*, the second mate in which was one Roberts, soon to become a most famous pirate. Off Anamaboe he took a very rich prize, a Hollander ship, on board of which was the Governor of Accra and his retinue, as well as £15,000 sterling and rich merchandise. Arriving next at the Portuguese Island of Princes, Davis posed as an English man-of-war in search of pirates, and was most warmly welcomed by the Governor, who received him in person with a guard of honour and entertained him most hospitably. Davis heard that the Governor and the chief persons of the island had sent their wives to a village a few miles away, so the pirate and a few chosen spirits decided to pay a surprise visit on these ladies. However, the ladies, on perceiving their gallant callers, shrieked and ran into the woods and, in fact, made such a hullabaloo that the English Don Juans were glad to slink away, and "the Thing made some noise, but not being known was passed over."

Davis, ever a cunning rogue, now formed a pretty scheme to take the Governor and chief inhabitants prisoners and to hold them for a big ransom. This plan was spoilt by a Portuguese slave swimming to shore and telling the Governor all about it, and worse, telling him about the little affair of Davis and his visit to the ladies in the wood. The Governor now laid his plans, and with such success that Davis walked unsuspecting into the trap, and was "shot in the bowels," but it is some consolation to know that he "dyed like a game Cock," as he shot two of the Portuguese with his pistols as he fell.

Thus died a man noted during his lifetime by his contemporaries for his "affability and good nature," which only goes to show how one's point of view is apt to be influenced by circumstances.

DAVIS, Gabriel.

Tried for piracy at the Star Tavern in [Boston](#), Massachusetts, in 1704.

DAVIS, William.

A Welshman.

Arrived at Sierra Leone in honest employ in the *Ann* galley. Quarrelling with the mate, whom he beat, he deserted his ship and went to live ashore with the negroes, one of whom he married, with whom he settled down. One evening, the weather being hot, and Davis being very thirsty, he sold his bride for some punch. His wife's relations, being indignant, seized Davis, who told them, being, perhaps, still a little under the influence of the punch, that he did not care if they took his head off. But his "in-laws" knew a more profitable way of being revenged than that, and sold him to Seignior Joffee, a Christian black. Soon afterwards Captain Roberts, in the *Royal Fortune*, arrived in the bay, and Davis ran away and joined the pirates.

Hanged at the age of 23.

DAWES. Corsair.



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An English renegade.

When Roberts was cast away on June 12th, 1692, in Nio, a small island in the Grecian Archipelago, in His Majesty's hired ship the *Arcana* galley, most of the crew escaped in a French prize they had taken. Roberts remained behind, hoping to save some of his valuables, which were in the *Arcana*. But on June 15th a crusal, or corsair, appeared in the harbour, which Roberts's five companions went on board of. Various designs were made by the corsair captain to induce Roberts to come aboard. Eventually an Englishman named Dawes (a native of Saltash in Cornwall) was sent ashore. He had served for eight years in the corsair until taken out of her a short time previously by the *Arcana*. Roberts writes, in his frank style: "But Dawes, like a Dog returning to his Vomit, went on Board again." Eventually a party of the corsair's landed under the leadership of Dawes, and captured Roberts and carried him on board the pirate craft, where for many years he worked as a slave.

DAWES, Robert.

One of the mutineers on the brig *Vineyard* in 1830. It was the full confession of Dawes that brought about the conviction and execution of the ringleader, Charles Gibbs.

DAWSON, Joseph.

One of Captain Avery's crew of the *Charles the Second*. Tried at the Old Bailey in 1696 for piracy, and convicted. He pleaded to be spared and to be sent to servitude in India, but was hanged at Execution Dock.

DEAL, Captain Robert.

Mate to Captain Vane in 1718. He was very active off the coast of Carolina and New England, taking many prizes. In November, 1718, when cruising between Cape Meise and Cape Nicholas, on the lookout for ships, he met with and fired on a vessel that appeared to be a merchantman, at the same time running up the Jolly Roger. The apparently peaceful merchantman replied with a broadside, and proved to be a French man-of-war. A quarrel took place amongst the pirates, Vane and some of the crew, including Deal, being for running away for safety, while the rest, headed by Rackam, were in favour of fighting it out. Vane insisted on their escaping, which they did, but next day he, Deal, and some others were turned out of the ship and sent away on their own in a small sloop. Deal was put in command of this sloop, but was soon afterwards captured by an English man-of-war and brought to [Jamaica](#), where he was tried, convicted, and hanged.

DEANE, Captain John. Buccaneer.

Commanded the *St. David*. He was accused by the Governor of [Jamaica](#) in 1676 of having held up a ship called the *John Adventure* and of taking out of her several pipes of wine and a cable worth £100, and of forcibly carrying the vessel to [Jamaica](#). Deane was also reported for wearing Dutch, French, and Spanish colours without commission, and was tried and condemned to suffer death as a pirate. Owing to various legal, or illegal, quibbles, Deane was reprieved.

DEDRAN, Le Capitaine. A French filibuster of French Domingo.

Commanded, in 1684, the *Chasseur* (120 men, 20 guns).



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DEIGLE, Richard.

An Elizabethan pirate. Wrecked in the *John of Sandwich* at Alderney in 1564, when he was arrested, but escaped in a small boat.

DELANDER, Captain. Buccaneer.

Commanded a *chatas*, or small coasting craft. He was sent by Morgan ahead of the main body when, in January, 1671, he marched from San Lorenzo on his great assault on Panama.

DELIZUFF. Barbary corsair.

In 1553, while Barbarossa was sailing from Algiers to Constantinople, he was joined by Delizuff with a fleet of eighteen pirate vessels.

Delizuff was killed in an affair at the Island of Biba, and, the crews of the two corsairs quarrelling, the ships of Delizuff stole away one dark night.

DELVE, Jonathan.

One of Captain Lowther's crew in the *Happy Delivery*. Was hanged at St. Kitts in 1722.

DEMPSTER, Captain. Buccaneer.

In 1668 he was in command of several vessels and 300 men, blockading Havana.

DENNIS, Henry.

Of Bideford in Devonshire. At first a pirate with Captain Davis, he afterwards joined Captain Roberts's crew. Was tried for piracy at Cape Coast Castle in 1722, and found guilty, but for some reason was reprieved and sold for seven years to serve the Royal African Company on their plantations.

DERDRAKE, Captain John, *alias* Jack of the Baltic. A Danish pirate, of Copenhagen.

When a carpenter in the King's Dockyard at Copenhagen he was dismissed for drunkenness. After making a few voyages to [London](#) as a ship's carpenter, his parents died and left their son a fortune of 10,000 rix-dollars. With this money Derdrake built himself a fast sailing brig sheathed with copper, and for a while traded in wood between Norway and [London](#). Becoming impatient of the smallness of the profits in this trade, he offered his services and ship to Peter the Great. This monarch, as was his custom, examined the ship in person, and, approving of her, bought her, and at the same time appointed Derdrake to be a master shipwright in the royal dockyards on the Neva. The carpenter, always a man of violent temper, one day quarrelled with one of his superiors, seized an axe, and slew him. His ship then happening to be in the roads, Derdrake hurried on board her and made sail, and went off with the cargo, which he sold in [London](#). Arming his vessel with twelve guns, he sailed for Norway, but on the way he was attacked by a big Russian man-of-war. The Russian was defeated and surrendered, and Derdrake went into her in place of his own smaller ship, giving his new craft the ominous name of the *Sudden Death*. With a fine, well-armed ship and a crew of seventy desperadoes, one-half English, and the rest Norwegian and Danish, he now definitely turned pirate. Lying in wait for English and Russian ships carrying goods to



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Peter the Great, the pirates took many valuable prizes, with cargoes consisting of fittings for ships, arms, and warm woollen clothing. For these he found a ready market in Sweden, where no questions were asked and "cash on delivery" was the rule.

Derdrake drowned all his prisoners, and was one of the very few pirates, other than those found in works of fiction, who forced his victims to "walk the plank." Not long afterwards the pirates met with and fought an armed Swedish vessel, which was defeated, but the captain and crew escaped in the long-boat, and, getting to shore, spread the tidings of the pirates' doings. On hearing the news, the Governor of St. Petersburg, General Shevelling, sent out two ships to search for and take the pirates, offering a reward of 4,000 rix-dollars for Derdrake's head. The pirates had just heard of this when they happened to take a Russian vessel bound for Cronstadt, on board of which was a passenger, a sister of the very General Shevelling. This poor lady, after being reproached by the pirates for her brother's doings, was stabbed to death in the back by Derdrake. At this time there was aboard the *Sudden Death* a Danish sailor, who, having been severely flogged for being drunk at sea, shammed sickness and pretended to have lost the use of his limbs. The captain was deceived, and sent the sailor, well supplied with money, to a country house at Drontheim in Sweden, to recover. No sooner had Jack of the Baltic left than the Danish sailor set off post-haste for St. Petersburg, where he saw the Governor and told him of his sister's murder, and also that the pirates were to be found at Strothing in Sweden. Two well-armed vessels were immediately despatched, which, finding the *Sudden Death* at anchor, fought and sunk her, though unfortunately Derdrake was on shore and so escaped; but the whole crew were hung up alive by hooks fixed in their ribs and sent to drift down the Volga. Derdrake, who had a large sum of money with him, bought an estate near Stralsund, and lived there in luxury for fourteen years, until one day, a servant having robbed him of a sum of money, Derdrake followed him to Stockholm, where he was recognized by the captain of the Swedish ship who had first given information against him, and the pirate was at once arrested, tried, and hanged.

DEW, Captain George.

Of Bermuda. He commanded a Bermuda ship and sailed in company with Captain Tew, when they were caught in a storm off that island, and Captain Dew, having sprung his mast, was compelled to put back to the island for repairs. Captain Tew continued his journey to Africa, but what became of Captain Dew is not known.

DIABOLITO.

A Central American pirate who became very famous in the early part of the last century. Commanded the *Catalina* in 1823 off the coast of Cuba.

DIEGO, or Diego Grillo.

A mulatto of Havana. After the general amnesty to pirates, given in 1670, Diego, Thurston, and others continued to attack Spanish ships and to carry their prizes to their lair at Tortuga Island. Diego commanded a vessel carrying fifteen guns. He succeeded in defeating three armed ships in the Bahama Channel, which had been sent to take him, and he massacred all the Spaniards of



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European birth that he found among the crews. He was caught in 1673 and hanged.

DIPPER, Henry.

One of the English soldiers who deserted from the Fort Loyal, Falmouth, Maine, and joined Captain Pound, the pirate. Killed in the fight at Tarpaulin Cove in 1689.

DOLE, Francis.

Was one of Hore's crew. Lived with his wife, when not "on the account," at his house at [Charleston](#), near [Boston](#). The pirate Gillam was found hiding there by the Governor's search-party on the night of November 11th, 1699. Dole was committed to gaol at [Boston](#).

DOROTHY, John.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew. Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in June, 1704.

DOVER, Doctor Thomas.

Born 1660; died 1742.

This many-sided character was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Medicine. Many years afterwards, in 1721, the Royal College of Physicians made him a licentiate. For many years Dover practised as a physician at Bristol, until the year 1708, when he sailed from Bristol as "second captain" to Captain Woodes Rogers, with the *Duke* and the *Duchess*, two privateer ships fitted out for a South Sea cruise by some Bristol merchants. Dover had no knowledge whatever of navigation, but, having a considerable share in the adventure, he insisted on being given a command. Sailing round the Horn, the two ships arrived, on the night of February 1st, 1709, off the Island of Juan Fernandez, where they observed a light. Next morning Dover went ashore in a boat, to find and rescue the solitary inhabitant of the island, Alexander Selkirk, the original of Robinson Crusoe. Sailing north, a Spanish ship was taken and rechristened the *Bachelor*, and Dover was put in command of her. He sacked Guayaquil in April, 1709, many of the crew contracting plague from sleeping in a church where some bodies had recently been buried. Dover undertook to treat the sick with most heroic measures, bleeding each sick man and drawing off 100 ounces of blood.

He also took the famous *Acapulco* ship, with a booty worth more than a million pounds sterling. Dover returned to Bristol in October, 1711, with a prize of great value, after sailing round the world.

Giving up piracy, he settled in practice in [London](#), seeing his patients daily at the Jerusalem Coffee-house in Cecil Street, Strand. He wrote a book called "The Ancient Physician's Legacy to His Country," which ran into seven or eight editions, in which he strongly recommended the administration of large doses of quicksilver for almost every malady that man is subject to. This book won him the nickname of the "Quicksilver Doctor." He invented a diaphoretic powder containing ipecacuanha and opium, which is used to this day, and is still known as Dover's powder.

Dover died at the age of 82, in the year 1742, and should always



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be remembered for having invented Dover's powders, commanded a company of Marines, rescued Alexander Selkirk, written a most extraordinary medical book, and for having been a successful pirate captain.

DOWLING, Captain William.

Of New Providence, Bahamas. Hanged for piracy in the early part of the eighteenth century.

DRAGUT. Barbary corsair.

Started life as a pirate, and was eventually put in command of twelve large galleys by Kheyr-ed-din. Pillaged and burnt many towns on the Italian coast, and destroyed ships without number. Was taken prisoner by the younger Doria, and condemned to row in the galleys for four years until ransomed for 3,000 ducats by Kheyr-ed-din. Appointed Admiral of the Ottoman Fleet. Ended a bloodthirsty but very successful career in 1565 by being killed at the Siege of Malta.

DRAKE, Sir Francis.

Born about 1540. The life of the famous Admiral is too well known to require more than a bare notice in these pages. Although the Spaniards called him "the Pirate," he was more strictly a buccaneer in his early voyages, when he sailed with the sole object of spoiling the Spaniards. His first command was the *Judith*, in John Hawkins's unfortunate expedition in 1567. Drake made several voyages from Plymouth to the West Indies and the Spanish Main.

In 1572 he burnt Porto Bello, and a year later sacked Vera Cruz. He served with the English Army in Ireland under Lord Essex in 1574 and 1575. In 1578 he sailed through the Straits of Magellan, plundered Valparaiso, and also captured a great treasure ship from Acapulco. Sailing from America, he crossed the Pacific Ocean, passed through the Indian Archipelago, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at Deptford in England in 1581. At the conclusion of this voyage he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, being the first Englishman to sail round the world. Drake's voyages after this were sailed under commission and letters of marque, and so lose any stigma of being buccaneering adventures.

Drake died at Porto Bello in the year 1596.

DROMYOWE, Peter. A Breton pirate.

One of the crew of Captain du Laerquerac, who in 1537 took several English ships in the Bristol Channel.

DRUMMOND, *alias* Teach, Thatch, or Blackbeard.

DUNBAR, Nicholas. Pirate.

One of the crew of the brigantine *Charles* (Captain Quelch). Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704.

DUNKIN, George.

Of Glasgow. One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Hanged at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, in November, 1718. Buried in the marsh below low-water mark.

DUNN, William.

One of Captain Pound's crew.



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DUNTON, Captain.

A citizen of [London](#), taken prisoner by the Sallee pirates in 1636. Being a good navigator and seaman, and the Moorish pirates being as yet inexperienced in the management of sailing ships, Dunton was put into a Sallee ship as pilot and master, with a crew of twenty-one Moors and five Flemish renegadoes. He was ordered to go to the English coast to capture Christian prisoners. When off Hurst Castle, near the Needles in the Isle of Wight, his ship was seized and the crew carried to Winchester to stand their trial for piracy. Dunton was acquitted, but he never saw his little son of 10 years old, as he was still a slave in Algiers.

EASTON, Captain.

Joined the Barbary pirates in the sixteenth century, succeeding so well as to become, according to John Smith, the Virginian, a "Marquesse in Savoy," whatever that may have been.

EASTON, Captain Peter.

One of the most notorious of the English pirates during the reign of James I.

In the year 1611 he had forty vessels under his command. The next year he was on the Newfoundland coast, where he plundered the shipping and fishing settlements, stealing provisions and munitions, as well as inducing one hundred men to join his fleet.

A year later, in 1613, he appears to have joined the English pirates who had established themselves at Mamora on the Barbary coast.

EATON, Edward.

Of Wrexham in Wales. One of Captain Harris's crew. Hanged at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), on July 19th, 1723. Age 38.

ECHLIN.

An English pirate, of the *Two Brothers*, a [Rhode Island](#) built vessel, commanded in 1730 by a one-armed English pirate called Captain Johnson.

EDDY, William.

Of Aberdeen. One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Hanged at White Point, [Charleston](#), South Carolina, on November 8th, 1718, and buried in the marsh below low-water mark.

ENGLAND, Captain.

Sailing in 1718 as mate in a sloop from [Jamaica](#), he was taken prisoner by the pirate Captain Winter. England joined the pirates, and was given the command of a vessel. In this ship he sailed to the coast of West Africa, and the first prize he took was the *Cadogan* snow (Captain Skinner), at Sierra Leone. Some of England's crew knew Skinner, having served in his ship, and, owing to some quarrel, had been handed over to a man-of-war, and deprived of the wages due to them. These men afterwards deserted the man-of-war and joined the pirates. On Captain Skinner coming aboard England's ship, these men took him and bound him to the windlass, and then pelted him with glass bottles, after which they whipped him up and down the deck, eventually one of them shooting him through the head. This brutal treatment was none



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of England's doing, who was generally kind to his prisoners.

England's next prize was the *Pearl*, which he exchanged for his own sloop; fitted her up for the "pyratical Account," and christened her the *Royal James*. Captain England was most successful, taking a number of prizes, which he plundered. One ship he captured so took the eye of England that he fitted her up and changed into her, naming her the *Victory*. This he did in the harbour at Whydah, where he met with another pirate, called la Bouche. The two pirates and their crews spent a holiday at this place where, according to the well-informed Captain Johnson, "they liv'd very wantonly for several Weeks, making free with the Negroe Women and committing such outrageous 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." Leaving here, no doubt to the great relief of the negroes, it was put to the vote of the crew to decide where they should go, and the majority were for visiting the East Indies. Rounding the Cape of Good Hope, they arrived at Madagascar early in 1720, where they only stopped for water and provisions, and then sailed to the coast of Malabar in India. Here they took several country ships, and one Dutch one, but soon returned to Madagascar, where they went on shore, living in tents, and hunting hogs and deer. While on this island they looked for Captain Avery's crew, but failed to discover them. While the pirates were here they managed to take a ship commanded by a Captain Mackra, but not without a desperate fight. The pirates were for killing Mackra, but, owing to the efforts of Captain England, he managed to escape.

The pirates had several times complained of the weakness, or humanity, of their commander towards his prisoners, and they now turned him out and elected a new captain, and marooned England and three others on the Island of Mauritius. The captain and his companions set about building a small boat of some old staves and pieces of deal they found washed up on the beach. When finished they sailed to Madagascar, where, when last heard of, they were living on the charity of some other pirates.

ERNADOS, Emanuel.

A Carolina pirate who was hanged at [Charleston](#) in 1717.

ESMIT, Adolf.

A Danish buccaneer, who afterwards became Governor of the Danish island of St. Thomas, one of the Virgin Islands. The population of this island consisted of some 350 persons, most of whom were English. Esmi did all he could to assist the pirates, paid to fit out their ships for them, gave sanctuary to runaway servants, seamen, and debtors, and refused to restore captured vessels. Adolf had taken advantage of his popularity with the inhabitants to turn out his brother, who was the rightful Governor appointed by the Danish Government.

ESSEX, Captain Cornelius. Buccaneer.

In December, 1679, he met with several other well-known buccaneers in four barques and two sloops at Point Morant, and on January 7th set sail for Porto Bello. The fleet was scattered by a terrible storm, but eventually they all arrived at the rendezvous. Some 300 men went in canoes and landed about twenty



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leagues from the town of Porto Bello, and marched for four days along the sea-coast.

The buccaneers, "many of them were weak, being three days without any food, and their feet cut with the rocks for want of shoes," entered the town on February 17th, 1680. The buccaneers, with prisoners and spoil, left the town just in time, for a party of 700 Spanish soldiers was near at hand coming to the rescue. The share to each man came to one hundred pieces of eight. In 1679 Essex was brought a prisoner by a frigate, the *Hunter*, to Port Royal, and tried with some twenty of his crew for plundering on the Jamaican coast. Essex was acquitted, but two of his crew were hanged.

EUCALLA, Domingo.

A negro. Hanged at Kingston, [Jamaica](#), on February 7th, 1823. Made a moving harangue to the spectators from the gallows, ending with a prayer. Of the ten pirates executed this day, Eucalla showed the greatest courage.

EVANS, Captain John. Welsh pirate.

Was master of a sloop belonging to the Island of Nevis. Afterwards being in [Jamaica](#) and out of employment, and berths being scarce, he decided to go "on the account," and in September, 1722, rowed out of Port Royal in a canoe with a few chosen companions. They began piracy in a small way, by paddling along the coast and landing at night to break into a house or two and robbing these of anything they could carry away.

At last at Dun's Hole they found what they were looking for, a small Bermuda sloop lying at anchor. Evans stepped aboard and informed the crew of the sloop that he was captain of their vessel, "which was a piece of news they knew not before." Going on shore, Evans stood treat to his crew at the village inn, spending three pistols on liquid refreshment. He so took the fancy of the publican by his open-handed ways that he was invited to call again. This Evans and his companions did, in the middle of the same night, and rifled the house and took away all they could carry aboard their sloop.

Mounting four guns and christening their little vessel the *Scowerer*, they set sail for Hispaniola. Good luck immediately followed, as on the very next day they took their first prize, a Spanish sloop, an extraordinarily rich prize for her size, for the crew were able to share a sum of £150 a man. For a while all was *colour de rose*, prize after prize simply falling into their hands. But an unhappy accident was soon to bring an end to Evans's career. The boatswain was a noisy, surly fellow, and on several occasions the captain had words with him about his disrespectful behaviour. The boatswain on one of these occasions so far forgot himself as not only to use ill language to his captain but to challenge him to a fight on the next shore they came to with pistol and sword. On reaching land the cowardly boatswain refused to go ashore or to fight, whereupon the captain took his cane and gave him a hearty drubbing, when the boatswain, all of a sudden drawing a pistol, shot Evans through the head, so that he fell down dead. Thus was brought to a tragic and sudden end a career that showed early signs of great promise. The boatswain jumped overboard and swam for the shore, but a boat put off and brought him back to the vessel. A trial was at



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once held, but the chief gunner, unable to bear with the slow legal procedure any further, stepped forward and shot the prisoner dead.

The crew of thirty men now shared their plunder of some £9,000 and broke up, each going his own way.

EVERSON, Captain Jacob, *alias* Jacobs.

In January, 1681, Sir Henry Morgan, then Lieutenant-Governor of [Jamaica](#), received information that a famous Dutch buccaneer, Everson, was anchored off the coast in an armed sloop, in company with a brigantine which he had lately captured. This was more than the ex-pirate Governor could tolerate, so he at once set out in a small vessel with fifty picked men. The sloop was boarded at midnight, but Everson and a few others escaped by leaping overboard and swimming to the shore. Most of the prisoners were Englishmen, and were convicted of piracy and hanged.

EXQUEMELIN, Alexander Olivier, or Esquemeling in English, *âxmelin* in French. Buccaneer.

A surgeon with the most famous buccaneers, Exquemelin will always be known as the historian who recorded the deeds of the buccaneers in his classic book, "Bucaniers of America, or a true account of the assaults committed upon the coasts of the West Indies, etc.," published by W. Cooke, [London](#), 1684. This book was first published in Dutch at Amsterdam in 1678, then in German in 1679, in Spanish in 1681. Since then almost innumerable editions and reprints have appeared.

The author was a Fleming, who arrived at Tortuga Island in 1666 as an engag  of the French West India Company. After serving for three years under an inhuman master he became so ill that he was sold cheaply to a surgeon. By the kind treatment of his new master Exquemelin soon regained his health, and at the same time picked up the rudiments of the craft of barber surgeon. He was in all the great exploits of the buccaneers, and writes a clear, entertaining, and apparently perfectly accurate first-hand account of these adventures. He returned to Europe in 1674, and shortly afterwards published his book.

FALL, John.

This buccaneer was one of Captain Sharp's crew. On the death of John Hilliard, the ship's master, Fall was promoted to the larboard watch. Nothing further is known of this man.

FARRINGTON, Thomas.

One of John Quelch's crew on the brigantine *Charles*. Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in June, 1704, at the Star Tavern.

FENN, Captain John.

In the year 1721 Captain Anstis took prize a stout ship, the *Morning Star*, bound from Guiney to Carolina. This ship the pirates armed with thirty-two pieces of cannon, manned her with a crew of one hundred men, and placed Fenn in command, who had until then been gunner in Anstis's ship, the *Good Fortune*. Fenn was a one-handed man. By carelessness, or perhaps because of Fenn only having one hand, the *Morning Star* was run on to a reef in the Grand Caymans and lost. Fenn and a few others had just been taken on board by his consort when two King's ships arrived,



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and the *Good Fortune* barely escaped capture.

Fenn was soon given another ship, one armed with twenty-four guns. In April, 1723, while cleaning their ship at the Island of Tobago, they were suddenly surprised by the arrival of a man-of-war, the *Winchelsea*. Setting fire to their ship, the crew ran to hide in the woods. Fenn was caught a few days later struggling through the jungle with his gunner.

FERDINANDO, Lewis.

In 1699 he captured a sloop belonging to Samuel Salters, of Bermuda.

FERN, Thomas.

A Newfoundland fish-splitter. In August, 1723, joined with John Phillips in stealing a small vessel, which they called the *Revenge*, and went "on the account." Fern was appointed carpenter. Fern gave trouble afterwards over the promotion of a prisoner, an old pirate called Rose Archer, to the rank of quartermaster.

Later on Fern headed a mutiny and attempted to sail off on his own in one of the prize vessels. He was caught, brought back, and forgiven, but on attempting to run away a second time, Captain Phillips killed him, "pursuant to the pirates articles."

FERNON, William.

A Somersetshire man. Taken from a Newfoundland ship, he became a seaman aboard Bartholomew Roberts's *Royal Fortune*. Died at the age of 22.

FIFE, Captain James.

Surrendered to Governor Woodes Rogers at New Providence Island, Bahamas, in June, 1718, and received the royal pardon to pirates. Was afterwards killed by his own crew.

FILLMORE, John.

A fisherman of Ipswich. Taken out of the *Dolphin* when fishing for cod off the Banks of Newfoundland in 1724 by the pirate Captain Phillips, and forced to join the pirates. Having no other means of escape he, with two others, suddenly killed Phillips and two more pirates and brought the vessel into [Boston Harbour](#). Millard Fillmore, thirteenth President of the United States, was the great grandson of John Fillmore.

FITZERRALD, John.

Of Limerick. This Irish pirate was hanged at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), in 1723, at the age of 21.

FLEMING, Captain. Pirate.

This notorious Elizabethan pirate did his country a great service by bringing to Plymouth the first tidings of the approach of the Spanish Armada in 1585.

To quote John Smith, the great Elizabethan traveller and the founder of the colony of Virginia, "Fleming was an expert and as much sought for as any pirate of the Queen's reign, yet such a friend to his Country, that discovering the Spanish Armada, he voluntarily came to Plymouth, yielded himself freely to my Lord Admirall, and gave him notice of the Spaniards coming:



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which good warning came so happily and unexpectedly, that he had his pardon, and a good reward."

FLETCHER, John.

Of Edinburgh. Tried at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), for piracy in 1723, found "not guilty." His age was only 17 years.

FLY, Captain William. Pirate and prizefighter.

He was boatswain in the *Elizabeth*, of Bristol, in 1726, bound for Guinea. Heading a mutiny on May 27th, he tossed the captain over the ship's side, and slaughtered all the officers except the ship's surgeon. Fly was unanimously elected captain by the crew. His first prize was the *John and Hannah* off the coast of North Carolina. The next the *John and Betty*, Captain Gale, from Bardadoes to Guinea. After taking several other vessels, he cruised off the coast of Newfoundland where he took a whaler. Fly was caught by a piece of strategy on the part of the whaler captain, who carried him and his crew in chains in their own ship to Great Brewster, Massachusetts, in June, 1726. On July 4th Fly and the other pirates were brought to trial at [Boston](#), and on the 16th were executed. On the day of execution Fly refused to go to church before the hanging to listen to a sermon by Dr. Coleman. On the way to the gallows he bore himself with great bravado, jumping briskly into the cart with a nosegay in his hands bedecked with coloured ribbons like a prizefighter, smiling and bowing to the spectators. He was hanged in chains at Nix's Mate, a small island in [Boston](#) Harbour, and thus was brought to a close a brief though brilliant piratical career of just one month.

FORREST, William.

One of the mutinous crew of the *Antonio* hanged at [Boston](#) in 1672.

FORSEITH, Edward.

One of Captain Avery's crew. Hanged at Execution Dock, 1696.

FOSTER. Buccaneer and poet.

Only two facts are known about this adventurer. One is that he was reprov'd on a certain occasion by Morgan (who thought nothing of torturing his captives) for "harshness" to his prisoners, and the other that he wrote sentimental verse, particularly one work entitled "Sonnettes of Love."

FRANKLYN, Charles.

This Welsh pirate was a Monmouthshire man, and one of Captain Howel Davis's crew. While at the Cape Verde Islands, Franklyn "was so charmed with the luxuries of the place and the free conversation of the Women," that he married and settled down there.

FREEBARN, Matthew.

One of Captain Lowther's crew. Hanged at St. Kitts on March 11th, 1722.

FROGGE, William. Buccaneer.

Was with Morgan in his attacks on Porto Bello and Panama in 1670. He kept a diary of the chief events of these exploits, and distinctly states that the Spaniards, and not Morgan, set fire



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to the city. But he was greatly enraged against Morgan for cheating the buccaneers out of their plunder, and giving each man only about £10 as his share.

FULWORTH, Mrs. Anne.

This lady accompanied Anne Bonny to New Providence Island from Carolina in the guise of her mother. When Captain Rackam and Anne Bonny were intriguing to run away from the latter's husband, "a pardoned pirate, a likely young fellow and of a sober life," Mrs. Fulworth offered sympathy and advice to the lovers. The scandal being brought to the ears of Governor Woodes Rogers by a pirate called Richard Turnley, he sent for the two ladies, "and examining them both upon it, and finding they could not deny it, he threaten'd, if they proceeded further in it, to commit them both to Prison, and order them to be whipp'd, and that Rackam, himself, should be their Executioner."

GARCIA.

One of Gilbert's crew in the *Panda*. Hanged at [Boston](#) in June, 1835.

GARDINER.

Although at one time a pirate, by some means or other he became appointed to the office of Deputy Collector at [Boston](#) in 1699. Accepted a bribe of stolen gold from the pirate Gillam, which caused some gossip in the town.

GASPAR, Captain José, *alias* "Gasparilla" or "Richard Cœur de Lion."

Was an officer of high rank in the Spanish Navy till 1782, when, having been detected in stealing some jewels belonging to the Crown, he stole a ship and turned pirate. Settling at Charlotte Harbour, he built a fort, where he kept his female prisoners, all the male ones being killed. Here he lived in regal state as king of the pirates, on Gasparilla Island. In 1801 he took a big Spanish ship forty miles from Boca Grande, killed the crew, and took a quantity of gold and twelve young ladies. One of these was a Spanish princess, whom he kept for himself; the eleven Mexican girls he gave to his crew.

Gaspar was described as having polished manners and a great love of fashionable clothes, and being fearless in fight; but in spite of all these attractive qualities, the little Spanish princess would have none of him, and was murdered.

By the year 1821 the United States Government had made matters so hot for Gaspar that the pirate kingdom was broken up and their booty of 30,000,000 dollars divided.

As he was about to sail away, a big ship came into the bay, apparently an English merchantman. Gaspar at once prepared to attack her, when she ran up the Stars and Stripes, proving herself to be a heavily armed American man-of-war. The pirate ship was defeated, and Gaspar, winding a piece of anchor chain round his waist, jumped overboard and was drowned, his age being 65.

GATES, Thomas.

Hanged in Virginia in 1718 with the rest of Captain Edward Teach's crew.



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GAUTIER, François, or Gautiez, *alias* George Sadwell.

Native of Havre.

Cook on board the *Jane* schooner, commanded by Captain Thomas Johnson. While on a voyage from Gibraltar to Brazil with a valuable cargo, Gautier and the mate killed the captain and the helmsman and steered the vessel to Scotland, sinking her near Stornoway. Caught and tried at Edinburgh in November, 1821, found guilty, and hanged in January on the sands of Leith, his body being publicly dissected afterwards by the Professor of Anatomy to Edinburgh University. The age of this French pirate at his death was 23.

GAYNY, George, or Gainy.

One of Wafer's little party lost in the jungle of Darien in 1681. In attempting to swim across a swollen river with a line, he got into difficulties, became entangled in the line which was tied round his neck, and having also a bag containing 300 Spanish silver dollars on his back, he sank and was swept away. Some time afterwards Wafer found Gayny lying dead in a creek with the rope twisted about him and his money at his neck.

GENNINGS, Captain.

A renegade English pirate who joined the Barbary corsairs, turned Mohammedan, and commanded a Moorish pirate vessel. Taken prisoner off the Irish coast, he was brought to [London](#) and hanged at Wapping.

GERRARD, Thomas.

Of the Island of Antigua. One of Major Bonnet's crew of the *Royal James*. Tried for piracy at [Charleston](#) in 1718, but found "not guilty."

GIBBENS, Garrat.

Boatswain on board the *Queen Ann's Revenge*. Was killed at the same time as Captain Teach.

GIBBS, Charles.

Born at [Rhode Island](#) in 1794, he was brought up on a farm there. Ran away to sea in the United States sloop-of-war *Harriet*. Was in action off Pernambuco against H.M.S. *Peacock*, afterwards serving with credit on board the *Chesapeake* in her famous fight with the *Shannon*; but after his release from Dartmoor as a prisoner of war he opened a grocery shop in Ann Street, called the "Tin Pot," "a place full of abandoned women and dissolute fellows." Drinking up all the profits, he was compelled to go to sea again, and got a berth on a South American privateer. Gibbs led a mutiny, seized the ship and turned her into a pirate, and cruised about in the neighbourhood of Havana, plundering merchant vessels along the coast of Cuba. He slaughtered the crews of all the ships he took. In 1819 returned to private life in New York with 30,000 dollars in gold. Taking a pleasure trip to Liverpool, he was entrapped by a designing female and lost all his money.

In 1830 he took to piracy once more and shipped as a seaman in the brig *Vineyard* (Captain W. Thornby), New Orleans to Philadelphia, with a cargo of cotton, molasses, and 54,000 dollars in specie.



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Gibbs again brought about a mutiny, murdering the captain and mate. After setting fire to and scuttling the ship, the crew took to their boats, landing at Barrow Island, where they buried their money in the sand.

He was hanged at New York as recently as 1831.

GIDDENS, Paul.

One of Captain Quelch's crew. Tried at [Boston](#) in 1704.

GIDDINGS, John.

Of York River, Virginia. One of Captain Pound's crew. Wounded and taken prisoner at Tarpaulin Cove in 1689.

GILBERT, Captain.

Commanded the schooner *Panda*. On September 20th, 1832, he took and plundered a Salem brig, the *Mexican*, on her way from Salem to Rio de Janeiro. A few months later Gilbert and his crew were captured by Captain Trotter, of H.M. brig-of-war *Curlew*, and taken as prisoners to Salem and handed over to the United States authorities. Tried at [Boston](#) in December, 1834. Hanged at the same place on June 11th, 1835. This was the last act of piracy committed upon the Atlantic Ocean.

GILLAM, Captain James, *alias Kelly*.

A notorious pirate. When serving on board the East Indiaman *Mocha*, he led a mutiny, and with his own hands murdered the commander, Captain Edgecomb, in his sleep. He came back to America with Captain Kidd, and was hiding, under the name of Kelly, when caught in 1699 at [Charleston](#), opposite [Boston](#), by the Governor of Massachusetts, who described him as "the most impudent, hardened villain I ever saw." It was said that Gillam had entered the service of the Mogul, turned Mohammedan, and been circumcised. To settle this last point, the prisoner was examined by a surgeon and a Jew, who both declared, on oath, that it was so.

GILLS, John.

One of Captain Teach's crew. Hanged in Virginia in 1718.

GLASBY, Harry.

Sailed as mate in the *Samuel*, of [London](#) (Captain Cary), which was taken in 1720 by Roberts, who made Glasby master on board the *Royal Fortune*.

Tried for piracy on the Guinea Coast in April and acquitted. Evidence was brought at his trial to show that Glasby was forced to serve with the pirates, for, being a "sea-artist" or sail-master, he was most useful to them. Twice he tried to escape in the West Indies, on one occasion being tried with two others by a drunken jury of pirates. The other deserters were shot, but Glasby was saved by one of his judges threatening to shoot anyone who made any attempt on him. Glasby befriended other prisoners and gave away his share of the plunder to them. When the *Royal Fortune* was taken by the *Swallow*, several of the most desperate pirates, particularly one James Philips, took lighted matches with which to ignite the powder magazine and blow up the ship. Glasby prevented this by placing trusted sentinels below.

GODEKINS, Master.



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This notorious Hanseatic pirate, with another called Stertebeker, did fearful damage to English and other merchant shipping in the North Sea in the latter part of the fourteenth century.

On June 1st, 1395, he seized an English ship laden with salt fish off the coast of Denmark, her value being reckoned at £170. The master and crew of twenty-five men they slew, the only mariner saved being a boy, whom the pirates took with them to Wismar.

These same men took another English ship, the *Dogger* (Captain Gervase Cat). The *Dogger* was at anchor, and the crew fishing, when the pirates attacked them. The captain and crew were wounded, and damage was done to the tune of 200 nobles.

Another vessel taken was a Yarmouth barque, *Michael* (master, Robert Rigweys), while off Plymouth, the owner, Hugh ap Fen, losing 800 nobles. In 1394 these Hanseatic pirates, with a large fleet, attacked the town of Norbern in Norway, plundering the town and taking away all they could carry, as well as the merchants, who they held for ransom. The houses they burnt.

GOFFE, Christopher.

Originally one of Captain Woollery's crew of [Rhode Island](#) pirates. In November, 1687, he surrendered himself at [Boston](#), and was pardoned. In August, 1691, was commissioned by the Governor to cruise with his ship, the *Swan*, between Cape Cod and Cape Ann, to protect the coast from pirates.

GOLDSMITH, Captain Thomas.

Of Dartmouth in Devon. During the reign of Queen Anne, Goldsmith commanded a privateer vessel, the *Snap Dragon*, of Dartmouth. He turned pirate and amassed great riches.

This pirate would have been forgotten by now were it not that he died in his bed at Dartmouth, and was buried in the churchyard there. The lines engraved on his tombstone have been quoted in the Preface, but may be repeated here:

Men that are virtuous serve the Lord;
And the Devil's by his friends ador'd;
And as they merit get a place
Amidst the bless'd or hellish race;
Pray then, ye learned clergy show
Where can this brute, Tom Goldsmith, go?
Whose life was one continual evil,
Striving to cheat God, Man, and Devil.

GOMEZ, John, *alias* Panther Key John.

Brother-in-law of the famous pirate Gasparilla. Died, credited with the great age of 120 years, at Panther Key in Florida in 1900.

GOODALE, John.

A Devonshire man.

Goodale, who was a renegade and had turned Mohammedan, held a position of importance and wealth amongst the Moors of Algiers. In the year 1621 he bought from the Moors a British prize called the *Exchange*, and also, for the sum of £7 10s., an English slave,



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lately captain of an English merchant ship, whom he got cheap owing to his having a deformed hand.

GOODLY, Captain.

An English buccaneer of [Jamaica](#), who in the year 1663 was in command of a "junk" armed with six guns and carrying a crew of sixty men.

GORDON, Captain Nathaniel.

Of Portland, Maine. Commanded and owned the *Evie*, a small, full-rigged ship, which was fitted up as a "slaver." Made four voyages to West Africa for slaves. On his last voyage he was captured by the United States sloop *Mohican*, with 967 negroes on board. Tried in New York for piracy and found guilty and condemned to death. Great pressure was brought on President Lincoln to reprieve him, but without success, and Gordon was hanged at New York on February 22nd, 1862.

GOSS, Cuthbert.

Born at Topsham in Devon. The compiler of these biographies regrets to have to record that this pirate was hanged, at the comparatively tender age of 21, outside the gates of Cape Coast Castle, within the flood-marks, in 1722. He was one of Captain Roberts's crew, having been taken prisoner by Roberts at Calabar in a prize called the *Mercy* galley, of Bristol, in 1721.

GOW, Captain John, *alias* Smith, *alias* Goffe. A Scotch pirate, born at Thurso.

Although the short career of this pirate made a great noise at the time, he did little to merit the fame which he achieved. He had the honour of having an account of his piratical activities written by Defoe, and ninety years later was made the hero in a novel by Walter Scott, as Captain Cleveland.

Gow sailed from Amsterdam as a foremast hand in the *George* galley, commanded by Captain Ferneau, a Guernsey man. Being a brisk and intelligent man, he was soon promoted to be second mate. They called at Santa Cruz in Barbary to take in a cargo of beeswax to deliver at Genoa. Sailing from Santa Cruz on November 3rd, 1724, Gow and a few others conspired to mutiny and then to go "upon the account." The captain, as was his custom, had all hands, except the helmsman, into his cabin at eight o'clock each night for prayers. This particular night, after it was dark, the conspirators went below to the hammocks of the chief mate, the supercargo, and the surgeon and cut all their throats. They did the same to the captain, who was then thrown overboard though still alive.

Gow being now elected captain and one Williams, a thorough rogue, mate, they renamed the vessel the *Revenge*, armed her with eighteen guns, and cruised off the coast of Spain, taking an English sloop with a cargo of fish from Newfoundland, commanded by Captain Thomas Wise of Poole. Their second prize was a Glasgow ship loaded with herrings and salmon.

They next sailed to Madeira, where Gow presented the Governor with a box of Scotch herrings. About this time Williams, the first mate, insulted Gow by accusing him of cowardice because he had refused to attack a big French ship, and snapped his pistol at him. Two seamen standing near shot Williams, wounding him severely, and to get rid of him they put him aboard one of



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their prizes. Discussions now took place as to where to sail, and Gow, who was in love with a lass in the Orkney Islands, suggested sailing thither, as being a good place to traffic their stolen goods.

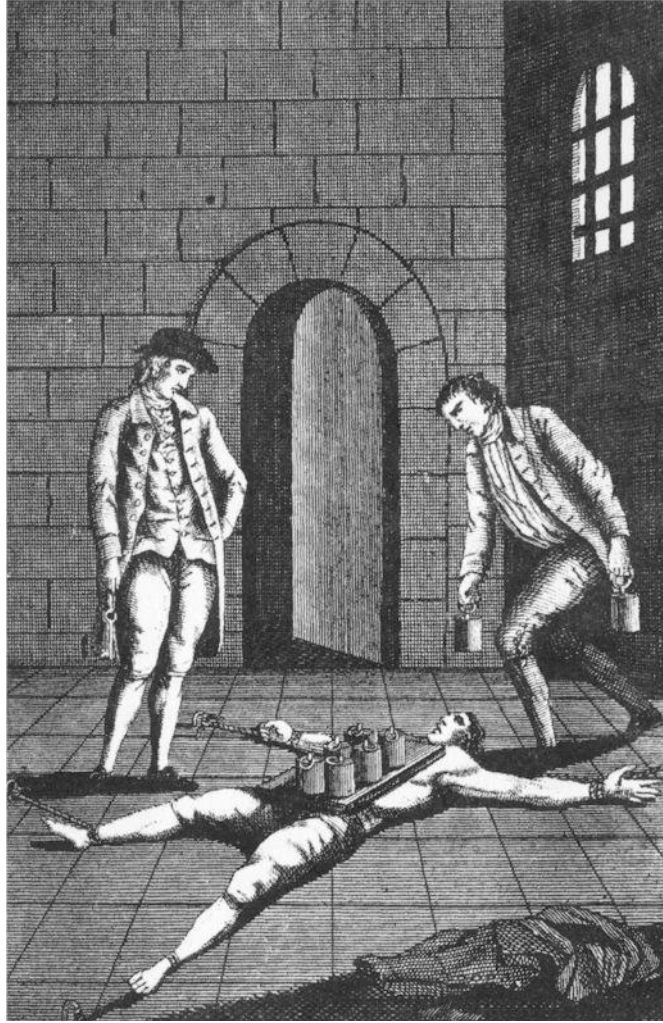
On arriving at Carristown they sold most of their cargo, and one of the crew, going on shore, bought a horse for three pieces of eight and rode to Kirkwall and surrendered himself. Next day ten more men deserted, setting out in the long-boat for the mainland of Scotland, but were taken prisoners in the *Forth*, of Edinburgh. By now the whole countryside was alarmed. Gow's next move was to land his men and plunder the houses of the gentry. They visited a Mrs. Honnyman and her daughter, but these ladies managed to get their money and jewellery away in safety. Gow's crew marched back to their ship with a bagpiper playing at their head.

They now sailed to Calfsound, seized three girls and took them aboard. Then to the Island of Eda to plunder the house of Mr. Fea, an old schoolmate of Gow's. Arriving there on February 13th, by bad management they ran their vessel on the rocks. The bo'son and five men went ashore and met Mr. Fea, who entertained them at the local public-house. By a simple stratagem, Mr. Fea seized first the bo'son and afterwards the five men. Soon after this, Fea trapped Gow and all the rest of his crew of twenty-eight men. Help was sent for, and eventually the *Greyhound* frigate arrived and took Gow and his crew to [London](#), arriving off Woolwich on March 26th, 1725. The prisoners were taken to the Marshalsea Prison in Southwark, and there found their old companion, Lieutenant Williams. Four men turned King's evidence - viz., George Dobson, Job Phinnies, Tim Murphy, and William Booth.

The trial at Newgate began on May 8th, when Gow was sullen and reserved and refused to plead. He was ordered to be pressed to death, which was the only form of torture still allowed by the law. At the last moment Gow yielded, and pleaded "not guilty." Gow was found guilty, and hanged on June 11th, 1725, but "as he was turned off, he fell down from the Gibbit, the rope breaking by the weight of some that pulled his leg. Although he had been hanging for four minutes, he was able to climb up the ladder a second time, which seemed to concern him very little, and he was

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hanged again.”

**PRESSING A PIRATE TO PLEAD.**

His body was then taken to Greenwich and there hanged in chains, to be a warning to others.

GRAFF, Le Capitaine Laurens de. Filibuster.

Commanded *Le Neptune*, a ship armed with fifty-four guns and a crew of 210 men, in the West Indies in the seventeenth century.

GRAHAM, Captain.

Commanded a shallop, with a crew of fourteen men, in 1685. Sailed in company with Captain Veale up and down the coast of Virginia and New England.

GRAMBO.

Was "boss" of Barataria, the smugglers' stronghold off the Island of Grande Terre, near Louisiana, until shot by Jean Lafitte in 1811.

GRAMMONT, Sieur de. French filibuster.

One of the great buccaneers. Born in Paris, he entered the Royal Marines, in which he distinguished himself in several naval



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engagements.

He commanded a frigate in the West Indies, and captured near Martinique a Dutch ship with a cargo worth £400,000, which he carried to Hispaniola, but there lost all of it through gambling, and, not daring to return to France, he joined the buccaneers.

He sailed to Curaçoa in 1678 with the Count d'Estrees' fleet, which was wrecked on a coral reef off the Isle d'Aves. De Grammont was left behind to salvage what he could from the wreck. After this, with 700 men he sailed to Maracaibo, spending six months on the lake, seizing the shipping and plundering all the settlements in the neighbourhood.

In June, 1680, de Grammont, with an obsolete commission and a small party of men, made a brilliant night assault on La Guayra, the seaport of Caracas. Only forty-seven men took part in the actual attack on the town, which was guarded by two forts and by cannon upon the walls. The pirates were attacked next day by 2,000 Spaniards from Caracas, but with the greatest skill and bravery de Grammont got almost all his party away, though wounded himself in the throat. He carried away with him amongst his prisoners the Governor of the town.

He retired to the Isle d'Aves to nurse his wound, and later went to Petit Goave.

In 1683 took part in the successful English and French attack on Vera Cruz, and afterwards, when Vanhorn died of gangrene, de Grammont, his lieutenant, carried his ship back to Petit Goave. In 1685 he received a fresh commission from de Cossey, the Governor of Dominica, and joined forces with the famous buccaneer Laurens de Graff at the Isle of Vache, and sailed with 11,000 men for Campeachy. Taking the town, he reduced it to ashes and blew up the fortress, returning with the plunder to Hispaniola. Before leaving, however, to celebrate the Festival of St. Louis, they burnt a huge bonfire, using 200,000 crowns worth of logwood.

Grammont at this time commanded a fine ship, *Le Hardy* (fifty guns and a crew of 300 men).

In 1686 de Grammont was granted a commission of "Lieutenant du Roi," in order to keep him from harassing the Spaniards, and yet not to lose his valuable services to his country.

In order to have one last fling at the old free buccaneering life before settling down to the more sedate and respectable calling of an officer in the French King's navy, de Grammont sailed off with a party of 180 desperadoes, but was never heard of again.

GRAND, Pierre le.

A native of Dieppe in Normandy.

Le Grand was the man who, having made one great and successful exploit, had the good sense to retire. He was the first pirate to take up his quarters at Tortuga Island, and was known amongst the English as "Peter the Great." His name will go down to posterity for his "bold and insolent" action when in a small open boat with a handful of men he seized a great Spanish galleon.



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Pierre had been out on the "grand account" for a long while, meeting with no success. When almost starving and in despair, a great Spanish fleet hove in sight, and one ship, bigger than the rest, was observed sailing at some little distance behind the other vessels. The mad idea entered the head of the now desperate pirate to take this ship. The pirates all took an oath to their captain to fight without fear and never to surrender. It was dusk, and in these tropical latitudes night follows day very quickly. Before the attack, orders were given to the surgeon to bore a hole in the bottom of the boat so that it would quickly sink, thus taking away any hope of escape should the enterprise fail. This was done, and the boat was paddled quietly alongside the great warship, when the crew, armed only with a pistol and a sword a-piece, clambered up the sides and jumped aboard. Quickly and silently the sleeping helmsman was killed, while Pierre and a party of his men ran down into the great cabin, where they surprised the Spanish admiral playing cards with his officers. The admiral, suddenly confronted by a band of bearded desperadoes in his cabin with a pistol aimed at his head, ejaculated "Jesus bless us! are these devils or what are they?" While this was going on others of the pirates had hurried to the gun-room, seized the arms, killing every Spaniard who withstood them. Pierre knew, as scarcely any other successful pirate or gambler ever did, the right moment to stop. He at once put ashore all the prisoners he did not want for working the ship, and sailed straight back to France; where he lived the rest of his life in comfortable obscurity, and never again returned to piracy.

The news of this exploit spread rapidly over the West Indies, and caused the greatest excitement amongst the pirate fraternity of Tortuga and Hispaniola.

Men left their work of killing and drying beef, while others deserted their plantations to go a-pirating on the Spaniards, in much the same way as men went to a gold rush years after. Those who had no boat would venture forth in canoes looking for rich Spanish treasure ships.

It was this wild deed of Pierre le Grand that was the beginning of piracy in the West Indies, towards the latter half of the seventeenth century.

GRANGE, Roger.

One of Captain Lowther's crew of the *Happy Delivery*. Tried for piracy at St. Kitts in 1722, but acquitted.

de GRAVES, Captain Herbert.

This Dutch pirate sailed as captain of his own merchant vessel during the reign of King Charles II. He took to landing his crew on the south coast of England and raiding gentlemen's houses. The first he ever pillaged was that of a Mr. Sturt, in Sussex. In those days, when banks were almost unknown, the houses of the rich often contained great sums of money. De Graves was wont to sail along the Devonshire coast, sometimes landing and robbing a house, sometimes taking a ship, which he would carry to Rotterdam and sell. He made several daring raids into Cowes and Lowestoft, getting off with valuable plunder.

In the war between England and the Dutch, Graves was given



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command of a fire-ship. This vessel he handled very capably, and in the action off the Downs he ran her on board the *Sandwich*, setting her on fire. James, Duke of York, escaped from the *Sandwich* with great difficulty, while the Earl of Albemarle and most of the crew perished. At the conclusion of the war, De Graves returned to piracy, but his ship was wrecked in a storm close to Walmer Castle. The captain and a few of his crew were saved, and, being made prisoners, were hanged on a tree.

GREAVES, Captain, *alias* "Red Legs." West Indian pirate.

Born in [Barbadoes](#) of prisoners who had been sent there as slaves by Cromwell. Most of these slaves were natives of Scotland and Ireland, and, owing to their bare knees, generally went by the name of Red Legs. Young Greaves was left an orphan, but had a kind master and a good education. His master dying, the lad was sold to another and a cruel one. The boy ran away, swam across Carlisle Bay, but by mistake clambered on to the wrong ship, a pirate vessel, commanded by a notoriously cruel pirate called Captain Hawkins. Finding himself driven to the calling of piracy, Greaves became very efficient, and quickly rose to eminence. He was remarkable for his dislike of unnecessary bloodshed, torture of prisoners, and killing of non-combatants. These extraordinary views brought about a duel between himself and his captain, in which the former was victorious, and he was at once elected commander.

Greaves now entered a period of the highest piratical success, but always preserved very strictly his reputation for humanity and morality. He never tortured his prisoners, nor ever robbed the poor, nor maltreated women.

His greatest success of all was his capture of the Island of Margarita, off the coast of Venezuela.

On this occasion, after capturing the Spanish Fleet, he turned the guns of their warships against the forts, which he then stormed, and was rewarded by a huge booty of pearls and gold.

Red Legs then retired to the respectable life of a planter in the Island of Nevis, but was one day denounced as a pirate by an old seaman. He was cast into a dungeon to await execution, when the great earthquake came which destroyed and submerged the town in 1680, and one of the few survivors was Greaves. He was picked up by a whaler, on board of which he served with success, and later on, for his assistance in capturing a gang of pirates, he received pardon for his earlier crimes.

He again retired to a plantation, and was noted for his many acts of piety and for his generous gifts to charities and public institutions, eventually dying universally respected and sorrowed.

GREENSAIL, Richard.

One of Blackbeard's crew in the *Queen Ann's Revenge*. Hanged in Virginia in 1718.

GREENVILLE, Henry.

Hanged at [Boston](#) in 1726 with Captain Fly and Samuel Cole.

GRIFFIN, Jack.

Chief mate of a Bristol vessel. One of the chief mutineers on

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board the *Bird* galley in 1718, off Sierra Leone, when he befriended the captain of the *Bird*, with whom he had been at school. Took part in a feast to celebrate the success of the mutiny, the meal being cooked in a huge caldron in which the slaves' food was prepared. In this caldron were boiled, on this occasion, fowls, ducks, geese, and turkeys, which were unplucked; several Westphalian hams were added, and a "large sow with young embowled." The health of King James III., the Pretender, was drunk with full honours.

GRIFFIN, John.

Of Blackwall, Middlesex. Taken out of the *Mercy* galley and appointed carpenter on board the *Royal Fortune* by Captain Roberts. Condemned to be hanged at Cape Coast Castle, but pardoned and sold to the Royal African Company as a slave for seven years.

GRIFFIN, Richard.

A gunsmith of [Boston](#). Sailed with Captain Pound. Wounded in a fight at Tarpaulin Cove, a bullet entering his ear and coming out through his eye.

GROGNIET, Captain.

A French buccaneer who in 1683 was in company with Captain L'Escayer, with a crew of some 200 French and 80 English freebooters. He joined Davis and Swan during the blockade of Panama in 1685, and was in the unsuccessful attempt in May, 1685, on the Spanish treasure fleet from Lima. In July of the same year Grognet, with 340 French buccaneers, parted company from Davis at Quibo, plundered several towns, and then, foolishly, revisited Quibo, where they were discovered by a Spanish squadron in January, 1686, and their ship was burnt while the crew was on shore. They were rescued by Townley, with whom they went north to Nicaragua, and sacked Granada. In May, 1686, Grognet and half the Frenchmen crossed the isthmus. In the January following, Grognet reappeared, and, joining with the English, again plundered Guayaquil, where he was severely wounded, and died soon afterwards.

GULLIMILLIT, Breti.

Taken with other South American pirates by H.M. sloop *Tyne*, and hanged at Kingston, [Jamaica](#), in 1823.

GUTTEREZ, Juan.

Hanged at Kingston, [Jamaica](#), on February 7th, 1823.

GUY, Captain.

Commanded the frigate *James* (fourteen guns, ninety men). Belonged to Tortuga Island and [Jamaica](#) in 1663.

HAINS, Richard.

One of Captain Low's crew. When Low took a Portuguese ship at St. Michael's in the Azores in 1723, he, with unusual kindness, simply burnt the ship and let the crew go to shore in a boat. While the prisoners were getting out the boat, Richard Hains happened to be drinking punch out of a silver tankard at one of the open ports, and took the opportunity to drop into the boat among the Portuguese and lie down in the bottom, so as to escape



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with them. Suddenly remembering his silver tankard, he climbed back, seized the tankard, and hid again in the boat, somehow, by great good fortune, being unobserved by those on the ship, and so escaped almost certain death both for himself and the Portuguese sailors.

HALSEY, Captain John.

This famous South Sea pirate was born on March 1st, 1670, at [Boston](#), and received a commission from the Governor of Massachusetts to cruise as a privateer on the Banks. No sooner was he out of sight of land than Halsey turned pirate. Taking a ship or two, he sailed to the Canary Islands, picking up a rich Spanish ship there. He next doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and paid a call on the "brethren" at Madagascar. He then sailed to the Red Sea, another happy hunting ground of the pirates, and met a big Dutch ship armed with sixty guns. Halsey astounded his men by announcing his sudden determination to attack only Moorish ships in the future. The indignant crew mutinied, threw Captain Halsey and his chief gunner in irons, and proceeded to attack the Dutchman. The mutinous pirates got the worst of the encounter, and released Halsey, who only just managed to get his ship away. Luck seems to have deserted Halsey for a while, for not a Moorish ship could he meet with, so much so that his scruples against taking Christian ships eased enough to permit him to bag a brace of English ships, the *Essex* and the *Rising Eagle*.

The captain of the former proved to be a very old and dear friend of Halsey's quartermaster, and to show a friendly feeling, Halsey allowed the captain to keep all his personal belongings. Nevertheless, they took a comfortable booty, comprising some fifty thousand pounds in English gold, out of the *Essex*, and another ten thousand out of the *Rising Eagle*.

The pirates, being strict business men, produced invoices and sold the two ships back to their legal owners for cash, and having settled this affair to everybody's satisfaction, Halsey and his consort returned to Madagascar. Here they were visited by the captain of a Scotch ship, the *Neptune*, which had come to trade liquor, probably rum, but possibly whisky, with the pirates. A sudden hurricane arose, destroying both the pirate ships and damaging the *Neptune*. Halsey, ever a man of resource, thereupon seized the Scotch ship, and, with even greater enterprise, at once attacked a ship, the *Greyhound*, which lay at anchor, which was loaded with stolen merchandise which the pirates had only just sold to the captain of the *Greyhound*, and for which they had been paid.

The end was now drawing near, for in 1716 Captain Halsey was taken ill of some tropical fever and died. He was a popular commander, respected, ever loved by his men, for he was a humane man, never killing his prisoners unless necessity compelled. A contemporary eyewitness of his funeral rites leaves the following account of his burial:

"With great solemnity, the prayers of the Church of England being read over him and his sword and pistols laid on his coffin, which was covered with a ship's Jack. As many minute guns were fired as he was old - viz., 46 - and three English vollies and one French volley of small arms." The chronicler continues: "His



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grave was made in a garden of watermelons and fenced in to prevent his being rooted up by wild pigs."

This last a truly touching thought on the part of the bereaved.

HAMAN, Captain John.

He lived all alone with his wife and family on a small and otherwise uninhabited island in the Bahamas.

About the year 1720, he sailed into New Providence Harbour in his 40-ton sloop, intending to settle there. Captain Rackam and Anne Bonny stole this vessel and eloped in her.

Writing of Captain Haman, Johnson tells us "his Livelihood and constant Employment was to plunder and pillage the Spaniards, whose Sloops and Launces he had often surprised about Cuba and Hispaniola, and sometimes brought off a considerable Booty, always escaping by a good Pair of Heels, insomuch that it became a Bye-Word to say, 'There goes John Haman, catch him if you can.' His Business to Providence now was to bring his Family there, in order to live and settle, being weary, perhaps, of living in that Solitude, or else apprehensive if any of the Spaniards should discover his Habitation, they might land, and be revenged of him for all his Pranks."

HAMLIN, Captain Jean.

A famous French filibuster who turned pirate.

Set out in 1682 from [Jamaica](#) in a sloop with 120 other desperadoes in pursuit of a French ship that was "wanted" by the Jamaican Governor. Having overtaken the ship, *La Trompeuse*, he seized her, fitted her up as a man-of-war, and then started out on a wild piratical cruise, taking eighteen Jamaican vessels, barbarously ill-treating the crews, and completely demoralizing the trade of the island. Two other ships were now sent to find and destroy the new *La Trompeuse*, but Hamlin escaped and sailed to the Virgin Islands, and was most hospitably received by the Governor of the Danish Island of St. Thomas, one Adolf Esmit, who was himself a retired pirate. Using this island as his headquarters Hamlin cruised about and took several English ships.

In May, 1683, he appeared on the West Coast of Africa disguised as an English man-of-war. Off the coast of Sierra Leone, he took seventeen Dutch and English ships, returning to Dominica in July, 1683, finally reaching the friendly St. Thomas Island, being warmly welcomed back by the pirate Governor. Three days afterwards, H.M.S. *Francis* arrived on the lookout for pirates, and attacked and burnt Hamlin's ship. Hamlin, with the help of the Governor, managed to escape with his life.

HANDS, Israel, also known as Basilica Hands.

Sailing-master with the famous Teach or Blackbeard. One day when Teach was entertaining a pilot and Hands in his cabin, after they had been drinking and chatting awhile seated round the cabin table, on which stood a lighted candle, Blackbeard suddenly drew his pistols, blew out the candle, and crossing his arms, fired both his pistols under the table. Hands was shot in the knee, and crippled for life. Teach's explanation to the angry demands of his guests as to the reason for this extraordinary conduct produced the reply that "if he did not



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shoot one or two of them now and then, they'd forget who he was." Hands after this deserted, but was captured at Bath in Carolina by Brand. Hands, probably in revenge for being wantonly shot by Teach, turned King's evidence at the inquiry held at [Charleston](#), and brought very serious accusations against one of the most prominent men in the colony, Knight, who was secretary to the Chief Justice, and a deputy collector of Customs.

Hands was tried for piracy in Virginia in December, 1718, but pardoned. When last heard of was seen begging his bread in [London](#).

HANSEL, Captain.

He behaved himself so courageously at the taking of Porto Bello in 1669, that a party of some 400 men, in four ships, chose Hansel to be their admiral in an attempt on the town of Comana, near Caracas. This attack was a most complete failure, the pirates being driven off "with great loss and in great confusion." When Hansel's party arrived back at [Jamaica](#), they found the rest of Morgan's men had returned before them, who "ceased not to mock and jeer at them for their ill success at Comana, after telling them, 'Let us see what money you brought from Comana, and if it be as good silver as that which we bring from Maracaibo.'"

HARDING, Captain Thomas.

In 1653 he captured a rich prize, a [Barbadoes](#) vessel. For this he was tried for piracy at [Boston](#).

HARDY, Richard.

One of Captain Bartholomew Roberts's crew. Hanged at Cape Coast Castle, West Coast of Africa, on April 6th, 1722, at the age of 25 years.

It is recorded that, owing to the lack of expert knowledge in the niceties of carrying out executions, Hardy was led to the scaffold with his hands tied behind him. This annoyed Hardy very much, and it is mentioned in the official account of his execution that the prisoner indignantly declared "that he had seen many a Man hang'd, but this Way of the Hands being ty'd behind them, he was a Stranger to, and never saw before in his Life."

HARPER, Abraham.

Born at Bristol. He was cooper on board Captain Roberts's *Royal Fortune*. When the pirates took a prize, it was Harper's duty to see that all the casks and coopers' tools were removed from the prize to the pirate craft. Hanged at the age of 23, with the rest of the crew, in 1722.

HARRIS, Captain.

Joined the Barbary corsairs during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, turned Mohammedan, and rose to command a Moorish pirate vessel. Cruised off the coast of Ireland, was taken prisoner by an English ship, and hanged at Wapping.

HARRIS, Hugh.

Of Corfe Castle, Dorsetshire. One of Roberts's crew; tried and condemned to be hanged in 1722, but reprieved and sold to the



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Royal African Company to serve for seven years in their plantations.

HARRIS, James.

One of Roberts's crew.

HARRIS, Peter.

Born in Kent. This buccaneer was known amongst the brethren of the coast as "a brave and Stout Soldier." In 1680 he took a leading part in the march of the buccaneers across the Isthmus of Darien, but during the attack on the Spanish Fleet off Panama he was shot in both legs, and died of his wounds.

HARRIS, Richard.

A Cornishman. One of Captain Roberts's crew and the oldest, being 45 years of age when he was hanged, an unusually advanced age to reach in this most "unhealthy" profession.

HARRISON, Captain.

Sailed in October, 1670, in company with Captains Prince and Ludbury, into Port Royal, after a successful expedition with 170 men up the San Juan River in Nicaragua, when they plundered the unfortunate city of Granada. This city had suffered so much from previous attacks from the buccaneers that the plunder came to only some £20 per man on this occasion.

Modyford, the Governor of [Jamaica](#), "reproved the captains for acting without commissions, but did not deem it prudent to press the matter too far"; in fact, instead of arresting Harrison and his crew, he sent them to join Morgan the Buccaneer, who was then gathering together a great fleet of buccaneers at the Isle of Vache.

HARVEY, Captain.

Arrived at New London in 1685 in company with another pirate, Captain Veale; posed as an honest merchant, but, being recognized, left in great haste.

HARVEY, William.

Tried for piracy with the rest of Gow's crew at Newgate in 1725, and acquitted.

HARWOOD, John.

Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704. One of the crew of the brigantine *Charles* (Captain John Quelch, Commander).

HATSELL, Captain.

This buccaneer served as an officer with Mansfield in his successful and daring night attack on the Island of Providence, when, with only 200 men, the fort was captured and the Spanish Governor taken prisoner. Captain Hattsell was left behind with thirty-five men to hold the island, while Mansfield sailed to the mainland with his prisoners, who had surrendered on condition that they should be safely conducted there.

HAWKINS, Captain.

A seventeenth-century [Barbadoes](#) pirate. Notorious for his cruelty, which led to his fighting a duel with one of his crew, Greaves, *alias* Red Legs, by whom he was defeated, his victor



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being elected captain in his place.

HAWKINS, Sir John.

Born in 1532. This famous Elizabethan seaman sailed in 1561 to the Canary Islands, and traded in negro slaves between Africa and Hispaniola. Afterwards became an officer in the Royal Navy. Died at sea off Porto Bello, in 1595, when serving with Drake in the West Indies.

HAWKINS, Captain Thomas.

In the year 1689 cruised off the coast of New England, burning and plundering the shipping. The Bay colony sent out an armed sloop, the *Mary* (Samuel Pease, commander), in October of that year, to attempt to capture Hawkins. Pease found the pirate in Buzzard's Bay. Hawkins ran up a red flag and a furious engagement began. The crew of the *Mary* at last boarded the pirates, and the captain, Pease, was so severely wounded that he died.

HAWKINS, Thomas.

Born at [Boston](#). Turned pirate and cruised with Captain Pound. Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1690, but reprieved. Sent to England, but on the voyage was killed in a fight with a French privateer.

HAYES, Captain, nicknamed "Bully Hayes." A South Sea pirate.

In 1870 was arrested by the English Consul at Samoa for piracy. There being no prison in this delightful island, the Consul ran Hayes's ship on shore, and waited for a man-of-war to call and take his prisoner away. Hayes spent his time, while under open arrest, attending native picnic parties, at which he was the life and soul, being, when off duty, a man of great charm of manner and a favourite with the ladies. Presently another pirate arrived, one Captain Pease, in an armed ship with a Malay crew. Hayes and Pease quarrelled violently, and the Consul had great trouble to keep the two pirates from coming to blows. This animosity was all a sham to throw dust in the Consul's eyes, for one night Pease sailed away with Hayes, whom he had smuggled on board his ship.

HAZEL, Thomas.

Of Westminster. Hanged in [Rhode Island](#) in 1723 at the advanced age, for a pirate, of 50. This is one of the longest lived pirates we have been able to hear of.

HEAMAN, Peter, *alias* Rogers.

A French pirate, born in 1787. Sailed from Gibraltar in May, 1821, as mate on board the schooner *Jane* (Captain Thomas Johnson), bound for Bahia, Brazil, with a very rich cargo of beeswax, silk, olives, and other goods, as well as eight barrels of Spanish dollars.

When about seventeen days out, in the middle of the night, Heaman attacked one of the crew, James Paterson, and beat him to death. On the captain coming up on deck to find out what all the noise was about, Heaman beat him to death with a musket, being assisted by the cook, Francis Gautier, also a Frenchman. The two conspirators then proceeded to imprison the rest of the crew in the forecastle, and threw the dead bodies of the captain and the sailor overboard. For two days the murderers tried to suffocate



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the crew by burning pitch and blowing the smoke into the forecandle. Failing to accomplish this they let the crew out after each had sworn on the Bible not to inform on them. The course was now altered, and they sailed towards Scotland. The barrels of dollars were broken open and the coins placed in bags. In June they reached the Island of Barra, where Gautier went ashore, wearing the late captain's green coat, and bought a large boat. Next, they sailed to Stornoway, where they arrived in July, and here they sank their schooner. The crew rowed ashore in the long-boat, sharing out the dollars as they went, using an old tin as a measure, each man getting 6,300 dollars as his share. Their boat was smashed on the rocks when landing, but they got their plunder safely ashore and hid it amongst the stones on the beach. Early next morning the mutineers were visited by the Customs officer. After he had left, the cabin boy, a Maltese, ran after him and told him the true story of the murders and robbery. A party of islanders was got together, the mutineers arrested and taken to Edinburgh, where Heaman and Gautier were tried for piracy and murder, and on November 27th found guilty and condemned to death. They were both hanged on January 9th, 1822, on the sands of Leith, within the flood mark, and afterwards their bodies were delivered to Dr. Alexander Munro, Professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, to be publicly dissected by him.

HEATH, Peleg.

One of William Coward's crew. Condemned to be hanged at [Boston](#) in 1690, but afterwards reprieved.

HEIDON, Captain.

Arrested for piracy in 1564 for having captured a Flemish ship. This vessel he manned with thirteen Scotchmen in addition to his own crew, and sailed off the coast of Spain. Here he took a prize containing a cargo of wine, which he carried to the Island of Bere in Bantry Bay. The wine was sold to Lord O'Sullivan. Heidon now fitted up another ship, the *John of Sandwich*. Was wrecked in her on the Island of Alderney and Heidon was arrested, but managed to escape in a small boat with some others of the pirates.

HENLEY, Captain.

In 1683 sailed from [Boston](#) "bound for the Rack," afterwards going to the Red Sea, where he plundered Arab and Malabar ships.

HERDUE, Captain. Buccaneer.

Commanded a frigate of four guns, crew of forty men, at Tortuga Island, in 1663.

HERNANDEZ, Augustus.

Hanged at Kingston, [Jamaica](#), in 1823.

HERNANDEZ, Juan.

Captured with nine other pirates by H.M. sloop-of-war *Tyne* and taken to [Jamaica](#). Hanged on February 7th, 1823, at Kingston.

HERRIOTT, David.

Master of the *Adventure*, from [Jamaica](#), taken by Teach in 1718. He joined the pirates, and later, when Major Stede Bonnet



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separated from Teach, he took Herriott to be his sailing-master. Taken prisoner with Bonnet and his crew of the *Royal James* by Colonel Rhet, at Cape Fear, North Carolina, September 27th, 1718. Herriott and the boatswain, Ignatius Pell, turned King's evidence at the trial of the pirates held at [Charleston](#). On October 25th, Bonnet and Herriott escaped from prison, in spite of the fact that the latter had turned King's evidence. Herriott was shot on Sullivan Island a few days later.

HEWETT, William, or Hewet, or Hewit.

Of [Jamaica](#). One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Tried for piracy at [Charleston](#) in 1718, and hanged at White Point on November 8th, and buried in the marsh below low-water mark.

HIDE, Daniel.

Of Virginia. One of the crew of Captain Charles Harris, who, with Captain Low, played havoc on the shipping off the American coast from New York to [Charleston](#). Hanged at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), in July, 1723, at the age of 23.

HILL, Corporal John.

In charge of the guard at Fort Royal, Falmouth, Maine, which all deserted one night, and went to sea with the pirate Captain Pound. Killed at Tarpaulin Cove in 1689.

HILLIARD, John.

Was "chief man" of the company of Captain Bartholomew Sharp on his "dangerous voyage" to the South Seas. Died on January 2nd, 1681, of dropsy; buried at sea with the usual buccaneers' honours.

HINCHER, Dr. John.

Of Edinburgh University.

Tried for piracy in July, 1723, at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), but acquitted. This young doctor, his age was only 22, was taken off a prize by Captain Low against his will, to act as ship's surgeon with the pirates.

HIND, Israel, or Hynde.

Of Bristol. One of Captain Roberts's crew. Hanged at Cape Coast Castle in 1722, at the age of 30.

HINGSON, John.

One of Wafer's party left behind and lost in the forest when Dampier crossed the Isthmus of Darien on foot in 1681.

HITCHENS, Robert.

A Devonshire man, born in the year 1515.

Took to piracy early in life. Sailed with the pirate Captain Heidon, and was wrecked on Alderney in the year 1564. Arrested and tried for piracy, and was hanged in chains at low-water mark at St. Martin's Point, Guernsey, in 1564, at the age of 50.

HOLDING, Anthony.

One of John Quelch's crew of the brigantine *Charles*. Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704.

HOLFORD, Captain. Buccaneer.



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Of [Jamaica](#). An old friend of the notorious pirate Vane. In 1718 he happened to arrive in his ship at a small uninhabited island in the Bay of Honduras to find Vane on shore and destitute. Vane thought he would be saved by Holford, but the latter was quite frank in refusing, saying: "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." It was owing to Holford that Vane was eventually taken a prisoner to [Jamaica](#) and there hanged.

HOLLAND, Captain Richard.

An Irishman.

Commanded a Spanish pirate vessel in the West Indies in 1724. The crew consisted of sixty Spaniards, eighteen French, and eighteen English sailors. Holland had originally belonged to the Royal Navy, but deserted from the *Suffolk* at Naples, and took shelter in a convent in that city. In August, 1724, Holland's ship took as prizes the *John and Mary*, the *Prudent Hannah* of [Boston](#), and the *Dolphin*, of Topsham, all on their way to Virginia. From out of the *John and Mary* he took thirty-six men slaves, some gold dust, the captain's clothes, four great guns and small arms, and 400 gallons of rum.

HOPKINS, Mr. Buccaneer and apothecary.

First lieutenant to Captain Dover (a doctor of physic) on board the *Duchess* privateer, of Bristol. Mr. Hopkins was an apothecary by profession, not a sailor, but being a kinsman to the captain, no doubt was given promotion. He sailed from Bristol on August 2nd, 1708.

HORE, Captain.

About 1650 Hore turned from a privateer into a pirate, and was very active and successful in taking prizes between New York and [Newport](#), occasionally sailing to Madagascar to waylay ships of the East India Company.

HORNIGOLD, Captain Benjamin.

Commanded a sloop in 1716 and cruised off the Guinea coast with Teach, taking a big French Guinea ship. He then sailed to the Bahama Islands, where, in 1718, Woodes Rogers had just arrived with the offer of a pardon to all pirates who surrendered themselves. Teach went off again "on the account," but Hornigold surrendered. Shortly afterwards Hornigold was wrecked on a reef and drowned.

HOW, Thomas.

A native of Barnstaple in Devon.

One of Captain Bartholomew Roberts's crew. Condemned to death for piracy, but reprieved and sold to the Royal African Company to work on their plantations for seven years.

HOWARD, Thomas.

Born in [London](#), the son of a Thames lighterman. Sailing to [Jamaica](#), he deserted his ship and, with some companions of a like mind, stole a canoe and set off to the Grand Cayman Islands, and there met with some 200 buccaneers and pirates. Joining with these, they took several vessels, lastly a well-armed Spanish



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ship. In her they cruised off the coast of Virginia, taking a large New England brigantine, of which Howard was appointed quartermaster. Their next prize was a fine Virginian galley, twenty-four guns, crowded with convicts being transplanted to America. These passengers were only too willing to join the pirates.

Next, they sailed away to Guinea, where they took numerous prizes. Here they were attacked by a big Portuguese ship of thirty-six guns, which they defeated. Having by now got together a well appointed pirate fleet, they sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to Madagascar, the happy home of the South Sea pirates. Their ship, the *Alexander*, was wrecked and lost on a reef, and Howard, together with the English and Dutch members of the crew, seized the treasure, and drove off the Portuguese and Spanish sailors and also the captain, and got to shore in a boat. They then broke up their ship, and lived for a while by fishing and hunting. On one of these hunting parties, the men ran away and left Howard behind.

Howard was found by the King of Anquala, who took care of him until he was picked up by a ship. Later on, Howard became captain of a fine vessel, the *Prosperous*, thirty-six guns, which he and some other pirates had seized at Madagascar. In her, Howard went cruising, eventually in company with Captain Bowen, attacking a Moorish fleet off St. John's Island. Howard followed the Moorish ships up a river, and, after a fierce fight, seized the largest and richest prize, a ship containing upward of a million dollars worth of goods. Howard, having now made a considerable fortune, retired from the piratical life and went to India, and there married a native woman and settled down. Howard, who was a morose, sour kind of man, ill-treated his wife, and he was at length murdered by some of her relations.

HUGGIT, Thomas.

Of [London](#). Hanged at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), in July, 1723. Age 30.

HULL, Captain Edward.

Commanded the *Swallow* "frigott" in which he sailed from [Boston](#) in 1653, and captured several French and Dutch ships. He afterwards sold his vessels and went with his share of the plunder to England, where he settled down.

HUNTER, Andrew.

One of Captain Lowther's crew. Hanged at St. Kitts on March 11th, 1722.

HUSK, John.

One of Blackbeard's crew in the *Queen Ann's Revenge*. Killed off North Carolina in 1718.

HUTNOT, Joseph.

One of the crew of the notorious brigantine *Charles*, commanded by Captain Quelch. Tried for piracy at the Star Tavern, [Boston](#), in 1704.

HUTT, Captain George, or Hout. Buccaneer.

An Englishman who succeeded Captain Townley when the latter was



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killed during a gallant fight with three Spanish galleons in 1686 near Panama.

INGRAM, Gunner William.

Was one of Captain Anstis's crew in the *Good Fortune* when that pirate took the *Morning Star*. After the prize had been converted to the pirates' use, Ingram was appointed gunner. Later, when Ingram came to be tried for piracy, evidence was produced to prove that he had joined the pirates of his own free will, and, in fact, had on all occasions been one of the forwardest in any action, and altogether "a very resolute hardened Fellow." He was hanged.

IRELAND, John. Pirate.

"A wicked and ill-disposed person," according to the royal warrant of King William III. granted to "our truly and dearly beloved Captain William Kidd" to go in the year 1695 to seize this and other pirates who were doing great mischief to the ships trading off the coast of North America.

IRVINE, Captain.

One of the last pirates in the Atlantic. Very active in the early part of the nineteenth century.

JACKMAN, Captain. Buccaneer.

In 1665 took part with Morris and Morgan in a very successful raid on Central America, ascending the river Tabasco in the province of Campeachy with only 107 men. Led by Indians by a detour of 300 miles, they surprised and sacked the town of Villa de Mosa. Dampier describes this small town as "standing on the starboard side of the river, inhabited chiefly by Indians, with some Spaniards." On their return to the mouth of the river, Jackman's party found the Spaniards had seized their ship, and some three hundred of them attacked the pirates, but the Spaniards were easily beaten off.

The freebooters next attacked Rio Garta, and took it with only thirty men, crossed the Gulf of Honduras to rest on the Island of Roatan, and then proceeded to the Port of Truxillo, which they plundered. They next sailed down the Mosquito coast, burning and pillaging as they went.

Anchoring in Monkey Bay, they ascended the San Juan River in canoes one hundred miles to Lake Nicaragua. The pirates described the Lake of Nicaragua as being a veritable paradise, which, indeed, it must have been prior to their visit. Hiding by day amongst the many islands and rowing by night, on the fifth night they landed near the city of Granada, just one year after Mansfield's visit. The buccaneers marched right into the central square of the city without being observed by the Spaniards, who were taken completely by surprise, so that the English were soon masters of the city, and for sixteen hours they plundered it. Some 1,000 Indians, driven to rebellion by the cruelty and oppression of the Spaniards, accompanied the marauders and wanted to massacre the prisoners, particularly "the religious," but when they understood that the buccaneers were not remaining in Granada, they thought better of it, having, no doubt, a shrewd inkling of what to expect in the future when their rescuers had left.



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JACKSON, Captain William. Buccaneer.

In 1642 he gathered together a crew of more than a thousand buccaneers in the Islands of St. Kitts and [Barbadoes](#), and sailed with these in three ships to the Spanish Main, plundering Maracaibo and Truxillo.

On March 25th, 1643, Jackson's little fleet dropped anchor in the harbour, what was afterwards to be known as Kingston, in the Island of [Jamaica](#), which was then still in the possession of Spain. Landing 500 of his men, he attacked the town of St. Jago de la Vega, which he took after a hard fight and with the loss of some forty of his men. For sparing the town from fire he received ransom from the Spaniards of 200 beeves, 10,000 pounds of cassava bread, and 7,000 pieces of eight. The English sailors were so delighted by the beauty of the island that in one night twenty-three of them deserted to the Spaniards.

JACKSON, Nathaniel.

One of Captain Edward Teach's crew. Killed at North Carolina in 1718.

JAMES, Captain. Buccaneer.

Belonged to [Jamaica](#) and Tortuga. In 1663 was in command of a frigate, the *American* (six guns, crew of seventy men).

JAMES, Captain.

A buccaneer captain who was in 1640 temporarily appointed "President" of Tortuga Island by the Providence Company, while their regular Governor, Captain Flood, was in [London](#), clearing himself of charges preferred against him by the planters.

JAMES, Captain.

About 1709 commanded a pirate brigantine off Madagascar. Sailed for some time in company with a New York pirate called Ort Van Tyle.

JAMES, Charles.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew taken in the *Larimore* galley at Salem. Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704.

JAMISON, *alias* Monacre Nickola.

Born at Greenock in Scotland, the son of a rich cloth merchant, he received a polite education, spoke several languages, and was described as being of gentlemanly deportment.

He served as sailing-master to Captain Jonnia when he took the schooner *Exertion*. The captain and crew were eventually saved by Nickola. Years afterwards Nickola went to [Boston](#), and lived with Captain Lincoln of the *Exertion*, and made a living by fishing for mackerel in the warm season, and during the winter by teaching navigation to young gentlemen.

JANQUAIS, Captain.

A French filibuster of San Domingo.

His ship, *La Dauphine*, carried thirty guns and a crew of 180 men.

JEFFERYS, Benjamin.

Of Bristol. Taken by Roberts in the *Norman* galley in April, 1721.



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Roberts allowed those of the crew who did not wish to join the pirates to return to the *Norman*, but Jefferys had made such friends on the pirate ship that he was too drunk to go, and also was abusive in his cups, telling his hosts there was not one man amongst them. For this he received six lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails from every member of the crew, "which disordered him for some weeks." But Jefferys eventually proved himself a brisk and willing lad, and was made bos'on's mate. He was hanged a year later at the age of 21.

JENNINGS.

A Welshman who in 1613 was settled on the Barbary coast with some thirty other British pirates.

JENNINGS, Captain.

This Welsh pirate had been a man of good position, education, and property before he took to piracy, which he did for the love of the life and not from necessity. He was held in high esteem by his fellow-pirates at their stronghold in the Bahamas. When notice was brought of King George's pardon in 1717, a meeting was held of all the pirates at which Jennings presided. After much discussion, Jennings boldly gave out that he himself meant to surrender, whereupon some hundred and fifty other pirates declared their intention of doing likewise. On the new Governor's arrival from England they received their certificates, though the greater part of them soon went back to piracy, or, to quote the expressive Captain Johnson, "returned again like the Dog to the Vomit."

JOBSON, Richard, or Cobson or Gopson.

His original calling was that of a druggist's assistant in [London](#). He combined piracy with the study of divinity. He was one of Dampier's party which crossed the Isthmus of Darien in 1681, and was left behind with Wafer, who tells us in his book that Gopson "was an ingenious man and a good scholar, and had with him a Greek testament which he frequently read and would translate extempore into English to such of the company as were disposed to hear him."

After great sufferings in the tropical jungle in the wet season, Jobson and his friends reached the "North Sea" to find an English buccaneer vessel lying at anchor off the shore. On rowing out to the ship the canoe upset, and Jobson and his gun were thrown overboard, but the former was rescued, though he died a few days later on board the vessel owing to the exposure he had been subjected to. He was buried in the sand at Le Sounds Cay with full honours – that is, a volley of guns and colours flown at half-mast.

JOCARD, Le Capitaine.

A French filibuster who in 1684 had his headquarters in San Domingo.

He commanded the *Ironnelle*, a ship armed with eighteen guns and a crew of 120 men.

JOHNSON, Captain. A successful and very bloody pirate.

Of [Jamaica](#). Immediately after the publication of peace by Sir Thomas Lynch, Governor of [Jamaica](#) in 1670, which included a



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general pardon to all privateers, Johnson fled from Port Royal with some ten followers, and shortly after, meeting with a Spanish ship of eighteen guns, managed to take her and kill the captain and fourteen of the crew. Gradually collecting together a party of a hundred or more English and French desperadoes he plundered many ships round the Cuban coast. Tiring of his quarrelsome French companions he sailed to [Jamaica](#) to make terms with the Governor, and anchored in Morant Bay, but his ship was blown ashore by a hurricane. Johnson was immediately arrested by Governor Lynch, who ordered Colonel Modyford to assemble the justices and to proceed to trial and immediate execution. Lynch had had bitter experiences of trying pirates, and knew that the sooner they were hanged the better. But Modyford, like many other Jamaicans, felt a strong sympathy for the pirates, and he managed to get Johnson acquitted in spite of the fact that Johnson "confessed enough to hang a hundred honest persons." It is interesting to read that half an hour after the dismissal of the court Johnson "came to drink with his judges." Governor Lynch, now thoroughly roused, took the matter into his own hands. He again placed Johnson under arrest, called a meeting of the council, from which he dismissed Colonel Modyford, and managed to have the former judgment reversed. The pirate was again tried, and in order that no mistake might happen, Lynch himself presided over the court. Johnson, as before, made a full confession, but was condemned and immediately executed, and was, writes Lynch, "as much regretted as if he had been as pious and as innocent as one of the primitive martyrs." This second trial was absolutely illegal, and Lynch was reproved by the King for his rash and high-handed conduct.

JOHNSON, Captain Ben.

When a lad he had served as a midshipman in an East Indiaman, the *Asia*, but having been caught red-handed robbing the purser of brandy and wine, he was flogged and sent to serve as a sailor before the mast. In 1750, while in the Red Sea, he deserted his ship and entered the service of the Sultan of Ormus. Finding Johnson to be a clever sailor, the Sultan appointed him admiral of his pirate fleet of fourteen vessels. The young admiral became a convert to Brahminism, and was ceremoniously blessed by the arch-priests of the Temple. Amongst his crew Johnson had some two hundred other Englishmen, who also became followers of Brahmin, each of whom was allowed, when in port, a dancing girl from the Temple.

Johnson proved a most capable and bloodthirsty pirate, playing havoc with the shipping of the Red Sea, taking also several towns on the coast, and putting to death his prisoners, often after cruel tortures. His boldest exploit was to attack the fortified town of Busrah. This he did, putting the Sheik and most of the inhabitants to death, and taking back to his master, the Sultan, vast plunder of diamonds, pearls, and gold.

On another occasion Johnson landed his crews on the Island of Omalee, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, a favourite place of pilgrimage, and raided the temples of the Indian God Buddha. Putting to death all the two thousand priests, he cut off the noses and slit the upper lips of seven hundred dancing girls, only sparing a few of the best looking ones, whom he carried away with him along with plunder worth half a million rupees.



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On their way back to the Red Sea the pirates met with an English East Indiaman, which they took and plundered, and Johnson, remembering his previous sufferings in the same service, murdered the whole crew.

Shortly afterwards Johnson and ten of his English officers contrived to run away from their master, the Sultan, in his best and fastest lateen vessel, with an enormous booty. Sailing up to the head of the Persian Gulf, Johnson managed to reach Constantinople with his share of the plunder, worth £800,000. With this as an introduction, he was hospitably received, and was made a bashaw, and at the end of a long life of splendour died a natural death.

JOHNSON, Captain Henry, *alias* "Henriques the Englishman."

A West Indian pirate, born in the North of Ireland.

Commanded the *Two Brothers*, a [Rhode Island](#)-built sloop, eighteen guns, crew of ninety, mostly Spaniards. On March 20th, 1730, he took the *John and Jane* (Edward Burt, master), from [Jamaica](#), off Swan Island. The *John and Jane* was armed with eight carriage and ten swivel guns, and a crew of only twenty-five men. After a gallant resistance for five hours the pirates boarded and took the English ship. The few survivors were stripped naked, and preparations made to hang them in pairs. This was prevented by Captain Johnson and an English pirate called Echlin. There was a Mrs. Groves, a passenger, in the *John and Jane*, whose husband and the English surgeon had both been killed at the first onslaught of the pirates. This poor lady was hidden in the hold of the ship during the action, and was only informed afterwards of the death of her husband. The pirates now dragged her on deck, "stript her in a manner naked," and carried her as a prize to the Spanish captain, Pedro Poleas, who immediately took her to the "great cabin and there with horrible oaths and curses insolently assaulted her Chastity." Her loud cries of distress brought Captain Johnson into the cabin, who, seeing what was on hand, drew his pistol and threatened to blow out the brains of any man who attempted the least violence upon her. He next commanded everything belonging to Mrs. Groves to be returned to her, which was done — including her clothing. The gallant conduct of Johnson is the more surprising and pleasing since he had the reputation of being as bloody and ruthless a pirate as ever took a ship or cut an innocent throat. He only had one hand, and used to fire his piece with great skill, laying the barrel on his stump, and drawing the trigger with his right hand.

In all the American "plantations" there were rewards offered for him alive or dead.

The end of this "penny-dreadful" pirate is unrecorded, but was probably a violent one, as this type of pirate seldom, if ever, died in his bed.

JOHNSON, Isaac.

One of Captain Quelch's crew. Tried for piracy at the Star Tavern at [Boston](#) in 1704.

JOHNSON, Jacob.

Taken prisoner by Captain Roberts out of the *King Solomon*, he joined the pirates.



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JOHNSON, John, or Jaynson.

Born "nigh Lancaster." Taken out of the *King Solomon*. One of Roberts's crew. Hanged in 1722 at the age of 22.

JOHNSON, Marcus.

One of Captain Roberts's crew. Hanged in 1722. Stated in his death warrant to be a native of Smyrna. Died at the age of 21.

JOHNSON, Robert.

From Whydah in West Africa. Tried for piracy with the rest of Captain Roberts's crew, and hanged in 1722 at the age of 32. At his trial he pleaded that he did not enter with the pirates of his own free will, and called witnesses to prove that at the time he was captured he was so very drunk that he had to be hoisted out of his own ship, the *Jeremiah and Ann*, into the pirate ship in tackles.

JOHNSTON, Thomas.

Of [Boston](#). Known as "the limping privateer." Sailed with Captain Pound. Wounded in the jaw in the fight at Tarpaulin Cove. Tried for piracy at [Boston](#), and hanged on January 27th, 1690.

JONES, Captain Paul.

Probably few persons, even in Great Britain, would to-day call Paul Jones a pirate, but this was not always the case. In all books on pirates written shortly after the American war, Paul Jones figured as a notorious character.

This famous privateer, let us call him, was born at Kirkcudbright in Scotland in 1728, the son of Mr. Paul, head gardener to Lord Selkirk, and was christened John Paul. So much has been written about this man in books, easily procurable for reference, that little need be said about him here.

Starting life as a sailor before the mast, he quickly showed abilities which led to his promotion to the rank of mate in an English ship trading in the West India Islands, and later he was made master. On the declaration of war with America, Jones joined the rebels, and was given command of a privateer, and from 1777 he became a terror to English shipping around the British Isles.

One of his most startling exploits was his surprise visit in his ship, the *Ranger*, to his old home with the object of kidnapping his former employer, Lord Selkirk.

On September 23rd, 1779, he fought his famous action off Scarborough against a British convoy from the Baltic under the command of Captain Pearson, in the *Serapis*, and Captain Piercy in the *Countess of Scarborough*. Jones had left the *Ranger* for a frigate called the *Bonne Homme Richard* of forty guns and a crew of three hundred and seventy men, and had also under his command four other ships of war. A furious engagement took place, the utmost bravery being shown on either side; the English ships at last being compelled to surrender, but not until the enemy had themselves suffered fearful damage to both their crews and ships. After the conclusion of peace, Paul Jones, once the darling of two continents, faded into obscurity and even poverty, and died in Paris in the year 1792 at the age of 64.



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JONES. Seaman.

A mariner. "A brisk young fellow" who served with Captain Bartholomew Roberts's crew. On one occasion Captain Roberts had reason to think that one of his men had spoken disrespectfully to him, so, as a warning to the rest, he killed him. The dead man's greatest friend was Jones, who, hearing what had happened, had a fierce fight with Roberts. This severe breach of discipline was punished by Jones receiving two lashes on the back from every man on board. Jones after this sailed with Captain Anstis in the *Good Fortune*.

JONES, Thomas.

Found to be "not guilty" at a trial for piracy at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), in 1723. One of Captain Charles Harris's crew. Age 17.

JONES, William.

Tried for piracy at [Boston](#), 1704.

JONES, William.

Of [London](#). Age 28. Hanged at [Rhode Island](#), 1723.

JONNIA, Captain.

A Spaniard. Commanded in 1821 a fast schooner, carrying a crew of forty men, armed with muskets, cutlasses, blunderbusses, long knives, dirks, two carronades – one a twelve, the other a six-pounder. They had aboard with them three Mexican negresses. The pirates took and plundered the [Boston](#) schooner *Exertion*, on December 17th, 1821, the crew being considerably drunk at the time. The plunder they took to Principe in the Island of Cuba. The pirates took everything from their prisoners, even their clothes, but as a parting gift sent the captain a copy of the "Family Prayer Book" by the Rev. Mr. Brooks. The prisoners were marooned on a small mangrove quay, but they eventually escaped. Jonnia and some of his crew were afterwards captured by an English ship and taken to Kingston, [Jamaica](#), and there hanged.

JOSE, Miguel.

Hanged at Kingston, [Jamaica](#), in February, 1823. This old man's last words on the scaffold were: "No he robado, no he matado ningune, muero inocente."

JUDSON, Randall.

One of Captain Roderigo's crew. Tried for piracy at [Cambridge](#), Massachusetts, in June, 1675, and sentenced to be hanged; "presently after the lecture," which was delivered by the Rev. Increase Mather. Afterwards pardoned, but fined and banished from the colony.

KELLWANTON.

A notorious pirate in the sixteenth century. Was captured in the Isle of Man in 1531.

KENNEDY, Captain.

Began life as a pickpocket and housebreaker in [London](#). He was Captain Roberts's lieutenant, and was afterwards given command of a prize, the *Rover*.

Kennedy could never, even when a captain, forget his old trade.



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It is recorded that he stole a black suit of clothes from the captain of the *Bird* at Sierra Leone in 1718. These he put on with the captain's best wig and sword. He then swaggered about on board in these till his fellow-pirates drenched him with buckets of claret, so that he had to disrobe and throw the garments overboard.

Owing to a quarrel with Captain Roberts, Kennedy went off in his ship, the *Rover*, and sailed to [Barbadoes](#). His first prize, a [Boston](#) ship, was a distinct novelty, being commanded by one Captain Knot, a Quaker, who lived up to the principles of his sect by allowing no pistol, sword, or cutlass, or other weapon aboard his vessel. The crew, finding Kennedy had no knowledge whatever of navigation, threatened to throw him overboard, but because he was a man of great personal courage they did not in the end carry out their threat. The crew next decided to give over piracy and to set sail for Ireland. This island they altogether missed through bad navigation, and they ran the ship ashore on the north of Scotland. The crew landed and passed themselves off as shipwrecked mariners, but owing to their drinking and rioting in each village they came to, the whole countryside was soon roused. Kennedy slipped away and reached Ireland. Having soon spent all his ill-gotten gains in Dublin, he came to Deptford and set up a house of ill-fame, adding occasionally to his income from this source by a little highwaymanry. One of the ladies of his house at Deptford, to be revenged for some slight or other, gave information to the watch, and Kennedy was imprisoned at Marshalsea and afterwards tried for robbery and piracy. Kennedy turned King's evidence against some of his old associates, but this did not save his neck, for he was condemned and hanged at Execution Dock.

KHEYR-ED-DIN. Corsair.

Brother of the famous Barbarossa. When the latter was defeated and killed by the Spaniards, Kheyr-ed-din sent an ambassador to Constantinople, begging for help to protect Algiers. He was appointed Governor of Algiers by the Sultan of Turkey in 1519. Now greatly increased both in ships and power, he scoured the whole Mediterranean for Italian and Spanish prizes. He raided the Spanish coast and carried off slaves from the Balearic Islands. He next took and destroyed the fortress of Algiers, and employed 7,000 Christian slaves to build a new one and also a great mole to protect the harbour. Invited by Solyman the Magnificent to help him against the Christian Admiral Andria Doria, in August, 1533, he sailed from Algiers with his fleet, being joined on the way by another noted corsair, Delizuff.

A year afterwards, at the age of 73, Kheyr-ed-din set out from Constantinople with a vast fleet, sacking towns and burning all Christian ships that were so unfortunate as to fall in his way. He returned to the Bosphorus with huge spoil and 11,000 prisoners. He sacked Sardinia, then sailed to Tunis, which he vanquished.

Charles V. of Spain now began to collect a large fleet and an army of 25,000 men and sailed to Tunis. A fierce fight followed; the Christians broke into the town, massacred the inhabitants and rescued some 20,000 Christian slaves. Kheyr-ed-din escaped with a few followers, but soon was in command of a fleet of pirate galleys once more. A terrific but undecisive naval battle



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took place off Prevesa between the Mohammedans and the Christians, the fleet of the latter being under the command of Andrea Doria; and Kheyr-ed-din died shortly afterwards at Constantinople at a great age.

KIDD, Captain William, sometimes Robert Kidd or Kid.

In the whole history of piracy there is no name that has so taken the world's fancy than has that of William Kidd. And yet, if he be judged by his actions as a pirate, he must be placed amongst the second- or even third-rate masters of that craft. He took but two or three ships, and these have been, after two hundred years, proved to be lawful prizes taken in his legal capacity as a privateer.

Kidd was born at Greenock in Scotland about the year 1655, and was the son of the Rev. John Kidd. Of his early life little record is left, but we know that in August, 1689, he arrived at St. Nevis in the West Indies, in command of a privateer of sixteen guns. In 1691, while Kidd was on shore, his crew ran away with his ship, which was not surprising, as most of his crew were old pirates. But that Kidd was an efficient seaman and a capable captain is shown by the number of times he was given the command of different privateer vessels, both by the Government of New York and by privateer owners.

In 1695 Kidd was in [London](#), and on October 10th signed the articles which were to prove so fatal for him. In January, 1696, King William III. issued to his "beloved friend William Kidd" a commission to apprehend certain pirates, particularly Thomas Tew, of [Rhode Island](#), Thomas Wake, and William Maze, of New York, John Ireland, and "all other Pirates, Free-booters, and Sea Rovers of what Nature soever."

This privateer enterprise was financed chiefly by Lord Bellomont, but the other adventurers (on shore and in safety) were the Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Orford, the First Lord of the Admiralty; the Earl of Romney and the Duke of Shrewsbury, Secretaries of State; Robert Livingston, Esq., of New York; and lastly, Captain Kidd himself.

The ship the *Adventure* galley was bought and fitted up, and Kidd sailed away in her to suppress piracy, particularly on the coast of America. Nothing was heard of him till August, 1698, when ugly rumours began to get about of piracies committed by Kidd in the Indian Ocean. In December of the same year a general pardon was offered to all pirates who should surrender themselves, with two exceptions – namely, Captain Avery and Captain Kidd. In May, 1699, Kidd suddenly appeared in a small vessel at New York, with rich booty. His chief patron, Lord Bellomont, was now Governor, and was placed in the most awkward position of having to carry out his orders and arrest Kidd for piracy and send him in chains to England in H.M.S. *Advice*, which ship had been sent specially to New York to carry back Kidd, Bradish, and other pirates to England.

The trial of Kidd proved a scandal, for someone had to suffer as scapegoat for the aristocratic company privateers, and the lot fell to the luckless Kidd. Kidd was charged with piracy and with murder. The first charge of seizing two ships of the Great Mogul could have been met by the production of two documents which Kidd had taken out of these ships, and which, he claimed,



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proved that the ships were sailing under commissions issued by the French East India Company, and made them perfectly lawful prizes. These commissions Kidd had most foolishly handed over to Lord Bellomont, and they could not be produced at the trial, although they had been exhibited before the House of Commons a little while previously.

It is an extraordinary and tragic fact that these two documents, so vital to Kidd, were discovered only lately in the Public Records Office – too late, by some 200 years, to save an innocent man's life.

As it happened, the charge of which Kidd was hanged for was murder, and ran thus: "Being moved and seduced by the instigations of the Devil he did make an assault in and upon William Moore upon the high seas with a certain wooden bucket, bound with iron hoops, of the value of eight pence, giving the said William Moore one mortal bruise of which the aforesaid William Moore did languish and die." This aforesaid William Moore was gunner in the *Adventure* galley, and was mutinous, and Kidd, as captain, was perfectly justified in knocking him down and even of killing him; but as the court meant Kidd to "swing," this was quite good enough for finding him guilty. The unfortunate prisoner was executed at Wapping on May 23rd, 1701, and his body afterwards hanged in chains at Tilbury.



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A PIRATE BEING HANGED AT EXECUTION DOCK,

WAPPING.

A popular ballad was sung to commemorate the life and death of Kidd, who, for some reason, was always called Robert Kidd by the populace. It consists of no less than twenty-four verses, and we here give fifteen of them:

THE BALLAD OF CAPTAIN KIDD

My name was Robert Kidd, when I sailed, when I sailed,
My name was Robert Kidd, when I sailed,
My name was Robert Kidd,
God's laws I did forbid,
And so wickedly I did, when I sailed.

My parents taught me well, when I sailed, when I sailed,
My parents taught me well, when I sailed,
My parents taught me well,
To shun the gates of hell,
But 'gainst them I rebelled, when I sailed.

I'd a Bible in my hand, when I sailed, when I sailed,
I'd a Bible in my hand, when I sailed,
I'd a Bible in my hand,
By my father's great command,
And sunk it in the sand, when I sailed.

I murdered William Moore, as I sailed, as I sailed,
I murdered William Moore, as I sailed,
I murdered William Moore,
And laid him in his gore,
Not many leagues from shore, as I sailed.

I was sick and nigh to death, when I sailed, when I sailed,
I was sick and nigh to death, when I sailed,
I was sick and nigh to death,
And I vowed at every breath,
To walk in wisdom's ways, as I sailed.

I thought I was undone, as I sailed, as I sailed,
I thought I was undone, as I sailed,
I thought I was undone,
And my wicked glass had run,
But health did soon return, as I sailed.

My repentance lasted not, as I sailed, as I sailed,
My repentance lasted not, as I sailed,
My repentance lasted not,
My vows I soon forgot,
Damnation was my lot, as I sailed.

I spied the ships from France, as I sailed, as I sailed,
I spied the ships of France, as I sailed,
I spied the ships from France,
To them I did advance,



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And took them all by chance, as I sailed.

I spied the ships of Spain, as I sailed, as I sailed,
I spied the ships of Spain, as I sailed,
I spied the ships of Spain,
I fired on them amain,
'Till most of them was slain, as I sailed.

I'd ninety bars of gold, as I sailed, as I sailed,
I'd ninety bars of gold, as I sailed,
I'd ninety bars of gold,
And dollars manifold,
With riches uncontrolled, as I sailed.

Thus being o'er-taken at last, I must die, I must die,
Thus being o'er-taken at last, I must die,
Thus being o'er-taken at last,
And into prison cast,
And sentence being passed, I must die.

Farewell, the raging main, I must die, I must die,
Farewell, the raging main, I must die,
Farewell, the raging main,
To Turkey, France and Spain,
I shall n'er see you again, I must die.

To Execution Dock I must go, I must go,
To Execution Dock I must go,
To Execution Dock,
Will many thousands flock,
But I must bear the shock, and must die.

Come all ye young and old, see me die, see me die,
Come all ye young and old, see me die,
Come all ye young and old,
You're welcome to my gold,
For by it I've lost my soul, and must die.

Take warning now by me, for I must die, for I must die,
Take warning now by me, for I must die,
Take warning now by me,
And shun bad company,
Lest you come to hell with me, for I die.

KILLING, James.

One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew, who gave evidence against him at his trial at [Charleston](#) in 1718.

KING, Charles.

Attempted to escape in the *Larimore* galley, but was captured and brought into Salem. Tried at [Boston](#) with the rest of Quelch's crew in June, 1704.

KING, Francis.

One of Captain Quelch's crew captured in the *Larimore* galley by Major Sewall, and brought into Salem Harbour on June 11th, 1704. Tried at [Boston](#) and condemned to be hanged. Was reprieved while standing on the gallows.

KING, John.

One of Captain Quelch's crew taken out of the *Larimore* galley.



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Tried at [Boston](#) in June, 1704.

KING, Matthew.

Of [Jamaica](#). One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Was hanged at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, on November 8th, 1718, and buried in the marsh below low-water mark.

KNEEVES, Peter.

Of Exeter in Devon.

Sailed with Captain Charles Harris, and was tried for piracy with the rest of his crew at [Rhode Island](#) in 1723. Hanged at [Newport](#) at the age of 32.

KNIGHT, Captain W. Buccaneer.

In 1686 Knight was cruising off the coast of Peru and Chile with Swan, Townley, and Davis. At the end of that year, having got a fair quantity of plunder, he sailed round the Horn to the West Indies.

KNIGHT, Christopher.

One of Captain Coward's crew. Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in January, 1690, and found guilty, but afterwards reprieved.

KNOT, Captain.

An old Massachusetts pirate who retired from the sea and was settled in [Boston](#) in 1699. His wife gave information to the Governor, the Earl of Bellomont, of the whereabouts of a pirate called Gillam, who was "wanted."

KOXINGA. His real name was Kuo-hsing Yeh, Koxinga being the Portuguese version.

The son of a Chinese pirate, Cheng Chih-lung, by a Japanese mother, he was born in 1623.

From early youth Koxinga was inspired with a hatred of the Manchus, who had imprisoned his father.

The young pirate soon became so successful in his raids along the coast of China that the Emperor resorted to the extraordinary expedient of ordering the inhabitants of more than eighty seaboard towns to migrate ten miles inland, after destroying their homes.

There can be no doubt that Koxinga was a thorough-going cut-throat pirate, worked solely for his own ambitious ends and to satisfy his revengeful feelings, but the fact that he fought against the alien conquerors, the Dutch in Formosa, and defeated them, caused him to be regarded as a hero pirate.

His father was executed at Peking, which only increased his bitterness against the reigning house. Koxinga made himself what was, to all intents and purposes, the ruler of Formosa, and the island became, through him, part of the Chinese Empire.

After his death, which took place in 1662, he received official canonization.

The direct descendant of Koxinga, the pirate, is one of the very few hereditary nobles in China.

LACY, Abraham.

Of Devonshire. Hanged at the age of 21 at [Rhode Island](#) in 1723.



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du LAERQUERAC, Captain John.

This Breton pirate was captured in 1537 by a Bristol seaman called John Wynter. Du Laerquerac, with other pirates from Brittany, had been holding up ships on their way to the great fair of St. James at Bristol. On being arrested, he denied that he had "spoiled" any English ships, but on being further pressed to confess, admitted that he had taken a few odds and ends, such as ropes, sailors' clothes, some wine, fish, a gold crown in money and eleven silver halfpence, as well as four daggers and a "couverture."

LAFITTE, Captain Jean.

Jean and his brother first appeared in New Orleans in the year 1809. Though blacksmiths by profession, they soon took to smuggling goods brought by privateersmen and pirates. The headquarters of this trade was on the Island of Grande Terre in Baratavia Bay. This island was inhabited and governed by ex-pirates; one Grambo being the acknowledged chief, until he was shot by Jean Lafitte.

In 1813, the Baratarians were denounced by the Governor of Louisiana as pirates. This made no difference to the pirate smugglers, who grew more and more rich and insolent. The Governor then secured an indictment against Jean and his brother, Pierre, who retained the very best and most expensive lawyers in the State to defend them, and they were acquitted. In 1814, war was declared with England, and Jean was invited by the English to fight on their side, with the offer of a commission in the navy and a large sum of money. He refused this, and eventually General Jackson accepted his offer of the services of himself and his Baratarians, who proved invaluable in the Battle of Orleans, serving the guns. He disappeared completely after the war until 1823, when a British sloop of war captured a pirate ship with a crew of sixty men under the command of the famous Lafitte, who was amongst those who fell fighting.

LAGARDE, le Capitaine.

A French filibuster of San Domingo, who in 1684 commanded a small ship, *La Subtille* (crew of thirty men and two guns).

LAMBERT, John.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew. Hanged on Charles River, [Boston](#) Side, on Friday, June 30th, 1704. In a broadside published at [Boston](#) in July of the same year, Lambert's conduct on the gallows is described thus: "He appeared much hardened and pleaded much on his Innocency. He desired all men to beware of Bad Company and seemed to be in great Agony near his Execution."

LANDER, Daniel.

One of Captain Pound's crew.

LANDRESSON, Captain Michel, *alias* Breha.

Filibuster. Accompanied Pain in his expedition against St. Augustine in 1683. He was a constant source of annoyance to the Jamaicans. His ship was called *La Trompeuse*, but must not be confused with the famous ship of that name belonging to Hamlin. Landresson, when he had got a good booty of gold, jewels, cocoa, etc., would go to [Boston](#) to dispose of it to the godly merchants



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of New England. In 1684 a Royal proclamation was published in Massachusetts, warning all Governors that no succour or aid was to be given to any of the outlaws, but, in spite of this, Landresson was received with open arms and the proclamations in the streets torn down.

In 1684 he was at San Domingo, in command of *La Fortune* (crew of 100 men and fourteen guns). At this time the filibuster was disguised under the *alias* of Le Capitaine Breha.

Captured in 1686 by the Armada de Barlorento, and hanged with several of his companions.

LANE, Captain.

In 1720 Lane was one of Captain England's crew when he took the *Mercury* off the coast of West Africa. The *Mercury* was fitted up as a pirate ship, named the *Queen Ann's Revenge*, and Lane was voted captain of her. Lane left Captain England and sailed to Brazil, where he took several Portuguese ships and did a great deal of mischief.

LARIMORE, Captain Thomas, or Larramore.

Commanded the *Larimore* galley. In 1704 was with the pirate Quelch and several other pirates, and, among other prizes, seized a Portuguese ship, the *Portugal*, from which they took gold dust, bar and coined gold, and other treasure, and at the same time "acted divers villainous Murders." For these Larimore was tried, condemned and hanged at [Boston](#), June 11th, 1704.

LAWRENCE, Nicholas.

Tried for piracy with the rest of Quelch's crew at [Boston](#) in 1704.

LAWRENCE, Richard.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew. Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704.

LAWSON, Edward.

Born in the Isle of Man. One of Captain Harris's crew. Hanged at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), in July, 1723, at the age of 20.

L'ESCAVER. A French filibuster.

In 1685, in company with Grognet, Davis, and Swan, sacked Paita and Guayaquil and blockaded Panama. Afterwards sailed with Townley and his English pirates and again plundered Guayaquil. Suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Spaniards at Quibo, afterwards being rescued by Townley, with whom he and his crew of buccaneers sacked Granada in Nicaragua.

LESSONE, Captain. French filibuster.

In 1680 he joined Sharp, Coxon, and other English buccaneers in an attack on Porto Bello. Putting 300 men into canoes, they landed some sixty miles from the city and marched for four days, arriving in a weak state through hardship and lack of food, but in spite of this they took the city on February 17th, 1680.

LEVERCOTT, Sam.

Hanged in 1722 at the Island of St. Kitts, with the rest of Captain Lowther's crew.



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LEVIT, John.

Of North Carolina. One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Hanged at White Point, [Charleston](#), South Carolina, on November 8th, 1723.

LEWIS, James.

After being a prisoner in France, he managed to reach Spain, and was with Avery when he seized the ship *Charles the Second*. Tried for piracy at the Old Bailey in 1696 and hanged.

LEWIS, Nicholas.

One of Captain George Lowther's crew. Hanged at St. Kitts on March 11th, 1722.

LEWIS, William.

The greatest triumph and most important exploit of this pirate was the attacking, and eventually taking, of a powerful French ship of twenty-four guns.

Lewis enjoyed a longer career than most of the brethren, and by 1717 he was already one of the leading piratical lights of Nassau, and his end did not come till ten years later. In 1726, he spent several months on the coast of South Carolina and Virginia, trading with the inhabitants the spoils he had taken from vessels in the Atlantic. He learnt his trade under the daring pirate Bannister, who was brought into Port Royal, hanging dead from his own yard-arm. On this occasion, Lewis and another boy were triced up to the corvette's mizzen-peak like "two living flags."

Lewis, amongst other accomplishments, was a born linguist, and could speak with fluency in several languages, even the dialect of the Mosquito Indians. He was once captured by the Spaniards, and taken to Havana, but escaped with a few other prisoners in a canoe, seized a piragua, and with this captured a sloop employed in the turtle trade, and by gradually taking larger and larger prizes, Lewis soon found himself master of a fine ship and a crew of more than fifty men. He renamed her the *Morning Star*, and made her his flagship.

On one occasion when chasing a vessel off the Carolina coast, his fore and main topmasts were carried away. Lewis, in a frenzy of excitement, clambered up the main top, tore out a handful of his hair, which he tossed into the wind, crying: "Good devil, take this till I come." The ship, in spite of her damaged rigging, gained on the other ship, which they took. Lewis's sailors, superstitious at the best of times, considered this intimacy of their captain with Satan a little too much, and soon afterwards one of the Frenchmen aboard murdered Lewis in his sleep.

LEYTON, Francis.

One of Captain Charles Harris's crew. Hanged for piracy at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), on July 19th, 1723. Age 39.

LIMA, Manuel.

Taken by H.M. sloop *Tyne*, and hanged at Kingston, [Jamaica](#), in February, 1823.

LINCH, Captain. Buccaneer.



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Of Port Royal, [Jamaica](#). In 1680 Lionel Wafer, tiring of the life of a civil surgeon at Port Royal, left [Jamaica](#) to go on a voyage with Captains Linch and Cook to the Spanish Main.

LING, Captain William.

A notorious pirate of New Providence. Captured and hanged shortly after accepting King George's pardon of 1718.

LINISLER, Thomas.

Of Lancashire. One of Captain Charles Harris's crew. Hanged at [Rhode Island](#) in 1723 at the age of 21.

LITHGOW, Captain.

Famous in his day for his activities in the West Indies, this pirate had his headquarters at New Providence in the Bahamas.

LIVER, William, *alias* Evis.

One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Hanged for piracy at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, in 1718.

LO, Mrs. Hon-cho.

This Chinese woman pirate was the widow of another noted pirate who was killed in 1921. She took command after the death of her husband, and soon became a terror to the countryside about Pakhoi, carrying on the work in the best traditions of the craft, being the Admiral of some sixty ocean-going junks. Although both young and pretty, she won a reputation for being a thorough-going murderess and pirate.

During the late revolution, Mrs. Lo joined General Wong Min-Tong's forces, and received the rank of full Colonel. After the war, she resumed her piracies, occasionally for the sake of variety, surprising and sacking a village or two, and from these she usually carried away some fifty or sixty girls to sell as slaves.

Her career ended quite suddenly in October, 1922.

LODGE, Thomas. Poet, buccaneer, and physician.

Born about 1557, he was the son of Sir Thomas Lodge, grocer, and Lord Mayor of [London](#) in 1563. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School and Trinity College, Oxford. The poet engaged in more than one freebooting expedition to Spanish waters between 1584 and 1590, and he tells us that he accompanied Captain Clarke in an attack on the Azores and the Canaries. "Having," he tells his friend Lord Hunsdon, "with Captain Clarke made a voyage to the Islands of Terceiras and the Canaries, to beguile the time with labour, I writ this book, rough, as hatched in the storms of the ocean, and feathered in the surges of many perilous seas." On August 26th, 1591, Lodge sailed from Plymouth with Sir Thomas Cavendish in the *Desire*, a galleon of 140 tons. The freebooters sailed to Brazil and attacked the town of Santa, while the people were at Mass. They remained there from December 15th until January 22nd, 1592. Some of the Englishmen, of whom Lodge was one, took up their quarters in the College of the Jesuits, and this literary buccaneer spent his time amongst the books in the library of the Fathers.

Leaving Brazil, the small fleet sailed south to the Straits of Magellan. While storm-bound amongst the icy cliffs of Patagonia,



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Lodge wrote his Arcadian romance "Margarite of America."

From the point of view of plunder, this expedition was a dismal failure, and the *Desire* returned and reached the coast of Ireland on June 11th, 1593. The crew had been reduced to sixteen, and of these only five were even in tolerable health.

At the age of 40, Lodge deserted literature and studied medicine, taking his degree of Doctor of Physics at Avignon in 1600. His last original work was a "Treatise on the Plague," published in 1603. After practising medicine with great success for many years, Thomas Lodge died, it is said, of the plague, in the year 1625, at the age of 68.

LONG, Zachariah.

Of the Province of Holland. One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Hanged at White Point, [Charleston](#), in 1718, and buried in the marsh below low-water mark.

LOPEZ, John.

Of Oporto.

This Portuguese pirate sailed in the *Royal James*, and was hanged with the rest of the crew at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, on November 8th, 1718.

LORD, John.

A soldier. Deserted from Fort Loyal, Falmouth, Maine. Killed at Tarpaulin Cove in 1689.

LOW, Captain Edward, or Loe.

Born in Westminster, he began in very early life to plunder the boys of their farthings, and as he grew bigger used to gamble with the footmen who waited in the lobby of the House of Commons. While still quite small one of his elder brothers used to carry little Edward hidden in a basket on his back, and when in a crowd the future pirate would, from above, snatch the hats and even the wigs off the heads of passing citizens and secret them in the basket and so get away with them. The Low family were the originators of this ingenious and fascinating trick, and for a time it was most successful, until the people of the city took to tying on their hats and wigs with bands to prevent their sudden removal. When he grew up, Ned went to [Boston](#) and earned an honest living as a rigger, but after a while he tired of this and sailed in a sloop to Honduras to steal log-wood. Here Low quarrelled with his captain, tried to shoot him, and then went off in an open boat with twelve other men, and the very next day they took a small vessel, in which they began their "war against all the world." Low soon happened to meet with Captain Lowther, the pirate, and the two agreed to sail in company. This partnership lasted until May 28th, 1722, when they took a prize, a brigantine from [Boston](#), which Low went into with a crew of forty-four men. This vessel they armed with two guns, four swivels, and six quarter-casks of powder, and saying good-bye to Lowther, sailed off on their own account. A week later a prize fell into their hands, which was the first of several. Things soon became too hot for Low along the American coast and the West Indies, as several men-of-war were searching for him; so he sailed to the Azores, taking on his way a big French ship of thirty-four guns, and later, in the harbour of St. Michael, he



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seized several vessels which he found at anchor there. Here they burnt the French ship, but let the crew all go, except the cook, who, they said, "being a greasy fellow would fry well in the fire, so the poor man was bound to the main mast and burnt in the ship to the no small derision of Low and his Mirmidons."

Low and his crew now began to treat their prisoners with great brutality. However, on one occasion the biter was bitten. It happened that one of the drunken crew, playfully cutting at a prisoner, missed his mark and accidentally slashed Captain Low across his lower jaw, the sword opening his cheek and laying bare his teeth. The surgeon was called, who at once stitched up the wound, but Low found some fault with the operation, as well he might, seeing that "the surgeon was tollerably drunk" at the time. The surgeon's professional pride was outraged by this criticism of his skill by a layman, and he showed his annoyance in a ready, if unprofessional, manner, by striking "Low such a blow with his Fists, that broke out all the Stitches, and then bid him sew up his Chops himself and be damned, so that the captain made a very pitiful Figure for some time after." Low took a large number of prizes, but he was not a sympathetic figure, and the list of his prizes and brutalities soon becomes irksome reading. Low, still in the *Fancy*, and accompanied by Captain Harris in the *Ranger*, then sailed back to the West Indies, and later to South Carolina, where he took several prizes, one the *Amsterdam Merchant* (Captain Willard), belonging to New England, and as Low never missed an opportunity of showing his dislike of all New Englanders, he sent the captain away with both his ears cut off and with various other wounds about his body.

Low and Harris now made a most unfortunate mistake in giving chase to a ship which on close quarters proved to be not a merchant vessel, but H.M.S. *Greyhound*. After a short fight, the coward Low slipped away, and left his consort, Harris, to carry on an unequal contest until he was compelled to surrender his ship.

Low's cruelties became more and more disgusting, and there can be little doubt that he was really by this time a lunatic.

In July, 1723, Low took a new ship for himself, naming himself Admiral, and sporting a new black flag with a red skeleton upon it. He again cruised off the Azores, the Canaries, and the Guinea coast, but what the end was of this repulsive, uninteresting, and bloody pirate has never been known.

LOWTHER, Captain George.

Sailed as second mate from the Thames in the *Gambia Castle*, a ship belonging to the African Company, sixteen guns and a crew of thirty men. On board as passengers were Captain Massey and a number of soldiers. Arriving at their destination, Massey quarrelled with the merchants on shore, and, a few days later, with Lowther, seized the ship, which he renamed the *Delivery*. They now went a-pirating, their first prize being a [Boston](#) ship, and cruising about off the Island of Hispaniola, several more were taken, but nothing very rich. Lowther quarrelled with Captain Massey, who, being a soldier, wished to land on some island to plunder the French settlements, but this was not agreed to, and Massey and his followers were sent away in a



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sloop. Life for Lowther now became a series of successes, prizes being taken, and visits to land being occasionally made for the crew to enjoy a drunken revel.

Having met with Captain Low, for a while the two sailed together, and took the *Greyhound*, a merchantman, and several more rich prizes. Lowther now commanded a small pirate fleet, and styled himself Admiral, his flagship being the *Happy Delivery*. While careening their ships in the Gulf of Matigue, they were suddenly attacked by the natives, and the pirates barely escaped in a sloop with their lives. Lowther soon improved himself by seizing a brigantine, and in her shaped his course to the coast of South Carolina, a favourite resort for the pirates. Here he attacked an English ship, but was so roughly handled that he was glad to run his ship ashore and escape.

In 1723 he steered for Newfoundland, taking many small vessels there, and returning to the West Indies. While cleaning his ship at the Isle of Blanco, he was suddenly attacked by a South Sea Company's ship, the *Eagle*, and the pirates were compelled to surrender. Lowther and a dozen of his crew escaped by climbing out of the cabin window, and, reaching the island, hid themselves in the woods. All were caught except Lowther and three men and a boy. He was shortly afterwards found lying dead with a pistol by his side, and was supposed to have shot himself. Three of his crew who were caught were carried to St. Christopher's, and there tried for piracy and hanged.

LUDBURY, Captain. Buccaneer.

Sailed in company with Captains Prince and Harrison in October, 1670, ascended the San Juan River in Nicaragua with a party of 170 men, and surprised and plundered the city of Granada.

LUKE, Captain Matthew.

This Italian pirate had his headquarters at Porto Rico, and specialized in attacking English ships. In 1718 he took four of these and murdered all the crews. In May, 1722, Luke made a terrible mistake. Perceiving what he thought to be a merchant ship, he attacked her, to find out all too late that she was an English man-of-war, the *Lauceston*. Luke and his crew were taken to [Jamaica](#) and hanged. One of his crew confessed to having killed twenty English sailors with his own hands.

LUSHINGHAM, Captain.

In 1564 this pirate was at Berehaven in the South of Ireland, having just sold a cargo of wine out of a Spanish prize to the Lord O'Sullivan, when some of Queen Elizabeth's ships arrived in the bay in search of pirates. By Lord O'Sullivan's help the pirates escaped, but Lushingham was killed "by a piece of ordnance" as he was in the act of waving his cap towards the Queen's ships.

LUSSAN, Le Sieur Raveneau de.

This French filibuster was a man of much better birth and education than the usual buccaneer. Also, he was the author of a most entertaining book recording his adventures and exploits as a buccaneer, called "Journal du Voyage fait a la Mer de sud avec les Flibustiers de l'Amerique en 1684."

Pressure from his creditors drove de Lussan into buccaneering,



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as being a rapid method of gaining enough money to satisfy them and to enable him to return to the fashionable life he loved so well in Paris. De Lussan was, according to his own account, a man of the highest principles, and very religious. He never allowed his crew to molest priests, nuns, or churches. After taking a Spanish town, the fighting being over, he would lead his crew of pirates to attend Mass in the church, and when this was done – and not until then – would he allow the plundering and looting to begin.

De Lussan was surprised and grieved to find that his Spanish prisoners had a most exaggerated idea of the brutality of the buccaneers, and on one occasion when he was conducting a fair young Spanish lady, a prisoner, to a place of safety, he was overwhelmed when he discovered that the reason of her terror was that she believed she was shortly to be eaten by him and his crew. To remedy this erroneous impression, it was the custom of the French commander to gather together all his prisoners into the church or the plaza, and there to give them a lecture on the true life and character of the buccaneers.

The student who wishes to learn more about the adventures of de Lussan can do so in his book. There he will read, amongst other interesting events, particulars about the filibuster's surprising and romantic affair with the beautiful and wealthy Spanish widow who fell so violently in love with him.

It happened on one occasion that Raveneau and his crew, having taken a town on the West Coast of South America after a somewhat bloody battle, had, as usual, attended Mass in the Cathedral, before setting out to plunder the place.

Entering one of the chief houses in the town, de Lussan discovered the widow of the late town treasurer dissolved in tears, upon which the tender buccaneer hastened, with profound apologies, discreetly to withdraw, but calling again next day to offer his sympathy he found the widow had forgotten all about the late treasurer, for she had fallen violently in love with her gallant, handsome, and fashionably dressed visitor.

After various adventures, de Lussan arrived safely back in Paris with ample means in his possession not only to satisfy his creditors, but also to enable him to live there as a gentleman of fortune and fashion.

MACHAULY, Daniel, or Maccawly, or McCawley.

A Scotch pirate. One of Captain Gow's crew. Hanged at Execution Dock at Wapping on June 11th, 1725.

MACKDONALD, Edward.

One of Captain George Lowther's crew in the *Happy Delivery*. Hanged at St. Kitts on March 11th, 1722.

MACKET, Captain, or Maggott.

On March 23rd, 1679, Macket, who commanded a small vessel of fourteen tons, with a crew of twenty men, was at Boca del Toro with Coxon, Hawkins, and other famous buccaneers, having just returned from the sacking of Porto Bello.

Shortly afterwards the fleet sailed to Golden Island, off the coast of Darien, and from thence set out to attack Santa Maria



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and Panama.

MACKINTOSH, William.

Of Canterbury in Kent. One of Captain Roberts's crew. Hanged at Cape Coast Castle in 1722 at the age of 21.

MAGNES, William, or Magnus.

Born at Minehead in Somersetshire in 1687. Quartermaster of the *Royal Fortune* (Captain Bartholomew Roberts). Tried for piracy at Cape Coast Castle, and hanged in chains in 1718, for taking and plundering the *King Solomon*.

MAIN, William.

One of Captain Roberts's crew. Hanged in April, 1722, at the age of 28 years.

MAIN, William.

Boatswain to Captain Bartholomew Roberts in the *Royal Fortune*. Was blown up, the explosion being caused by one of the crew firing his pistol into some gunpowder when the ship was taken by H.M.S. *Swallow* in 1722.

MAINTENON, Marquis de.

Arrived in the West Indies from France in 1676. In 1678 commanded *La Sorcière*, a frigate, and, in company with other French filibusters from Tortuga Island, cruised off the coast of Caracas. He ravaged the islands of Margarita and Trinidad. He met with but little success, and soon afterwards his fleet scattered.

MAINWARING, Captain Henry.

A notorious Newfoundland pirate. On June 4th, 1614, when off the coast of that island, in command of eight vessels, he plundered the fishing fleet, stealing what provisions and stores he was in need of, also taking away with him all the carpenters and mariners he wanted for his own fleet.

It was his custom, when taking seamen, to pick one out of every six. In all he took 400 men, some of whom joined him willingly, while others were "perforstmen." Sailing across the Atlantic to the coast of Spain, Mainwaring took a Portuguese ship and stole from out of her a good store of wine, and out of a French prize 10,000 dried fish. A few years later this pirate was pardoned and placed in command of a squadron and sent to the Barbary coast in an unsuccessful attempt to drive out the pirates who were settled there. Here he may well have met with his old friend Captain Peter Easton, who had also been a Newfoundland pirate, but in 1613 had joined the Barbary corsairs.

el MAJORCAM, Captain Antonio.

At one time an officer in the Spanish Navy. Became a notorious West Indian pirate, but about 1824 he retired from the sea to become a highwayman on shore.

MANSFIELD, Jo.

One of Captain Bartholomew Roberts's men. Must not be confused with Edward Mansfield, the famous buccaneer.

A native of the Orkney Islands. At one time was a highwayman.



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Later on deserted from the *Rose*, man-of-war. Volunteered to join the pirates at the island of Dominica, and was always keen to do any mischief. He was a bully and a drunkard.

When Roberts's ship was attacked by H.M.S. *Swallow* and had surrendered after a sharp fight, Mansfield, who had been below all the while, very drunk, came staggering and swearing up on deck, with a drawn cutlass in his hand, crying out to know who would go on board the prize with him, and it was some time before his friends could persuade him of the true condition of things.

At his trial at Cape Coast Castle he said little in his defence, but pleaded that the cause of his backsliding was drunkenness. Hanged in the year 1722 at the age of 30.

MANSFIELD, Captain Edward, or Mansvelt.

A Dutchman born in the Island of Curacao.

He was the chief of the buccaneers, and at his death was succeeded by Henry Morgan. He was the first buccaneer to cross the Isthmus of Darien to the Pacific Ocean. Noted for his charm of manner, he was very popular with the buccaneers of all nationalities. In 1663 he commanded a brigantine carrying four guns and a crew of sixty men. Was chosen admiral of the fleet of buccaneers that gathered at Bleufields Bay in [Jamaica](#) in November, 1665, at the invitation of Modyford, the Governor, when he appointed young Henry Morgan to be his vice-admiral. This fleet was to sail and attempt to seize the Island of Curacao, and consisted of fifteen ships and a mixed crew of 500 buccaneers. On the way there they landed in Cuba, although England was at peace with Spain, and marched forty miles inland, to surprise and sack the town of Sancti Spiritus, from which they took a rich booty.

Mansfield, "being resolved never to face the Governor of [Jamaica](#) until he had done some service to the King," next made a very daring attack on the Island of Old Providence, which the Spaniards had fortified and used as a penal settlement. This was successful, and Mansfield, with great humanity, landed all the prisoners on the mainland of America. For a long while it had been Mansfield's dream to make this island a permanent home of the buccaneers, as it was close to the Spanish Main, with the towns of Porto Bello and Vera Cruz, and on the trade route of the Spanish galleons, taking their rich cargoes to Spain.

Mansfield's next exploit was to ascend the San Juan River and to sack Granada, the capital of Nicaragua. From there he coasted south along Costa Rica, burning plantations, smashing the images in the churches, ham-stringing cows and mules, and cutting down fruit-trees.

He returned in June, 1665, to Port Royal, with a rich booty. For this inexcusable attack on a country at peace with England, Governor Modyford mildly reproved him!

Mansfield, now an old man, died suddenly at the Island of Tortuga, off Hispaniola, when on a visit to the French pirates there. Another account says that he was captured by the Spaniards and taken by them to Porto Bello, and there put to death.

MARTEEN, Captain David. Buccaneer.



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In 1665 he had his headquarters in [Jamaica](#).

MARTEL, Captain John.

An old Jamaican privateer. After the Peace of Utrecht, being out of employment, he took to piracy. His career as a pirate was very successful so long as it lasted. Cruising off [Jamaica](#), Cuba, and other islands, he continued taking ship after ship, with one particularly rich prize, a West African ship containing gold-dust, elephants' teeth, and slaves. His original command was a sloop of eight guns and a crew of eighty men, but after a short while he commanded a small fleet consisting of two ships (each armed with twenty guns), three sloops, and several armed prizes. With these Martel entered a bay in a small island called Santa Cruz, near Porto Rico, to careen and refit. This was in December, 1716, but news had leaked out of the pirate's whereabouts, and soon there arrived on the scene Captain Hume, of H.M.S. *Scarborough*. Martel tried to escape, but his ship ran aground, and many of the pirates were killed, but a few, with Martel, got ashore and hid on the island. None of them were heard of again except Martel, and it was supposed that they had died of hunger. In the space of three months Martel took and plundered thirteen vessels, all of considerable size. Two years later he was back in New Providence Island, when Governor Rogers arrived with King George's offer of pardon to the pirates, and Martel was one of those who surrendered.

MARTIN, John.

Hanged in Virginia in 1718 with the rest of Blackbeard's crew.

MASSEY, Captain John.

As a lieutenant, he "served with great applause" in the army in Flanders, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough.

He afterwards sailed from the Thames in the *Gambia Castle*, a ship of the African Company, in command of a company of soldiers which was being sent to garrison the fort. The merchants of Gambia were supposed to victual this garrison, but the rations supplied were considered by Massey to be quite insufficient. He quarrelled with the Governor and merchants, and took his soldiers back on board the ship, and with Lowther, the second mate, seized the ship and turned pirate. Lowther and Massey eventually quarrelled, for the latter, being a soldier, "was solicitous to move in his own sphere" – that is, he wanted to land his troops and plunder the French West Indian settlements. In the end Massey and a few followers were permitted to go off in a captured sloop, and in this sailed for Port Royal, [Jamaica](#). Arrived there, "with a bold countenance he went to the Governor" and told a long and plausible tale of how he had managed to escape from the pirates at the first opportunity. He deceived the sympathetic Governor, and was sent with Captain Laws to hunt for Lowther. Returning to [Jamaica](#) without finding Lowther, he was granted a "certificate of his surrender," and came to England as a passenger.

On reaching [London](#), he wrote a narrative of the whole affair – or as much as he deemed wise – to the African Company, who, receiving the story with far less credulity than the Governor of [Jamaica](#), returned him answer "that he should be fairly hanged," and very shortly afterwards he was, at Tyburn on July



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26th, 1723.

MAY, William.

A [London](#) mariner. One of Captain Avery's crew, left behind in Madagascar very sick. A negro, hearing that an Englishman was there, came to him and nursed and fed him. This negro spoke good English, having lived at Bethnal Green.

May was promoted afterwards to be captain of a ship in the Red Sea. He was described by a shipmate as being "a true cock of the Game and an old sportsman." Hanged at [London](#) in 1696.

MAZE, Captain William, or Mace, or Maise.

A notorious pirate; particularly mentioned in the royal warrant authorizing Captain Kidd to go and capture certain "wicked and ill-disposed persons."

Arrived in command of a big ship at New York in 1699, loaded with booty taken in the Red Sea.

McCARTHY, Captain Dennis.

Of New Providence, Bahama Islands. This pirate and prize-fighter was one of those who refused King George's pardon in 1717, and was eventually hanged by his late fellow-pirates. On the gallows he made the following dying speech: "Some friends of mine have often said I should die in my shoes, but I would rather make them liars." And so, kicking off his shoes, he was hanged.

MEGHLYN, Hans van.

A pirate of Antwerp, who owned a vessel of forty-five tons, painted black with pitch, and carried a crew of thirty. In 1539 he was cruising off Whitstable, on the lookout for vessels entering or leaving the Thames. Cromwell had been warned by Vaughan to look out for this pirate ship.

de MELTON.

A well-known pirate in the sixteenth century. Was with Kellwanton when he was captured in the Isle of Man in 1531, but de Melton managed to escape with some of the crew and get away in their ship to Grimsby.

MELVIN, William.

This Scotch pirate was hanged, with other members of Gow's crew, at Wapping in June, 1725.

MENDOZA, Antonio.

A Spaniard from San Domingo.

Mention is made of this unlucky mariner in a very interesting document which Mr. A. Hyatt Verrill was fortunate enough to acquire quite recently in the island of St. Kitts. It runs as follows:

"An assize and generall Gaole delivrie held at St. Christophers Colonie from ye nineteenthe daye of Maye to ye 22n. daye off ye same Monthe 1701 Captaine Josias Pendringhame Magistrate &c. The Jurye of our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge Doe presente Antonio Mendoza of Hispaniola and a subjecte of ye Kinge of Spain for that ye said on or about ye 11 Daye of Apryl 1701 feloniously delibyrately and malliciousley and encontrarye to ye laws off



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Almightie God and our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge did in his cuppes saucely and arrogantly speak of the Governour and Lord the Kinge and bye force and armies into ye tavernne of John Wilkes Esq. did entre and there did Horrible sware and cursse and did felonoslye use threatheninge words and did strike and cutte most murtherouslye severalle subjects of our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge. Of w'h Indictment he pleadeth not Guiltie butte onne presente Master Samuel Dunscombe mariner did sware that said Antonio Mendoza was of his knowenge a Blood-thirste piratte and Guiltie of diabolicalle practises & ye Grande Inquest findinge yt a trewe bill to be tryd by God and ye Countrye w'h beinge a Jurie of 12 men sworne finde him Guiltie & for the same he be adjudged to be carryd to ye Fort Prison to have both his earres cutt close by his head and be burnet throughe ye tongue with an Hot iron and to be caste chained in ye Dungan to awaite ye plesyre of God and Our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge."

MEYEURS.

A South Sea pirate, killed when taking part with Captain Williams in a raid against an Arab settlement at Bayu.

MICHEL, Capitaine. Filibuster.

His ship, *La Mutine*, was armed with forty-four guns and carried a crew of 200 men.

MICHEL LE BASQUE. A French filibuster.

In company with the butcher L'Onnais and 650 other buccaneers, he pillaged the town of Maracaibo in Venezuela, in the year 1667. A very successful but ruthless buccaneer.

don MIGUEL.

In 1830 commanded a squadron of small pirate vessels off the Azores. After seizing a Sardinian brig off St. Michael's, was himself captured by a British frigate.

MIGUEL, Francesco.

Hanged at Kingston, [Jamaica](#), in 1823.

MILLER, John.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew. Hanged at [Boston](#) on June 30th, 1704. A broadsheet published at the time, describing the scenes at the execution, tells us that Miller "seemed much concerned, and complained of a great Burden of Sins to answer for, expressing often: 'Lord, what shall I do to be Saved?'"

MILLER, Thomas.

Quartermaster on the pirate ship *Queen Ann's Revenge*, and killed on November 22nd, 1718.

MISNIL, Sieur du.

A French filibuster who commanded a ship, *La Trompeuse* (one hundred men and fourteen guns).

MISSON, Captain.

This unique pirate came of an ancient French family of Provence. He was the youngest of a large family, and received a good education. At the age of 15 he had already shown unusual distinction in the subjects of humanity and logic, and had



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passed quite tolerably in mathematics. Deciding to carve a fortune for himself with his sword, he was sent to the Academy at Angiers for a year, and at the conclusion of his military studies his father would have bought him a commission in a regiment of musketeers. But young Misson had been reading books of travel, and begged so earnestly to be allowed to go to sea that his father got him admitted as a volunteer on the French man-of-war *Victoire*, commanded by Monsieur Fourbin. Joining his ship at Marseilles, they cruised in the Mediterranean, and the young volunteer soon showed great keenness in his duties, and lost no opportunity of learning all he could about navigation and the construction of ships, even parting with his pocket-money to the boatswain and the carpenter to receive special instruction from them.

Arriving one day at Naples, Misson obtained permission from the captain to visit Rome, a visit that eventually changed his whole career.

It happened that while in Rome the young sailor met a priest, a Signor Caraccioli, a Dominican, who held most unclerical views about the priesthood; and, indeed, his ideas on life in general were, to say the least, unorthodox. A great friendship was struck up between these two, which at length led the priest to throw off his habit and join the crew of the *Victoire*. Two days out from port they met and fought a desperate hand-to-hand engagement with a Sallee pirate, in which the ex-priest and Misson both distinguished themselves by their bravery. Misson's next voyage was in a privateer, the *Triumph*, and, meeting one day an English ship, the *Mayflower*, between Guernsey and Start Point, the merchantman was defeated after a gallant resistance.

Rejoining the *Victoire*, Misson sailed from Rochelle to the West Indies, and Caraccioli lost no opportunity of preaching to young Misson the gospel of atheism and communism, and with such success that the willing convert soon held views as extreme as those of his teacher. These two apostles now began to talk to the crew, and their views, particularly on the rights of private property, were soon held by almost all on board. A fortunate event happened just then to help the new "cause." Meeting with an English man-of-war, the *Winchester*, off the island of Martinique, a smart engagement took place between the two ships, at the very commencement of which Captain Fourbin and three of the officers on the French ship were killed. The fight ended by the English ship blowing up, and an era of speech-making may be said to have now begun.

Firstly, Signor Caraccioli, stepping forward, made a long and eloquent address to Misson, inviting him to become captain of the *Victoire*, and calling upon him to follow the example of Alexander the Great with the Persians, and that of the Kings Henry IV. and VII. of England, reminding him how Mahomet, with but a few camel-drivers, founded the Ottoman Empire, also how Darius, with a handful of companions, got possession of Persia. Inflamed by this speech, young Misson showed what he could do, when, calling all hands up on deck, he made his first, but, as events proved, by far from last, speech. The result was a triumph of oratory, the excited French sailors crying out: "Vive le Capitaine Misson et son Lieutenant le Scavant Caraccioli!" Misson, returning thanks in a few graceful words, promised to



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do his utmost as their commander for their new marine republic. The newly elected officers retiring to the great cabin, a friendly discussion began as to their future arrangements. The first question that arose was to choose what colours they should sail under. The newly elected boatswain, Mathew le Tondu, a brave but simple mariner, advised a black one, as being the most terrifying. This brought down a full blast of eloquence from Caraccioli, the new lieutenant, who objected that "they were no pirates, but men who were resolved to affect the Liberty which God and Nature gave them," with a great deal about "guardians of the Peoples Rights and Liberties," etc., and, gradually becoming worked up, gave the wretched boatswain, who must have regretted his unfortunate remark, a heated lecture on the soul, on shaking "the Yoak of Tyranny" off their necks, on "Oppression and Poverty" and the miseries of life under these conditions as compared to those of "Pomp and Dignity." In the end he showed that their policy was not to be one of piracy, for pirates were men of no principle and led dissolute lives; but *their* lives were to be brave, just, and innocent, and their cause the cause of Liberty; and therefore, instead of a black flag, they should live under a white ensign, with the motto "For God and Liberty" embroidered upon it.

The simple sailors, debarred from these councils, had gathered outside the cabin, but were able to overhear this speech, and at its conclusion, carried away by enthusiasm, loud cries went up of "Liberty! Liberty! We are free men! Vive the brave Captain Misson and the noble Lieutenant Caraccioli!" Alas! it is impossible in the space of this work to do justice to the perfectly wonderful and idealistic conditions of this pirate crew. Their speeches and their kind acts follow each other in fascinating profusion. We can only recommend those who feel disposed to follow more closely the history of these delightful pirates, to read the account printed in English in 1726, if they are fortunate enough to come by a copy.

The first prize taken by these pirates under the white flag was an English sloop commanded by one Captain Thomas Butler, only a day's sail out from St. Kitts. After helping themselves to a couple of puncheons of rum and a few other articles which the pirates needed, but without doing any unkindness to the crew, nor stripping them, as was the usual custom of pirates on such occasions, they let them go, greatly to the surprise of Captain Butler, who handsomely admitted that he had never before met with so much "candour" in any similar situation, and to further express his gratitude he ordered his crew to man ship, and at parting called for three rousing British cheers for the good pirate and his men, which were enthusiastically given.

Sailing to the coast of Africa, Misson took a Dutch ship, the *Nieuwstadt*, of Amsterdam. The cargo was found to consist of gold dust and seventeen slaves. In the latter Captain Misson recognized a good text for one of his little sermons to his crew, so, calling all hands on deck, he made the following observations on the vile trade of slavery, telling his men:

"That the Trading for those of our own Species, cou'd never be agreeable to the Eyes of divine Justice. That no Man had Power of the Liberty of another; and while those who profess a more enlightened Knowledge of the Deity, sold Men like Beasts; they



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prov'd that their Religion was no more than Grimace, and that they differ'd from the Barbarians in Name only, since their Practice was in nothing more humane. For his Part, and he hop'd he spoke the Sentiments of all his brave Companions, he had not exempted his Neck from the galling Yoak of Slavery, and asserted his own Liberty, to enslave others. That however, these Men, were distinguished from the Europeans by their Colour, Customs, or religious Rites, they were the Work of the same omnipotent Being, and endued with equal Reason. Wherefore, he desired they might be treated like Freemen (for he wou'd banish even the Name of Slavery from among them) and be divided into Messes among them, to the end they might the sooner learn their language, be sensible of the Obligations they had to them, and more capable and zealous to defend that Liberty they owed to their Justice and Humanity." This speech was met with general applause, and once again the good ship *Victoire* rang with cries of "Vive le Capitaine Misson!" The negroes were freed of their irons, dressed up in the clothes of their late Dutch masters, and it is gratifying to read that "by their Gesticulations, they shew'd they were gratefully sensible of their being delivered from their Chains." But alas! a sad cloud was creeping insidiously over the fair reputation of these super-pirates. Out of the last slave ship they had taken, a number of Dutch sailors had volunteered to serve with Misson and had come aboard as members of his crew. Hitherto no swearword was ever heard, no loose or profane expression had pained the ears of Captain Misson or his ex-priestly lieutenant. But the Dutch mariners began to lead the crew into ways of swearing and drunkenness, which, coming to the captain's notice, he thought best to nip these weeds in the bud; so, calling both French and Dutch upon deck, and desiring the Dutch captain to translate his remarks into the Dutch language, he told them that -

"Before he had the Misfortune of having them on Board, his Ears were never grated with hearing the Name of the great Creator profaned, tho' he, to his Sorrow, had often since heard his own Men guilty of that Sin, which administer'd neither Profit nor Pleasure, and might draw upon them a severe Punishment: That if they had a just Idea of that great Being, they wou'd never mention him, but they wou'd immediately reflect on his Purity, and their own Vileness. That we so easily took Impression from our Company, that the Spanish Proverb says: 'Let a Hermit and a Thief live together, the Thief wou'd become Hermit, or the Hermit thief': That he saw this verified in his ship, for he cou'd attribute the Oaths and Curses he had heard among his brave Companions, to nothing but the odious Example of the Dutch: That this was not the only Vice they had introduced, for before they were on Board, his Men were Men, but he found by their beastly Pattern they were degenerated into Brutes, by drowning that only Faculty, which distinguishes between Man and Beast, Reason. That as he had the Honour to command them, he could not see them run into these odious Vices without a sincere Concern, as he had a paternal Affection for them, and he should reproach himself as neglectful of the common Good, if he did not admonish them; and as by the Post which they had honour'd him, he was obliged to have a watchful Eye over their general Interest; he was obliged to tell them his Sentiments were, that the Dutch allured them to a dissolute Way of Life, that they might take some Advantage over them: Wherefore, as his brave Companions, he was assured,

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wou'd be guided by reason, he gave the Dutch Notice, that the first whom he catch'd either with an Oath in his Mouth or Liquor in his Head, should be brought to the Geers, whipped and pickled, for an Example to the rest of his Nation: As to his Friends, his Companions, his Children, those gallant, those generous, noble and heroick Souls he had the Honour to command, he entreated them to allow a small Time for Reflection, and to consider how little Pleasure, and how much Danger, might flow from imitating the Vices of their Enemies; and that they would among themselves, make a Law for the Suppression of what would otherwise estrange them from the Source of Life, and consequently leave them destitute of his Protection."

This speech had the desired effect, and ever afterwards, when any one of the crew had reason to mention the name of his captain, he never failed to add the epithet "Good" before it.

These chaste pirates soon took and plundered many rich merchant ships, but always in the most gentlemanly manner, so that none failed to be "not a little surprised at the Regularity, Tranquillity and Humanity of these new-fashioned Pyrates." From out of one of these, an English vessel, they took a sum of £60,000, but during the engagement the captain was killed. Poor Captain Misson was broken-hearted over this unfortunate mishap, and to show as best he could his regret, he buried the body on shore, and, finding that one of his men was by trade a stonecutter, raised a monument over the grave with, engraved upon it, the words: "Here lies a gallant English-Man." And at the conclusion of a very moving burial service he paid a final tribute by "a triple Discharge of 50 small Arms and fired Minute Guns."

Misson now sailed to the Island of Johanna in the Indian Ocean, which became his future home. Misson married the sister of the local dusky queen, and his lieutenant led to the altar her niece, while many of the crew also were joined in holy wedlock to one or more ladies of more humble social standing.

Already Misson has received more space than he is entitled to in a work of reference of this kind, but his career is so full of charming incidents that one is tempted to continue to unseemly length. Let it suffice to say that for some years Misson made speeches, robbed ships, and now and again, when unavoidably driven to it, would reluctantly slaughter his enemies.

Finally, Misson took his followers to a sheltered bay in Madagascar, and on landing there made a little speech, telling them that here they could settle down, build a town, that here, in fact, "they might have some Place to call their own; and a Receptacle, when Age or Wounds had render'd them incapable of Hardship, where they might enjoy the Fruits of their Labour, and go to their Graves in Peace."

This ideal colony was called Libertatia, and was run on strictly Socialistic lines, for no one owned any individual property; all money was kept in a common treasury, and no hedges bounded any man's particular plot of land. Docks were made and fortifications set up. Soon Misson had two ships built, called the *Childhood* and the *Liberty*, and these were sent for a voyage round the island, to map and chart the coast, and to train the released slaves to be efficient sailors. A Session House was



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built, and a form of Government arranged. At the first meeting Misson was elected Lord Conservator, as they called the President, for a term of three years, and during that period he was to have "all the Ensigns of Royalty to attend him." Captain Tew, the English pirate, was elected Admiral of the Fleet of Libertatia, Caraccioli became Secretary of State, while the Council was formed of the ablest amongst the pirates, without distinction of nation or colour. The difficulty of language, as French, English, Portuguese, and Dutch were equally spoken, was overcome by the invention of a new language, a kind of Esperanto, which was built up of words from all four. For many years this ideally successful and happy pirate Utopia flourished; but at length misfortunes came, one on top of the other, and a sudden and unexpected attack by the hitherto friendly natives finally drove Misson and a few other survivors to seek safety at sea, but, overtaken by a hurricane, their vessel foundered, and Misson and all his crew were drowned; and thus ended the era of what may be called "piracy without tears."

He was the mildest-manner'd man
That ever scuttled ship or cut a throat.

Byron.

MITCHELL, Captain.

An English buccaneer of [Jamaica](#), who flourished in 1663.

MITCHELL, John.

Of Shadwell Parish, [London](#). One of the crew of the *Ranger*. Condemned to death, but reprieved and sold to the Royal African Company.

M'KINLIE, Peter. Irish pirate.

Boatswain in a merchant ship which sailed from the Canaries to England in the year 1765. On board were three passengers, the adventurous Captain Glass and his wife and daughter. One night M'Kinlie and four other mutineers murdered the commander of the vessel, Captain Cockeran, and Captain Glass and his family, as well as all the crew except two cabin-boys. After throwing their bodies overboard, M'Kinlie steered for the coast of Ireland, and on December 3rd arrived in the neighbourhood of the harbour of Ross. Filling the long-boat with dollars, weighing some two tons, they rowed ashore, after killing the two boys and scuttling the ship. On landing, the pirates found they had much more booty than they could carry, so they buried 250 bags of dollars in the sand, and took what they could with them to a village called Fishertown. Here they regaled themselves, while one of the villagers relieved them of a bag containing 1,200 dollars. Next day they walked into Ross, and there sold another bag of dollars, and with the proceeds each man bought a pair of pistols and a horse and rode to Dublin. In the meanwhile the ship, instead of sinking, was washed up on the shore. Strong suspicion being roused in the countryside, messengers were sent post-haste to inform the Lords of the Regency at Dublin that the supposed pirates were in the city. Three of them were arrested in the Black Bull Inn in Thomas Street, but M'Kinlie and another pirate, who had already taken a post-chaise for Cork, intending to embark there on a vessel for England, were arrested on the way.



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The five pirates were tried in Dublin, condemned and executed, their bodies being hung in chains, on December 19th, 1765.

MONTBARS, The Exterminator.

A native of Languedoc. He joined the buccaneers after reading a book which recorded the cruelty of the Spaniards to the American natives, and this story inspired him with such a hatred of all Spaniards that he determined to go to the West Indies, throw in his lot with the buccaneers, and to devote his whole life and energies to punishing the Spaniards. He carried out his resolve most thoroughly, and treated all Spaniards who came into his power with such cruelty that he became known all up and down the Spanish Main as the Exterminator. Eventually Montbars became a notorious and successful buccaneer or pirate chief, having his headquarters at St. Bartholomew, one of the Virgin Islands, to which he used to bring all his prisoners and spoils taken out of Spanish ships and towns.

MONTENEGRO.

A Columbian. One of Captain Gilbert's crew in the pirate schooner *Panda*. Hanged at [Boston](#) in 1835.

de MONT, Francis.

Captured in South Carolina in 1717. Tried at [Charleston](#), and convicted of taking the *Turtle Dove* and other vessels in the previous July. Hanged in June, 1717.

MOODY, Captain Christopher.

A notorious pirate. Very active off the coast of Carolina, 1717, with two ships under his command. In 1722 was with Roberts on board the *Royal Fortune*, being one of his chief men or "Lords." Taken prisoner, and tried at Cape Coast Castle, and hanged in chains at the age of 28.

MOORE. Gunner.

A gunner aboard Captain Kidd's ship the *Adventure*. When Kidd's mutinous crew were all for attacking a Dutch ship, Kidd refused to allow them to, and Moore threatened the captain, who seized a bucket and struck Moore on the head with it, the blow killing him. Kidd was perfectly justified in killing this mutinous sailor, but eventually it was for this act that he was hanged in [London](#).

MORGAN, Captain.

This pirate must not be confused with the buccaneer, Sir Henry Morgan. Little is known about him except that he was with Hamlin, the French pirate, in 1683, off the coast of West Africa, and helped to take several Danish and English ships. Soon the pirates quarrelled over the division of their plunder and separated into two companies, the English following Captain Morgan in one of the prizes.

MORGAN, Colonel Blodre, or Bledry.

This buccaneer was probably a relation of Sir Henry Morgan. He was an important person in [Jamaica](#) between 1660 and 1670. At the taking of Panama by Henry Morgan in 1670 the Colonel commanded the rearguard of 300 men. In May, 1671, he was appointed to act as Deputy Governor of Providence Island by Sir James Modyford.



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MORGAN, Lieut.-Colonel Edward. Buccaneer.

Uncle and father-in-law of Sir Henry Morgan.

In 1665, when war had been declared on Holland, the Governor of [Jamaica](#) issued commissions to several pirates and buccaneers to sail to and attack the Dutch islands of St. Eustatius, Saba, and Curacao. Morgan was put in command of ten ships and some 500 men; most of them were "reformed prisoners," while some were condemned pirates who had been pardoned in order to let them join the expedition.

Before leaving [Jamaica](#) the crews mutinied, but were pacified by the promise of an equal share of all the spoils that should be taken. Three ships out of the fleet slipped away on the voyage, but the rest arrived at St. Kitts, landed, and took the fort. Colonel Morgan, who was an old and corpulent man, died of the heat and exertion during the campaign.

MORGAN, Lieut.-Colonel Thomas.

Sailed with Colonel Edward Morgan to attack St. Eustatius and Saba Islands, and after these were surrendered by the Dutch, Thomas Morgan was left in charge.

In 1686 he sailed in command of a company of buccaneers to assist Governor Wells, of St. Kitts, against the French. The defence of the island was disgraceful, and Morgan's company was the only one which displayed any courage or discipline, and most of them were killed or wounded, Colonel Morgan himself being shot in both legs.

Often these buccaneer leaders altered their titles from colonel to captain, to suit the particular enterprise on which they were engaged, according if it took place on sea or land.

MORGAN, Sir Henry. Buccaneer.

This, the greatest of all the "brethren of the coast," was a Welshman, born at Llanrhyddy in Monmouthshire in the year 1635. The son of a well-to-do farmer, Robert Morgan, he early took to the seafaring life. When quite a young man Morgan went to [Barbadoes](#), but afterwards he settled at [Jamaica](#), which was his home for the rest of his life.

Morgan may have been induced to go to the West Indies by his uncle, Colonel Morgan, who was for a time Deputy Governor of [Jamaica](#), a post Sir Henry Morgan afterwards held.

Morgan was a man of great energy, and must have possessed great power of winning his own way with people. That he could be absolutely unscrupulous when it suited his ends there can be little doubt. He was cruel at times, but was not the inhuman monster that he is made out to be by Esquemeling in his "History of the Bucaniers." This was largely proved by the evidence given in the suit for libel brought and won by Morgan against the publishers, although Morgan was, if possible, more indignant over the statement in the same book that he had been kidnapped in Wales and sold, as a boy, and sent to be a slave in [Barbadoes](#). That he could descend to rank dishonesty was shown when, returning from his extraordinary and successful assault on the city of Panama in 1670, to Chagres, he left most of his faithful followers behind, without ships or food, while he slipped off in the night with most of the booty to [Jamaica](#). No doubt, young

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Morgan came to [Jamaica](#) with good credentials from his uncle, the Colonel, for the latter was held in high esteem by Modyford, then Governor of [Barbadoes](#), who describes Colonel Morgan as "that honest privateer."

Colonel Morgan did not live to see his nephew reach the pinnacle of his success, for in the year 1665 he was sent at the head of an expedition to attack the Dutch stronghold at St. Eustatius Island, but he was too old to stand the hardships of such an expedition and died shortly afterwards.

By this time Morgan had made his name as a successful and resolute buccaneer by returning to Port Royal from a raiding expedition in Central America with a huge booty.

In 1665 Morgan, with two other buccaneers, Jackman and Morris, plundered the province of Campeachy, and then, acting as Vice-Admiral to the most famous buccaneer of the day, Captain Mansfield, plundered Cuba, captured Providence Island, sacked Granada, burnt and plundered the coast of Costa Rica, bringing back another booty of almost fabulous wealth to [Jamaica](#). In this year Morgan married a daughter of his uncle, Colonel Morgan.

In 1668, when 33 years of age, Morgan was commissioned by the Jamaican Government to collect together the privateers, and by 1669 he was in command of a big fleet, when he was almost killed by a great explosion in the *Oxford*, which happened while Morgan was giving a banquet to his captains. About this time Morgan calmly took a fine ship, the *Cour Volant*, from a French pirate, and made her his own flagship, christening her the *Satisfaction*.

In 1670 the greatest event of Morgan's life took place – the sacking of Panama. First landing a party which took the Castle of San Lorenzo at the mouth of the Chagres River, Morgan left a strong garrison there to cover his retreat and pushed on with 1,400 men in a fleet of canoes up the river on January 9th, 1671. The journey across the isthmus, through the tropical jungle, was very hard on the men, particularly as they had depended on finding provisions to supply their wants on the way, and carried no food with them. They practically starved until the sixth day, when they found a barn full of maize, which the fleeing Spaniards had neglected to destroy. On the evening of the ninth day a scout reported he had seen the steeple of a church in Panama. Morgan, with that touch of genius which so often brought him success, attacked the city from a direction the Spaniards had not thought possible, so that their guns were all placed where they were useless, and they were compelled to do just what the buccaneer leader wanted them to do – namely, to come out of their fortifications and fight him in the open. The battle raged fiercely for two hours between the brave Spanish defenders and the equally brave but almost exhausted buccaneers. When at last the Spaniards turned and ran, the buccaneers were too tired to immediately follow up their success, but after resting they advanced, and at the end of three hours' street fighting the city was theirs. The first thing Morgan now did was to assemble all his men and strictly forbid them to drink any wine, telling them that he had secret information that the wine had been poisoned by the Spaniards before they left the city. This was, of course, a scheme of Morgan's to stop his men from becoming drunk, when they would be at the mercy of the enemy, as had happened in many a previous buccaneer assault.



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Morgan now set about plundering the city, a large part of which was burnt to the ground, though whether this was done by his orders or by the Spanish Governor has never been decided. After three weeks the buccaneers started back on their journey to San Lorenzo, with a troop of 200 pack-mules laden with gold, silver, and goods of all sorts, together with a large number of prisoners. The rearguard on the march was under the command of a kinsman of the Admiral, Colonel Bledry Morgan.

On their arrival at Chagres the spoils were divided, amidst a great deal of quarrelling, and in March, 1671, Morgan sailed off to Port Royal with a few friends and the greater part of the plunder, leaving his faithful followers behind without ships or provisions, and with but £10 apiece as their share of the spoils.

On May 31st, 1671, the Council of [Jamaica](#) passed a vote of thanks to Morgan for his successful expedition, and this in spite of the fact that in July, a year before, a treaty had been concluded at Madrid between Spain and England for "restraining depredations and establishing peace" in the New World.

In April, 1672, Morgan was carried to England as a prisoner in the *Welcome* frigate. But he was too popular to be convicted, and after being acquitted was appointed Deputy Governor of [Jamaica](#), and in November, 1674, he was knighted and returned to the West Indies. In 1672 Major-General Banister, who was Commander-in-Chief of the troops in [Jamaica](#), writing to Lord Arlington about Morgan, said: "He (Morgan) is a well deserving person, and one of great courage and conduct, who may, with His Majesty's pleasure, perform good public service at home, or be very advantageous to this island if war should again break forth with the Spaniards."

While Morgan was in England he brought an action for libel against William Crooke, the publisher of the "History of the Bucaniers of America." The result of this trial was that Crooke paid £200 damages to Morgan and published a long and grovelling apology.

Morgan was essentially a man of action, and a regular life on shore proved irksome to him, for we learn from a report sent home by Lord Vaughan in 1674 that Morgan "frequented the taverns of Port Royal, drinking and gambling in unseemly fashion," but nevertheless the Jamaican Assembly had voted the Lieutenant-Governor a sum of £600 special salary. In 1676 Vaughan brought definite charges against Morgan and another member of the Council, Robert Byndloss, of giving aid to certain [Jamaica](#) pirates.

Morgan made a spirited defence and, no doubt largely owing to his popularity, got off, and in 1678 was granted a commission to be a captain of a company of 100 men.

The Governor to succeed Vaughan was Lord Carlisle, who seems to have liked Morgan, in spite of his jovial "goings on" with his old buccaneer friends in the taverns of Port Royal, and in some of his letters speaks of Morgan's "generous manner," and hints that whatever allowances are made to him "he will be a beggar."

In 1681 Sir Thomas Lynch was appointed to be Governor, and trouble at once began between him and his deputy. Amongst the charges the former brought against Morgan was one of his having



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been overheard to say, "God damn the Assembly!" for which he was suspended from that body.

In April, 1688, the King, at the urgent request of the Duke of Albemarle, ordered Morgan to be reinstated in the Assembly, but Morgan did not live long to enjoy his restored honours, for he died on August 25th, 1688.

An extract from the journal of Captain Lawrence Wright, commander of H.M.S. *Assistance*, dated August, 1688, describes the ceremonies held at Port Royal at the burial of Morgan, and shows how important and popular a man he was thought to be. It runs:

"Saturday 25. This day about eleven hours noone Sir Henry Morgan died, & the 26th was brought over from Passage-fort to the King's house at Port Royall, from thence to the Church, & after a sermon was carried to the Pallisadoes & there buried. All the forts fired an equal number of guns, wee fired two & twenty & after wee & the Drake had fired, all the merchant men fired."

Morgan was buried in [Jamaica](#), and his will, which was filed in the Record Office at Spanish Town, makes provision for his wife and near relations.

MORRICE, Humphrey.

Of New Providence, Bahama Islands. Hanged at New Providence in 1718 by his lately reformed fellow-pirates, and on the gallows taxed them with "pusillanimity and cowardice" because they did not rescue him and his fellow-sufferers.

MORRIS, Captain John.

Of [Jamaica](#). A privateer until 1665, he afterwards became a buccaneer with Mansfield. Took part in successful raids in Central America, plundering Vildemo in the Bay of Campeachy; he also sacked Truxillo, and then, after a journey by canoe up the San Juan River to take Nicaragua, surprised and plundered the city of Granada in March, 1666.

MORRIS, Captain Thomas.

One of the pirates of New Providence, Bahamas, who, on pardon being offered by King George in 1717, escaped, and for a while carried on piracy in the West Indian Islands. Caught and hanged a few years afterwards.

MORRIS, John.

One of Captain Bartholomew Roberts's crew. When the *Royal Fortune* surrendered to H.M.S. *Swallow*, Morris fired his pistol into the gunpowder in the steerage and caused an explosion that killed or maimed many of the pirates.

MORRISON, Captain.

A Scotch pirate, who lived on Prince Edward Island. For an account of his career, see Captain Nelson.

MORRISON, William.

Of [Jamaica](#). One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Hanged at White Point, [Charleston](#), South Carolina, on November 8th, 1718, and buried in the marsh below low-water mark.

MORTON, Philip.



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Gunner on board "Blackbeard's" ship, the *Queen Ann's Revenge*. Killed on November 22nd, 1718, in North Carolina, during the fight with Lieutenant Maynard.

MULLET, James, *alias* Millet.

Of [London](#). One of the crew of the *Royal James*, in which vessel Major Stede Bonnet played havoc with the shipping along the coasts of South Carolina and New England. Hanged at [Charleston](#) in 1718.

MULLINS, Darby.

This Irish pirate was born in the north of Ireland, not many miles from Londonderry. Being left an orphan at the age of 18, he was sold to a planter in the West Indies for a term of four years.

After the great earthquake at [Jamaica](#) in 1691, Mullins built himself a house at Kingston and ran it as a punch-house – often a very profitable business when the buccaneers returned to Port Royal with good plunder. This business failing, he went to New York, where he met Captain Kidd, and was, according to his own story, persuaded to engage in piracy, it being urged that the robbing only of infidels, the enemies of Christianity, was an act, not only lawful, but one highly meritorious.

At his trial later on in [London](#) his judges did not agree with this view of the rights of property, and Mullins was hanged at Execution Dock on May 23rd, 1701.

MUMPER, Thomas.

An Indian of Mather's Vineyard, New England.

Tried for piracy with Captain Charles Harris and his men, but found to be "not guilty."

MUNDON, Stephen.

Of [London](#). Hanged for piracy at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), on July 19th, 1723, at the age of 20.

MUSTAPHA. Turkish pirate.

In 1558 he sailed, with a fleet of 140 vessels, to the Island of Minorca. Landed, and besieged the fortified town of Ciudadada, which at length surrendered. The Turks slew great numbers of the inhabitants, taking the rest away as slaves.

NAU, Captain Jean David, *alias* Francis L'Ollonais.

A Frenchman born at Les Sables d'Ollone. In his youth he was transported as an indented labourer to the French Island of Dominica in the West Indies. Having served his time L'Ollonais went to the Island of Hispaniola, and joined the buccaneers there, living by hunting wild cattle and drying the flesh or boucan.

He then sailed for a few voyages as a sailor before the mast, and acted with such ability and courage that the Governor of Tortuga Island, Monsieur de la Place, gave him the command of a vessel and sent him out to seek his fortune.

At first the young buccaneer was very successful, and he took many Spanish ships, but owing to his ferocious treatment of his prisoners he soon won a name for cruelty which has never been



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surpassed. But at the height of this success his ship was wrecked in a storm, and, although most of the pirates got ashore, they were at once attacked by a party of Spaniards, and all but L'Ollonais were killed. The captain escaped, after being wounded, by smearing blood and sand over his face and hiding himself amongst his dead companions. Disguised as a Spaniard he entered the city of Campeachy, where bonfires and other manifestations of public relief were being held, to express the joy of the citizens at the news of the death of their terror, L'Ollonais.

Meeting with some French slaves, the fugitive planned with them to escape in the night in a canoe, this being successfully carried out, they eventually arrived back at Tortuga, the pirate stronghold. Here the enterprising captain stole a small vessel, and again started off "on the account," plundering a village called De los Cagos in Cuba. The Governor of Havana receiving word of the notorious and apparently resurrected pirate's arrival sent a well-armed ship to take him, adding to the ship's company a negro executioner, with orders to hang all the pirate crew with the exception of L'Ollonais, who was to be brought back to Havana alive and in chains.

Instead of the Spaniards taking the Frenchman, the opposite happened, and everyone of them was murdered, including the negro hangman, with the exception of one man, who was sent with a written message to the Governor to tell him that in future L'Ollonais would kill every Spaniard he met with.

Joining with a famous filibuster, Michael de Basco, L'Ollonais soon organized a more important expedition, consisting of a fleet of eight vessels and 400 men. Sailing to the Gulf of Venezuela in 1667, they entered the lake, destroying the fort that stood to guard the entrance. Thence sailing to the city of Maracaibo they found all the inhabitants had fled in terror. The filibusters caught many of the inhabitants hiding in the neighbouring woods, and killed numbers of them in their attempts to force from the rest the hiding-places of their treasure. They next marched upon and attacked the town of Gibraltar, which was valiantly defended by the Spaniards, until the evening, when, having lost 500 men killed, they surrendered. For four weeks this town was pillaged, the inhabitants murdered, while torture and rape were daily occurrences. At last, to the relief of the wretched inhabitants, the buccaneers, with a huge booty, sailed away to Corso Island, a place of rendezvous of the French buccaneers. Here they divided their spoil, which totalled the great sum of 260,000 pieces of eight, which, when divided amongst them, gave each man above one hundred pieces of eight, as well as his share of plate, silk, and jewels.

Also, a share was allotted for the next-of-kin of each man killed, and extra rewards for those pirates who had lost a limb or an eye. L'Ollonais had now become most famous amongst the "Brethren of the Coast," and began to make arrangements for an even more daring expedition to attack and plunder the coast of Nicaragua. Here he burnt and pillaged ruthlessly, committing the most revolting cruelties on the Spanish inhabitants. One example of this monster's inhuman deeds will more than suffice to tell of. It happened that during an attack on the town of San Pedros the buccaneers had been caught in an ambush and many of them



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killed, although the Spaniards had at last turned and fled. The pirates killed most of their prisoners, but kept a few to be questioned by L'Ollonais so as to find some other way to the town. As he could get no information out of these men, the Frenchman drew his cutlass and with it cut open the breast of one of the Spaniards, and pulling out his still beating heart he began to bite and gnaw it with his teeth like a ravenous wolf, saying to the other prisoners, "I will serve you all alike, if you show me not another way."

Shortly after this, many of the buccaneers broke away from L'Ollonais and sailed under the command of Moses van Vin, the second in command. L'Ollonais, in his big ship, sailed to the coast of Honduras, but ran his vessel on a sand-bank and lost her. While building a new but small craft on one of the Las Pertas Islands, they cultivated beans and other vegetables, and also wheat, for which they baked bread in portable ovens which these French buccaneers carried about with them. It took them six months to build their long-boat, and when it was finished it would not carry more than half the number of buccaneers. Lots were drawn to settle who should sail and who remain behind. L'Ollonais steered the boat towards Cartagena, but was caught by the Indians, as described by Esquemeling. "Here suddenly his ill-fortune assailed him, which of a long time had been reserved for him as a punishment due to the multitude of horrible crimes, which in his licentious and wicked life he had committed. For God Almighty, the time of His divine justice being now already come, had appointed the Indians of Darien to be the instruments and executioners thereof."

These "instruments of God," having caught L'Ollonais, tore him in pieces alive, throwing his body limb by limb into the fire and his ashes into the air, to the intent "no trace nor memory might remain of such an infamous inhuman creature."

Thus died a monster of cruelty, who would, had he lived to-day, have been confined in an asylum for lunatics.

NEAL.

A fisherman of Cork. Mutinied in a French ship sailing from Cork to Nantes in 1721, and, under the leadership of Philip Roche, murdered the captain and many of the crew and became a pirate.

NEFF, William.

Born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1667. A soldier, one of the guard at Fort Loyal, Falmouth, Maine. Deserted in 1689 and went to sea with the pirate Captain Pound.

NELSON, Captain.

Born on Prince Edward Island, where his father had a grant of land for services rendered in the American war. He was a wealthy man, a member of the Council and a Colonel of the Militia. In order to set his son up in life he bought him a captaincy in the Militia and a fine farm, where young Nelson married and settled down. Buying a schooner, he used to sail to Halifax with cargoes of potatoes and fruit. He seems to have liked these trips in which he combined business with pleasure, for we learn that on these visits to Halifax he "was very wild, and drank and intrigued with the girls in an extravagant manner." Getting into disgrace on Prince Edward Island, and losing his commission, he

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went to live near Halifax, and became a lieutenant in the Nova Scotia Fencibles, while his wife remained on the island to look after his estates, which brought him in £300 a year. Meeting with a Scotchman called Morrison, together they bought a "pretty little New York battleship," mounting ten guns. Manning this dangerous toy with a crew of ninety desperate characters, the partners went "on the account," and began well by taking a brig belonging to Mr. Hill, of Rotherhithe, which they took to New York, and there sold both ship and cargo.

They next cruised in the West Indies, taking several English and Dutch ships, the crews of which they treated with the greatest brutality.

Landing on St. Kitts Island, they burnt and plundered two Dutch plantations, murdering the owners and slaves. Sailing north to Newfoundland they took ten more vessels, which they sold in New York. After further successful voyages in the West Indies and off the coast of Brazil, Nelson felt the call of home ties becoming so strong that he ventured to return to Prince Edward Island to visit his wife and family, where no one dared to molest him.

By this time Nelson had been a pirate for three years and had, by his industry, won for himself a fortune worth £150,000, but his Scotch partner, Morrison, being a frugal soul, had in the meantime saved an even larger sum. Eventually their ship was wrecked in a fog on a small barren island near Prince Edward Island, and Morrison and most of the crew were drowned, but Nelson and a few others were saved. At last he reached New York, where he lived the rest of his life in peaceful happiness with his wife and family.

NICHOLLS, Thomas, *alias* Nicholas.

Of [London](#). One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew in the *Royal James*. Tried for piracy at [Charleston](#) on November 8th, 1718, and found "not guilty."

NONDRE, Pedro.

Hanged at Kingston, [Jamaica](#), in February, 1823. At the time of execution it was observed that he was covered with the marks of deep wounds. On the scaffold he wept bitterly. An immensely heavy man, he broke the rope, and had to be hanged a second time.

NORMAN, Captain. Buccaneer.

Served under Morgan in 1670, and after the fall of Chagres Fort, Norman was left in charge with 500 men to hold it, while Morgan crossed the isthmus to attack Panama. Norman soon "sent forth to sea two boats to exercise piracy." These hoisted Spanish colours and met a big Spanish merchant ship on the same day. They chased the ship, which fled for safety into the Chagres River, only to be caught there by Norman. She proved a valuable prize, being loaded with all kinds of provisions, of which the garrison was in sore need.

NORTH, Captain Nathaniel.

Born in Bermuda, and by profession a lawyer, Captain North was a man of remarkable ability, and in his later calling of piracy he gained great notoriety, and was a born leader of men. His history has been written fully, and is well worth reading. He



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had many ups and downs in his early seafaring life in the West Indies; being no less than three times taken by the pressgang, each time escaping. He served in Dutch and Spanish privateers, and eventually rose to being a pirate captain, making his headquarters in Madagascar. From here he sailed out to the East Indies, and preyed on the ships of the East India Company. Several times he was wrecked, once he was the only survivor, and swam ashore at Madagascar stark naked. The unusual sight of a naked Englishman spread terror amongst the natives who were on the beach, and they all fled into the jungle except one, a woman, who from previous personal experience knew that this was but a human being and not a sea devil. She supplied him with clothes, of a sort, and led him to the nearest pirate settlement, some six miles away. On another occasion when the pirates were having a jollification ashore, having left their Moorish prisoners on the ship at anchor, North gave the prisoners a hint to clear off in the night with the ship, otherwise they would all be made slaves. This friendly hint was acted upon, and in the morning both ship and prisoners had vanished. The pirates having lost their ship took to the peaceful and harmless life of planters, with North as their ruler. He won the confidence of the natives, who abided by his decision in all quarrels and misunderstandings. Occasionally North and his men would join forces with a neighbouring friendly tribe and go to war, North leading the combined army, and victory always resulted. The call of piracy was too strong in his bones to resist, and after three years planting he was back to sea and the Jolly Roger once more. On one occasion he seized the opportunity, when in the neighbourhood of the Mascarenhas Islands, to go ashore and visit the Catholic priest and confess, and at the same time made suitable arrangements for his children to be educated by the Church. North evidently truly repented his former sins, for he returned to resume his simple life on his plantation. On arriving home he found the settlement in an uproar. He soon settled all the disputes, appeased the natives, and before long had this garden-city of pirates back in its previous peaceful and happy state. Beyond an occasional little voyage, taking a ship or two, or burning an Arab village, North's career as a pirate may be considered to have terminated, as, indeed, his life was shortly afterwards, being murdered in his bed by a treacherous native. North's friends the pirates, shocked at this cold-blooded murder, waged a ruthless war on the natives for seven years: thus in their simple way thinking to revenge the loss of this estimable man, who had always been the natives' best friend.

NORTON, George.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew. Tried for piracy in June, 1704, at the Star Tavern at [Boston](#).

NUTT, John.

One of Captain John Phillip's original crew of five pirates in the *Revenge* in 1723. Nutt was made master or navigator.

OCHALI. Barbary renegade.

In 1511 he sailed from Algiers with a fleet of twenty-two vessels and 1,700 men to raid Majorca. The Moors landed at Soller and pillaged it. Before they could get back to their ship, the



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pirates were attacked by the Majorcans, headed by Miguel Angelats, and completely routed, 500 of them being killed.

ODELL, Samuel.

Taken prisoner by the pirate Captain Teach on November 21st, 1718, and on the very next day retaken by Lieutenant Maynard. Odell received no less than seventy wounds in the fight, but recovered, and was carried to Virginia to stand his trial for piracy, and was acquitted.

OUGHTERLAUNEY, Thomas.

Acted as pilot in the *Royal Fortune*. Took an active part in taking and plundering the *King Solomon* on the West Coast of Africa in 1721.

Was tried for piracy with the rest of Roberts's crew, when one witness, Captain Trahern, deposed that the prisoner dressed himself up in the captain's best suit of clothes, his new tye wig, and called loudly for a bottle of wine, and then, very arrogantly, gave orders as to the steering of the captured ship.

Hanged at Cape Coast Castle in 1722.

PAIN, Captain.

A Bahaman privateer who in 1683 turned pirate and attacked St. Augustine in Florida under French colours. Being driven off by the Spaniards, he had to content himself with looting some neighbouring settlements. On returning to New Providence, the Governor attempted, but without success, to arrest Pain and his crew. Pain afterwards appeared in [Rhode Island](#), and when the authorities tried to seize him and his ship, he got off by exhibiting an old commission to hunt for pirates given him a long while before by Sir Thomas Lynch. When the West Indies became too hot for him, Pain made the coast of Carolina his headquarters.

PAINE, Captain Peter, *alias* Le Pain. A French buccaneer.

He brought into Port Royal in 1684 a merchant ship, *La Trompeuse*. Pretending to be the owner, he sold both ship and cargo, which brought about great trouble afterwards between the French and English Governments, because he had stolen the ship on the high seas. He was sent from [Jamaica](#) under arrest to France the same year, to answer for his crimes.

PAINTER, Peter.

This Carolina pirate retired and lived at [Charleston](#). In August, 1710, he was recommended for the position of public powder-receiver, but was rejected by the Upper House. "Mr. Painter Having committed Piracy, and not having his Majesties Pardon for the same, Its resolved he is not fit for that Trust." Which only goes to show how hard it was for a man to live down a thing like piracy.

PARDAL, Captain Manuel Rivero.

Known to the Jamaicans as "the vapouring admiral of St. Jago," because in July, 1670, he had nailed a piece of canvas to a tree on the Jamaican coast with this curious challenge written both in English and Spanish:

"I, Captain Manuel Rivero Pardal, to the chief of the squadron



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of privateers in [Jamaica](#). I am he who this year have done that which follows. I went on shore at Caimanos, and burnt 20 houses and fought with Captain Ary, and took from him a catch laden with provisions and a canoe. And I am he who took Captain Baines and did carry the prize to Cartagena, and now am arrived to this coast, and have burnt it. And I come to seek General Morgan, with 2 ships of 20 guns, and having seen this, I crave he would come out upon the coast and seek me, that he might see the valour of the Spaniards. And because I had no time I did not come to the mouth of Port Royal to speak by word of mouth in the name of my king, whom God preserve. Dated the 5th of July, 1670."

PARKER, Captain William. Buccaneer.

Just after the city of Porto Bello had been made, as the Spanish thought, impregnable, by the building of the massive stone fort of San Jerome, the daring Parker, with but 200 English desperadoes, took the place by storm, burning part of the town and getting quickly and safely away with a huge amount of booty.

PARKINS, Benjamin.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew in the brigantine *Charles*. Tried at [Boston](#) for piracy in 1704.

PARROT, James.

One of Quelch's crew, who turned King's evidence at the trial at [Boston](#) in 1704, and thus escaped hanging.

PATTERSON, Neal.

Of Aberdeen. One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew in the *Royal James*. Hanged at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, on November 8th, 1718, and buried in the marsh.

PATTISON, James.

Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704.

PEASE, Captain.

A low down, latter-day South Sea pirate. Arrived in an armed ship with a Malay crew at Apia in Samoa in June, 1870, and rescued the pirate Bully Hayes, who was under arrest of the English Consul. He pleased the British inhabitants of the island by his display of loyalty to Queen Victoria by firing a salute of twenty-one guns on her Majesty's birthday.

PELL, Ignatius.

Boatswain of the *Royal James*, Major Stede Bonnet's ship. Turned King's evidence at trial of Bonnet and his crew at [Charleston](#), Carolina, in 1718.

PENNER, Major.

We have been able to find out nothing of this pirate except that he was at New Providence Island in 1718 and took the King's pardon for pirates. He seems to have returned to the old life and was killed soon after, though how this came about is not recorded.

PERKINS, Benjamin.

One of Quelch's crew. Captured at [Marblehead](#) in 1704.

PERRY, Daniel.



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Of Guernsey. Tried for piracy in 1718 at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, and found guilty. Hanged on November 8th at White Point. Buried in the marsh below low-water mark.

PETERSON, Captain.

Of [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#). In 1688 he arrived at [Newport](#) in a "barkalonga" armed with ten guns and seventy men. The Governor prosecuted him for piracy, but the grand jury, which consisted of friends and neighbours of Peterson, threw out the bill. Among other charges, Peterson was accused of selling some hides and elephants' teeth to a [Boston](#) merchant for £57, being part of the booty he had previously taken out of prizes in the West Indies.

PETERSON, Erasmus.

Tried for piracy with the rest of Captain Quelch's crew at [Boston](#). Was hanged there on June 30th, 1704. When standing on the gallows "He cryed of injustice done him and said, 'It is very hard for so many lives to be taken away for a little Gold.' He said his peace was made with God, yet he found it extremely hard to forgive those who had wronged him. He told the Executioner 'he was a strong man and Prayed to be put out of his misery as soon as possible.'"

PETERSON, John.

A Swedish pirate, one of Gow's crew. He was hanged at Wapping in June, 1725.

PETIT, Captain. French filibuster.

Of San Domingo. In 1634 was in command of *Le Ruze*, crew of forty men and four guns.

PETTY, William.

Born at Deptford. A sailmaker in Captain Roberts's *Royal Fortune* when the *King Solomon* was taken and plundered in West Africa. Petty, as sailmaker, had to see that all the sails and canvas aboard the prizes were removed to the pirate ship. Hanged at the age of 30.

PHELIPP, Captain William.

In 1533 a Portuguese merchant, Peter Alves, engaged Phelipp to pilot his ship, the *Santa Maria Desaie*, from Tenby to Bastabill Haven. Off the Welsh coast the ship was attacked by a pirate vessel called the *Furtuskewys*, with a crew of thirty-five pirates. Alves was put ashore on the Welsh coast, and the two ships then sailed to Cork, where the ship and her cargo were sold to the mayor for 1,524 crowns.

Alves complained to the King of England, and orders were sent to the Mayor of Cork, Richard Gowllys, to give up the ship, which he refused to do, but by way of excusing his actions he explained that he thought the ship was a Scotch one and not a Portuguese.

PHILLIPS, Captain.

In 1723 this noted pirate took a sloop, the *Dolphin*, of Cape Ann, on the Banks of Newfoundland. The crew of the *Dolphin* were compelled by Phillips to join the pirates. Amongst the prisoners was a fisherman, John Fillmore. Finding no opportunity to escape, Fillmore with another sailor, Edward Cheesman, and an Indian, suddenly seized and killed Phillips and the two other



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chief pirates. The rest of the crew agreeing, the ship was taken to [Boston](#).

PHILIPS, James.

Of the Island of Antigua. Formerly of the *Revenge*, and afterwards in the *Royal Fortune* (Captain Roberts). When the *Royal Fortune* surrendered in 1722 to H.M.S. *Swallow*, Philips seized a lighted match and attempted to blow up the ship, swearing he would "send them all to Hell together," but was prevented by the master, Glasby. Hanged at the age of 35.

PHILLIPS, John.

A carpenter by trade, he sailed from the West Country for Newfoundland in a ship that was captured by the pirate Anstis in the *Good Fortune*. Phillips soon became reconciled to the life of a pirate, and, being a brisk fellow, he was appointed carpenter to the ship. Returning to England he soon found it necessary to quit the country again, and he shipped himself on board a vessel at Topsham for Newfoundland. On arriving at Peter Harbour he ran away, and hired himself as a splitter to the Newfoundland cod fishery.

On the night of August 29th, 1723, with four others, he stole a vessel in the harbour and sailed away. Phillips was chosen captain. Articles were now drawn up and were sworn to upon a hatchet, because no Bible could be found on board. Amongst other laws was the punishment of "40 stripes lacking one, known as Moses's law, to be afflicted for striking a fellow-pirate." The last law of the nine casts a curious light on these murderers; it runs: "If at any time you meet with a prudent Woman, that Man that offers to meddle with her, without her Consent, shall suffer present Death." The pirates, fortified by these laws, met with instant success, taking several fishing vessels, from which they augmented their small crew by the addition of several likely and brisk seamen. Amongst these they had the good fortune to take prisoner an old pirate called John Rose Archer, who had served his pirate apprenticeship under the able tuition of the famous Blackbeard, and who they at once promoted to be quartermaster. This quick promotion caused trouble afterwards, for some of the original crew, particularly carpenter Fern, resented it. The pirates next sailed to [Barbadoes](#), that happy hunting ground, but for three months never a sail did they meet with, so that they were almost starving for want of provisions, being reduced to a pound of dried meat a day amongst ten of them.

At last they met with a French vessel, a Martinico ship, of twelve guns, and hunger drove them to attack even so big a ship as this, but the sight of the Black flag so terrified the French crew that they surrendered without firing a shot. After this, they took several vessels, and matters began to look much brighter. Phillips quickly developed into a most accomplished and bloody pirate, butchering his prisoners on very little or on no provocation whatever. But even this desperate pirate had an occasional "qualm of conscience come athwart his stomach," for when he captured a Newfoundland vessel and was about to scuttle her, he found out that she was the property of a Mr. Minors of that island, from whom they stole the original vessel in which they went a-pirating, so Phillips, telling his companions "We have done him enough injury already," ordered the



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vessel to be repaired and returned to the owner. On another occasion, they took a ship, the master of which was a "Saint" of New England, by name Dependance Ellery, who gave them a pretty chase before being overhauled, and so, as a punishment, the "Saint" was compelled to dance the deck until he fell down exhausted.

This pirate's career ended with a mutiny of his unruly crew, Phillips being tripped up and then thrown overboard to drown off Newfoundland in April, 1724.

During the nine months of Phillips's command as a pirate captain, he accounted for more than thirty ships.

PHILLIPS, Joseph.

One of Teach's crew. Hanged in Virginia in 1718.

PHILLIPS, William.

Born at Lower Shadwell. Boatswain in the *King Solomon*, a Guinea merchant ship. This ship, while lying at anchor in January, 1721, was attacked by a boatful of pirates from Bartholomew Roberts's ship, the *Royal Fortune*. The captain of the *King Solomon* fired a musket at the approaching boat, and called upon his crew to do the same, but Phillips called for quarter and persuaded the rest of the crew to lay down their arms and surrender the ship. Phillips eagerly joined the pirates and signed the articles, and was "very forward and brisk" in helping to rob his own ship of provisions and stores.

At his trial at Cape Coast Castle, he pleaded, as nearly all the prisoners did, that he was compelled to sign the pirates' articles, which were offered to him on a dish, on which lay a loaded pistol beside the copy of the articles. Found guilty and hanged in April, 1722, within the flood marks at Cape Coast Castle, in his 29th year.

PHIPS, Richard.

An English soldier who deserted from Fort Loyal, Falmouth, Maine, in 1689. Wounded by a bullet in the head at Tarpaulin Cove. Taken to [Boston](#) Prison, where he died.

PICKERING, Captain Charles.

Commanded the *Cinque Ports* galley, sixteen guns, crew of sixty-three men, and accompanied Dampier on his voyage in 1703. Died off the coast of Brazil in the same year.

PIERSE, George.

Tried for piracy along with the rest of the crew of the brigantine *Charles*, at [Boston](#), in 1704.

PITMAN, John.

One of Captain Quelch's crew. Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704.

POLEAS, Pedro. Spanish pirate.

Co-commander with Captain Johnson of a pirate sloop, the *Two Brothers*. In March, 1731, took a ship, the *John and Jane* (Edward Burt, master), south of [Jamaica](#), on board of which was a passenger, John Cockburn, who afterwards wrote a book relating his adventures on a journey on foot of 240 miles on the mainland of America.



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PORTER, Captain.

A West Indian pirate, who commanded a sloop, and, in company with a Captain Tuckerman in another sloop, came one day into Bennet's Key in Hispaniola. The two captains were but beginners at piracy, and finding the great Bartholomew Roberts in the bay, paid him a polite visit, hoping to pick up a few wrinkles from the "master." This scene is described by Captain Johnson, in his "Lives of the Pirates," when Porter and his friend "addressed the Pyrate, as the Queen of Sheba did Solomon, to wit, That having heard of his Fame and Achievements, they had put in there to learn his Art and Wisdom in the Business of pyrating, being Vessels on the same honourable Design with himself; and hoped with the Communication of his Knowledge, they should also receive his Charity, being in want of Necessaries for such Adventures. Roberts was won upon by the Peculiarity and Bluntness of these two Men and gave them Powder, Arms, and what ever else they had Occasion for, spent two or three merry Nights with them, and at parting, said, he hoped the L- would Prosper their handy Works."

POUND, Captain Thomas.

On August 8th, 1689, this pirate, with five men and a boy, sailed out of [Boston](#) Harbour as passengers in a small vessel. When off Lovell's Island, five other armed men joined them. Pound now seized the craft and took command, and declared his intention of going on a piratical cruise. The first vessel they met with they decided to take. It was a fishing boat. Pound ran his craft alongside, but at the last moment his heart failed him, and he merely bought eight penn'o'th of mackerel from the surprised fishermen.

He then sailed to Falmouth, Maine, where the corporal and soldiers of the guard at the fort deserted in the night and sailed off with Pound and his crew. Fortified by this addition to his crew, the pirate attacked a sloop, the *Good Speed*, off Cape Cod, and a brigantine, the *Merrimack*, and several other prizes. By this time, the Governor at [Boston](#) had heard of Pound's escapades, and sent an armed sloop, the *Mary*, to search for him. The pirate was discovered in Tarpaulin Cove, and a fierce and bloody fight took place before the pirates struck their "Red flagg." The prisoners were cast into [Boston](#) Gaol to await their trial. Pound had been wounded, being shot in the arm and side. The trial took place on January 13th, 1690. Pound was found guilty, but reprieved, and was sent to England, but was later on liberated. Afterwards he got command of a ship. He died in England in 1703.

POWELL, Thomas.

Of Connecticut, New England. One of Captain Charles Harris's crew. Hanged at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), on July 19th, 1723, at the age of 21.

POWER, John.

Born in the West of England. Served in a slave vessel, the *Polly* (Captain Fox, commander), on a voyage to the coast of West Africa. While the captain was on shore, the crew ran away with the ship, turned pirates, called their vessel the *Bravo*, and elected Power to be captain and sailed to the West Indies.



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Arrived there, he tried to sell his cargo of slaves, but being suspected of having stolen them, he thought it best to sail to New York. Here the pirates got ashore, but the ship's surgeon informed the authorities, and Power was arrested and sent to England, where he was tried, and hanged at Execution Dock on March 10th, 1768.

PRICE, Thomas.

Of Bristol. Hanged at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, on November 8th, 1718. One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew.

PRIMER, Matthew.

One of Captain Quelch's crew. Turned King's evidence at the trial for piracy held at the Star Tavern, [Boston](#), in June, 1704.

PRINCE, Captain Lawrence.

In 1760 this buccaneer sacked the city of Granada in company with Captains Harris and Ludbury. Late in the same year, Prince, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, led the vanguard in the attack on Panama.

PRO, Captain.

This Dutch South Sea pirate owned a small plantation in Madagascar, and was joined there by the pirate Williams after he had escaped from slavery. Both were taken prisoner by an English frigate. In a fight with the natives, the pirate crew was defeated, but Pro and Williams managed to escape and to reach some friendly natives. Procuring a boat, they sailed away to join some other pirates at Methulage in Madagascar.

PROWSE, Captain Lawrence.

A Devon man, a noted sea captain, and a terror to the Spaniards. Was imprisoned by King James I. at the instance of the King of Spain for piracy and was to have been executed, but English public feeling ran so high that Prowse was discharged.

PULLING, Captain John.

Commanded the *Fame*, which set out in 1703 in company with Dampier in the *St. George* on a plundering expedition to the South Seas. Their commissions were to attack only Spanish and French ships. The two captains quarrelled at the very beginning of the voyage, while lying off the Downs, and Pulling slipped away by himself to go a-pirating amongst the Canary Islands.

PURSSER, Captain.

In the sixteenth century this pirate became notorious for his piracies off the coast of Wales, and with Calles and Clinton, two other pirates, "grew famous, till Queene Elizabeth of blessed memory, hanged them at Wapping."

QUELCH, Captain John.

A native of Massachusetts Colony.

In 1703 was one of the crew of the brigantine *Charles*, eighty tons, owned by some leading citizens of [Boston](#), and fitted out to go privateering off the coasts of Arcadia and Newfoundland. On leaving [Marblehead](#) the crew mutinied, locked the captain in his cabin, and elected Quelch their commander. They sailed to the south, and shortly afterwards threw the captain overboard.



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They hoisted a flag, the "Old Roger," described as having "in the middle of it an Anatomy with an Hourglass in one hand and a dart in the Heart with three drops of Blood proceeding from it in the other." They took nine Portuguese vessels off the coast of Brazil, out of which they took plunder of very great value.

Quelch now had the audacity to sail back to [Marblehead](#), where his crew landed and quickly scattered with their plunder. Within a week Quelch was in gaol, and was taken to [Boston](#), where his trial began on June 17th, 1704, and he was found guilty. The days between the sentence and the execution must have, indeed, been trying for the prisoner. We read in a pamphlet published at the time: "The Ministers of the Town used more than ordinary Endeavours to Instruct the Prisoners and bring them to Repentance. There were Sermons Preached in their hearing Every Day, and Prayer daily made with them. And they were Catechised, and they had many occasional Exhortations. And nothing was left that could be done for their Good."

On Friday, June 30th, 1704, Quelch and his companions marched on foot through the town of [Boston](#) to Scarlil's Wharf with a strong armed guard of musketeers, accompanied by various officials and two ministers, while in front was carried a silver oar, the emblem of a pirate's execution. Before the last act the minister gave a long and fervent harangue to the wretched culprits, in all of whom were observed suitable signs of repentance except Quelch, who, stepping forward on the platform, his hat in his hand, and bowing left and right to the spectators, gave a short address, in which he warned them "They should take care how they brought Money into New England to be Hanged for it."

QUITTANCE, John.

One of Captain Quelch's crew of the brigantine *Charles*. Tried with the rest of that crew at the Star Tavern at [Boston](#) in June, 1704.

RACKAM, Captain John, *alias* Calico Jack.

Served as quartermaster in Captain Vane's company. On one occasion Vane refused to fight a big French ship, and in consequence was dismissed his ship and marooned on an uninhabited island off the coast of America, while the crew elected Rackam to be their captain in his place. This was on November 24th, 1718, and on the very first day of his command he had the good fortune to take and plunder several small vessels.

Off the Island of [Jamaica](#) they took a Madeira ship, and found an old friend on board as a passenger – a Mr. Hosea Tisdell, who kept a tavern in the island, and they treated him with great respect.

Christmas Day coming, the pirates landed on a small island to celebrate this festival in a thorough manner, carousing and drinking as long as the liquor lasted, when they sailed away to seek more. Their next prize was a strange one. On coming alongside a ship, she surrendered, and the pirates boarding her to examine her cargo, found it to consist of thieves from Newgate on their way to the plantations. Taking two more vessels, Rackam sailed to the Bahama Islands, but the Governor, Captain Woodes



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Rogers, sent a sloop, which took away their prizes.

Rackam now sailed his ship to a snug little cove he knew of in Cuba, where he had more than one lady acquaintance. Here the pirates were very happy until all their provisions and money was spent. Just as they were about to sail, in comes a Spanish Guarda del Costa with a small English sloop which they had recently taken. Rackam was now in a very awkward position, being unable to get past the Spaniard, and all he could do was to hide behind a small island. Night came on, and when it was dark Rackam put all his crew into a boat, rowed quietly up to the sloop, clambered aboard, threatening instant death to the Spanish guards if they cried out, then cut the cables and sailed out of the bay. As soon as it was light the Spanish ship commenced a furious bombardment of Rackam's empty vessel, thinking he was still aboard her.

In the summer of 1720 he took numbers of small vessels and fishing boats, but nothing very rich, and was not above stealing the fishermen's nets and landing and taking cattle. In October Rackam was chased near Nigril Bay by a Government sloop commanded by a Captain Barret. After a short fight Rackam surrendered, and was carried a prisoner to Port Royal.

On November 16th Rackam and his crew were tried at St. Jago de la Vega, convicted and sentenced to death. Amongst the crew were two women dressed as men, Anne Bonny and Mary Read. The former was married, in pirate fashion, to Rackam.

On the morning of his execution Rackam was allowed, as a special favour, to visit his Anne, but all the comfort he got from her was "that she was sorry to see him there, but if he had fought like a man, he need not have been hanged like a Dog."

Rackam was hanged on November 17th, 1720, at Gallows Point, at Port Royal, [Jamaica](#).

RAPHAELINA, Captain.

Much dreaded by the merchant sailors navigating the South Atlantic. In 1822 he controlled a fleet of pirate vessels in the vicinity of Cape Antonio.

RAYNER, Captain.

In a letter to the Lords of Trade, dated from Philadelphia, February 28th, 1701, William Penn mentions that several of Captain Kidd's men had settled as planters in Carolina with Rayner as their captain.

RAYNOR, William.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew. Tried at [Boston](#) in 1704.

READ, Captain.

Commanded a brigantine which had its headquarters at Madagascar. Rescued the pirate Thomas White. Read died at sea.

READ, Mary. Woman pirate.

Born in [London](#) of obscure parentage; all that is known for certain is that her mother was a "young and airy widow." Mary was brought up as a boy, and at the age of 13 was engaged as a footboy to wait on a French lady. Having a roving spirit, Mary ran away and entered herself on board a man-of-war. Deserting a



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few years later, she enlisted in a regiment of foot and fought in Flanders, showing on all occasions great bravery, but quitted the service to enlist in a regiment of horse. Her particular comrade in this regiment was a Fleming, with whom she fell in love and disclosed to him the secret of her sex. She now dressed as a woman, and the two troopers were married, "which made a great noise," and several of her officers attended the nuptials. She and her husband got their discharge and kept an eating house or ordinary, the Three Horseshoes, near the Castle of Breda. The husband died, and Mary once again donned male attire and enlisted in a regiment in Holland. Soon tiring of this, she deserted, and shipped herself aboard a vessel bound for the West Indies. This ship was taken by an English pirate, Captain Rackam, and Mary joined his crew as a seaman.

She was at New Providence Island, Bahama, when Woodes Rogers came there with the royal pardon to all pirates, and she shipped herself aboard a privateer sent out by Rogers to cruise against the Spaniards. The crew mutinied and again became pirates. She now sailed under Captain Rackam, who had with him another woman pirate, Anne Bonny. They took a large number of ships belonging to [Jamaica](#), and out of one of these took prisoner "a young fellow of engaging behaviour" with whom Mary fell deeply in love. This young fellow had a quarrel with one of the pirates, and as the ship lay at anchor they were to go to fight it out on shore according to pirate law. Mary, to save her lover, picked a quarrel with the same pirate, and managed to have her duel at once, and fighting with sword and pistol killed him on the spot.

She now married the young man "of engaging behaviour," and not long after was taken prisoner with Captain Rackam and the rest of the crew to [Jamaica](#). She was tried at St. Jago de la Vega in [Jamaica](#), and on November 28th, 1720, was convicted, but died in prison soon after of a violent fever.

That Mary Read was a woman of great spirit is shown by her reply to Captain Rackam, who had asked her (thinking she was a young man) what pleasure she could find in a life continually in danger of death by fire, sword, or else by hanging; to which Mary replied "that as to hanging, she thought it no great Hardship, for were it not for that, every cowardly Fellow would turn Pirate and so unfit the Seas, that Men of Courage must starve."

READ, Robert.

Tried for piracy with Gow's crew at Newgate in 1725, and acquitted.

READ, William.

Of Londonderry, Ireland. One of Captain Harris's crew. Was hanged at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), in 1723, at the age of 35.

READHEAD, Philip.

One of Captain Heidon's crew of the pirate ship *John of Sandwich*, wrecked on Alderney Island in 1564. Was arrested and hanged at St. Martin's Point, Guernsey, in the same year.

ANN BONNY AND MARY READ, CONVICTED OF PIRACY, NOVEMBER 28, 1720, AT A COURT OF VICE-ADMIRALTY HELD AT ST. JAGO DE LA VEGA IN THE ISLAND OF [Jamaica](#).

RHOADE, Captain John.



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A Dutch coasting pilot of [Boston](#).

In 1674 appointed chief pilot to the Curacao privateer *Flying Horse*, and sailed along the coast of Maine and as far north as the St. John River. Afterwards attacked and plundered several small English craft occupied in bartering furs with the Indians. Condemned to be hanged at [Cambridge](#), Massachusetts, in June, 1675.

RICE, David. Welsh pirate.

Of Bristol.

Taken out of the Cornwall galley by Captain Roberts, he served in the *Royal Fortune*. Tried and found guilty of piracy and condemned to death, but was reprieved and sold to the Royal African Company to serve for seven years in their plantations.

RICE, Owen. Welsh pirate.

Of South Wales.

Hanged at the age of 27 at [Rhode Island](#) in 1723. One of Captain Charles Harris's crew.

RICHARDS, Lieutenant.

Lieutenant to Blackbeard on board the *Queen Ann's Revenge*. Cruised in the West Indies and along the coast of Carolina and Virginia.

In 1717 Teach blockaded the harbour at [Charleston](#) and sent Richards with a party of pirates to the Governor to demand a medicine chest and all necessary medical supplies, with a threat that if these were not forthcoming he would cut the throats of all his prisoners, many of them the leading merchants of the town. While waiting for the Governor's reply, Richards and his companions scandalized the towns-folk of [Charleston](#) by their outrageous and swaggering conduct.

RICHARDSON, John.

His father was a goldsmith at New York. John, tiring of the trade of cooper, to which he was apprenticed, ran away to sea. For many years he served both in men-of-war and in merchant ships. Although an unmitigated blackguard, he did not commit piracy nor murder until some years later, when, being at Ancona, he met a Captain Benjamin Hartley, who had come there with a loading of pilchards. Richardson was taken on board to serve as ship's carpenter, and sailed for Leghorn. With another sailor called Coyle, Richardson concocted a mutiny, murdered the captain in the most brutal manner, and was appointed mate in the pirate ship. As a pirate Richardson was beneath contempt. His life ended on the gallows at Execution Dock on January 25th, 1738.

RICHARDSON, Nicholas.

One of Captain Quelch's crew. Taken out of the brigantine *Charles*, and tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704.

RIDGE, John.

Of [London](#). One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Hanged in 1718 at [Charleston](#), South Carolina.

RINGROSE, Basil. Buccaneer, pirate, and author.



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Sailed in 1679 to the West Indies. A year later Ringrose had joined the buccaneers at their rendezvous in the Gulf of Darien, where they were preparing for a bold enterprise on the Spanish Main. They landed and marched to the town of Santa Maria, which they plundered and burnt. Thence they travelled in canoes down the river to the Bay of Panama. After attacking the Spanish fleet and laying siege to the city, the buccaneers cruised up and down the West Coast of South America for eighteen months, sacking towns and attacking Spanish ships. All this while Ringrose kept a very full and graphic journal, in which he recorded not only their exploits, but also their hardships and quarrels, and gave descriptions as well of the various natives and their customs, and drew charts and sketches.

In 1681 Ringrose was still with Captain Sharp, and sailed through the Straits of Magellan, and on January 30th of the same year anchored off Antigua. Here he got a passage in a ship to England, landing safely at Dartmouth on March 26th.

A year later he published an account of his voyage, as a second volume to Esquemeling's, "Bucaniers of America." In 1684 he went to sea again in the *Cygnets* (Captain Swan), to traffic with the Spanish colonies. But the Spaniards refused to trade with them. In October, 1684, they met the famous Captain Edward Davis at that favourite haunt of the buccaneers, the Isle of Plate. The two captains agreed to join forces and to go together "on the account," so all the cargo was thrown overboard the *Cygnets*, and the ships set out to make war on any Spanish ships they might meet with.

In February, 1686, Ringrose with one hundred men took the town of Santiago in Mexico, but while returning with the plunder to their ship were caught by the Spaniards in an ambush, and Ringrose was killed.

Ringrose never attained any rank among the buccaneers beyond occasionally being put in charge of a boat or a small company on shore, but as a recorder of the doings of his companions he proved both careful and painstaking. Dampier had a great regard for him, and in his book he writes: "My ingenious friend Ringrose had no mind to this voyage, but was necessitated to engage in it or starve."

The title of Ringrose's book, first published in 1685, is "The Dangerous Voyage and Bold Assaults of Captain Bartholomew Sharp and Others."

Written by Mr. Basil Ringrose.

Printed for William Crooke, 1685.

ROACH, Peter.

When Captain Quelch was captured with his crew, Roach escaped near the Cape by Snake Island. He was afterwards captured and thrown into the gaol at Salem. Tried for piracy at the Star Tavern at [Boston](#), and on June 30th, 1704, was hanged. At the place of execution Roach disappointed the onlooking crowd, as, instead of the expected and hoped-for repentant speech, "he seemed little concerned, and said but little or nothing at all."

ROB, Alexander.

One of Captain Gow's crew. Hanged at Execution Dock, Wapping,



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in June, 1724. He was not one of the original crew of the *George* galley, but was taken out of a prize and joined the pirates of his own free-will.

ROBBINS, James.

Hanged in Virginia in 1718 along with the rest of Captain Teach's crew.

ROBBINS, James.

Of [London](#). One of the crew of the *Royal James*. Hanged in 1718 at [Charleston](#), South Carolina.

ROBERTS, Captain Bartholomew. Welsh pirate.

Born 1682. Died 1722. If a pirate is to be reckoned by the amount of damage he does and the number of ships he takes there can be no doubt that Captain Roberts should be placed at the very head of his profession, for he is said to have taken over 400 vessels. The only man who can be said to rival him is Sir Henry Morgan, but Morgan, although in some ways an unmitigated blackguard, was a man of much greater breadth of outlook than Roberts ever was, and, moreover, was a buccaneer rather than a pirate.

Roberts, like many other successful pirates, was born in Wales, not far from Haverfordwest. He is described as being "a tall black man," and was about 40 years of age at the time of his death. He was remarkable, even among his remarkable companions, for several things. First of all, he only drank tea – thus being the only total abstainer known to the fraternity. Also he was a strict disciplinarian, and on board his ships all lights had to be extinguished by 8 p.m., any of the crew who wished to continue drinking after that hour had to do so on the open deck. But try as he would this ardent apostle of abstemiousness was unable to put down drinking. If Roberts had lived to-day, no doubt he would have been on the council of the local vigilance committee. He would allow no women aboard his ships, in fact he made it a law that any man who brought a woman on board disguised as a man was to suffer death. Roberts allowed no games at cards or dice to be played for money, as he strongly disapproved of gambling. He was a strict Sabbatarian, and allowed the musicians to have a rest on the seventh day. This was as well, for the post of musician on a pirate ship was no sinecure, as every pirate had the right to demand a tune at any hour of the day or night. He used to place a guard to protect all his women prisoners, and it is sadly suspicious that there was always the greatest competition amongst the worst characters in the ship to be appointed sentinel over a good-looking woman prisoner. All quarrels had to be settled on shore, pirate fashion, the duellists standing back to back armed with pistol and cutlass. Roberts would have no fighting among the crew on board his ship.

Bartholomew must have looked the very part of a pirate when dressed for action. A tall, dark man, he used to wear a rich damask waistcoat and breeches, a red feather in his cap, a gold chain round his neck with a large diamond cross dangling from it, a sword in his hand, and two pairs of pistols hanging at the end of a silk sling flung over his shoulders.

We first hear of Roberts as sailing, in honest employ, as master of the *Princess* (Captain Plumb), from [London](#) in November, 1719, bound for the coast of Guinea to pick up a cargo of "black ivory"

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at Anamaboe. Here his ship was taken by the Welsh pirate Howel Davis. At first Roberts was disinclined for the pirate life, but soon changed his mind.

On the death of Davis there were several candidates for the post of commander, all brisk and lively men, distinguished by the title of "Lords," such as Sympson, Ashplant, Anstis, and others. One of these "Lords," Dennis, concluded an eloquent harangue over a bowl of punch with a strong appeal for Roberts to be the new chief. This proposal was acclaimed with but one dissenting voice, that of "Lord" Sympson, who had hopes of being elected himself, and who sullenly left the meeting swearing "he did not care who they chose captain so it was not a papist." So Roberts was elected after being a pirate only six weeks; thus was true merit quickly appreciated and rewarded amongst them.

CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW ROBERTS.

Roberts's speech to his fellow-pirates was short but to the point, saying "that since he had dipped his hands in muddy water, and must be a pyrate, it was better being a commander than a common man," not perhaps a graceful nor grateful way of expressing his thanks, but one which was no doubt understood by his audience.

Roberts began his career in a bright manner, for to revenge the perfectly justifiable death of their late captain he seized and razed the fort, bombarded the town, and setting on fire two Portuguese ships so as to act as torches, sailed away the same night. Sailing to Brazil they found in the Bay of Bahia a fleet of forty-two Portuguese ships ready laden and on the point of leaving for Lisbon, and Roberts, with the most astounding boldness, sailed right in amongst them until he found the deepest laden, which he attacked and boarded, although his was a much smaller ship. He sailed away with his prize from the harbour. This prize, amongst the merchandise, contained 40,000 moidors and a cross of diamonds designed for the King of Portugal.

He then took a Dutch ship, and two days later an English one, and sailed back to Brazil, refitting and cleaning at the Island of Ferdinando.

In a work such as this is, it is impossible to recount all, or even a few, of the daring adventures, or the piratical ups and downs of one pirate. Roberts sailed to the West Indies devastating the commerce of [Jamaica](#) and [Barbadoes](#). When things grew too hot there, he went north to Newfoundland, and played the very devil with the English and French fishing fleets and settlements.

His first ship he called the *Fortune*, his next, a bigger ship, the *Royal Fortune*, another the *Good Fortune*.

On two occasions Roberts had been very roughly handled, once by a ship from [Barbadoes](#) and once by the inhabitants of Martinica, so when he designed his new flag, he portrayed on it a huge figure of himself standing sword in hand upon two skulls, and under these were the letters A.B.H. and A.M.H., signifying a Barbadian's and a Martinican's head.

In April, 1721, Roberts was back again on the Guinea Coast, burning and plundering. Amongst the prisoners he took out of one

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of his prizes was a clergyman. The captain dearly wished to have a chaplain on board his ship to administer to the spiritual welfare of his crew, and tried all he could to persuade the parson to sign on, promising him that his only duties should be to say prayers and make punch. But the prelate begged to be excused, and was at length allowed to go with all his belongings, except three prayer-books and a corkscrew – articles which were sorely needed aboard the *Royal Fortune*.

The end of Roberts's career was now in sight. A King's ship, the *Swallow* (Captain Chaloner Ogle), discovered Roberts's ships at Parrot Island, and, pretending to fly from them, was followed out to sea by one of the pirates. A fight took place, and after two hours the pirates struck, flinging overboard their black flag "that it might not rise in Judgement over them." The *Swallow* returned in a few days to Parrot Island to look for Roberts in the *Royal Fortune*. Roberts being at breakfast, enjoying a savoury dish of solomongundy, was informed of the approach of the ship, but refused to take any notice of it. At last, thoroughly alarmed, he cut his cables and sailed out, but most of his crew being drunk, even at this early hour, the pirates did not make as good a resistance as if they had been sober. Early in the engagement Roberts was hit in the throat by a grape-shot and killed; this being on February 10th, 1722. His body, fully dressed, with his arms and ornaments, was thrown overboard according to his repeated request made during his lifetime. Thus the arch-pirate died, as he always said he wished to die, fighting. His motto had always been "A short life and a merry one." One good word can be said for Roberts, that he never forced a man to become a pirate against his wish.

ROBERTS, Owen. Welsh pirate.

Carpenter in the *Queen Ann's Revenge*, and killed on November 22nd, 1718, off the North Carolina Coast.

ROBINSON, Edward.

Of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Hanged at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, in 1718.

ROCHE, Captain Philip, *alias* John Eustace.

In company with three other mariners – Cullen, Wife, and Neale – this Irish pirate shipped himself on board a French snow at Cork in November, 1721, for a passage to Nantes. Owing to Roche's briskness, genteel manners, and knowledge of navigation, the master used occasionally to place him in charge of the vessel. One night a few days out a pre-arranged mutiny took place, the French crew being butchered and thrown overboard. The captain, who pleaded for mercy, was also thrown into the sea. Driven by bad weather to Dartmouth, the new captain, Roche, had the ship repainted and disguised, and renamed her the *Mary*. Then sailing to Rotterdam he sold the cargo of beef and took on a fresh cargo with the owner, Mr. Annesly. The first night out of port they threw Mr. Annesly overboard, and he swam alongside for some while pleading to be taken in. On going into a French port, and hearing that an enquiry was being made about his ship, Roche ran away. The crew took the ship to Scotland, and there landed and disappeared, and the ship was seized and taken to the Thames.

Later on Roche was arrested in [London](#) and committed to Newgate



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Prison, found guilty of piracy, and hanged on August 5th, 1723, at Execution Dock, at the age of 30. The hanging was not, from the public spectators point of view, a complete success, for the culprit "was so ill at the time that he could not make any public declaration of his abhorrence of the crime for which he suffered."

RODERIGO, Peter.

A "Flanderkin." Commanded a Dutch vessel, the *Edward and Thomas*, that sailed from [Boston](#) in 1674, and took several small English vessels along the coast of Maine. Tried for piracy at [Cambridge](#), Massachusetts, and condemned to be hanged, but was afterwards pardoned.

ROGERS, Captain Thomas.

Commanded a ship, the *Forlorn*. Routed the Spaniards at Venta Cruz in 1671. One of Morgan's captains in his attack on Panama.

ROGERS, Captain Woodes.

As the life of this famous navigator and privateer is, very justly, treated fully in the "Dictionary of National Biography" it is unnecessary to mention more than a few incidents in his adventurous career. Woodes Rogers was not only a good navigator, for on many occasions he showed a remarkable gift for commanding mutinous crews in spite of having many officers on whom he could place little reliance. On leaving Cork in 1708, after an incompetent pilot had almost run his ship on two rocks off Kinsale called "The Sovereigne's Bollacks," Rogers describes his crew thus: "A third were foreigners, while of Her Majestie's subjects many were taylors, tinkers, pedlars, fiddlers, and hay-makers, with ten boys and one negro." It was with crews such as these that many of the boldest and most remarkable early voyages were made, and they required a man of Woodes Rogers stamp to knock them into sailors. Rogers had a gift for inspiring friendship wherever he went. On arriving at the coast of Brazil, his boat was fired on when trying to land at Angre de Reys. This settlement had but lately received several hostile visitors in the way of French pirates. But before a week was passed Woodes Rogers had so won the hearts of the Portuguese Governor and the settlers that he and his "musick" were invited to take part in an important religious function, or "entertainment," as Rogers calls it, "where," he says, "we waited on the Governour, Signior Raphael de Silva Lagos, in a body, being ten of us, with two trumpets and a hautboy, which he desir'd might play us to church, where our musick did the office of an organ, but separate from the singing, which was by the fathers well perform'd. Our musick played 'Hey, boys, up go we!' and all manner of noisy paltry tunes. And after service, our musicians, who were by that time more than half drunk, march'd at the head of the company; next to them an old father and two fryars carrying lamps of incense, then an image dressed with flowers and wax candles, then about forty priests, fryars, etc., followed by the Governor of the town, myself, and Capt. Courtney, with each of us a long wax candle lighted. The ceremony held about two hours; after which we were splendidly entertained by the fathers of the Convent, and then by the Governour. They unanimously told us they expected nothing from us but our Company, and they had no more but our musick."



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What a delightful picture this calls to the mind – the little Brazilian town, the tropical foliage, the Holy Procession, “wax figure” and priests, followed by the Governor with an English buccaneer on either side, and headed by a crew of drunken Protestant English sailors playing “Hey, boys, up go we!”

Rogers, not to be outdone in hospitality, next day entertained the Governor and fathers on board the *Duke*, “when,” he says, “they were very merry, and in their cups propos’d the Pope’s health to us. But we were quits with ‘em by toasting the Archbishop of Canterbury; and to keep up the humour, we also proposed William Pen’s health, and they liked the liquor so well, that they refused neither.” Alas! the good Governor and the fathers were not in a fit state to leave the ship when the end came to the entertainment, so slept on board, being put ashore in the morning, “when we saluted ‘em with a huzza from each ship, because,” as Rogers says, “we were not overstocked with powder.”

It was in March, 1710, that Rogers brought his little fleet into the harbour of Guam, one of the Ladrone Islands. Although at war with Spain, the captain soon became on his usual friendly terms with the Governor of this Spanish colony, and gave an entertainment on board his ship to him and four other Spanish gentlemen, making them “as welcome as time and place would afford, with musick and our sailors dancing.” The Governor gave a return party on shore, to which Rogers and all his brother officers were invited, partaking of “sixty dishes of various sorts.” After this feast Rogers gave his host a present, consisting of “two negro boys dress’d in liveries.” One other instance of Woodes Rogers adaptability must suffice. In the year 1717 he was appointed Governor to the Bahama Islands, at New Providence, now called Nassau. His chief duty was to stamp out the West India pirates who had made this island their headquarters for many years, and were in complete power there, and numbered more than 2,000 desperadoes, including such famous men as Vane and Teach. Rogers’s only weapon, besides the man-of-war he arrived in, was a royal proclamation from King George offering free pardon to all pirates or buccaneers who would surrender at once to the new Governor. At first the pirates were inclined to resist his landing, but in the end the tactful Rogers got his own way, and not only landed, but was received by an armed guard of honour, and passed between two lines of pirates who fired salutes with their muskets.

Most of the pirates surrendered and received their pardons, but some, who reverted shortly afterwards to piracy and were captured and brought back to New Providence, were tried and actually hanged by Rogers’s late buccaneer subjects.

Woodes Rogers eventually died in Nassau in the year 1729.

He was the author of a delightful book entitled “A Cruising Voyage Round the World, begun in 1708 and finish’d in 1711, by Captain Woodes Rogers, Commander-in-Chief on this Expedition, with the ships *Duke* and *Duchess* of Bristol.”

This was published in [London](#) in 1712.

ROLLSON, Peter.

Captain Gow’s gunner in the *Revenge*. Hanged at Execution Dock,



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Wapping, in June, 1725.

ROSS, George, or Rose.

Of Glasgow.

One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew of the *Royal James*. Was hanged at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, on November 8th, 1718, and buried in the marsh below low-water mark.

ROSSOE, Francis.

In June, 1717, in company with four other Carolina pirates, was placed on trial for his life. Convicted with De Cossey, De Mont, and Ernandos, of piratically taking the vessels the *Turtle Dove*, the *Penelope*, and the *Virgin Queen* in July of the previous year, and, after being sentenced to death by Judge Trott, Rossoe and his fellow-pirates were promptly executed.

ROUNDSIVEL, Captain George.

Of the Bahama Islands.

He refused to avail himself of King George's pardon to all pirates in 1717, and went off again on the "main chance" till captured.

ROW, Captain. Buccaneer.

In 1679, at the Boca del Toro, was with the buccaneer fleet that attacked and sacked Santa Maria. Row commanded a small vessel of twenty tons, a crew of twenty-five men, and no guns.

RUIZ.

One of Captain Gilbert's crew in the pirate schooner *Panda*, which plundered the Salem brig *Mexican* in 1834. Tried in [Boston](#) and condemned to be hanged. Pleading insanity, he was respited for sixty days and then hanged on September 12th, 1835.

RUPERT. Prince of the Rhine.

After an adventurous life as a soldier on the Continent, he sailed from Ireland in 1648 with seven ships. His own ship was the *Swallow*. He was a man of boundless energy, who was never happy if not engaged in some enterprise, and as legitimate warfare gave him few opportunities he turned pirate. He spent five years at sea, largely in the West Indies, meeting with every kind of adventure.

In 1653 he was caught in a storm in the Virgin Islands, and his fleet was wrecked. His brother, Prince Maurice, was lost with his ship, the *Defiance*, the only ship saved being the *Swallow*. Prince Rupert returned in the *Swallow* to France in the same year. Hitherto the prince had been a restless, clever man, "very sparkish in his dress," but this catastrophe to his fleet and the loss of his brother broke his spirit, and he retired to England, where he died in his bed in 1682 at Spring Gardens.

le SAGE, Captain. French filibuster.

In 1684 was at San Domingo, in command of the *Tigre*, carrying thirty guns and a crew of 130 men.

SALTER, Edward.

Hanged in Virginia in 1718 with the rest of Captain Teach's crew.



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SAMPLE, Captain Richard. Buccaneer.

Was at New Providence Island in 1718, and received the royal pardon from King George, offered to those pirates who surrendered themselves to Governor Woodes Rogers. Like many another, he fell again into his former wicked ways, and ended his life by being hanged.

SAMPLE, Captain Robert.

One of England's crew in the *Royal James*. In 1720 they took a prize, the *Elizabeth and Katherine*, off the coast of West Africa. Fitting her out for a pirate, they named her the *Flying King*, and Sample was put in command. In company with Captain Low, he sailed to Brazil and did much mischief amongst the Portuguese shipping. In November of the same year the two pirate ships were attacked by a very powerful man-of-war. Lane got away, but Sample was compelled to run his ship ashore on the coast. Of his crew of seventy men, twelve were killed and the rest taken prisoners, of whom the Portuguese hanged thirty-eight. Of these, thirty-two were English, three Dutch, two French, and one Portuguese.

SANDERS, Thomas.

An Elizabethan mariner who was taken prisoner by the Moors. He wrote a narrative of his life as a slave on a Barbary pirate galley. "I and sixe more of my fellowes," he wrote, "together with four-score Italians and Spaniards, were sent foorth in a Galeot to take a Greekish Carmosell, which came into Africa to steale Negroes. We were chained three and three to an oare, and we rowed naked above the girdle, and the Boteswaine of the Galley walked abaft the masts, and his Mate afore the maste ... and when their develish choller rose, they would strike the Christians for no cause. And they allowed us but halfe a pound of bread a man in a day without any other kind of sustenance, water excepted.... We were then so cruelly manackled in such sort, that we could not put our hands the length of one foote asunder the one from the other, and every night they searched our chains three times, to see if they were fast riveted."

SAWKINS, Captain Richard. Buccaneer.

We know little of the early career of this remarkable buccaneer. He was loved by his crew, and had great influence over them. It is recorded that one Sunday morning, finding some of his men gambling, he threw the dice overboard, saying "he would have no gambling aboard his ship."

We know that on one occasion he was caught in his vessel by H.M.S. *Success* and brought to Port Royal, [Jamaica](#), and that on December 1st, 1679, he was in prison awaiting trial for piracy. Apparently he got off, for this brilliant young buccaneer is soon afterwards heard of as commanding a small vessel of sixteen tons, armed with but one gun and a crew of thirty-five men. He was one of a party of 330 buccaneers who, under the leadership of Coxon and Sharp, landed on the coast of Darien and marched through the jungle to attack and plunder the town of Santa Maria. The remainder of the journey across the isthmus was done in canoes, in which the pirates travelled down the Santa Maria River until they found themselves in the Pacific. On this expedition each captain had his company and had his own colours,

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Sawkins's flag being a red one with yellow stripes. Arrived at the sea, they captured two small Spanish vessels, and, the rest of the company being in the canoes, they boldly sailed towards Panama City. Meeting with the Spanish fleet of eight ships, the buccaneers attacked it, and, after a most furious battle, came off victorious. This was one of the most gallant episodes in the whole history of the "brethren of the coast," and was afterwards known as the Battle of Perico. Sawkins fought in the most brave and desperate manner, and took a large share in the successful enterprise. After this action some quarrelling took place, which ended by Captain Coxon going off with some seventy men, to return across the isthmus on foot. The company that remained in the Pacific elected Sawkins to be their leader, as Captain Sharp, a much older man, was away in his ship.

The buccaneers, ever since they defeated the Spanish fleet, had blockaded the harbour, and a correspondence took place between the Governor of Panama and Sawkins, the former wishing to know what the pirates had come there for. To this message Sawkins sent back answer "that we came to assist the King of Darien, who was the true Lord of Panama and all the country thereabouts. And that since we were come so far, there was no reason but that we should have some satisfaction. So that if he pleased to send us five hundred pieces of eight for each man, and one thousand for each commander, and not any farther to annoy the Indians, but suffer them to use their own power and liberty, as became the true and natural lords of the country, that then we would desist from all further hostilities, and go away peaceably; otherwise that we should stay there, and get what we could, causing to them what damage was possible."

This message was just bluff on Sawkins's part, but having heard that the Bishop of Santa Martha was in the city, Sawkins sent him two loaves of sugar as a present, and reminded the prelate that he had been his prisoner five years before, when Sawkins took that town. Further messengers returned from Panama next day, bringing a gold ring for Sawkins from the well-disposed Bishop, and a message from the Governor, in which he inquired "from whom we had our commission and to whom he ought to complain for the damage we had already done them?" To this Sawkins sent back answer "that as yet all his company were not come together; but that when they were come up we would come and visit him at Panama, and bring our commissions on the muzzles of our guns, at which time he should read them as plain as the flame of gunpowder could make them."

After lying off Panama for some while without meeting with any plunder, and their victuals running short, the crews began to grumble, and persuaded Sawkins to sail south along the coast. This he did, and, arriving off the town of Puebla Nueva on May 22nd, 1679, Sawkins landed a party of sixty men and led them against the town. But the Spaniards had been warned in time, and had built up three strong breastworks.

Sawkins, who never knew what fear meant, stormed the town at the head of his men, but was killed by a musket-ball.

Basil Ringrose, the buccaneer who wrote the narrative of this voyage, describes Sawkins as being "a man who was as valiant and courageous as any man could be, and the best beloved of all our company"; and on another occasion he speaks of him as "a man



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whom nothing on earth could terrifie.”

SAWNEY, Captain.

A pirate of New Providence Island in the Bahamas. In this pirate republic this old man lived in the best hut, and was playfully known as “Governor Sawney.”

de SAYAS, Francisco.

A Spanish pirate hanged at Kingston, [Jamaica](#), in 1823.

SCOT, Lewis.

Distinguished as being the first pirate to carry on the trade on land as well as at sea. Before this time pirates were never known to be anything but harmless drunkards when on shore, whatever they might be on board their ships. Scot changed all this when he sacked and pillaged the city of Campeachy. So successful was he that his example was quickly followed by Mansfield, John Davis, and other pirates.

SCOT, Roger.

Born at Bristol.

One of Captain Roberts’s crew. Tried for piracy in April, 1722, at Cape Coast Castle, West Africa, after the great defeat of the pirates by H.M.S. *Swallow*. On this occasion no less than 267 pirates were accounted for. The finding of the Honourable the President and Judges of the Court of Admiralty for trying of pirates was as follows:

Acquitted		74
Executed		52
Respited		2
To Servitude		20
To the Marshallsea		17 for tryal
The rest were accounted for as follows:		
Killed {	In the <i>Ranger</i>	10
	In the <i>Fortune</i>	3
Dy’d {	In the passage to Cape Corso	15
	Afterwards in the castle	4
Negroes in both ships		70
		—
		267
		—

A number of the prisoners signed a “humble petition” begging that, as they, being “unhappily and unwisely drawn into that wretched and detestable Crime of Piracy,” they might be permitted to serve in the Royal African Company in the country for seven years, in remission of their crimes. This clemency was granted to twenty of the prisoners, of which Scot was one.

A very impressive indenture was drawn up, according to which the prisoners were to become the slaves of the Company for seven years, and this was signed by the prisoners and by the President.



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SCOTT, William.

One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew in the *Royal James*. Tried for piracy in 1718 at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, and hanged at White Point on November 8th.

SCUDAMORE, Christopher.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew. Tried for piracy at the Star Tavern in Hanover Street, [Boston](#), in 1704, and hanged on Charles River, [Boston](#) Side, on June 30th. A report of the trial and execution of these pirates, describing Scudamore's conduct on the gallows, says: "He appeared very Penitent since his Condemnation, was very diligent to improve his time going to, and at the place of Execution."

SCUDAMORE, Peter.

Belonging to Bristol.

Surgeon in the *Mercy* galley, and taken by Captain Roberts in 1721. It was a rule on all pirate vessels for the surgeon to be excused from signing the ship's articles. When the next prize was taken, if she carried a surgeon, he was taken in place of their present one, if the latter wished to leave. But when Scudamore came on board the *Royal Fortune* he insisted on signing the pirate articles and boasted that he was the first surgeon that had ever done so, and he hoped, he said, to prove as great a rogue as any of them.

When the African Company's Guinea ship, the *King Solomon*, was taken, Scudamore came aboard and helped himself to their surgeon's instruments and medicines. He also took a fancy for a backgammon board, but only kept it after a violent quarrel with another pirate. It came out at his trial that on a voyage from the Island of St. Thomas, in a prize, the *Fortune*, in which was a cargo of slaves, Scudamore had tried to bring about a mutiny of the blacks to kill the prize crew which was on board, and he was detected in the night going about amongst the negroes, talking to them in the Angolan language. He said that he knew enough about navigation to sail the ship himself, and he was heard to say that "this were better than to be taken to Cape Corso to be hanged and sun dried."

The same witness told how he had approached the prisoner when he was trying to persuade a wounded pirate, one James Harris, to join him in his scheme, but fearing to be overheard, Scudamore turned the conversation to horse-racing.

Scudamore was condemned to death, but allowed three days' grace before being hanged, which he spent in incessant prayers and reading of the Scriptures. On the gallows he sang, solo, the Thirty-first Psalm. Died at the age of 35.

SEARLES, Captain Robert.

In 1664 he brought in two Spanish prizes to Port Royal, but as orders had only lately come from England to the Governor to do all in his power to promote friendly relations with the Spanish islands, these prizes were returned to their owners. To prevent Searle's doing such things again, he was deprived of his ship's rudder and sails. In 1666, Searle, in company with a Captain Stedman and a party of only eighty men, took the Island of Tobago, near Trinidad, from the Dutch, destroying everything



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they could not carry away.

SELKIRK, Alexander. The original Robinson Crusoe.

Born in 1676 at Largo in Fifeshire, he was the seventh son of John Selcraig, a shoemaker. In 1695 he was cited to appear before the Session for "indecent conduct in church," but ran away to sea. In 1701 he was back again in Largo, and was rebuked in the face of the congregation for quarrelling with his brothers. A year later Selkirk sailed to England, and in 1703 joined Dampier's expedition to the South Seas. Appointed sailing-master to the *Cinque Ports*, commanded by Captain Stradling.

In September, 1704, he arrived at the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez, in the South Pacific. Selkirk, having quarrelled with the captain, insisted on being landed on the island with all his belongings. He lived alone here for nearly four years, building himself two cabins, hunting the goats which abounded, and taming young goats and cats to be his companions.

On the night of January 31st, 1709, seeing two ships, Selkirk lit a fire, and a boat was sent ashore. These ships were the *Duke* and *Duchess* of Bristol, under the command of Captain Woodes Rogers, while his old friend Dampier was acting as pilot. Selkirk was at once appointed sailing-master of the *Duchess*, and eventually arrived back in the Thames on October 14th, 1711, with booty worth £800, having been away from England for eight years. While in England he met Steele, who described Selkirk as a "man of good sense, with strong but cheerful expression." Whether Selkirk ever met Defoe is uncertain, though the character of Robinson Crusoe was certainly founded on his adventures in Juan Fernandez. In 1712 he returned to Largo, living the life of a recluse, and we must be forgiven for suspecting that he rather acted up to the part, since it is recorded that he made a cave in his father's garden in which to meditate. This life of meditation in an artificial cave was soon rudely interrupted by the appearance of a certain Miss Sophia Bonce, with whom Selkirk fell violently in love, and they eloped together to Bristol, which must have proved indeed a sad scandal to the elders and other godly citizens of Largo. Beyond the fact that he was charged at Bristol with assaulting one Richard Nettle, a shipwright, we hear no more of Selkirk until his first will was drawn up in 1717, in which he leaves his fortune and house to "my loving friend Sophia Bonce, of the Pall Mall, [London](#), Spinster." Shortly after this, Alexander basely deserted his loving friend and married a widow, one Mrs. Francis Candis, at Oarston in Devon.

In 1720 he was appointed mate to H.M.S. *Weymouth*, on board of which he died a year later at the age of 45.

Selkirk is immortalized in literature, not only by Defoe, but by Cowper in his "Lines on Solitude," beginning: "I am monarch of all I survey."

SHARP, Rowland.

Of Bath Town in North Carolina.

One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Tried for piracy at [Charleston](#) in 1718 and found "not guilty."

SHASTER, Roger.



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One of Captain Heidon's crew of the pirate ship *John of Sandwich*, which was wrecked on the coast of Alderney. Shaster was arrested and hanged at St. Martin's Point, Guernsey, in 1564.

SHAW, John.

One of Captain Lowther's crew. Hanged at St. Kitts on March 11th, 1722.

SHERGALL, Henry, or Sherral. Buccaneer.

A seaman with Captain Bartholomew Sharp in his South Sea voyage. One October day he fell into the sea while going into the spritsail-top and was drowned. "This incident several of our company interpreted as a bad omen, which proved not so, through the providence of the Almighty."

SHIRLEY, Sir Anthony.

In January, 1597, headed an expedition to the Island of [Jamaica](#). He met with little opposition from the Spaniards, and seized and plundered St. Jago de la Vega.

SHIVERS, Captain.

This South Sea pirate cruised in company with Culliford and Nathaniel North in the Red Sea, preying principally on Moorish ships, and also sailed about the Indian Ocean as far as the Malacca Islands. He accepted the royal pardon to pirates, which was brought out to Madagascar by Commodore Littleton, and apparently gave up his wicked ways thereafter.

SHUTFIELD, William.

Of Lancaster. Hanged at [Rhode Island](#) in July, 1723, at the age of 40.

SICCADAM, John.

Of [Boston](#). One of Captain Pound's crew. Found guilty of piracy, but pardoned.

SIMMS, Henry, alias "Gentleman Harry." Pickpocket, highwayman, pirate, and Old Etonian.

Born in 1716 at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Sent while quite young to school at Eton, where he "shewed an early inclination to vice," and at the age of 14 was taken from school and apprenticed to a breeches-maker. No Old Etonian, either then or now, would stand that kind of treatment, so Simms ran away, becoming a pickpocket and later a highwayman. After numerous adventures and escapes from prison, he was pressed on board H.M.S. *Rye*, but he deserted his ship at Leith. After an "affair" at Croydon, Simms was transplanted with other convicts to Maryland, in the *Italian Merchant*. On the voyage he attempted, but without success, to raise a mutiny. On his arrival in America he was sold to the master of the *Two Sisters*, which was taken a few days out from Maryland by a Bayonne pirate. Carried to Spain, Simms got to Oporto, and there was pressed on board H.M.S. *King Fisher*. Eventually he reached Bristol, where he bought, with his share of booty, a horse and two pistols, with which to go on the highway.

Hanged on June 17th, 1747, for stealing an old silver watch and 5s. from Mr. Francis Sleep at Dunstable.

SKIPTON, Captain.



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Commanded a pirate ship, in which he sailed in company with Captain Spriggs. Being chased by H.M.S. *Diamond* off the coast of Cuba, Skipton ran his sloop on to the Florida Reef. Escaping with his crew to an island, they were attacked by the Indians, and many of them were captured and eaten. The survivors, embarking in a canoe, were caught by the man-of-war and taken prisoner.

SKYRM, Captain James. Welsh pirate.

Hanged at the advanced age – for a pirate – of 44. Commanded the *Ranger*, one of Captain Roberts's ships that cruised in 1721 and 1722 off the West Coast of Africa. In the fight with the King's ship that took him he was very active with a drawn sword in his hand, with which he beat any of his crew who were at all backward. One of his legs was shot away in this action, but he refused to leave the deck and go below as long as the action lasted. He was condemned to death and hanged in chains.

SMITH, George. Welsh pirate.

One of Captain Roberts's pirates. Hanged at the age of 25.

SMITH, John.

One of the mutinous crew of the *Antonio*. Hanged at [Boston](#) in 1672.

SMITH, John Williams.

Of [Charleston](#), Carolina. Hanged in 1718 for piracy, at [Charleston](#).

SMITH, Major Samuel. Buccaneer.

At one time a buccaneer with the famous Mansfield.

In 1641 he was sent, by the Governor of [Jamaica](#), with a party to reinforce the troops which under Mansfield had recaptured the New Providence Island from the Spanish. In 1660 he was taken prisoner by the Spanish and carried to Panama and there kept in chains in a dungeon for seventeen months.

de SOTO, Bernado.

One of the crew of the schooner *Panda* that took and plundered the Salem brig *Mexican*. The crew of the *Panda* were captured by an English man-of-war and taken to [Boston](#). De Soto was condemned to death, but eventually fully pardoned owing to his heroic conduct in rescuing the crew of an American vessel some time previously.

de SOTO, Captain Benito.

A Portuguese. A most notorious pirate in and about 1830. In 1827 he shipped at Buenos Ayres as mate in a slaver, named the *Defenser de Pedro*, and plotted to seize the ship off the African coast. The pirates took the cargo of slaves to the West Indies, where they sold them. De Soto plundered many vessels in the Caribbean Sea, then sailed to the South Atlantic, naming his ship the *Black Joke*. The fear of the *Black Joke* became so great amongst the East Indiamen homeward bound that they used to make up convoys at St. Helena before heading north.

In 1832 de Soto attacked the *Morning Star*, an East Indiaman, and took her, when he plundered the ship and murdered the captain.



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After taking several more ships, de Soto lost his own on the rocky coast of Spain, near Cadiz. His crew, although pretending to be honest shipwrecked sailors, were arrested, but de Soto managed to escape to Gibraltar. Here he was recognized by a soldier who had seen de Soto when he took the *Morning Star*, in which he had been a passenger. The pirate was arrested, and tried before Sir George Don, the Governor of Gibraltar, and sentenced to death. He was sent to Cadiz to be hanged with the rest of his crew. The gallows was erected at the water's edge, and de Soto, with his coffin, was conveyed there in a cart. He died bravely, arranging the noose around his own neck, stepping up into his coffin to do so; then, crying out, "Adios todos," he threw himself off the cart.

This man must not be confused with one Bernado de Soto, who was tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1834.

SOUND, Joseph.

Of the city of Westminster. Hanged, at the age of 28, at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), in 1723.

SPARKS, James.

A Newfoundland fisherman. In August, 1723, with John Phillips and three others, ran away with a vessel to go "on the account." Sparks was appointed gunner.

SPARKES, John.

A member of Captain Avery's crew, and described by one of his shipmates as being "a true cock of the game." A thief, he robbed his fellow-shipmates, and from one, Philip Middleton, he stole 270 pieces of gold. Hanged at Execution Dock in 1696.

SPRATLIN, Robert.

Was one of Dampier's party which in 1681 crossed the Isthmus of Darien, when he was left behind in the jungle with Wafer. Spratlin was lost when the little party attempted to ford the swollen Chagres River. He afterwards rejoined Wafer.

SPRIGGS, Captain Francis Farrington.

An uninteresting and bloody pirate without one single redeeming character.

He learnt his art with the pirate Captain Lowther, afterwards serving as quartermaster with Captain Low and taking an active part in all the barbarities committed by the latter.

About 1720 Low took a prize, a man-of-war called the *Squirrel*. This he handed over to some of the crew, who elected Spriggs their captain. The ship they renamed the *Delight*, and in the night altered their course and left Low. They made a flag, bearing upon it a white skeleton, holding in one hand a dart striking a bleeding heart, and in the other an hourglass. Sailing to the West Indies, Spriggs took several prizes, treating the crews with abominable cruelty. On one occasion the pirates chased what they believed to be a Spanish ship, and after a long while they came alongside and fired a broadside into her. The ship immediately surrendered, and turned out to be a vessel the pirate had plundered only a few days previously. This infuriated Spriggs and his crew, who showed their disappointment by half murdering the captain. After a narrow escape from being



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captured by a French man-of-war near the Island of St. Kitts, Spriggs sailed north to the Summer Isles, or Bermudas. Taking a ship coming from [Rhode Island](#), they found her cargo to consist of horses. Several of the pirates mounted these and galloped up and down the deck until they were thrown. While plundering several small vessels of their cargo of logwood in the Bay of Honduras, Spriggs was surprised and attacked by an English man-of-war, and the pirates only escaped by using their sweeps. Spriggs now went for a cruise off the coast of South Carolina, returning again to Honduras. This was a rash proceeding on Spriggs's part, for as he was sailing off the west end of Cuba he again met the man-of-war which had so nearly caught him before in the bay. Spriggs clapped on all sail, but ran his ship on Rattan Island, where she was burnt by the *Spence*, while Captain Spriggs and his crew escaped to the woods.

SPRINGER, Captain.

He fought gallantly with Sawkins and Ringrose in the Battle of Perico off Panama on St. George's Day in 1680. He gave his name to Springer's Cay, one of the Samballoe Islands. This was the rendezvous chosen by the pirates, where Dampier and his party found the French pirate ship that rescued them after their famous trudge across the Isthmus of Darien.

STANLEY, Captain. Buccaneer.

With a few other buccaneers in their stronghold at New Providence Island in 1660, withstood an attack by a Spanish fleet for five days. The three English captains, Stanley, Sir Thomas Whetstone, and Major Smith, were carried to Panama and there cast into a dungeon and bound in irons for seventeen months.

STEDMAN, Captain. Buccaneer.

In 1666, with Captain Searle and a party of only eighty men, he took and plundered the Dutch island of Tobago. Later on, after the outbreak of war with France, he was captured by a French frigate off the Island of Guadeloupe. Stedman had a small vessel and a crew of only 100 men, and found himself becalmed and unable to escape, so he boldly boarded the Frenchman and fought for two hours, being finally overcome.

STEPHENS, William.

Died on January 14th, 1682, on board of Captain Sharp's ship a few days before their return to the [Barbadoes](#) from the South Seas. His death was supposed to have been caused by indulging too freely in manzanilla while ashore at Golfo Dulce. "Next morning we threw overboard our dead man and gave him two French vollies and one English one."

STEPHENSON, John.

Sailed as an honest seaman in the *Onslow* (Captain Gee) from Sestos. Taken in May, 1721, by the pirate Captain Roberts, he willingly joined the pirates. When Roberts was killed on board the *Royal Fortune*, Stephenson burst into tears, and declared that he wished the next shot might kill him. Hanged in 1722.

STILES, Richard.

Hanged in Virginia in 1718 with the rest of Captain Teach's crew.



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STOREY, Thomas.

One of William Coward's crew which stole the ketch *Elinor* in [Boston](#) Harbour. Condemned to be hanged on January 27th, 1690, but afterwards reprieved.

ST. QUINTIN, Richard.

A native of Yorkshire. One of M'Kinlie's crew that murdered Captain Glass and his family in the Canary ship. Afterwards arrested at Cork and hanged in chains near Dublin on March 19th, 1765.

STURGES, Captain.

An Elizabethan pirate, who had his headquarters at Rochelle. In company with the notorious pirate Calles, he in one year pillaged two Portuguese, one French, one Spanish, and also a Scotch ship. His end is not known.

O'SULLIVAN, Lord. Receiver of pirate plunder.

The Sullivan Bere, of Berehaven in Ireland.

A notorious friend of the English pirates, he bought their spoils, which he stored in his castle. He helped to fit out pirate captains for their cruises, and protected them when Queen Elizabeth sent ships to try and arrest them.

SUTTON, Thomas.

Born at Berwick in 1699.

Gunner in Roberts's ship the *Royal Fortune*. At his trial he was proved to have been particularly active in helping to take a Dutch merchantman, the *Gertruycht*. Hanged in chains at Cape Coast Castle in April, 1722, at the age of 23.

SWAN, Captain.

Commanded the *Nicholas*, and met Dampier when in the *Batchelor's Delight* at the Island of Juan Fernandez in 1684. The two captains cruised together off the west coast of South America, the *Nicholas* leaving Dampier, who returned to England by way of the East Indies.

SWAN, Captain. Buccaneer.

Of the *Cygnets*. Left England as an honest trader. Rounded the Horn and sailed up to the Bay of Nicoya, there taking on a crew of buccaneers who had crossed the Isthmus of Darien on foot. Dampier was appointed pilot or quartermaster to the *Cygnets*, a post analogous to that of a navigating officer on a modern man-of-war, while Ringrose was appointed supercargo. Swan had an adventurous and chequered voyage, sometimes meeting with successes, but often with reverses. Eventually he sailed to the Philippine Islands, where the crew mutinied and left Swan and thirty-six of the crew behind. After various adventures the *Cygnets*, by now in a very crazy state, just managed to reach Madagascar, where she sank at her anchorage.

SWITZER, Joseph.

Of [Boston](#) in New England. Tried for piracy at [Rhode Island](#) in 1723, but found to be "not guilty."

SYMPSON, David.



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Born at North Berwick.

One of Roberts's crew. Tried and hanged at Cape Coast Castle in 1722. On the day of execution Sympson was among the first six prisoners to be brought up from the ship's hold to have their fetters knocked off and to be fitted with halters, and it was observed that none of the culprits appeared in the least dejected, except Sympson, who "spoke a little faint, but this was rather imputed to a Flux that had seized him two or three days before, than Fear." There being no clergyman in the colony, a kindly surgeon tried to take on the duties of the ordinary, but with ill-success, the hardened ruffians being quite unmoved by his attempts at exhortation. In fact, the spectators were considerably shocked, as indeed they well might be, by Sympson, suddenly recognizing among the crowd a woman whom he knew, calling out "he had lain with that B-h three times, and now she was come to see him hanged."

Sympson died at the age of 36, which was considerably above the average age to which a pirate might expect to live.

TAYLOR, Captain.

This formidable South Sea pirate must indeed have looked, as well as acted, the part, since his appearance is described by Captain Johnson as follows: "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."

This man Taylor it was who stirred up the crew of the *Victory* to turn out and maroon Captain England, and elect himself in his place. He was a villain of the deepest dye, and burnt ships and houses and tortured his prisoners.

The pirates sailed down the West Coast of India from Goa to Cochin, and returned to Mauritius. Thence sailing to the Island of Mascarine they found a big Portuguese ship, which they took. In her they discovered the Conde de Eviceira, Viceroy of Goa, and, even better, four million dollars worth of diamonds.

Taylor, now sailing in the *Cassandra*, heard that there were four men-of-war on his tracks, so he sailed to Delagoa Bay and spent the winter of the year 1722 there. It was now decided that as they had a huge amount of plunder they had better give up piracy, so they sailed away to the West Indies and surrendered themselves to the Governor of Porto Bello. The crew broke up and each man, with a bag of diamonds, went whither he would; but Captain Taylor joined the Spanish service, and was put in command of a man-of-war, which was sent to attack the English logwood cutters in the Bay of Honduras.

TAYLOR, William.

One of Captain Phillips's crew. Wounded in the leg while attempting to desert. There being no surgeon on board, a consultation was held over the patient by the whole crew, and these learned men were unanimous in agreeing that the leg should be amputated. Some dispute then arose as to who should act the part of surgeon, and at length the carpenter was chosen as the most proper person. "Upon which he fetch'd up the biggest saw, and taking the limb under his Arm, fell to Work, and separated it from the Body of the Patient in as little Time as he could have cut a Deal Board in two." This surgeon-carpenter evidently



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appreciated the importance of aseptics, for, "after that he had heated his Ax red hot in the Fire, cauteriz'd the Wound but not with so much Art as he perform'd the other Part for he so burnt the Flesh distant from the Place of Amputation that it had like to have mortify'd." Taylor was tried and condemned to death at [Boston](#) on May 12th, 1714, but for some reason not explained was reprieved.

TEACH, Captain Edward, or Thatch, or Thach, *alias* Drummond, *alias* Blackbeard. Arch-pirate.

A Bristol man who settled in [Jamaica](#), sailing in privateers, but not in the capacity of an officer.

In 1716, Teach took to piracy, being put in command of a sloop by the pirate Benjamin Hornigold. In 1717, Hornigold and Teach sailed together from Providence towards the American coast, taking a billop from Havana and several other prizes. After careening their vessels on the coast of Virginia, the pirates took a fine French Guineaman bound to Martinico; this ship they armed with forty guns, named her the *Queen Ann's Revenge*, and Blackbeard went aboard as captain. Teach now had a ship that allowed him to go for larger prizes, and he began by taking a big ship called the *Great Allen*, which he plundered and then set fire to. A few days later, Teach was attacked by H.M.S. *Scarborough*, of thirty guns, but after a sharp engagement lasting some hours, the pirate was able to drive off the King's ship.

The next ship he met with was the sloop of that amateur pirate and landsman, Major Stede Bonnet. Teach and Bonnet became friends and sailed together for a few days, when Teach, finding that Bonnet was quite ignorant of maritime matters, ordered the Major, in the most high-handed way, to come aboard his ship, while he put another officer in command of Bonnet's vessel. Teach now took ship after ship, one of which, with the curious name of the *Protestant CÉSAR*, the pirates burnt out of spite, not because of her name, but because she belonged to [Boston](#), where there had lately been a hanging of pirates.

Blackbeard now sailed north along the American coast, arriving off [Charleston](#), South Carolina. Here he lay off the bar for several days, seizing every vessel that attempted to enter or leave the port, "striking great Terror to the whole Province of Carolina," the more so since the colony was scarcely recovered from a recent visit by another pirate, Vane.

Being in want of medicines, Teach sent his lieutenant, Richards, on shore with a letter to the Governor demanding that he should instantly send off a medicine chest, or else Teach would murder all his prisoners, and threatening to send their heads to Government House; many of these prisoners being the chief persons of the colony.

Teach, who was unprincipled, even for a pirate, now commanded three vessels, and he wanted to get rid of his crews and keep all the booty for himself and a few chosen friends. To do this, he contrived to wreck his own vessel and one of his sloops. Then with his friends and all the booty he sailed off, leaving the rest marooned on a small sandy island. Teach next sailed to North Carolina, and with the greatest coolness surrendered with twenty of his men to the Governor, Charles Eden, and received the Royal



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pardon. The ex-pirate spent the next few weeks in cultivating an intimate friendship with the Governor, who, no doubt, shared Teach's booty with him.

A romantic episode took place at this time at Bath Town. The pirate fell in love, not by any means for the first time, with a young lady of 16 years of age. To show his delight at this charming union, the Governor himself married the happy pair, this being the captain's fourteenth wife; though certain Bath Town gossips were heard to say that there were no fewer than twelve Mrs. Teach still alive at different ports up and down the West India Islands.

In June, 1718, the bridegroom felt that the call of duty must be obeyed, so kissing good-bye to the new Mrs. Teach, he sailed away to the Bermudas, meeting on his way half a dozen ships, which he plundered, and then hurried back to share the spoils with the Governor of North Carolina and his secretary, Mr. Knight.

For several months, Blackbeard remained in the river, exacting a toll from all the shipping, often going ashore to make merry at the expense of the planters. At length, things became so unbearable that the citizens and planters sent a request to the Governor of the neighbouring colony of Virginia for help to rid them of the presence of Teach. The Governor, Spotswood, an energetic man, at once made plans for taking the pirate, and commissioned a gallant young naval officer, Lieutenant Robert Maynard, of H.M.S. *Pearl*, to go in a sloop, the *Ranger*, in search of him. On November 17, 1718, the lieutenant sailed for Kicquetan in the James River, and on the 21st arrived at the mouth of Okerecock Inlet, where he discovered the pirate he was in search of. Blackbeard would have been caught unprepared had not his friend, Mr. Secretary Knight, hearing what was on foot, sent a letter warning him to be on his guard, and also any of Teach's crew whom he could find in the taverns of Bath Town. Maynard lost no time in attacking the pirate's ship, which had run aground. The fight was furious, Teach boarding the sloop and a terrific hand-to-hand struggle taking place, the lieutenant and Teach fighting with swords and pistols. Teach was wounded in twenty-five places before he fell dead, while the lieutenant escaped with nothing worse than a cut over the fingers.

Maynard now returned in triumph in his sloop to Bath Town, with the head of Blackbeard hung up to the bolt-spit end, and received a tremendous ovation from the inhabitants.

During his meteoric career as a pirate, the name of Blackbeard was one that created terror up and down the coast of America from Newfoundland to Trinidad. This was not only due to the number of ships Teach took, but in no small measure to his alarming appearance. Teach was a tall, powerful man, with a fierce expression, which was increased by a long, black beard which grew from below his eyes and hung down to a great length. This he plaited into many tails, each one tied with a coloured ribbon and turned back over his ears. When going into action, Teach wore a sling on his shoulders with three pairs of pistols, and struck lighted matches under the brim of his hat. These so added to his fearful appearance as to strike terror into all beholders. Teach had a peculiar sense of humour, and one that could at times cause much uneasiness amongst his friends. Thus



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we are told that one day on the deck of his ship, being at the time a little flushed with wine, Blackbeard addressed his crew, saying: "Come let us make a Hell of our own, and try how long we can bear it," whereupon Teach, with several others, descended to the hold, shut themselves in, and then set fire to several pots of brimstone. For a while they stood it, choking and gasping, but at length had to escape to save themselves from being asphyxiated, but the last to give up was the captain, who was wont to boast afterwards that he had outlasted all the rest.

Then there was that little affair in the cabin, when Teach blew out the candle and in the dark fired his pistols under the table, severely wounding one of his guests in the knee, for no other reason, as he explained to them afterwards, than "if he did not shoot one or two of them now and then they'd forget who he was."

Teach kept a log or journal, which unfortunately is lost, but the entries for two days have been preserved, and are worth giving, and seem to smack of Robert Louis Stevenson in "Treasure Island." The entries, written in Teach's handwriting, run as follows:

"1718. 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.

"1718. Took one, with a great deal of Liquor on Board, so kept the Company hot, damned hot, then all Things went well again."

TEAGUE, Robert.

A Scotch pirate, one of Captain Gow's crew. On May 26th, 1725, the crew were tried in [London](#) and found guilty and sentenced to death, except Teague and two others who were acquitted.

TEMPLETON, John.

One of Captain John Quelch's crew of the ship *Charles*. Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704, but, being discovered to be not yet 14 years of age and only a servant on board the pirate ship, was acquitted.

TEW, Captain Thomas, or Too.

A famous pirate, whose headquarters were at Madagascar. He was mentioned by name in King William III.'s Royal Warrant to Captain Kidd to go hunting for pirates, as a specially "wicked and ill-disposed person."

He sailed with Captain Dew from the [Barbadoes](#) with a Commission from the Governor to join with the Royal African Company in an attack on the French factory at Goori, at Gambia. Instead of going to West Africa, Tew and his crew turned pirates, and sailed to the Red Sea. Here he met with a great Indian ship, which he had the hardiness to attack, and soon took her, and each of his men received as his share £3,000, and with this booty they sailed to Madagascar. He was already held in high esteem by the pirates who resided in that favourite stronghold. At one time he joined Misson, the originator of "piracy-without-tears" at his garden city of Libertatia. A quarrel arose between Misson's French followers and Tew's English pirates. A duel was arranged between the two leaders, but by the tact of another pirate - an unfrocked Italian priest - all was settled amicably, Tew being appointed Admiral and the diplomatic ex-priest suitably chosen as



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Secretary of State to the little republic. Such a reputation for kindness had Tew that ships seldom resisted him, but on knowing who their assailant was they gave themselves up freely. Some of Tew's men started a daughter colony on their own account, and the Admiral sailed after them to try and persuade them to return to the fold at Libertatia. The men refused, and while Tew was arguing and trying to persuade them to change their minds, his ship was lost in a sudden storm. Tew was soon rescued by the ship *Bijoux* with Misson on board, who, with a few men, had escaped being massacred by the natives. Misson, giving Tew an equal share of his gold and diamonds, sailed away, while Tew managed to return to [Rhode Island](#) in New England, where he settled down for a while. To show the honesty of this man, being now affluent, he kept a promise to the friends in Bermuda who originally set him up with a ship, by sending them fourteen times the original cost of the sloop as their just share of the profits.

At last, Tew found the call of the sea and the lure of the "grand account" too great to resist, and he consented to take command of a pirate ship which was to go on a cruise in the Red Sea. Arrived there, Tew attacked a big ship belonging to the Great Mogul, and during the battle was mortally wounded.

His historian tells us "a shot carried away the rim of Tew's belly, who held his bowels with his hands for some space. When he dropped, it struck such terror to his men that they suffered themselves to be taken without further resistance." Thus fell fighting a fine sailor, a brave man, and a successful pirate, and one who cheated the gallows awaiting him at Execution Dock.

THOMAS, Captain, *alias* Stede Bonnet.

THOMAS, John.

Of [Jamaica](#). This Welsh pirate was one of Major Stede Bonnet's crew of the *Royal James*. Hanged at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, in 1718.

THOMPSON, Captain.

A renegade pirate who joined the Barbary corsairs, becoming a Mohammedan. Commanded a pirate vessel, and was taken prisoner off the coast of Ireland by an Elizabethan ship. Hanged at Wapping.

THURBAR, Richard.

Tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in 1704.

THURSTON, Captain. Buccaneer.

Of Tortuga Island.

Refused to accept the Royal offer of pardon of 1670, when all commissions to privateer on the Spanish were revoked. Thurston, with a mulatto, Diego, using obsolete commissions issued by the late Governor of [Jamaica](#), Modyford, continued to prey upon Spanish shipping, carrying their prizes to Tortuga.

THWAITES, Captain Joseph.

Coxswain to Captain Hood, he was promoted in 1763 to be a midshipman in H.M.S. *Zealous*, cruising in the Mediterranean. Putting into Algiers, Thwaites was sent ashore by the captain



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to buy some sheep, but did not return to the boat and, it being supposed he had been assassinated, the ship sailed without him. The fact was that young Thwaites, who spoke Turkish and Greek, had accepted an invitation to enter the Ottoman service. Embracing the Mohammedan religion, Thwaites was put in command of a forty-four gun frigate.

His first engagement was with the flagship of the Tunisian Admiral, which he took and carried to Algiers. He soon brought in another prize, and so pleased the Dey that he presented him with a scimitar, the hilt of which was set with diamonds.

Thwaites, having soiled his hands with blood, now became the pirate indeed, taking vessels of any nation, and drowning all his prisoners by tying a double-headed shot round their necks and throwing them overboard.

He stopped at no atrocity – even children were killed, and one prisoner, an English lieutenant and an old shipmate of his, called Roberts, he murdered without a second thought. When Thwaites happened to be near Gibraltar, he would go ashore and through his agents, Messrs. Ross and Co., transmit large sums of money to his wife and children in England. But Thwaites had another home at Algiers fitted with every luxury, including three Armenian girls.

For several years this successful pirate plundered ships of all nations until such pressure was brought to bear on the Dey of Algiers that Thwaites thought it best to collect what valuables he could carry away and disappear.

Landing at Gibraltar in 1796, dressed in European clothes, he procured a passage to New York in an American frigate, the *Constitution*. Arriving in the United States, he purchased an estate not far from New York and built himself a handsome mansion, but a year later retribution came from an unlooked-for quarter, for he was bitten by a rattlesnake and died in the most horrible agonies both of mind and body.

TOMKINS, John.

Of Gloucestershire.

Hanged at the age of 23 at [Rhode Island](#) in 1723. One of Charles Harris's crew.

TOPPING, Dennis.

He shipped on board the sloop *Buck* at Providence in 1718, in company with Anstis and other famous pirates. Was killed at the taking of a rich Portuguese ship off the coast of Brazil.

TOWNLEY, Captain. Buccaneer.

A buccaneer who in the year 1684 was one of the mixed English and French fleet blockading Panama. On this occasion, he commanded a ship with a crew of 180 men. By the next year the quarrels between the English had reached such a pitch that Townley and Swan left Davis and sailed in search of their French friends. In May, 1685, Townley was amongst the company that took and sacked Guayaquil. In January, 1686, Townley rescued the French pirate Grognet and some 350 Frenchmen who, when attacking the town of Quibo, were surprised by a Spanish squadron, which burnt their vessels while the crews were on



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shore. Townley then sailed north with his French comrades and sacked Granada.

His next adventure was to take the town of Lavelia, near to Panama, where he found a rich cargo which the Viceroy had placed on shore because he was afraid to send it to sea when so many pirates were about.

In August of the same year, Townley's ship was attacked by three Spanish men-of-war. A furious fight took place, which ended by two of the Spanish ships being captured and the third burnt. In this action the gallant Townley was gravely wounded, and died shortly afterwards.

TRISTRIAN, Captain. French buccaneer.

In the year 1681 Dampier, with other malcontents, broke away from Captain Sharp and marched on foot across the Isthmus of Darien. After undergoing terrible hardships for twenty-two days, the party arrived on the Atlantic seaboard, to find Captain Tristrrian with his ship lying in La Sounds Cay.

The buccaneers bought red, blue, and green beads, and knives, scissors, and looking-glasses from the French pirates to give to their faithful Indian guides as parting gifts.

TRYER, Matthew.

A Carolina pirate, accused and acquitted on a charge of having captured a sloop belonging to Samuel Salters, of Bermuda, in 1699.

TUCKER, Robert.

Of the Island of [Jamaica](#).

One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew. Tried, condemned, and hanged at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, on November 8th, 1718. The prisoners were not defended by counsel, because the members of the South Carolina Bar still deemed it "a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward." We understand that the barristers of South Carolina have since persuaded themselves to overcome this prejudice. The result was that, with the famous Judge Trott, a veritable terror to pirates, being President of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, the prisoners had short and ready justice, and all but four of the thirty-five pirates tried were found guilty.

TUCKERMAN, Captain.

Sailed with Captain Porter in the West Indies. Captain Johnson gives an account of the meeting between these two pirate novices and the great Captain Roberts at Hispaniola.

TURNLEY, Captain Richard.

A New Providence pirate who received the general pardon from Captain Woodes Rogers in 1718. When, a little later, the scandal of Captain Rackam's infatuation for Anne Bonny was causing such gossip among the two thousand ex-pirates who formed the population of the settlement, it was Turnley who brought news of the affair to the notice of the Governor. In revenge for this action, Rackam and his lady, one day hearing that Turnley had sailed to a neighbouring island to catch turtles, followed him. It happened that Turnley was on shore hunting wild pigs and so



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escaped, but Rackam sank his sloop and took his crew away with him as prisoners.

TYLE, Captain Ort Van.

A Dutchman from New York. A successful pirate in the days of the Madagascan sea-rovers. For some time he sailed in company with Captain James, taking several prizes in the Indian Ocean.

Van Tyle had a plantation at Madagascar and used to put his prisoners to work there as slaves, one in particular being the notorious Welsh pirate, David Williams, who toiled with Van Tyles's other slaves for six months before making his escape to a friendly tribe in the neighbourhood.

UPTON, Boatswain John.

Born in 1679 of honest parents at Deptford.

Apprenticed to a waterman, he afterwards went to sea, serving on different men-of-war as a petty officer. Until July, 1723, when 40 years of age, Upton lived a perfectly honest life, but his wife dying, Upton found she had contracted various debts and that he was in danger of being arrested by the creditors. Leaving his four orphans, Upton hurried to Poole in Dorsetshire, and was taken on as boatswain in the *John and Elizabeth* (Captain Hooper), bound for Bonavista in Newfoundland. He seems to have continued to sail as an honest seaman until November 14th, 1725, when serving as boatswain in the *Perry* galley, on a voyage between [Barbadoes](#) and Bristol, the vessel was taken by a pirate, Cooper, in the *Night Rambler*. At his subsequent trial witnesses declared that Upton willingly joined the pirates, signed their articles, and was afterwards one of their most active and cruel men.

Upton kept a journal, which was his only witness for his defence, in which he described how he was forced to sign the pirates' articles under threats of instant death. If his journal is to be believed, Upton escaped from the pirates at the first opportunity, landing on the Mosquito coast. After being arrested by the Spaniards as a spy, he was sent from one prison to another in Central America, at last being put on board a galleon at Porto Bello, to be sent to Spain. Escaping, he got aboard a New York sloop and arrived at [Jamaica](#) in December, 1726. While at Port Royal he was pressed on board H.M.S. *Nottingham*, serving in her for more than two years as quartermaster, until one day he was accused of having been a pirate. Under this charge he was brought a prisoner to England in 1729, tried in [London](#), and hanged, protesting his innocence to the last.

URUJ. See [Barbarossa](#).

VALLANUEVA, Captain.

A Dominican. Commanded in 1831 a small gaff-topsail schooner, the *General Morazan*, armed with a brass eight-pounder and carrying a mixed crew of forty-four men, French, Italian, English, and Creoles of St. Domingo.

VANCLEIN, Captain Moses. Dutch filibuster.

Was serving with L'Ollonais's fleet off the coast of Yucatan when a mutiny broke out, of which Vanclein was the ringleader. He persuaded the malcontents to sail with him along the coast



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till they came to Costa Rica. There they landed and marched to the town of Veraguas, which they seized and pillaged. The pirates got little booty, only eight pounds of gold, it proving to be a poor place.

VANE, Captain Charles.

Famous for his piratical activities off the coast of North America, specially the Carolinas.

In 1718, when Woodes Rogers was sent by the English Government to break up the pirate stronghold in the Bahama Islands, all the pirates at New Providence Island surrendered to Rogers and received the King's pardon except Vane, who, after setting fire to a prize he had, slipped out of the bay as Rogers with his two men-of-war entered. Vane sailed to the coast of Carolina, as did other West Indian pirates who found their old haunts too warm for them.

Vane is first heard of as being actively engaged in stealing from the Spaniards the silver which they were salvaging from a wrecked galleon in the Gulf of Florida. Tiring of this, Vane stole a vessel and ranged up and down the coast from Florida to New York, taking ship after ship, until at last the Governor of South Carolina sent out a Colonel Rhet in an armed sloop to try and take him. On one occasion Vane met the famous Blackbeard, whom he saluted with his great guns loaded with shot. This compliment of one pirate chief to another was returned in like kind, and then "mutual civilities" followed for several days between the two pirate captains and their crews, these civilities taking the form of a glorious debauch in a quiet creek on the coast.

Vane soon had a change of fortune, when, meeting with a French man-of-war, he decided to decline an engagement and to seek safety in flight, greatly to the anger of his crew. For this he was obliged to stand the test of the vote of the whole crew, who passed a resolution against his honour and dignity, and branded him a coward, deprived him of his command, and packed him off with a few of his adherents in a small sloop. Vane, not discouraged by this reverse of fortune, rose again from the bottom rung of the ladder to success, and quickly increased in strength of ships and crew, until one day, being overcome by a sudden tornado, he lost everything but his life, being washed up on a small uninhabited island off the Honduras coast. Here he managed to support life by begging food from the fishermen who occasionally came there in their canoes.

At last a ship put in for water, commanded by one Captain Holford, who happened to be an old friend of Vane's. Vane naturally was pleased at this piece of good fortune, and asked his dear old friend to take him off the island in his ship, to which Holford replied: "Charles, I shan't trust you aboard my ship, unless I carry you as a prisoner, for I shall have you caballing with my men, knock me on the head, and run away with my ship a-pirating." No promises of good behaviour from Vane would prevail on his friend to rescue him; in fact, Captain Holford's parting remark was that he would be returning in a month, and that if he then found Vane still on the island he would carry him to [Jamaica](#) to be hanged.

Soon after Holford's departure another ship put in for water,

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none of the crew of which knew Vane by sight, and he was too crafty to let them find out the notorious pirate he was. They consented to take off the shipwrecked mariner, when, just as all seemed to be going well, back came the ship of friend Holford. Holford, who seems to have been a sociable kind of man, was well acquainted with the captain who was befriending Vane, and Holford was invited to dine on board his ship. As the guest was passing along the deck of his host's ship on his way to the great cabin he chanced to glance down the open hold, and there who should he see but his dear old friend Vane hard at work; for he had already won his new master's good graces by being a "brisk hand." Holford at once informed his host that he was entertaining a notorious pirate, and with his consent clapped Vane in irons, and removed him to his own ship, and when he arrived in [Jamaica](#) handed his old friend to the justices, who quickly tried, convicted, and hanged him.

VANHORN, Captain Nicholas. A Dutch filibuster.

Of Hispaniola.

Sailed from England in 1681 in command of the *Mary and Martha*, alias the *St. Nicholas*, a merchant ship. Vanhorn soon showed his hand by putting two of his merchants ashore at Cadiz and stealing four Spanish guns. Next he sailed to the Canary Islands, and then to the Guinea coast, plundering ships and stealing negroes, until November, 1682, when he arrived at the city of San Domingo. In April, 1683, he picked up some 300 buccaneers at Petit Goave, and joined the filibuster Laurens in the Gulf of Honduras with six other buccaneer captains, who were planning an attack on the rich city of Vera Cruz. The fleet arrived off the city in May, and the pirates, hearing that the Spaniards were expecting the arrival of two ships from Caracas, they crowded a landing party of 800 men into two ships, and, displaying Spanish colours, stood in boldly for the city. The inhabitants, imagining these were the ships they were expecting, actually lit bonfires to pilot them into the harbour. Landing on May 17th two miles away, they soon found themselves masters of the town and forts, all the sentinels being asleep. For four days they plundered the churches, convents, and houses, and threatened to burn the cathedral, in which they had put all the prisoners, unless more booty was forthcoming. An Englishman found the Governor hiding in some hay in a loft, and he was ransomed for 70,000 pieces of eight. While this was taking place a Spanish fleet of fourteen ships had arrived from Cadiz, and anchored just outside the harbour, but would not venture to land nor to attack the buccaneer ships. The buccaneers, feeling it was time to depart, sailed right past the fleet without opposition to a cay not far off, and there divided the spoils; each of the 1,000 sailors getting 800 pieces of eight as his share, while Vanhorn's own share, was 24,000 pieces of eight. This division of the spoil did not take place without some bickering, and the two leaders, Vanhorn and Laurens, came to blows, and Vanhorn was wounded in the wrist. Although the wound was little more than a scratch, he died of gangrene a fortnight later.

It is significant that Vanhorn had originally been sent out by the Governor of Hispaniola to hunt for pirates, but once out of sight of land and away from authority the temptation to get rich quickly was too great to resist, so that he joined the pirates



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in the expedition to sack Vera Cruz.

VEALE, Captain.

On July 1st, 1685, he arrived at New London in a sloop, but was compelled to hurry away, being recognized as a pirate by one of the crew of a ship he had previously taken in Virginia.

VEALE, Thomas.

One of four New England pirates who in the middle of the seventeenth century rowed up the Saugus river and landed at a place called Lynn Woods. The boat contained, besides the pirates, a quantity of plunder and a beautiful young woman. They built a hut on Dungeon Rock, dug a well, and lived there until the woman died. Three of the pirates were captured, and ended their days on the gallows in England.

Thomas Veale escaped and went to live in a cave, where he is supposed to have hidden his booty, but he continued to work as a cordwainer. In the earthquake of 1658 the cave was blocked up by pieces of rock, and Veale was never seen again.

VERPRE, Captain. French filibuster.

His ship *Le Postillion* carried a crew of twenty-five men and was armed with two guns.

VIGERON, Captain. French filibuster.

Of San Domingo.

Commanded a bark, *La Louse*, thirty men and four guns.

VILLA RISE.

In the year 1621 this Moorish pirate commanded a small squadron of five vessels which took an English ship, the *George Bonaventure* (Captain John Rawlins, Plymouth), in the Straits of Gibraltar. One of the finest deeds ever achieved by English sailors was the escape of Rawlins and some of his crew from the Moors at Alexandria in a stolen ship.

van VIN, Moses. Buccaneer.

One of L'Ollonais's officers. After burning Puerto Cavallo and torturing and murdering the inhabitants, L'Ollonais marched away to attack the town of San Pedro with 300 of his crew, leaving van Vin as his lieutenant to govern the rest of his men during his absence.

VIRGIN, Henry.

Of Bristol. One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew of the *Royal James*. Hanged for piracy at White Point, [Charleston](#), South Carolina, on November 8th, 1718, and buried in the marsh below low-water mark.

VIVON, Captain M. La. French filibuster.

Commanded the *Cour Valant* of La Rochelle. In December, 1668, his ship was seized by Captain Collier for having robbed an English ship of provisions.

WAFER, Lionel. Surgeon, buccaneer, and author.

Believed to have been born about the year 1660.

He could speak Gaelic and also Erse, which languages he had



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learnt during his childhood, which was spent partly in the Highlands of Scotland and partly in Ireland.

In 1677 he sailed as mate to the surgeon of the *Great Ann*, of [London](#) (Captain Zachary Browne), bound for Java.

Two years later, he again sailed as surgeon's mate on a voyage to the West Indies. He deserted his ship at [Jamaica](#) and set himself up as a surgeon at Port Royal, but one day meeting with two noted buccaneers, Captain Linch and Captain Cook, he agreed to sail with them as ship's surgeon.

Wafer's subsequent adventures are recounted by Basil Ringrose in his "Dangerous Voyage and Bold Assaults of Captain Bartholomew Sharp and Others," and by William Dampier in his "New Voyage Round the World." After taking part in 1679 in the futile expedition of the buccaneers to Panama, Wafer joined the party of malcontents who left Captain Sharp and returned on foot across the Isthmus of Darien. Wafer was accidentally wounded in the knee by an explosion of gunpowder on May 5th, 1681, which he recounts in his narrative as follows: "I was sitting on the ground near one of our Men, who was drying of Gunpowder in a Silver Plate: But not managing it as he should, it blew up and scorch'd my knee to that degree, that the bone was left bare, the Flesh being torn away, and my Thigh burnt for a great way above it. I applied to it immediately such Remedies as I had in my knapsack: and being unwilling to be left behind by my companions, I made hard shift to jog on."

The whole story of these adventures is told by Wafer in a book he wrote, and which was published in [London](#) in 1699. It is called "A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America, giving an Account of the Author's Abode there," and is illustrated by some quaint copperplates.

Wafer and his companions suffered extreme hardships as they struggled through the dense tropical jungle during the wettest season of the year.

On one occasion when in danger of his life, Wafer was spared by the Indians owing to his skill as a phlebotomist, after he had been allowed to exhibit his skill to an Indian chief called Lacentra, when he bled one of his wives so successfully that the chief made Wafer his inseparable companion, to the no little discomfort of the buccaneer, who wished to reach the Atlantic and rejoin his companions who had left him behind.

Wafer described the birds, animals, fishes, and insects with considerable minuteness, although it is obvious that he had no special training in, or great gift for, natural history. Wafer eventually reached Philadelphia, where he availed himself of King James's general pardon to pirates.

WAKE, Captain Thomas.

A notorious pirate, one of those particularly named in the Royal Warrant issued in 1695 to Captain Kidd, authorizing him to go in search of the American pirates.

WALDEN, John, *alias* "Miss Nanney."

Born in Somersetshire. Taken in the *Blessing*, of Lymington, by Roberts in Newfoundland, he joined the pirates, and was later on hanged at the age of 24 in West Africa. Walden was one of



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Captain Roberts's most active men. On taking Captain Traher's ship, Walden carried a pole-axe with which he wrenched open locked doors and boxes. He was a bold and daring man, of violent temper, and was known amongst his shipmates by the nickname of Miss Nanney. He lost a leg during the attack on the *Swallow*. After the pirates took the *King Solomon*, Walden had to get up the anchor, but he cut the cable, explaining to the captain that the weather was too hot to go straining and crying "Yo Hope," and he could easily buy another anchor when he got to [London](#).

WANSLEY, Thomas.

A negro steward on the brig *Vineyard*, he mutinied and assisted to murder the captain and mate, afterwards becoming one of Captain Charles Gibbs's crew. Hanged at New York in February, 1831.

WANT, Captain.

A Carolina pirate who was referred to at the trial of Captain Avery's crew at [London](#) in 1696.

WARD.

One of the first English pirates to establish himself on the Barbary coast in North Africa. By the year 1613 some thirty others had their headquarters at the mouth of the Sebu River.

WARD, Captain.

As a poor English sailor he went to Barbary, turned Mohammedan, offered his services to the Moors, and became captain of a galley. He grew to be very rich, and "lived like a Bashaw in Barbary."

WARREN, William.

Joined Captain Pound's crew from Lovell's Island.

WATERS, John.

Of Devonshire. Quartermaster to Captain Charles Harris. Tried and hanged at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), on July 19th, 1734. Aged 35.

WATKINS, John.

An English soldier stationed at Fort Loyal, Falmouth, Maine. Deserted and sailed with the pirate Pound. Killed at Tarpaulin Cove in 1689.

WATLING, Captain John. Buccaneer.

When Bartholomew Sharp's crew mutinied on New Year's Day in 1681 on the *Most Holy Trinity*, they clapped their captain in irons and put him down below on the ballast, and elected an old pirate and a "stout seaman," John Watling, in his place. One of the reasons for the revolt was said to be the ungodliness of Captain Sharp.

Watling began his command by giving orders for the strict keeping of the Sabbath Day, and on January 9th the buccaneers observed Sunday as a day apart, the first for many months. One of the first acts of this godly Captain Watling was to cruelly shoot an old man, a prisoner, whom he suspected, quite wrongly, of not telling the truth.

On January 30th Watling headed a surprise attack on the town of



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Arica in North Chile, but it turned out later that the Spaniards had three days' warning of the intended attack, and had gathered together no less than 2,000 defenders. A furious attack was made, with great slaughter of the Spanish defenders and considerable loss amongst the pirates. In one attack Watling placed 100 of his prisoners in front of his storming party, hoping this would prevent the enemy firing at them. After taking the town, the buccaneers were driven out owing to the arrival of a number of Lima soldiers. During the retreat from the town Watling was shot in the liver and died. Perhaps he gave his name to Watling Island in the Bahama Islands, the first spot of America that Christopher Columbus ever saw, and a great resort of the buccaneers.

WATSON, Henry.

One of Captain Lowther's crew in the *Happy Delivery*. Hanged at St. Kitts on March 11th, 1722.

WATTS, Edward.

Born at Dunmore. One of Captain Roberts's crew. Hanged in 1722 at the age of 22.

WATTS, Samuel.

Of Lovell's Island. One of Captain Pound's crew.

WATTS, William.

An Irishman. Hanged, at the age of 23, along with the rest of Roberts's crew.

WAY, John.

Tried at [Boston](#) in 1704 for piracy with the rest of the crew of the *Charles* brigantine.

WEAVER, Captain Brigstock.

Of Hereford, England.

One of Captain Anstis's crew in the *Good Fortune* when he took the *Morning Star*. After the prize had been converted for Anstis's use, Weaver was given command of the *Good Fortune*. He proved himself to be a capable pirate captain, taking between fifty and sixty sailing ships in the West Indies and on the Banks of Newfoundland.

Here are particulars of a few of his prizes:

In August, 1722, he took a Dutch ship, and out of her got 100 pieces of holland, value £800, and 1,000 pieces of eight. On November 20th in the same year he plundered the *Dolphin*, of [London](#) (Captain William Haddock), of 300 pieces of eight and forty gallons of rum.

Out of the *Don Carlos* (Lot Neekins, master) he stole 400 ounces of silver, fifty gallons of rum, 1,000 pieces of eight, 100 pistols, and other valuable goods.

Out of the *Portland*, ten pipes of wine valued at £250.

This period of prosperity came to an end, for in May, 1723, Weaver, dressed in rags, was begging charity at the door of a Mr. Thomas Smith in Bristol, telling a plausible tale of how he had been taken and robbed by some wicked pirates, but had lately

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managed to escape from them. The kindly Mr. Smith, together with a Captain Edwards, gave Weaver £10 and provided him with a lodging at the Griffin Inn. Being now dressed in good clothes, Weaver enjoyed walking about the streets of Bristol, until one day he met with a sea-captain who claimed former acquaintance and invited him into a neighbouring tavern to share a bottle of wine with him. Over this the captain reminded the pirate that he had been one of his victims, and that Weaver had once stolen from him a considerable quantity of liquor; but at the same time he had not forgotten that the pirate had used him very civilly, and that therefore, if he would give him four hogsheads of cider, nothing further would be said about the matter. Weaver would not, or could not, produce these, and was apprehended, brought to [London](#), and there tried and sentenced to death, and hanged at Execution Dock.

WELLS, Lieutenant Joseph.

An officer on board Captain John Quelch's *Charles* galley. Attempted to escape at [Gloucester](#), Massachusetts, in the *Larimore*, but was captured by Major Sewell and brought to Salem, and there secured in the town gaol until tried for piracy at [Boston](#) in June, 1704.

WEST, Richard.

One of Captain Lowther's crew. Hanged at St. Kitts in March, 1722.

WETHERLEY, Tee.

A Massachusetts pirate, with only one eye. Captured in 1699 with the pirate Joseph Bradish and put in prison. They escaped two months later. A reward of £200 was offered for the recapture of Wetherley, which was gained by a Kennebeck Indian called Essacambuit, who brought him back to prison. He was taken, in irons, to England in H.M.S. *Advice* in 1700, and tried and hanged in [London](#).

WHETSTONE, Sir Thomas, or Whitstone. Buccaneer.

In 1663 he commanded a ship, a Spanish prize, armed with seven guns and carrying a crew of sixty men. In August, 1666, Sir Thomas was with a small English garrison of some sixty men in the buccaneer stronghold of New Providence in the Bahama Islands. Suddenly a Spanish fleet arrived from Porto Bello, and after a siege of three days the garrison capitulated. The three English captains were carried prisoners to Panama and there cast into a dungeon and bound in irons for seventeen months.

WHITE, Captain Thomas. South Sea pirate. An Englishman. Born at Plymouth.

As a young man he was taken prisoner by a French pirate off the coast of Guinea. The French massacred their prisoners by painting targets on their chests and using them for rifle practice. White alone was saved by an heroic Frenchman throwing himself in front of him and receiving the volley in his own body. White sailed with the French pirates, who were wrecked on the coast of Madagascar. White himself managed to escape, and found safety with a native, King Bavaw, but the French pirates were all massacred. White not very long afterwards joined another pirate ship, commanded by a Captain Read, with whom he sailed, helping to take several prizes, amongst others a slave ship, the



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Speaker. White soon found himself possessed of a considerable fortune, and settled down with his crew at a place called Methelage in Madagascar, marrying a native woman, and leading the peaceful life of a planter. The call of piracy at length proving irresistible, he sailed before the mast with Captain Halsey, then returned to his native wife and home, shortly afterwards to die of fever.

In his will, he left legacies to various relatives and friends, and appointed three guardians for his son, all of different nationalities, with instructions that the boy should be taken to England to be educated, which was duly done.

White was buried with the full ceremonies of the Church of England, his sword and pistols being carried on his coffin, and three English and one French volley fired over his grave.

WHITE, James.

Hanged in Virginia in 1718 along with the rest of Captain Edward Teach's crew.

WHITE, Robert.

One of Captain George Lowther's crew. Hanged on March 22nd, 1722, at St. Kitts.

WHITE, William.

A Newfoundland fish-splitter. With John Phillips and three others, he stole a fishing-boat at St. Peter's Harbour in Newfoundland in August, 1723. The other four were made officers in the pirate craft, White having the distinction of being the only private man in the crew of five. He appears to have been a man lacking in ambition, as he never showed any desire to become even a petty officer amongst the pirates; in fact, we hear no more of William until June 2nd, 1724, when he was hanged at [Boston](#) and "dy'd very penitently, with the Assistance of two grave Divines that attended him."

WHITTING, William.

One of Captain Quelch's crew. In 1704 we read that he "lyes sick, like to dye, not yet examined" in the gaol at [Marblehead](#), when awaiting trial for piracy.

WIFE, Francis.

An unwilling mutineer with Philip Roche in a French vessel sailing from Cork in 1721.

WILES, William.

One of John Quelch's crew of the brigantine *Charles*. Tried at [Boston](#) in 1704.

WILGRESS, Captain. Buccaneer.

Of [Jamaica](#).

Sent by the Governor of [Jamaica](#) in 1670 to search for, and capture or sink, a Dutchman called Captain Yallahs, who had entered the Spanish service to cruise against the English logwood cutters. But Wilgress, instead of carrying out his orders, went a-buccaneering on his own account, chasing a Spanish vessel ashore, stealing logwood, and burning Spanish houses along the coast.



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WILLIAMS, Captain John, *alias* "Yanky." Buccaneer.

In 1683, when the pirate Hamlin in his famous ship, *La Trompeuse*, was playing havoc with the English shipping around [Jamaica](#), Governor Lynch offered Williams a free pardon, men, victuals, and naturalization, and £200 as well if he would catch the Frenchman.

WILLIAMS, Captain Morris. Buccaneer.

In November, 1664, he applied to Governor Modyford to be allowed to bring into Port Royal, [Jamaica](#), a rich prize of logwood, indigo, and silver, and, in spite of the Governor's refusal, he brought the ship in. The goods were seized and sold in the interest of the Spanish owner. At this time the English Government was doing all it could to stamp out the pirates and buccaneers.

WILLIAMS, Captain Paul.

A Carolina pirate, who began as a wrecker with the pirate Bellamy in the West Indies. He later on took to piracy and ended a not too glorious career by being hanged at Eastman, Massachusetts. Williams was one of the pirates who accepted King George's offer of pardon at New Providence Island in 1718.

WILLIAMS, David.

This son of a Welsh farmer was a poor pirate but a born soldier. He was described by one who knew him as being morose, sour, unsociable, and ill-tempered, and that he "knew as little of the sea or of ships as he did of the Arts of Natural Philosophy." But it is recorded to his credit that he was not cruel. He started life in a merchant ship bound for India, and was accidentally left behind in Madagascar. Taken care of by friendly natives, he fought so well on the side of his benefactors in an inter-tribal battle that the King made him his intimate friend. A little later this tribe was wiped out and Williams taken prisoner. The King of this hostile tribe, knowing Williams to be a brave man, put him in charge of his army, for his success as a leader was known far and wide. He was next seized by a very powerful King, Dempaino, who made him Commander-in-Chief over his army of 6,000 men, and supplied him with slaves, clothes, and everything he could want. After several years as commander of Dempaino's army, a pirate ship, the *Mocha* (Captain Culliford), arrived on the coast, and Williams escaped in her and went for a cruise. He was afterwards captured by the Dutch pirate Ort Van Tyle of New York, and made to work as a slave on his plantation. After six months he escaped and sought safety with a Prince Rebaiharang, with whom he lived for a year. He next joined a Dutchman, Pro, who had a small settlement, to be again taken prisoner by an English frigate. In a skirmish between the crew and some natives, Williams and Pro managed to escape, and, procuring a boat, joined Captain White's pirates at Methalage, in Madagascar.

Williams now spent his time pirating, unsuccessfully, until one day in a sloop he attempted a raid on an Arab town at Boyn. This attempt proved a fiasco, and Williams was caught by the Arabs, cruelly tortured, and finally killed by a lance thrust. He was so loved and admired by the Madagascar natives that his friend and benefactor, King Dempaino, seized the Arab chief of Boyn and



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executed him in revenge for the death of Williams. Williams seems to have been as much beloved by the natives as he was hated by men of his own colour. As a pirate he was a failure, but as a soldier of fortune with the native tribes he was a great success.

WILLIAMS, John.

A Cornish pirate, who sailed from [Jamaica](#) with Captain Morrice, and was captured by the Dutch. Eventually he reached [Boston](#), and sailed with Captain Roderigo in 1674 in the *Edward and Thomas*, a [Boston](#) vessel.

Tried for piracy, but acquitted.

WILLIAMS, Lieutenant James. Welsh pirate.

Sailed as a hand on board the *George* galley from Amsterdam in 1724. Conspiring with Gow to bring about a mutiny, he took an active part in murdering the captain, the chief mate, super cargo, and surgeon. Gow promoted him to be his mate. He was a violent, brutal man, and a bully. On one occasion, he accused Gow of cowardice, and snapped his pistol in Gow's face, but the weapon failed to go off, and two seamen standing by shot Williams, wounding him in the arm and belly. The next day Gow sent away a crew of prisoners in a sloop he had taken and plundered, and Williams, heavily manacled, was cast into the hold of this vessel, with orders that he should be given up as a pirate to the first English man-of-war they should meet with. He was taken to Lisbon and there put on board H.M.S. *Argyle*, and carried to [London](#). When Gow and his crew eventually arrived in irons at the Marshalsea Prison, they found Williams already there awaiting trial. Hanged at Newgate on June 11th, 1725, his body being hanged in chains at Blackwall.

WILLIAMS, William.

"Habitation - nigh Plymouth."

One of Captain Roberts's crew. Deserted the pirates at Sierra Leone, but was delivered up by the negroes, and as a punishment received two lashes from the whole ship's company. Hanged at the age of 40.

WILLIS, Robert.

One of Captain George Lowther's crew. Tried for piracy at St. Kitts in March, 1722, and acquitted.

WILSON, Alexander.

One of the mutineers of the ship *Antonio*. Hanged at [Boston](#) in 1672.

WILSON, George. Surgeon and pirate.

Originally he sailed as surgeon in a Liverpool ship, the *Tarlton*, which was taken by the pirate Bartholomew Roberts. Wilson voluntarily joined the pirates. One day, being accidentally left on shore, he had to remain amongst the negroes at Sestos on the West Coast of Africa for five months, until he was eventually rescued by a Captain Sharp, of the *Elizabeth*, who ransomed Wilson for the value of £3 5s. in goods. Wilson was again captured by Roberts, and served with him as surgeon. At his trial for piracy at Cape Coast Castle in 1722, witnesses



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proved that Wilson was "very alert and cheerful at meeting with Roberts, hailed him, told him he was glad to see him, and would come on board presently, borrowing a clean Shirt and Drawers" from the witness "for his better Appearance and Reception: signed the Articles willingly," and tried to persuade him, the witness, to sign also, as then they would each get £600 or £700 a man in the next voyage to Brazil.

When the election of senior surgeon took place, Wilson wanted to be appointed, as then he would receive a bigger share of the booty. Wilson became very intimate with Captain Roberts, and told him that if ever they were taken by one of the "Turnip-Man's ships" - *i.e.*, a man-of-war - they would blow up their ship and go to hell together. But the surgeon proved such a lazy ruffian, neglecting to dress the wounded crew, that Roberts threatened to cut his ears off.

At the trial Wilson was found guilty and condemned to be hanged, but his execution was withheld until the King's pleasure was known, because it was believed that owing to information given by Wilson a mutiny of the prisoners was prevented.

WILSON, James.

Of Dublin. One of Major Stede Bonnet's crew in the *Royal James*. Hanged at [Charleston](#), South Carolina, on November 8th, 1718, and buried in the marsh below low-water mark.

WILSON, John.

Of New London County.

Tried for piracy in 1723 at [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), and acquitted.

WINTER, Captain Christopher.

Of New Providence Island.

He took a sloop off the coast of [Jamaica](#), the mate on board which was one Edward England, who, on Winter's persuasion, turned pirate and soon reached the summit of his new profession.

In 1718 Winter accepted the King's offer of pardon to all pirates who surrendered. Winter soon afterwards not only returned to piracy, but did even worse, for he surrendered to the Spanish Governor of Cuba, and turned Papist. From Cuba he carried on piracy, chiefly preying on English vessels, and made raids on the coast of [Jamaica](#), stealing slaves, which he took away to Cuba. The Governor of [Jamaica](#), Sir Nicholas Laws, sent Lieutenant Joseph Laws, in H.M.S. *Happy snow*, to demand the surrender of Winter and another renegade, Nicholas Brown, but nothing resulted but an exchange of acrimonious letters between the Lieutenant and the Governor of Cuba.

WINTER, John.

One of Gow's crew in the *Revenge*. Hanged in 1725 at Wapping.

WINTER, William, *alias* Mustapha.

A renegade English sailor amongst the Algiers pirates. Taken prisoner in the *Exchange*, on which vessel he was carpenter.

WINTHROP.

One of *Fly's* crew. Took an active part in the mutiny aboard the



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Elizabeth. Winthrop it was who chopped off the hand of Captain Green, and in a fight with Jenkins, the mate, severed his shoulder with an axe and then threw the still living officer overboard. He was hanged at [Boston](#) on July 4th, 1726.

WITHERBORN, Captain Francis.

Captured, with his ship, by Major Beeston and brought to [Jamaica](#). Tried for piracy at Port Royal, he was condemned to death, and sent a prisoner to England.

WOLLERVY, Captain William.

A New England pirate who sailed in company with a Captain Henley in 1683 off the Island of Elenthera. He burnt his vessel near [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), where he and his crew disappeared with their plunder.

WOOD, William.

Native of York.

One of Captain Roberts's crew. Hanged in April, 1722, at the age of 27.

WORLEY, Captain.

His reign was short, lasting but six months from start to finish. He was first heard of in September, 1718, when he set out, in company with eight other desperadoes, from New York in a small open boat "upon the account." They were provided with a few biscuits, a dried tongue, and a keg of water, half a dozen old muskets and some ammunition. They sailed down the coast for 150 miles, entered the river Delaware, and rowed up to Newcastle, and there seized a shallop. The news of this enterprise was quickly spread abroad, and roused the whole coast. Going down the river again, still in their open boat, they took another sloop belonging to a mulatto called Black Robbin. They changed into this sloop, and next day met with another sloop from Hull, which suited their purpose better. By now the country was much alarmed, and the Government sent out H.M.S. *Phœnix*, of twenty guns, to cruise in search of the pirates. In the meantime the latter sailed to the Bahama Islands and took another sloop and a brigantine. Worley now commanded a tidy craft of six guns and a crew of twenty-five men, and flew a black ensign with a white death's head upon it. So far all had gone well with the pirates, but one day, when cruising off the Cape of Virginia, Worley sighted two sloops as he thought making for the James River, but which were really armed vessels sent in search of him. Worley stood in to cut them off, little dreaming what they really were. The two sloops and the pirate ship all standing in together, Worley hoisted his black flag. This terrified the inhabitants of Jamestown, who thought that three pirates were about to attack them. Hurried preparations for defence were made, when all of a sudden the people on shore were surprised to see the supposed pirates fighting amongst themselves. No quarter was asked, and the pirates were all killed in hand-to-hand fighting except Captain Worley and one other pirate, who were captured alive but desperately wounded. The formalities were quickly got through for trying these two men, so that next day they were hanged before death from their wounds could save them from their just punishment. "Thus," writes Captain Johnson, "Worley's beginning was bold and desperate, his course short and



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prosperous, and his end bloody and disgraceful.”

WORMALL, Daniel.

Master on the brigantine *Charles*, commanded by Captain John Quelch. Attempted to escape from [Gloucester](#), Massachusetts, by sailing off in the *Larimore* galley, but was followed and caught by Major Sewell and taken to Salem. Here he was kept in the town gaol until sent to [Boston](#) to be tried for piracy in June, 1704.

YALLAHS, Captain, or Yellows. A Dutch buccaneer.

In 1671 fled from [Jamaica](#) to Campeachy, there selling his frigate to the Spanish Governor for 7,000 pieces of eight. He entered the Spanish service to cruise against the English logwood cutters, at which business he was successful, taking more than a dozen of these vessels off the coast of Honduras.

YEATES, Captain.

In 1718 this Carolina pirate commanded a sloop which acted as tender to Captain Vane. When at Sullivan Island, Carolina, Yeates, finding himself master of a fine sloop armed with several guns and a crew of fifteen men, and with a valuable cargo of slaves aboard, slipped his anchor in the middle of the night and sailed away.

Yeates thought highly of himself as a pirate and had long resented the way Vane treated him as a subordinate, and was glad to get a chance of sailing on his own account. Yeates, having escaped, came to North Edisto River, some ten leagues off [Charleston](#). There, sending hurried word to the Governor to ask for the Royal pardon, he surrendered himself, his crew, and two negro slaves. Yeates was pardoned, and his negroes were returned to Captain Thurston, from whom they had been stolen.

ZEKERMAN, Andrew.

A Dutch pirate, one of Peter M'Kinlie's gang, who murdered Captain Glass and his family on board a ship sailing from the Canary Islands to England. Zekerman was the most brutal of the whole crew of mutineers.

He was hanged in chains near Dublin on December 19th, 1765.



PIRACY

PIRACY AND PRIVATEERING

SOME FAMOUS PIRATE SHIPS, WITH THEIR CAPTAINS

Black Joke	Captain	de Soto.
Bravo	"	Power.
Flying Horse	"	Rhoades.
Fortune	"	Bartholomew Roberts.
Royal Fortune	"	Bartholomew Roberts.
Good Fortune	"	Bartholomew Roberts.
Batchelor's Delight	"	Dampier.
Delight	"	Spriggs.
Flying King	"	Sample.
Night Rambler	"	Cooper.
Cour Valant	"	La Vivon.
Most Holy Trinity	"	Bartholomew Sharp.
Flying Dragon	"	Condent.
Sudden Death	"	Derdrake.
Scowerer	"	Evans.
Queen Ann's Revenge	"	Teach.
Happy Delivery	"	Lowther.
Snap Dragon	"	Goldsmith.
Revenge	Captains	Cowley, Bonnet, Gow, Phillips, and others.
Bonne Homme Richard	Captain	Paul Jones.
Blessing	"	Brown.
New York Revenge's Revenge	"	Cole.
Mayflower	"	Cox.
Childhood	"	Caraccioli.
Liberty	"	Tew.