

Defoe Daniel

**A General History of the  
Pyrates: from their first rise  
and settlement in the island...**



Даниэль Дефо

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Providence, to the present time**

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# Daniel Defoe

## A General History of the Pyrates: / from their first rise and settlement in the island of Providence, to the present time

### THE PREFACE

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

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

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

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

*I need not bring any Proofs of what I advance, viz. that there are Multitudes of Seamen at this Day unemploy'd; it is but too evident by their straggling, and begging all over the Kingdom. Nor is it so much their Inclination to Idleness, as their own hard Fate, in being cast off after their Work is done, to starve or steal. I have not known a Man of War commission'd for several Years past, but three times her Compliment of Men have offer'd themselves in 24 Hours; the Merchants take their Advantage of*

*this, lessen their Wages, and those few who are in Business are poorly paid, and but poorly fed; such Usage breeds Discontents amongst them, and makes them eager for any Change.*

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

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

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

*This Matter, I may probably set right another Time, and only observe for the present, that the Pyrates at Sea, have the same Sagacity with Robbers at Land; as the latter understand what Roads are most frequented, and where it is most likely to meet with Booty, so the former know what Latitude to lie in, in order to intercept Ships; and as the Pyrates happen to be in want of Provisions, Stores, or any particular Lading, they cruise accordingly for such Ships, and are morally certain of meeting with them; and by the same Reason, if the Men of War cruise in those Latitudes, they might be as sure of finding the Pyrates, as the Pyrates are to find the Merchant Ships; and if the Pyrates are not to be met with by the Men of War in such a Latitude, then surely down the same Latitude may the Merchant Ships arrive safely to their Port.*

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

*I must observe another Thing, that the Pyrates generally shift their Rovings, according to the Season of the Year; in the Summer they cruise mostly along the Coast of the Continent of America, but the Winters there, being a little too cold for them, they follow the Sun, and go towards the Islands, at the approach of cold Weather. Every Man who has used the West-India Trade, knows this to be true; therefore, since we are so well acquainted with all their Motions, I cannot see why our Men of War under a proper Regulation, may not go to the Southward, instead of lying up all the Winter useless: But I shall proceed too far in this Enquiry, I shall therefore quit it, and say something of the following Sheets, which the Author may venture to assure the Reader that they have one Thing to recommend them, which is Truth; those Facts which he himself was not an Eye-Witness of, he had from the authentick Relations of the Persons concern'd in taking the Pyrates, as well as from the Mouths of the Pyrates themselves, after they were taken, and he conceives no Man can produce better Testimonies to support the Credit of any History.*

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

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

*I presume we need make no Apology for giving the Name of a History to the following Sheets, though they contain nothing but the Actions of a Parcel of Robbers. It is Bravery and Stratagem in War which make Actions worthy of Record; in which Sense the Adventures, here related will be thought deserving that Name. Plutarch is very circumstantial in relating the Actions of Spartacus, the Slave, and makes the Conquest of him, one of the greatest Glories of Marcus Crassus; and it is probable, if this Slave had liv'd a little longer, Plutarch would have given us his Life at large. Rome, the Misstress of the World, was no more at first than a Refuge for Thieves and Outlaws; and if the Progress of our Pyrates had been equal to their Beginning; had they all united, and settled in some of those Islands, they might, by this Time, have been honoured with the Name of a Commonwealth, and no Power in those Parts of the World could have been able to dispute it with them.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## INTRODUCTION

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

But before we enter upon their particular History, it will not be amiss, by way of Introduction, to shew, by some Examples drawn from History, the great Mischief and Danger which threaten Kingdoms and Commonwealths, from the Increase of these sort of Robbers; when either by the Troubles of particular Times, or the Neglect of Governments, they are not crush'd before they gather Strength.

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

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

In the Times of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Rome* was in her greatest Strength, yet she was so torn in Pieces by the Factions of those two great Men, that every Thing which concerned the publick Good was altogether neglected, when certain Pyrates broke out from *Cicilia*, a Country of *Asia Minor*, situate on the Coast of the *Mediterranean*, betwixt *Syria* on the East, from whence it is divided by Mount *Tauris*, and *Armenia Minor* on the West. This Beginning was mean and inconsiderable, having but two or three Ships, and a few Men, with which they cruised about the *Greek* Islands, taking such Ships as were very ill arm'd or weakly defended; however, by the taking of many Prizes, they soon increased in Wealth and Power: The first Action of their's which made a Noise, was the taking of *Julius Caesar*, who was as yet a Youth, and who being obliged to fly from the Cruelties of *Sylla*, who sought his Life, went into *Bithinia*, and sojourned a while with *Nicomedes*, King of that Country; in his Return back by Sea, he was met with, and taken, by some of these Pyrates, near the Island of *Pharmacusa*: These Pyrates had a barbarous Custom of tying their Prisoners Back to Back and throwing them into the Sea; but, supposing *Caesar* to be some Person of a high Rank, because of his purple Robes, and the Number of his Attendants, they thought it would be more for their Profit to preserve him, in hopes of receiving a great Sum for his Ransom; therefore they told him he should have his Liberty, provided he would pay them twenty Talents, which they judg'd to be a very high Demand, in our Money, about three thousand six hundred Pounds Sterling; he smiled, and of his own Accord promised them fifty Talents; they were both pleased, and surpriz'd at his Answer, and consented that several of his Attendants should go by his Direction and raise the Money; and he was left among these Ruffians with no more than 3 Attendants. He pass'd eight and thirty Days, and seemed so little concerned or afraid, that often when he went to sleep, he used to charge them not to make a Noise, threatening, if they disturbed him, to hang them all; he also play'd at Dice with them, and sometimes wrote Verses and Dialogues, which he used to repeat, and also cause them to repeat, and if they did not praise and admire them, he would call them Beasts and Barbarians, telling them he would crucify them. They took all these as the Sallies of a juvenile Humour, and were rather diverted, than displeas'd at them.

At length his Attendants return'd with his Ransom, which he paid, and was discharged; he sail'd for the Port of *Miletum*, where, as soon as he was arriv'd, he used all his Art and Industry in fitting

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

*Cæsar* went strait to Rome, where, being engaged in the Designs of his own private Ambition, as were almost all the leading Men in Rome, the Pyrates who were left, had Time to increase to a prodigious Strength; for while the civil Wars lasted, the Seas were left unguarded, so that *Plutarch* tells us, that they erected diverse Arsenals full of all manner of warlike Stores, made commodious Harbours, set up Watch-Towers and Beacons all along the Coasts of *Cilicia*; that they had a mighty Fleet, well equipp'd and furnish'd, with Galliots of Oars, mann'd, not only with Men of desperate Courage, but also with expert Pilots and Mariners; they had their Ships of Force, and light Pinnaces for cruising and making Discoveries, in all no less than a thousand Sail; so gloriously set out, that they were as much to be envied for their gallant Shew, as fear'd for their Force; having the Stern and Quarters all gilded with Gold and their Oars plated with Silver, as well as purple Sails; as if their greatest Delight had been to glory in their Iniquity. Nor were they content with committing Pyracies and Insolencies by Sea, they committed as great Depredations by Land, or rather made Conquests; for they took and sack'd no less than four hundred Cities, laid several others under Contributions, plundered the Temples of the Gods, and enriched themselves with the Offerings deposited in them; they often landed Bodies of Men, who not only plundered the Villages along the Sea Coast, but ransacked the fine Houses of the Noblemen along the Tiber. A Body of them once took *Sextillius* and *Bellinus*, two *Roman* Prætors, in their purple Robes, going from Rome to their Governments, and carried them away with all their Sergeants, Officers and Vergers; they also took the Daughter of *Antonius* a consular Person, and one who had obtained the Honour of a Triumph, as she was going to the Country House of her Father.

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

Thus, while *Rome* was Mistress oft he World, she suffered Insults and Affronts, almost at her Gates, from these powerful Robbers; but what for a while made Faction cease, and roused the Genius of that People, never used to suffer Wrongs from a fair Enemy, was an excessive Scarcity of Provisions in *Rome*, occasioned by all the Ships loaden with Corn and Provisions from *Sicily*, *Corsica*, and other Places, being intercepted and taken by these Pyrates, insomuch that they were almost reduced to a Famine: Upon this, *Pompey* the *Great* was immediately appointed General to manage this War; five hundred Ships were immediately fitted out, he had fourteen Senators, Men of Experience in the War, for his Vice-Admirals; and so considerable an Enemy, were these Ruffians become, that no less than an Army of a hundred thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse was appointed to invade them by

Land; but it happened very luckily for *Rome*, that *Pompey* sail'd out before the Pyrate had Intelligence of a Design against them, so that their Ships were scattered all over the *Mediterranean*, like Bees gone out from a Hive, some one Way, some another, to bring Home their Lading; *Pompey* divided his Fleet into thirteen Squadrons, to whom he appointed their several Stations, so that great Numbers of the Pyrates fell into their Hands, Ship by Ship, without any Loss; forty Days he passed in scouring the *Mediterranean*, some of the Fleet cruizing along the Coast of *Africk*, some about the Islands, and some upon the Italian Coasts, so that often those Pyrates who were flying from one Squadron, fell in with another; however, some of them escaped, and these making directly to *Cilicia*, and acquainting their Confederates on Shore with what had happened, they appointed a Rendezvous of all the Ships that had escaped at the Port of *Coracesium*, in the same Country. *Pompey* finding the *Mediterranean* quite clear, appointed a Meeting of all his Fleet at the Haven of *Brundusium*, and from thence sailing round into the *Adriatick*, he went directly to attack these Pyrates in their Hives; as soon as he came near the *Coracesium* in *Cilicia*, where the Remainder of the Pyrates now lay, they had the Hardiness to come and give him Battle, but the Genius of old *Rome* prevailed, and the Pyrates received an entire Overthrow, being all either taken or destroyed; but as they made many strong Fortresses upon the Sea Coast, and built Castles and strong Holds up the Country, about the Foot of Mount *Taurus*, he was obliged to besiege them with his Army; some Places he took by Storm, others surrendered to his Mercy, to whom he gave their Lives, and at length he made an entire Conquest.

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

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

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

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

*First*, Because there are so many uninhabited little Islands and Keys, with Harbours convenient and secure for cleaning their Vessels, and abounding with what they often want, Provision; I mean

Water, Sea-Fowl, Turtle, Shell, and other Fish; where, if they carry in but strong Liquor, they indulge a Time, and become ready for new Expeditions before any Intelligence can reach to hurt them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Spaniards* had recovered some Millions of Pieces of Eight, and had carried it all to the *Havana*; but they had at present about 350000 Pieces of Eight in Silver, then upon the Spot, and were daily taking up more. In the mean time, two Ships, and three Sloops, fitted out from *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, &c. under Captain *Henry Jennings*, sail'd to the Gulf, and found the *Spaniards* there upon the Wreck; the Money before spoken of, was left on Shore, deposited in a Store-House, under the Government of two Commissaries, and a Guard of about 60 Soldiers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Stafford*, Captain *Knocks*, from *New-England*, bound for *London*.

*Anne*, – *Gernish*, for ditto.

*Dove*, – *Grimstone*, for *New-England*.

A Sloop, – *Alden*, for ditto.

A Brigantine, – *Mosson*, for ditto.

A Brigantine, – *Turfield*, for ditto.

A Brigantine, – *Tennis*, for ditto.

A Ship, – *Porter*, for ditto.

*Indian Emperor*, *Wentworth*, for *New-England*.

A Ship, – *Rich*, Master.

Ditto, – *Bay*.

Ditto, – *Smith*.

Ditto, – *Stockum*.

Ditto, – *Satlely*.

A Sloop, – *Richards*, belonging to *New-England*.

Two Sloops, – belonging to *Jamaica*.

One Sloop – of *Barbadoes*.

Two Ships – from *Scotland*.

Two Ships – from *Holland*.

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

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

In March 1705-6, the House of Lords did in an Address to her late Majesty, set forth,

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

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

*Whitehall September 15, 1716.*

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

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

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

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

Besides these Frigots, two Men of War were ordered to attend Captain *Rogers*, late Commander of the two *Bristol* Ships, called the *Duke* and *Dutchess*, that took the rich *Acapulca* Ship, and made a Tour round the Globe. This Gentleman received a Commission from his Majesty, to be Governor of the Island of *Providence*, and was vested with Power to make Use of all possible Methods for reducing the Pyrates; and that nothing might be wanting, he carried with him, the King’s Proclamation of Pardon, to those who should return to their Duty by a certain Time; the Proclamation is as follows;

**By the KING,**

**A PROCLAMATION, for suppressing of PYRATES**

GEORGE R.

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

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

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

Before Governor *Rogers* went over, the Proclamation was sent to them, which they took as *Teague* took the Covenant, that is, they made Prize of the Ship and Proclamation too; however, they sent for those who were out a Cruising, and called a general Council, but there was so much Noise and Glamour, that nothing could be agreed on; some were for fortifying the Island, to stand upon their own Terms, and Treating with the Government upon the Foot of a Commonwealth; others were also for strengthening the Island for their own Security, but were not strenuous for these Punctillios, so that they might have a general Pardon, without being obliged to make any Restitution, and to retire, with all their Effects, to the neighbouring *British* Plantations.

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

In the Month of *May* or *June* 1718, Captain *Rogers* arrived at his Government, with two of his Majesty's Ships, and found several of the abovesaid Pyrates there, who upon the coming of the Men of War, all surrendered to the Pardon, except *Charles Vane* and his Crew, which happened after this Manner.

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

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

Captain *Rogers* sent out a Sloop to get Provisions, and gave the Command to one *John Augur*, one of the Pyrates, who had accepted of the Act of Grace; in their Voyage they met with two Sloops, and *John* and his Comrades not yet forgetting their former Business, made Use of their old Freedom, and took out of them in Money and Goods, to the Value of about 500 *l.* after this they steered away for *Hispaniola*, not being satisfy'd whether the Governor would admit them to carry on two Trades at once, and so thought to have bidden Farewel to the *Bahama* Islands; but as ill Luck would have it, they met with a violent Turnado, wherein they lost their Mast, and were drove back to one of the uninhabited *Bahama*'s, and lost their Sloop; the Men got all ashore, and lived up and down in the Wood, for a little Time, till Governor *Rogers* happening to hear of their Expedition, and where they had got to, sent out an armed Sloop to the aforesaid Island; the Master of which, with good Words and fair Promises, got them on Board, and brought them all to *Providence*, being a eleven Persons, ten of which were try'd at a Court of Admiralty, convicted, and hanged by the other's Evidence, in the Sight of all their former Companions and fellow Thieves. The Criminals would fain have spirited up the pardoned Pyrates, to rescue them out of the Hands of the Officers of Justice, telling them from the Gallows, that, *They never thought to have seen the Time, when ten such Men as they should be ty'd up and hanged like Dogs, and four hundred of their sworn Friends and Companions quietly standing by to behold the Spectacle.* One *Humphrey Morrice* urged the Matter further than the rest, taxing them with Pusillanimity and Cowardice, as if it were a Breach of Honour in them not to rise and save them from the ignominious Death they were going to suffer. But 'twas all in vain, they were now told, it was their Business to turn their Minds to another World, and sincerely to repent of what Wickedness they had done in this. *Yes*, answered one of them, *I do heartily repent; I repent I had not done more Mischief, and that we did not cut the Throats of them that took us, and I am extremely sorry that you an't all hang'd as well as we. So do I*, says another: *And I*, says a third; and then they were all turned off, without making any other dying Speeches, except one *Dennis Macarty*, who told the People, *That some Friends of his had often said he should die in his Shoes, but that he would make them Lyars*, and so kicked them off. And thus ended the Lives, with their Adventures, of those miserable Wretches, who may serve as sad Examples of the little Effect Mercy has upon Men once abandoned to an evil Course of Life.

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

About *March* 1722, one of our Men of War trading upon the Coast, *viz.* the *Greyhound* Galley, Captain *Walron*, the said Captain invited some of the Merchants to Dinner, who with their Attendants and Friends came on Board to the Number of 16 or 18 in all; and having concerted Measures, about six or eight dined in the Cabin, and the rest were waiting on the Deck. While the Captain and his Guests were at Dinner, the Boatswain Pipes for the Ship's Company to dine; accordingly the Men take their Platters, receive their Provisions, and down they go between Decks, leaving only 4 or 5 Hands besides the *Spaniards*, above, who were immediately dispatched by them, and the Hatches laid on the rest; those in the Cabin were as ready as their Companions, for they pulled out their Pistols and

shot the Captain, Surgeon and another dead, and grievously wounded the Lieutenant; but he getting out of the Window upon a Side-Ladder, thereby saved his Life, and so they made themselves Masters of the Ship in an Instant: But by accidental good Fortune, she was recovered before she was carry'd off; for Captain *Walron* having mann'd a Sloop with 30 Hands out of his Ship's Company, had sent her to Windward some Days before, also for Trade, which the *Spaniards* knew very well; and just as the Action was over they saw this Sloop coming down, before the Wind, towards their Ship; upon which the *Spaniards* took about 10000 *l.* in Specie, as I am informed, quitted the Ship, and went off in their Launch unmolested.

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

**S. Jago de la Vega, Febr. 20. A Letter from his Excellency Sir Nicolas Laws, our Governor, to the Alcaldes of Trinidad on Cuba, dated the 26th of Jan. 1721-2**

Gentlemen,

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

depend upon it, those that I can meet with, shall be esteemed Pyrates, and treated as such; of which I thought proper to give you Notice, and am, &c.

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

Genlemen,

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

Off the River *Trinidado*,  
Feb. 8. 1720.

*Your humble Servant,*  
*Joseph Laws.*

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

Capt. Laws,

'IN Answer to yours, this serves to acquaint you, that neither in this City, nor Port, are there any Negroes or Vessels which have been taken at your Island of *Jamaica*, nor on that Coast, since the Cessation of Arms; and what Vessels have been taken since that Time, have been for trading in an unlawful Commerce on this Coast; and as for those English Fugitives you mention, they are here as other Subjects of our Lord the King, being brought voluntarily to our holy Catholick Faith, and have received the Water of Baptism; but if they should prove Rogues, and should not comply with their Duty, in which they are bound at present, then they shall be chastized according to the Ordinances of our King, whom God preserve. And we beg you will weigh Anchor as soon as possible, and leave this Port and its Coasts, because upon no Account you shall be suffered to trade, or any Thing else; for we are resolved not to admit thereof. God preserve you. We kiss your Hand.

*Trinidado*,  
Feb. 8, 1722.

*Signed, Hieronimo de Fuentes,*  
*Benette Alfonso del Manzano.*

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

Gentlemen,

‘YOUR refusing to deliver up the Subjects of the King my Master, is somewhat surprizing, it being in a Time of Peace, and the detaining them consequently against the Law of Nations. Notwithstanding your trifling Pretence (for which you have no Foundation but to forge an Excuse) to prevent my making any Enquiry into the Truth of the Facts I have alledged in my former, I must tell you my Resolutions are, to stay on the Coast till I have made Reprizals; and should I meet any Vessels belonging to your Port, I shall not treat them as the Subjects of the Crown of Spain, but as Pyrates, finding it a Part of your Religion in this Place to protect such Villains.

Off the River *Trinidado*,  
Feb. 8. 1720.

*Your humble Servant,*  
*Joseph Laws.*

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

Captain Laws,

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

*Trinidado*,  
Feb. 20. 1720.

*Signed,*  
*Bennette Alfonso del Menzano.*

The last Advices we have received from our Plantations in *America*, dated *June* 9th, 1724, gives us the following Account, *viz.* That Captain *Jones* in the Ship *John and Mary*, on the 5th of the said Month, met with, near the Capes of *Virginia*, a *Spanish Guard del Coast*, commanded by one *Don Benito*, said to be commissioned by the Governor of *Cuba*: She was manned with 60 *Spaniards*, 18 *French* Men and 18 *English*, and had an *English* Captain as well as *Spanish*, one *Richard Holland*, who formerly belonged to the *Suffolk* Man of War, which he deserted at *Naples*, and took Shelter in a Convent. He served on Board the *Spanish* Fleet under Admiral *Cammock*, in the War in the *Mediterranean*; and after the Cessation of Arms with Spain, settled with several of his Countrymen (*Irish*) in the *Spanish West-Indies*. This *Guard del Coast* made Prize of Captain *Jones*’s Ship, and kept Possession of her from 5th to the 8th, during which Time she took also the *Prudent Hannah* of *Boston*, *Thomas Mousell* Master, and the *Dolphin* of *Topsham*, *Theodore Bare* Master, both laden and bound for *Virginia*: The former they sent away together with three Men and the Mate, under the Command of a *Spanish* Officer and Crew, the same Day she was taken; the latter they carried off with them, putting the Master and all the Crew aboard Captain *Jones*’s Ship. They plundered Captain *Jones* of thirty six Men Slaves, some Gold-Dust, all his Cloaths, four great Guns and small Arms, and about four hundred Gallons of Rum, besides his Provisions and Stores, computed in all to 1500 *l.* Sterling.

## CHAP. I. OF Captain AVERY, And his CREW

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

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

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

He was born in the West of *England* near *Plymouth* in *Devonshire*, being bred to the Sea, he served as a Mate of a Merchant-Man, in several trading Voyages: It happened before the Peace of *Ryfwick*, when there was an Alliance betwixt *Spain*, *England*, *Holland*, &c. against *France*, that the *French* in *Martinico*, carried on a smugling Trade with the *Spaniards* on the Continent of *Peru*, which by the Laws of *Spain*, is not allowed to Friends in Time of Peace, for none but native *Spaniards* are permitted to Traffick in those Parts, or set their Feet on Shore, unless at any Time they are brought as Prisoners; wherefore they constantly keep certain Ships cruising along the Coast, whom they call *Guarda del Costa*, who have the Orders to make Prizes of all ships they can light of within five Leagues of Land. Now the *French* growing very bold in Trade, and the *Spaniards* being poorly provided with Ships, and those they had being of no Force, it often fell out, that when they light of the *French* Smuglers, they were not strong enough to attack them, therefore it was resolv'd in *Spain*, to hire two or three stout foreign Ships for their Service, which being known at *Bristol*, some Merchants of that City, fitted out two Ships of thirty odd Guns, and 120 Hands each, well furnished with Provision and Ammunition, and all other Stores; and the Hire being agreed for, by some Agents for *Spain*, they were commanded to sail for *Corunna* or the *Groine*, there to receive their Orders, and to take on Board some *Spanish* Gentlemen, who were to go Passengers to *New-Spain*.

Of one of these Ships, which I take to be call'd the *Duke*, Capt. *Gibson* Commander, *Avery* was first Mate, and being a Fellow of more Cunning than Courage, he insinuated himself into the good Will of several of the boldest Fellows on Board the other Ship, as well as that which he was on Board of; having sounded their Inclinations before he opened himself, and finding them ripe for his Design, he, at length, proposed to them, to run away with the Ship, telling them what great Wealth

was to be had upon the Coasts of *India*. It was no sooner said than agreed to, and they resolved to execute their Plot at Ten a Clock the Night following.

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

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

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

The Captain having a little recovered his Senses, began to apprehend the meaning; however, his Fright was as great as before, which *Avery* perceiving, bad him fear nothing, for, says he, if you have a Mind to make one of us, we will receive you, and if you'll turn sober, and mind your Business, perhaps in Time I may make you one of my Lieutenants, if not, here's a Boat a-long-side, and you shall be set ashore.

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

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

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

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

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

Having consulted what was to be done, they resolved to sail out together upon a Cruize, the Galley and two Sloops; they therefore fell to work to get the Sloops off, which they soon effected, and steered towards the *Arabian Coast*; near the River *Indus*, the Man at the Mast-Head spied a Sail, upon which they gave Chace, and as they came nearer to her, they perceived her to be a tall Ship, and fancied she might be a *Dutch East-India* Man homeward bound; but she proved a better Prize; when they fired at her to bring too, she hoisted *Mogul's* Colours, and seemed to stand upon her Defence; *Avery* only canonaded at a Distance, and some of his Men began to suspect that he was not the Hero they took him for: However, the Sloops made Use of their Time, and coming one on the Bow, and the other on the Quarter, of the Ship, clapt her on Board, and enter'd her, upon which she immediately struck her Colours and yielded; she was one of the *Great Mogul's* own Ships, and there were in her several of the greatest Persons of his Court, among whom it was said was one of his Daughters, who were going on a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, the *Mahometans* thinking themselves obliged once in their Lives to visit that Place, and they were carrying with them rich Offerings to present at the Shrine of *Mahomet*. It is known that the Eastern People travel with the utmost Magnificence, so that they had with them all their Slaves and Attendants, their rich Habits and Jewels, with Vessels of Gold and Silver, and great Sums of Money to defray the Charges of their Journey by Land; wherefore the Plunder got by this Prize, is not easily computed.

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

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

As they were Steering their Course, as has been said, he sends a Boat on Board of each of the Sloops, desiring the Chief of them to come on Board of him, in order to hold a Council; they did so, and he told them he had something to propose to them for the common Good, which was to provide against Accidents; he bad them consider the Treasure they were possess'd of, would be sufficient for them all if they could secure it in some Place on Shore; therefore all they had to fear, was some Misfortune in the Voyage; he bad them consider the Consequences of being separated by bad Weather, in which Case, the Sloops, if either of them should fall in with any Ships of Force, must be either taken or sunk, and the Treasure on Board her lost to the rest, besides the common Accidents of the Sea; as for his Part he was so strong, he was able to make his Party good with any Ship they

were like to meet in those Seas; that if he met with any Ship of such Strength, that he could not take her, he was safe from being taken, being so well mann'd; besides his Ship was a quick Sailor, and could carry Sail, when the Sloops could not, wherefore, he proposed to them, to put the Treasure on Board his Ship, to seal up each Chest with 3 Seals, whereof each was to keep one, and to appoint a Rendezvous, in Case of Separation.

Upon considering this Proposal, it appeared so seasonable to them, that they readily came into it, for they argued to themselves, that an Accident might happen to one of the Sloops and the other escape, wherefore it was for the common Good. The Thing was done as agreed to, the Treasure put on Board of *Avery*, and the Chests seal'd; they kept Company that Day and the next, the Weather being fair, in which Time *Avery* tampered with his Men, telling them they now had sufficient, to make them all easy, and what should hinder them from going to some Country, where they were not known, and living on Shore all the rest of their Days in Plenty; they understood what he meant: And in short, they all agreed to bilk their new Allies, the Sloop's Men, nor do I find that any of them felt any Qualms of Honour rising in his Stomach, to hinder them from consenting to this Piece of Treachery. In fine, they took Advantage of the Darkness that Night, steer'd another Course, and, by Morning, lost Sight of them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We took Notice of the Rage and Confusion, which must have seized them, upon their missing of *Avery*; however, they continued their Course, some of them still flattering themselves that he had only out sailed them in the Night, and that they should find him at the Place of Rendezvous: But when they came there, and could hear no Tydings of him, there was an End of Hope. It was Time to consider what they should do with themselves, their Stock of Sea Provision was almost spent, and tho' there was Rice and Fish, and Fowl to be had ashore, yet these would not keep for Sea, without being properly cured with Salt, which they had no Conveniency of doing; therefore, since they could not go a Cruizing any more, it was Time to think of establishing themselves at Land; to which Purpose they took all Things out of the Sloops, made Tents of the Sails, and encamped themselves, having a large Quantity of Ammunition, and abundance of small Arms.

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

Captain *George Dew* and Captain *Thomas Tew*, having received Commissions from the then Governor of *Bermudas*, to sail directly for the River *Gambia* in *Africa*; there, with the Advice and Assistance of the Agents of the Royal African Company, to attempt the taking the *French* Factory at *Goorie*, lying upon that Coast. In a few Days after they sailed out, *Dew* in a violent Storm, not only

sprung his Mast, but lost Sight of his Consort; *Dew* therefore returned back to refit, and *Tew* instead of proceeding on his Voyage, made for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and doubling the said Cape, shaped his Course for the Straits of *Babel Mandel*, being the Entrance into the *Red Sea*. Here he came up with a large Ship, richly laden, bound from the *Indies* to *Arabia*, with three hundred Soldiers on Board, besides Seamen; yet *Tew* had the Hardiness to board her, and soon carried her; and, 'tis said, by this Prize, his Men shared near three thousand Pounds a Piece: They had Intelligence from the Prisoners, of five other rich Ships to pass that Way, which *Tew* would have attacked, tho' they were very strong, if he had not been over-ruled by the Quarter-Master and others. – This differing in Opinion created some ill Blood amongst them, so that they resolved to break up pyrating, and no Place was so fit to receive them as *Madagascar*; hither they steered, resolving to live on Shore and enjoy what they got.

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

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

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

By these Means they not only became feared, but powerful; all the Prisoners of War, they took to be their Slaves; they married the most beautiful of the Negroe Women; not one or two, but as many as they liked; so that every one of them had as great a Seraglio as the Grand Seignior at *Constantinople*: Their Slaves they employed in planting Rice, in Fishing, Hunting, &c. besides which, they had abundance of others, who lived, as it were, under their Protection, and to be secure from the Disturbances or Attacks of their powerful Neighbours; these seemed to pay them a willing Homage. Now they began to divide from one another, each living with his own Wives, Slaves and Dependants, like a separate Prince; and as Power and Plenty naturally beget Contention, they sometimes quarrelled with one another, and attacked each other at the Head of their several Armies; and in these civil Wars, many of them were killed; but an Accident happened, which obliged them to unite again for their common Safety.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, they soon got rigg'd, for they sold great Numbers of those poor People under them, for Cloaths, Knives, Saws, Powder and Ball, and many other Things, and became so familiar that they went aboard the *Delicia*, and were observed to be very curious, examining the inside of the Ship, and very familiar with the Men, inviting them ashore. Their Design in doing this, as they afterwards confessed, was to try if it was not practicable to surprize the Ship in the Night, which they judged very easy, in case there was but a slender Watch kept on Board, they having Boats and Men enough at Command, but it seems the Captain was aware of them, and kept so strong a Watch upon Deck, that they found it was in vain to make any Attempt; wherefore, when some of the Men went ashore, they were for inveigling them, and drawing them into a Plot, for seizing the Captain and securing the rest of the Men under Hatches, when they should have the Night-Watch, promising a Signal to come on Board to join them; proposing, if they succeeded, to go a Pyrating together, not doubting but with that Ship they should be able to take any Thing they met on the Sea: But the Captain observing an intimacy growing betwixt them and some of his Men, thought it could be for no good, he therefore broke it off in Time, not suffering them so much as to talk together; and when he sent a Boat on Shore with an Officer to treat with them about the Sale of Slaves, the Crew remained on Board the Boat, and no Man was suffered to talk with them, but the Person deputed by him for that Purpose.

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

## CHAP. II. OF Captain *MARTEL*, And his CREW

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

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

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

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

They proceeded after this to the Port of *Cavena*, at the Island of *Cuba*, and in their Way took two Sloops, which they plundered, and let go; and off the Port fell in with a fine Galley, with 20 Guns, call'd the *John* and *Martha*, Captain *Wilson*, which they attacked under the pyratial Black-Flag, and made themselves Masters of her. They put some of the Men ashore, and others they detain'd, as they had done several Times, to encrease their Company; but Captain *Martel*, charged Captain *Wilson*, to advise his Owners, that their Ship would answer his Purpose exactly, by taking one Deck down, and as for the Cargo, which consisted chiefly of Logwood and Sugar, he would take Care it should be carry'd to a good Market.

Having fitted up the aforesaid Ship, as they design'd, they mounted her with 22 Guns, 100 Men, and left 25 Hands in the Sloop, and so proceeded to Cruize off the *Leeward* Islands, where they met with but too much Success. After the taking of a Sloop and a Brigantine, they gave Chase to a

stout Ship, which they came up with, and, at Sight of the Pyrate's Flag, she struck to the Robbers, being a Ship of 20 Guns, call'd the *Dolphin*, bound for *Newfoundland*. Captain *Martel* made the Men Prisoners, and carry'd the Ship with him.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### CHAP. III.

#### OF

## Captain *TEACH*

## alias **BLACK-BEARD**

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

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

After cleaning on the Coast of *Virginia*, they returned to the *West-Indies*, and in the Latitude of 24, made Prize of a large *French Guiney Man*, bound to *Martinico*, which by *Hornigold's* Consent, *Teach* went aboard of as Captain, and took a Cruize in her; *Hornigold* returned with his Sloop to *Providence*, where, at the Arrival of Captain *Rogers*, the Governor, he surrendered to Mercy, pursuant to the King's Proclamation.

Aboard of this *Guiney Man* *Teach* mounted no Guns, and named her the *Queen Ann's Revenge*; and cruising near the Island of *St. Vincent*, took a large Ship, called the *Great Allen*, *Christopher Taylor* Commander; the Pyrates plundered her of what they thought fit, put all the Men ashore upon the Island above mentioned, and then set Fire to the Ship.

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

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

At *Turniff* ten Leagues short of the Bay of *Honduras*, the Pyrates took in fresh Water; and while they were at an Anchor there, they saw a Sloop coming in, whereupon, *Richards* in the Sloop called the *Revenge*, slipped his Cable, and run out to meet her; who upon seeing the black Flag hoisted, struck his Sail and came to, under the Stern of *Teach* the Commadore. She was called the *Adventure*, from *Jamaica*, *David Harriot* Master. They took him and his Men aboard the great Ship, and sent a Number of other Hands with *Israel Hands*, Master of *Teach's* Ship, to Man the Sloop for the pyratival Account.

The 9th of April, they weighed from *Turniff*, having lain there about a Week, and sailed to the Bay, where they found a Ship and four Sloops, three of the latter belonged to *Jonathan Bernard*, of *Jamaica*, and the other to Captain *James*; the Ship was of *Boston*, called the *Protestant Caesar*, Captain *Wyar* Commander. *Teach* hoisted his Black Colours, and fired a Gun, upon which Captain

*Wyar* and all his Men, left their Ship, and got ashore in their Boat. *Teach's* Quarter-Master, and eight of his Crew, took Possession of *Wyar's* Ship, and *Richards* secured all the Sloops, one of which they burnt out of spight to the Owner; the *Protestant Cæsar* they also burnt, after they had plundered her, because she belonged to *Boston*, where some Men had been hanged for Pyracy; and the three Sloops belonging to *Bernard* they let go.

From hence the Rovers sailed to *Turkill*, and then to the *Grand Caimanes*, a small Island about thirty Leagues to the Westward of *Jamaica*, where they took a small Turtler, and so to the *Havana*, and from thence to the *Bahama Wrecks*, and from the *Bahama Wrecks*, they sailed to *Carolina*, taking a Brigantine and two Sloops in their Way, where they lay off the Bar of *Charles-Town* for five or six Days. They took here a Ship as she was coming out, bound for London, commanded by *Robert Clark*, with some Passengers on Board for *England*; the next Day they took another Vessel coming out of *Charles-Town*, and also two Pinks coming into *Charles-Town*; likewise a Brigantine with 14 Negroes aboard; all which being done in the Face of the Town, struck a great Terror to the whole Province of *Carolina*, having just before been visited by *Vane*, another notorious Pyrate, that they abandoned themselves to Dispair, being in no Condition to resist their Force. They were eight Sail in the Harbour, ready for the Sea, but none dared to venture out, it being almost impossible to escape their Hands. The inward bound Vessels were under the same unhappy Dilemma, so that the Trade of this Place was totally interrupted: What made these Misfortunes heavier to them, was a long expensive War, the Colony had had with the Natives, which was but just ended when these Robbers infested them.

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

Whilst Mr. *Marks* was making Application to the Council, *Richards*, and the rest of the Pyrates, walk'd the Streets publickly, in the Sight of all People, who were fired with the utmost Indignation, looking upon them as Robbers and Murtherers, and particularly the Authors of their Wrongs and Oppressions, but durst not so much as think of executing their Revenge, for fear of bringing more Calamities upon themselves, and so they were forced to let the Villains pass with Impunity. The Government were not long in deliberating upon the Message, tho' 'twas the greatest Affront that could have been put upon them; yet for the saving so many Mens Lives, (among them, Mr. *Samuel Wragg*, one of the Council;) they comply'd with the Necessity, and sent aboard a Chest, valued at between 3 and 400 *l.* and the Pyrates went back safe to their Ships.

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

From the Bar of *Charles-Town*, they sailed to *North-Carolina*; Captain *Teach* in the Ship, which they called the Man of War, Captain *Richards* and Captain *Hands* in the Sloops, which they termed Privateers, and another Sloop serving them as a Tender. *Teach* began now to think of breaking up the Company, and securing the Money and the best of the Effects for himself, and some others of his Companions he had most Friendship for, and to cheat the rest: Accordingly, on Pretence of running into *Topsail* Inlet to clean, he grounded his Ship, and then, as if it had been done undesignedly, and by Accident; he orders *Hands's* Sloop to come to his Assistance, and get him off again, which he endeavouring to do, ran the Sloop on Shore near the other, and so were both lost. This done, *Teach* goes into the Tender Sloop, with forty Hands, and leaves the *Revenge* there; then takes seventeen others and Marroons them upon a small sandy Island, about a League from the Main, where there

was neither Bird, Beast or Herb for their Subsistence, and where they must have perished if Major *Bonnet* had not two Days after taken them off.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Captain *Teach*, alias *Black-beard*, passed three or four Months in the River, sometimes lying at Anchor in the Coves, at other Times sailing from one Inlet to another, trading with such Sloops as he met, for the Plunder he had taken, and would often give them Presents for Stores and Provisions took from them; that is, when he happened to be in a giving Humour; at other Times he made bold with them, and took what he liked, without saying, *by your Leave*, knowing well, they dared not send him a Bill for the Payment. He often diverted himself with going ashore among the Planters, where he revelled Night and Day: By these he was well received, but whether out of Love or Fear, I cannot say; sometimes he used them courteously enough, and made them Presents of Rum and Sugar, in Recompence of what he took from them; but, as for Liberties (which 'tis said) he and his Companions

often took with the Wives and Daughters of the Planters, I cannot take upon me to say, whether he paid them *ad Valorem*, or no. At other Times he carried it in a lordly Manner towards them, and would lay some of them under Contribution; nay, he often proceeded to bully the Governor, not, that I can discover the least Cause of Quarrel betwixt them, but it seemed only to be done, to shew he dared do it.

The Sloops trading up and down this River, being so frequently pillaged by *Black-beard*, consulted with the Traders, and some of the best of the Planters, what Course to take; they, saw plainly it would be in vain to make any Application to the Governor of *North-Carolina*, to whom it properly belonged to find some Redress; so that if they could not be relieved from some other Quarter, *Black-beard* would be like to reign with Impunity, therefore, with as much Secrecy as possible, they sent a Deputation to *Virginia*, to lay the Affair before the Governor of that Colony, and to solicit an armed Force from the Men of War lying there, to take or destroy this Pyrate.

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

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

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

### **A PROCLAMATION,**

#### **Publishing the Rewards given for apprehending, or killing, Pyrates**

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

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

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

The 17th of *November*, 1718, the Lieutenant sail'd from *Kicquetan*, in *James River* in *Virginia*, and, the 21st in the Evening, came to the Mouth of *Okerecock Inlet*, where he got Sight of the Pyrate. This Expedition was made with all imaginable Secrecy, and the Officer manag'd with all the Prudence that was necessary, stopping all Boats and Vessels he met with, in the River, from going up, and thereby preventing any Intelligence from reaching *Black-Beard*, and receiving at the same time an Account from them all, of the Place where the Pyrate was lurking; but notwithstanding this Caution, *Black-beard* had Information of the Design, from his Excellency of the Province; and his Secretary, Mr. *Knight*, wrote him a Letter, particularly concerning it, intimating, *That he had sent him four of his Men, which were all he could meet with, in or about Town, and so bid him be upon his Guard.* These Men belonged to *Black-beard*, and were sent from *Bath-Town* to *Okerecock Inlet*, where the Sloop lay, which is about 20 Leagues.

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

Lieutenant *Maynard* came to an Anchor, for the Place being shoal, and the Channel intricate, there was no getting in, where *Teach* lay, that Night; but in the Morning he weighed, and sent his Boat a-head of the Sloops to sound; and coming within Gun-Shot of the Pyrate, received his Fire; whereupon *Maynard* hoisted the King's Colours, and stood directly towards him, with the best Way that his Sails and Oars could made. *Black-beard* cut his Cable, and endeavoured to make a running Fight, keeping a continual Fire at his Enemies, with his Guns; Mr. *Maynard* not having any, kept a constant Fire with small Arms, while some of his Men laboured at their Oars. In a little Time *Teach's* Sloop ran a-ground, and Mr. *Maynard's* drawing more Water than that of the Pyrate, he could not come near him; so he anchored within half Gun-Shot of the Enemy, and, in order to lighten his Vessel, that he might run him aboard, the Lieutenant ordered all his Ballast to be thrown over-board, and all the Water to be staved, and then weigh'd and stood for him; upon which *Black-beard* hail'd him in this rude Manner: *Damn you for Villains, who are you? And, from whence came you?* The Lieutenant made him Answer, *You may see by our Colours we are no Pyrates.* *Black-beard* bid him send his Boat on Board, that he might see who he was; but Mr. *Maynard* reply'd thus; *I cannot spare my Boat, but I will come aboard of you as soon as I can, with my Sloop.* Upon this, *Black-beard* took a Glass of Liquor, and drank to him with these Words: *Damnation seize my Soul if I give you Quarters,*

*or take any from you.* In Answer to which, Mr. *Maynard* told him, *That he expected no Quarters from him, nor should he give him any.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When the Lieutenant came to *Bath-Town*, he made bold to seize in the Governor's Store-House, the sixty Hogsheads of Sugar, and from honest Mr. *Knight*, twenty; which it seems was their Dividend of the Plunder taken in the *French Ship*; the latter did not long survive this shameful Discovery, for being apprehensive that he might be called to an Account for these Trifles, fell sick with the Fright, and died in a few Days.

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

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

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

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

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

This Beard was black, which he suffered to grow of an extravagant Length; as to Breadth, it came up to his Eyes; he was accustomed to twist it with Ribbons, in small Tails, after the Manner of our Ramilies Wiggs, and turn them about his Ears: In Time of Action, he wore a Sling over his Shoulders, with three brace of Pistols, hanging in Holsters like Bandaliers; and stuck lighted Matches under his Hat, which appearing on each Side of his Face, his Eyes naturally looking fierce and wild, made him altogether such a Figure, that Imagination cannot form an Idea of a Fury, from Hell, to look more frightful.

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

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

The Night before he was killed, he set up and drank till the Morning, with some of his own Men, and the Master of a Merchant-Man, and having had Intelligence of the two Sloops coming to attack him, as has been before observed; one of his Men asked him, in Case any thing should happen to him in the Engagement with the Sloops, whether his Wife knew where he had buried his Money? He answered, *That no Body but himself and the Devil, knew where it was, and the longest Liver should take all*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## CHAP. IV. OF Major *Stede Bonnet*, And his CREW

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

However, he fitted out a Sloop with ten Guns and 70 Men, entirely at his own Expence, and in the Night-Time sailed from *Barbadoes*. He called his Sloop the *Revenge*; his first Cruize was off the Capes of *Virginia*, where he took several Ships, and plundered them of their Provisions, Cloaths, Money, Ammunition, &c. in particular the *Anne*, Captain *Montgomery*, from *Glascow*; the *Turbet* from *Barbadoes*, which for Country sake, after they had taken out the principal Part of the Lading, the Pyrate Crew set her on Fire; the *Endeavour*, Captain *Scot*, from *Bristol*, and the *Young* from *Leith*. From hence they went to *New-York*, and off the East End of *Long-Island*, took a Sloop bound for the *West-Indies*, after which they stood in and landed some Men at *Gardner's Island*, but in a peaceable Manner, and bought Provisions for the Company's Use, which they paid for, and so went off again without Molestation.

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

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

The Major was no Sailor as was said before, and therefore had been obliged to yield to many Things that were imposed on him, during their Undertaking, for want of a competent Knowledge in maritime Affairs; at length happening to fall in Company with another Pyrate, one *Edward Teach*, (who for his remarkable black ugly Beard, was more commonly called *Black-Beard*;) This Fellow was a good Sailor, but a most cruel hardened Villain, bold and daring to the last Degree, and would not stick at the perpetrating the most abominable Wickedness imaginable; for which he was made Chief of that execrable Gang, that it might be said that his Post was not unduly filled, *Black-beard* being truly the Superior in Roguery, of all the Company, as has been already related.

To him *Bonnet's* Crew joined in Consortship, and *Bonnet* himself was laid aside, notwithstanding the Sloop was his own; he went aboard *Black-beard's* Ship, not concerning himself with any of their Affairs, where he continued till she was lost in *Topsail Inlet*, and one *Richards* was appointed Captain in his Room. The Major now saw his Folly, but could not help himself, which made him Melancholy; he reflected upon his past Course of Life, and was confounded with Shame,

when he thought upon what he had done: His Behaviour was taken Notice of by the other Pyrates, who liked him never the better for it; and he often declared to some of them, that he would gladly leave off that Way of Living, being fully tired of it; but he should be ashamed to see the Face of any *English* Man again; therefore if he could get to *Spain* or *Portugal*, where he might be undiscovered, he would spend the Remainder of his Days in either of those Countries, otherwise he must continue with them as long as he lived.

When *Black-beard* lost his Ship at *Topsail Inlet*, and surrendered to the King's Proclamation, *Bonnet* reassumed the Command of his own Sloop, *Revenge*, goes directly away to *Bath-Town* in *North-Carolina*, surrenders likewise to the King's Pardon, and receives a Certificate. The War was now broke out between the *Tripple Allies* and *Spain*; so Major *Bonnet* gets a Clearence for his Sloop at *North-Carlina*, to go to the Island of *St. Thomas*, with a Design (at least it was pretended so) to get the Emperor's Commission, to go a Privateering upon the *Spaniards*. When *Bonnet* came back to *Topsail Inlet*, he found that *Teach* and his Gang were gone, and that they had taken all the Money, small Arms and Effects of Value out of the great Ship, and set ashore on a small sandy Island above a League from the Main, seventeen Men, no doubt with a Design they should perish, there being no Inhabitant, or Provisions to subsist withal, nor any Boat or Materials to build or make any kind of Launch or Vessel, to escape from that desolate Place: They remained there two Nights and one Day, without Subsistance, or the least Prospect of any, expecting nothing else but a lingering Death; when to their inexpressable Comfort, they saw Redemption at Hand; for Major *Bonnet* happening to get Intelligence of their being there, by two of the Pyrates who had escaped *Teach's* Cruelty, and had got to a poor little Village at the upper End of the Harbour, sent his Boat to make Discovery of the Truth of the Matter, which the poor Wretches seeing, made a signal to them, and they were all brought on Board *Bonnet's* Sloop.

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

In the Month of *July*, these Adventurers came off the Capes, and meeting with a Pink with a Stock of Provisions on Board, which they happened to be in Want of, they took out of her ten or twelve Barrels of Pork, and about 400 Weight of Bread; but because they would not have this set down to the Account of Piracy, they gave them eight or ten Casks of Rice, and an old Cable, in lieu thereof.

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

After this, the Major threw off all Restraint, and though he had just before received his Majesty's Mercy, in the Name of *Stede Bonnet*, he relaps'd in good Earnest into his old Vocation, by the Name of Captain *Thomas*, and recommenced a down-right Pyrate, by taking and plundering all the Vessels he met with: He took off *Cape Henry*, two Ships from *Virginia*, bound to *Glascow*, out of which they had very little besides an hundred Weight of Tobacco. The next Day they took a small Sloop bound from *Virginia* to *Bermudas*, which supply'd them with twenty Barrels of Pork, some Bacon, and they gave her in return, two Barrels of Rice, and a Hogshead of Molossus; out of this

Sloop two Men enter'd voluntarily. The next they took was another *Virginia Man*, bound to *Glascow*, out of which they had nothing of Value, save only a few Combs, Pins and Needles, and gave her instead thereof, a Barrel of Pork, and two Barrels of Bread.

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

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

The last Day of *July*, our Rovers with the Vessels last taken, left *Delaware Bay*, and sailed to *Cape Fear River*, where they staid too long for their Safety, for the Pyrate Sloop which they now new named the *Royal James*, proved very leaky, so that they were obliged to remain here almost two Months, to refit and repair their Vessel: They took in this River a small Shallop, which they ripped up to mend the Sloop, and retarded the further Prosecution of their Voyage, as before mentioned, till the News came to *Carolina*, of a Pyrate Sloop's being there to carreen with her Prizes.

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

In a few Days two Sloops were equipped and manned: The *Henry* with 8 Guns and 70 Men, commanded by Captain *John Masters*, and the *Sea Nymph*, with 8 Guns and 60 Men, commanded by Captain *Fayrer Hall*, both under the entire Direction and Command of the aforesaid Colonel *Rhet*, who, on the 14th of *September*, went on Board the *Henry*, and, with the other Sloop, sailed from *Charles-Town* to *Swillivants Island*, to put themselves in order for the Cruize. Just then arrived a small Ship from *Antigoa*, one *Cock* Master, with an Account, that in Sight of the Bar he was taken and plundered by one *Charles Vane*, a Pyrate, in a Brigantine of 12 Guns and 90 Men; and who had also taken two other Vessels bound in there, one a small Sloop, Captain *Dill* Master, from *Barbadoes*; the other a Brigantine, Captain *Thompson* Master, from *Guiney*, with ninety odd Negroes, which they took out of the Vessel, and put on Board another Sloop then under the Command of one *Yeats*, his Consort, with 25 Men. This prov'd fortunate to the Owners of the *Guiney Man*, for *Yeats* having often attempted to quit this Course of Life, took an Opportunity in the Night, to leave *Vane* and to run into *North-Edisto River*, to the Southward of *Charles-Town*, and surrendered to his Majesty's Pardon. The Owners got their Negroes, and *Yeats* and his Men had Certificates given them from the Government.

*Vane* cruised some Time off the Bar, in hopes to catch *Yeats*, and unfortunately for them, took two Ships coming out, bound to *London*, and while the Prisoners were aboard, some of the Pyrates gave out, that they designed to go into one of the Rivers to the Southward. Colonel *Rhet*, upon hearing this, sailed over the Bar the 15th of *September*, with the two Sloops before mentioned; and having the Wind Northerly, went after the Pyrate *Vane*, and scoured the Rivers and Inlets to the Southward; but

not meeting with him, tacked and stood for Cape *Fear* River, in Prosecution of his first Design. On the 26th following, in the Evening, the Colonel with his small Squadron, entered the River, and saw, over a Point of Land, three Sloops at an Anchor, which were Major *Bonnet* and his Prizes; but it happened that in going up the River, the Pilot run the Colonel's Sloops aground, and it was dark before they were on Float, which hindered their getting up that Night. The Pyrates soon discovered the Sloops, but not knowing who they were, or upon what Design they came into that River, they manned three Canoes, and sent them down to take them, but they quickly found their Mistake, and returned to the Sloop, with the unwelcome News. Major *Bonnet* made Preparations that Night for engaging, and took all the Men out of the Prizes. He shewed Captain *Manwaring*, one of his Prisoners, a Letter, he had just wrote, which he declared he would send to the Governor of *Carolina*; the Letter was to this Effect, viz. *That if the Sloops, which then appeared, were sent out against him, by the said Governor, and he should get clear off, that he would burn and destroy all Ships or Vessels going in or coming out of South-Carolina.* The next Morning they got under Sail, and came down the River, designing only a running Fight. Colonel *Rhet's* Sloops got likewise under Sail, and stood for him, getting upon each Quarter of the Pyrate, with Intent to board him; which he perceiving, edged in towards the Shore, and being warmly engaged, their Sloop ran a-ground: The *Carolina* Sloops being in the same shoal Water, were in the same Circumstances; the *Henry*, in which Colonel *Rhet* was, grounded within Pistol shot of the Pyrate, and on his Bow; the other Sloop grounded right a-head of him, and almost out of Gun-Shot, which made her of little Service to the Colonel, while they lay a-ground.

At this Time the Pyrate had a considerable Advantage; for their Sloop, after she was a-ground, listed from Colonel *Rhet's*, by which Means they were all covered, and the Colonel's Sloop listing the same Way, his Men were much exposed; notwithstanding which, they kept a brisk Fire the whole Time they lay thus a-ground, which was near five Hours. The Pyrates made a Wiff in their bloody Flag, and beckoned several Times with their Hats in Derision to the Colonel's Men, to come on Board, which they answered with chearful Huzza's, and said, *that they would speak with them by and by*; which accordingly happened, for the Colonel's Sloop being first a float, he got into deeper Water, and after mending the Sloop's Rigging, which was much shattered in the Engagement, they stood for the Pyrate, to give the finishing Stroke, and designed to go directly on Board him; which he prevented, by sending a Flag of Truce, and after some Time capitulating, they surrendered themselves Prisoners. The Colonel took Possession of the Sloop, and was extreamly pleased to find that Captain *Thomas*, who commanded her, was the individual Person of Major *Stede Bonnet*, who had done them the Honour several Times to visit their own Coast of *Carolina*.

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

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

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

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

On the 28th of *October*, 1718, a Court of Vice-Admiralty was held at *Charles-Town*, in *South-Carolina*, and, by several Adjournments, continued to *Wednesday*, the 12th of *November* following, for the Tryal of the Pyrates taken in a Sloop formerly called *the Revenge*, but afterwards *the Royal James*, before *Nicholas Trot*, Esq; Judge of the Vice-Admiralty, and Chief Justice of the said Province of *South-Carolina*, and other Assistant Judges.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Neal Paterson*, late of *Aberdeen*, Mariner.

*William Scot*, late of *Aberdeen*, Mariner.

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

*Alexander Annand*, late of *Jamaica*, Mariner.

*George Rose*, late of *Glasgow*, Mariner.

*George Dunkin*, late of *Glasgow*, Mariner.

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

*John Ridge*, late of *London*, Mariner.

*Matthew King*, late of *Jamaica*, Mariner.

*Daniel Perry*, late of *Guernsey*, Mariner.  
*Henry Virgin*, late of *Bristol*, Mariner.  
*James Robbins*, alias *Rattle*, late of *London*, Mariner.  
*James Mullet*, alias *Millet*, late of *London*, Mariner.  
*Thomas Price*, late of *Bristol*, Mariner.  
*James Wilson*, late of *Dublin*, Mariner.  
*John Lopez*, late of *Oporto*, Mariner.  
*Zachariah Long*, late of the Province of *Holland*, Mariner.  
*Job Bayly*, late of *London*, Mariner.  
*John-William Smith*, late of *Charles-Town, Carolina*, Mariner.  
*Thomas Carman*, late of *Maidstone in Kent*, Mariner.  
*John Thomas*, late of *Jamaica*, Mariner.  
*William Morrison*, late of *Jamaica*, Mariner.  
*Samuel Booth*, late of *Charles-Town*, Mariner.  
*William Hewet*, late of *Jamaica*, Mariner.  
*John Levit*, late of *North-Carolina*, Mariner.  
*William Livers*, alias *Evis*.  
*John Brierly*, alias *Timberhead*, late of *Bath-Town in North Carolina*, Mariner.  
*Robert Boyd*, late of *Bath-Town* aforesaid, Mariner.  
\**Rowland Sharp*, of *Bath-Town*, Mariner.  
\**Jonathan Clarke*, late of *Charles-Town, South Carolina*, Mariner.  
\**Thomas Gerrard*, late of *Antegoa*, Mariner.

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

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

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

This was the Form of the Indictments they were arraigned upon, and tho' they might have proved several more Facts upon the major Part of the Crew, the Court thought fit to prosecute but two; the other was for seizing in a pyraty and felonious Manner, the Sloop *Fortune*, *Thomas*

*Read* Commander; which Indictment running in the same Form with the above-mentioned, it will be unnecessary to say more of it.

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

The Prisoners made little or no Defence, every one pretending only that they were taken off a Maroon Shore, and were shipped with Major *Bonnet* to go to *St. Thomas's*; but being out at Sea, and wanting Provisions, they were obliged to do what they did by others; and so did Major *Bonnet* himself, pretend that 'twas Force, not Inclination, that occasioned what had happened. However, the Facts being plainly proved, and that they had all shared ten or eleven Pounds a Man, excepting the three last, and *Thomas Nichols*, they were all but they, found Guilty. The Judge made a very grave Speech to them, setting forth *the Enormity of their Crimes, the Condition they were now in, and the Nature and Necessity of an unfeigned Repentance*; and then recommended them to the Ministers of the Province, for more ample Directions, to fit them for Eternity, *for (concluded he) the Priest's Lips shall keep Knowledge, and you shall seek the Law at their Mouths; for they are the Messengers of the Lord. Mat. II. 57. And the Ambassadors of Christ, and unto them is committed the Word [or Doctrine] of Reconciliation, 2 Cor. V. 19. 20.* And then pronounced Sentence of Death upon them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But to *Theft* you have added a greater Sin, which is *Murder*. How many you may have *killed* of those that resisted you in the committing your former *Pyracies*, I know not: But this we all know,

That besides the Wounded, you kill'd no less than *eighteen* Persons out of those that were sent by lawful Authority to suppress you, and put a Stop to those Rapines that you daily acted.

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

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

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