

PIRATES OF THE EASTERN SEAS





THE PIRATES' HAVEN (MADAGASCAR)

Frontispiece]

PIRATES OF THE EASTERN SEAS

(1618-1723)

A LURID PAGE OF HISTORY

BY
CHARLES GREY

EDITED BY
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN

LONDON
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & CO., LTD.

1
535
381

771862-196

FOREWORD

BY

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN,

K.C.B.

MR. CHARLES GREY, who has already published "The Merchant Adventurers in the East" is perhaps the only man living with deep and exhaustive knowledge of the earlier side of those adventurers and pirates who have made the history of Europe in the East. While many have gone down to their posterity as Empire builders others have ended their day in pirate dock or gone to the bottom with the Jolly Roger flying. The "Adventurers" told of the making of Empire and trade, the "Pirates" tells of those who took the line of tragedy. Both are astounding stories, and in "The Pirates" we have a real account drawn from many strange stories of the British and American pirates who left the Spanish Main and the West Indies for the more profitable waters of the East. If we like horror and drama we shall find it in all that the author has produced from those strange sources in which he loves to delve, for our amusement and instruction. Mr. Grey, a soldier of a soldier descent, has made his home in Lahore, the capital of the great province of the Punjab, once a Mogul and Turkish stronghold, and in Victorian times the capital of the one-man Sikh dynasty. There he devotes himself to study and research among the inimitable archives which are stored therein. I commend this book to lovers of history and drama, as worthy of their perusal. They will not find the story elsewhere.



AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

THERE is no theme in the gamut of the literature of travel and adventure that has a more absorbing interest to the ordinary reader, young or old, man or woman, than tales of Piracy on the High Seas.

Distance ever lends enchantment, and though, in truth, these men were but sea robbers and their history a record of crime, the attendant circumstances of a roving, adventurous and uncontrolled life combined with the fairly easy acquisition of wealth, great or comparative, enthrals those who have been denied adventure, save through the vicarious medium of the printed page or the silver screen, and even those to whom these tales may recall memories of as adventurous, if less lawless deeds.

Romance lingers even to old age with most of us and abides most with those whom fate has confined to the well ordered lines of old countries and the eternal sameness of a factory or office life varied only by an occasional mass holiday. How few are they that have not thrilled to such tales and in fancy joined in a voyage to the Spanish Main or the Eastern Seas wherein sailed the stately treasure galleon, or the rich pilgrim ship that would yield to hardy ruffians red gold, rich jewels and fair women at risk of a life worth little at the best.

It is the attendant tang of the salt sea and the wide and wind swept spaces of the Seven Seas and the sunny shores of fairy-like, palm-clad, golden-sanded islets, whereon and whereby these "Gentlemen of Fortune" cruised "On the Accounts" to bloody sea fights and high adventure varied by riotous carouses and lawless love that will and does appeal to the adventurous if only in desire. Rascals though they always were, and often enough murderous ruffians, reckless and drunken, with the ever dangling halter before their intro-

spection, one must give some meed of admiration to men who in tiny ships no larger than a Thames barge or a Margate hoy, sailed many thousands of miles in stormy and often uncharted seas, endured wreck on desolate coasts whence they could only escape by building a tinier craft from the wreck. Who attacked and robbed ships many times their size and numbers in company, and, by sheer energy, personality and courage, founded colonies on Madagascar and led armies of Madagascans to war and victory, sometimes reigning as petty kings over large dominions.

The Pirates of whom we shall write were mostly English or American, and, like most of those countries, never killed in wantonness, often enough sparing where other nationalities would have slain, burned and sunk without mercy. In most cases they let their prizes go free after robbing them, or gave another to convey the survivors to land and provision for the voyage. At times they were pitiful, as witness the pathetic little episode of Thomas White and his Company, who restored their pitiful belongings to a pair of orphans and added more from their own stock.

This book itself has been compiled as a continuation and amplification of Johnson's "History of the Most Notorious Pirates" compiled in 1724, adding some unknown to him and additional details to the history of others, gleaned from sources inaccessible to, or unknown to Johnson, who seems to have gathered his material first hand from actual pirates or from others who had themselves gained them from a similar source.

Enough, the prelude is spoken. We withdraw to the wings whilst across the screen, to the accompaniment of our narrative, flit the pictured presentments of those quaint old high-sterned, duck-breasted Pirate ships, manned by picturesque ruffians long since claimed by the outraged laws of the nations, or by Davy Jones, or who as likely escaped both to die obscure or, perchance as honoured citizens in an age when wealth condoned infamy of acquisition.

LAHORE, 1933.

EXPLANATION OF SHIPS AND BOATS HEREIN MENTIONED

- Brigantine* : A two-masted vessel, square rigged on the foremast and fore and aft on the mainmast. A very handy, fast sailing rig, hence a favourite with pirates.
- Fly Boat* : A large flat-bottomed, high-sterned Dutch-built vessel.
- Frigate* : In these ships the forecastle and the quarterdeck were raised above the waist, making the ship well-decked. Usually a fighting craft of 20 to 40 guns.
- Gallivat* : A large country sailing and rowing craft having a lateen sail and about 20 oars. They were occasionally used as war vessels, being then mounted with light swivel guns.
- Galleon* : A three or four-decked Spanish ship used in the colonial trade. Mounted from 20 to 40 guns according to size.
- Galley* : A large or medium-sized sailing and rowing vessel with flush decks. Might be ship, brig or brigantine-rigged. Guns according to size.
- Grab* : A small or medium-sized country craft used for fighting or trading. Armed with light guns and usually a swift sailer.
- Ketch* : A two-masted vessel rigged same as the brigantine but with the main shorter than the foremast.
- Long-boat* : The largest ship's boat; fitted with a stepped mast and sometimes armed and decked for short cruises.
- Pink* : A very narrow-sterned sailing vessel.
- Schooner* : A two or three-masted sailing ship fore and aft rigged on all the masts.
- Sloop* : A smallish vessel with one, two or three masts. If single-masted, fore and aft rig, if more, usually square-rigged on all the masts.
- Snow* : The largest type of two-masted vessel, but having a stump mizzen mast removable at will. Both large masts square-rigged, the stump mast with trysail.
- Tall ship* : An English-type vessel having very tall masts and short hull. Spanish types were the reverse.
- Yawl* : A small ship's boat next in size to the long boat. Usually fitted with a stepped mast and sail.

NOTE ON SOME PLACES OF IMPORTANCE IN THE TEXT

Antanavoula : East coast of Madagascar. Latitude 17.38.

Antongil (Ranter Bay) : N.E. coast of Madagascar.

Comoro Islands : A group of four off the north coast of Madagascar named Comoro, Johanna, Mayotta, and Mohilla. The last three have fair harbours of which the least dangerous is that of Johanna. They were used as ports of call from about 1615 to 1850.

Madagascar : Named St. Lawrence on discovery and later Isle Dauphin by the French. They made a settlement on the south coast in 1642, abandoned it after the settlers were massacred, and resettled in 1661 when they built Fort (or Port) Dauphin. This also was abandoned in 1671 after another massacre.

Mascarenhas : So named by the Portuguese. It was occupied by the French refugees from Port Dauphin in 1671. It was then named Bourbon and later Réunion.

Mauritius : Occupied and named by the Dutch in 1598. Abandoned by them about 1710 and occupied by the French a few years later. Named by them Isle of France. Taken by the British in French Wars.

Methelege, or Masselege : New and Old, both on the west coast of Madagascar. Latitude about 16-17 degrees.

St. Augustine's Bay : S.W. coast of Madagascar. The first good or fair harbour after passing the Cape. Much used by ships that had a bad passage and could not go on to the Comoros, or which did not care for the more circuitous route of the Mozambique Channel.

St. Mary Island : Off the N.E. coast of Madagascar.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER I	
The Pirates of Fiction and of Fact—Our Authorities—A Dissertation on Piracy—The Buccaneers and the Pirates of the Eastern Seas—Why Masters and Mariners became Pirates—Why some remained Honest—The Jolly Roger—The Laws, Manners and Customs of the Buccaneers and the Pirates—Pirate Treasure	1
CHAPTER II	
The Taking of Captain Snelgrave and his Treatment by the Pirates—The Narrative of Captain Roberts taken by the Pirate Low—The Attack on the Bauden Frigate—The <i>Caesar</i> beats off Five Pirates off the Island of St. Jago	27
CHAPTER III	
The Pirate Harbours and Settlements at Madagascar	50
CHAPTER IV	
Captain Misson and his Mythical Pirate settlement—The Piratical enterprises of Sir Robert Rich and Phillip Bernhardt—The Amazing Adventure of Captain Quail and the <i>Seahorse</i> , and the Notable Piracies of Ayres, Cobb, and Davy Jones	71
CHAPTER V	
Miscellaneous Piracies, 1634-54—The Cruise of Hubert Hugo in the <i>Black Eagle</i> —John Hands of the <i>Bristol</i> —Piracies by Danish ships—John Coats and the Redclyffe Danish Piracies, 1684—The Cruise of the <i>Morning Star</i> —The <i>Nicholas of London</i> and her Company—The Taking of the Ketch, <i>Good Hope</i> —The Cruise of the <i>Good Hope</i> , 1686-89	89
CHAPTER VI	
Danish Piracies, 1686-87—The Cruise of the <i>Bachelor's Delight</i> and the <i>Little England</i> —The Cruise of the <i>Unity</i> —Punishments for Piracy, 1687-90—The Deposition of Captain Adam Baldrige—Minor Piracies	110
CHAPTER VII	
Captain Thomas Tew and his Company—The Cruise of the <i>Charming Mary</i> —Captain William May of the <i>Pearl</i> and the <i>Charming Mary</i> —Captain Robert Culliford and his Company—The Fight of the <i>Mocha</i> and the <i>Dorrill</i> off Achin, August 1697	126

CHAPTER VIII

	PAGE
Captain Henry Every and his Company	150

CHAPTER IX

Captain Dirk Chivers and his Company in the <i>Resolution</i> and the <i>Soldado</i> —The Taking of the <i>Ruparel</i> and the <i>Calicut</i> Merchant—Their Cruel Treatment of Captain Sawbridge—The Bombardment of Kung—The Taking of the <i>Great Mahomet</i> —She becomes the <i>New Soldado</i> —They Surrender at St. Mary's—Their Fate—The Cruises of the <i>Pelican</i> , the <i>Dolphin</i> , and the <i>John and Rebecca</i>	168
--	-----

CHAPTER X

The Cruise of the <i>Beckford Galley</i> and Captain William Kidd in the <i>Adventure Galley</i> and the <i>Quedah Merchant</i>	185
---	-----

CHAPTER XI

Joseph Bradish and his Company in the <i>Adventure Pink</i> —Captain Thomas White and his Cruises and Adventures on Madagascar—Captain George Booth—His Taking of the French ship at Antanavoula—The Taking of the <i>Speaker</i> at New Methelege—Booth cut off and killed at Zanzibar	210
---	-----

CHAPTER XII

Captain John Bowen and his Company—The Taking of the Great Moors ship and the <i>Borneo</i> —The <i>Speaker</i> wrecked at Mauritius—The Taking of the <i>Prosperous</i> —The Cruise of the <i>Prosperous</i> and the <i>Speedy Return</i> —The Taking of two Moors Ships—The Death of Captain Bowen at Mauritius and the Lamentable Episode of Captain Green of the <i>Worcester</i>	228
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII

Captain Thomas Howard, the Idle Apprentice—From Canoe to 36-gun ship—The <i>Alexander</i> Wrecked at Madagascar—Howard Absconds with the Treasure—Marooned by His Comrades—His Cruise in the <i>Speaker</i> —The Taking of the <i>Prosperous</i> —Capture of a rich Moors Ship—Goes Ashore and is Murdered—Captain Nathaniel North—From Sea Cook to Pirate—Cruises in the <i>Pelican</i> , the <i>Speaker</i> and <i>Speedy Return</i> —His Wars on Madagascar—Quartermaster to Halsey—Wrecked as Captain of the <i>Charles</i> —More Wars on Madagascar—Treacherously Killed	250
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV

Captain John Halsey—The Company of the <i>Charles</i> Mutiny and Murder their Captain—John Welch and most of the Company Hung for Piracy and Murder—Halsey given Command of the <i>Charles</i> —Turns Pirate with the Company—The abortive Attack on a Dutch ship—Takes the <i>Buffalo</i> and the <i>Calicut</i> sloop—The <i>Charles</i> chased by the <i>Albemarle</i> —Returns to Madagascar—Attacks and takes the <i>Eagle</i> and the <i>Essex</i> in the Red Sea—The Cowardice of Captain Jago—Death and Honourable Burial—Captain Samuel Burgess—Tried and Acquitted of Piracy—Betrays the <i>Neptune</i> to the Pirates—Settles at Madagascar—Poisoned by the Natives	269
--	-----

CONTENTS

xiii

CHAPTER XV

PAGE

John Cornelius—Quartermaster to the Pirate Lewis—They promote themselves—From Canoe to 24-gun Galley—They cruise in the West Indies, the Newfoundland Banks, and the Guinea Coast—The Taking of the *Morning Star*—The Frenchmen sent adrift—Return and Kill Lewis—Cornelius succeeds—Takes many Prizes on the Guinea Coast Sails to Madagascar—Adventures Ashore—Cruise in the Gulf of Persia—Dies on Madagascar—David Williams—Left ashore on Madagascar—Goes to War with the Natives—With the Companies of the *Bedford Galley*, the *Pelican* and the *Mocha*—Slave to John Pro—Captain of the *Neptune* Killed by the Natives—Captain Condent and his Company—Their Cruise in the *Wright Galley*—Goes to St. Mary's in the *Flying Dragon*—Takes a rich Moors ship—Condent quits Piracy and becomes an Honest Merchant . . . 285

CHAPTER XVI

Captain Edward England and his Company—His early Piratical career—The torture by the Company of Captain Skinner—The taking of the *Royal James* and many other ships on the Guinea Coast—The taking of the *Peterborough Galley*—Attacks Dutch ships under the Black Flag—Takes the *Merry Christmas*—Renames her the *Fancy*—Takes a rich Moors ship—Shameful treatment of the women and murder of the men—Goes to St. Mary's and Johanna—The attack on the *Cassandra* and her taking—Captain Macrae and the wooden-legged Pirate—England intercedes for Macrae—Marooned at Johanna—Death on the Mainland of Madagascar . . . 304

CHAPTER XVII

Captain John Taylor and his Company in the *Victory*—They Cruise in Company with Seagar in the *Cassandra*—The Narrative of Richard Lazenby, Mate of the *Cassandra*—The Fight with the Bombay Fleet—Outrages at the Island of Amendivi—Driven off from Calicut—Trading with the Dutch at Cochin—Their Christmas Festivities—Take the viceroy of Goa at Mascarenhas with £1,000,000 Booty—At St. Mary's and the Bay of St. Augustine's—The *Victory* parts Company—Taylor in the *Cassandra* goes to the Spanish Main and enters the Naval service of Spain . . . 316

CHAPTER XVIII

Benito De Soto—The Last of the Most Notorious Pirates . . . 330

ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACE PAGE
THE PIRATES' HAVEN	<i>Frontispiece</i>
FLAGS OF PIRATE AND E.I. COMPANY	16
GAREENING AND CLEANING SHIP	64
THE MURDER OF A PRISONER	128
THE GANG-I-SAWAI	152
CAPTAIN WILLIAM KIDD	184
HANGING A PIRATE	240
CAPTAIN EDWARD ENGLAND	304

PIRATES OF THE EASTERN SEAS

CHAPTER I

The Pirates of Fiction and of Fact—Our Authorities—A Dissertation on Piracy—The Buccaneers and the Pirates of the Eastern Seas—Why Masters and Mariners became Pirates—Why some remained Honest—The Jolly Roger—The Laws, Manners and Customs of the Buccaneers and the Pirates—Pirate Treasure.

Where the sea egg flames on the Coral,
And the long backed breakers croon
Their endless ocean legends,
To the lazy locked lagoon.

PIRATES! Why, the very name conjures up a vivid picture, of starkly sunlit beaches, fringed by feathery palms, amid whose graceful branches flash gorgeously plumed tropical birds, shrieking discordant disapproval of the ruffianly intruders on their island calm.

Ceaselessly, on the golden sands, roll in muffled boom, foam-topped combers, born in far reaching azure seas, to break from endless ages on these silent smiling shores, whose calm is now rudely invaded by a tumultuous crew of bearded, mossy-chested, sun-scorched rascals, garbed in gorgeous finery, once of costly material and brilliant hue, but now rent and dimmed by drunken fights, tar, salt water, or more darkly ominous stains.

Before the raucous, roistering ruffians, ungainly sprawling in the sun-barred shade of the palms, postures a scarred, wooden-legged rascal, displaying, amid comments of a pungency as fiery as the brandy and rum inspiring them, a full-skirted, golden brodered garment of purple velvet, whose slashed and deep-stained breast proclaims it as reft

from some proud hidalgo, ere the slashed and bloody carcass was cast to the scarce less ravenous sharks, ever attendant on the providers of many a luscious banquet.

Anon, tiring of the grotesque fooling, the hook-handed, gold-eared, bandana-turbaned bo'sun, growls thunderously to a rat-faced ship's boy, despite his teens as blood-guilty as any, for 'tis his congenial task to slit the throats of the fallen foe ere they rise again, or, should unobserved opportunity occur, to perform the same unkindly office for a wounded comrade, ere this too liberal with a rope end or a square-toed shoe. Hastened by many thirsty objurgations, the snarling Ganymede "brings aft the rum" in an oaken, rope-handled bucket, to dispense the fiery liquor equally to battered cannikin, golden chalice, or silver beaker plundered from castled galleon or stately cathedral of the Spanish Main, to serve the guzzling throats of this Commonwealth of Rascality.

Down gushes the throat-scarifying liquor, stimulating to song the Society of Scoundrels, who, led by the hook-handed bo'sun, bellow forth the old pirate chanty beloved of Teach, England, and Every, and other doughty Brethren of the Coast, to wit:

Where is the trader of London Town,
His gold's on the capstan,
His blood's on his gown,
And it's up and away for St. Mary's Bay,
Where the liquor is good and the lasses are gay.

Beneath a great rock hard by the bawling band, gapes a great pit, fringed by picks and shovels, amidst which lie, bound beside their last abode, a pair of pallid prisoners, whose destiny it is to guard in ghostly form the TREASURE, fruit of many a bloody cruise.

Off shore lie the *Charming Mary* and the *Bachelor's Delight* (your true pirate ever loved a romantic name), tall ships, high-sterned, deep-waisted, broad-beamed and duck-breasted craft. Around their sable hulls runs a broad yellow streak,

broken by triced-up ports, through which gape the verdigrised muzzles of demi-culverin, basilisk and minion, whilst swivelled to the poop rail, or frowning down from the fighting tops, we see murtherers, falconets, and petereroes, quaint cannon of a bygone age. Slack and slovenly hang braces and shrouds, matching the carelessly clewed sails, whilst from the foretop and the ensign staff spreads a "Jimmy Barebones" or "Jolly Roger," displaying in ghostly white on sable ground a skeleton grasping in one hand a fleshless skull, and in the other a Bleeding Heart transfixed by a dart and dripping gouts of blood.

Over the bulwarks hang Quartermaster and Gunner, twin Vice-Presidents of the Republic of Rogues, anxiously watching the long boat, which, manned by a noisy gang of half-drunken oarsmen, clad in tattered and dingy finery, makes its devious way to shore, manned by the truculent President of the Collection of Cut-throats. Midships, near sinking the boat to the gunwale, is lashed the iron-bound, triple locked chest, full of ducats, moidores, doubloons, pieces of eight, owches, jewelled rings, diamond and pearl bracelets and necklets, golden goblets and silver chalices, spoil of many a raid on heathen or Christian, all bloodily reft from their erstwhile owners before ship and company were consigned to the never-yielding recesses of Davy Jones's locker.

Reaching the shore, with many Yo! Heave Hos! and strange sea oaths, the boat is run high on to the beach. Then, after many a toast and libation to themselves and to that St. Nicholas who has so far favoured his disciples, the chest is slung to a spar, manhandled by a dozen sturdy rogues, and borne to the pit where it will rest until some fortunate genius shall discover and decipher the traditional map and cipher, wherein the Pirate Captain betrayed the secret of the hoard. To guard the boat are left a brace of ruffians, girt with pistols and hangers, and armed with ponderous muskets, who a little later exchange grim grins when pistol shots announce that the ghostly sentinels have been posted, before the pit is filled in and all traces obliterated.

Now down to the beach troops the scuffling crew, to empty the rum cask, gain their ship, and sail away for more treasure to dispose of in a similar egregious manner, whilst the President bars himself in his cabin and with many a bottle of rum and the accompaniment of weird ditties, concocts his chart and cipher, to be placed in the Dead Man's Chest, until such time as the favoured hero and his lovely maid shall discover it just when they need it most to checkmate as dastardly ruffians as those who buried it. . . .

Such then, my masters, is the popular conception of the Pirates of old, how they behaved or misbehaved, the manner in which they disposed of the treasure they unlawfully acquired; and he who desires to write a different tale of them will incur the scorn and contempt of every right-minded novel reader. Greatly daring, we propose to show you the real Gentlemen of Fortune, how they lived, fought and plundered, even though they differ from the two accepted types. Up to recently the general one was the Captain Flint or Captain Sharkey brand, both men of low origin and bestial ferocity, who lived mostly on rum, varied with a diet of roasted ears or stewed hearts, provided by their victims.

Of late this sort has been superseded by the high born gentleman, driven by the machinations of as high born enemies or political misfortunes to piracy, in which, as a gentleman should in fiction, he rises pre-eminent over the gang he has accidentally been thrown in with. We see him at sea in a craft which is a veritable marvel of elaborate carving, gilding, and turnery work, usually of a type long antecedent to the period, but brought in to add colour, and commanding a crew by greater ruthlessness than their own, buffeting, browbeating, and cutting down as he lists, without let or hindrance from the cowed ruffians.

Alone he paces the quarter deck, clad in a gorgeous mixture of Elizabethan, Jacobean and Georgian garb and arms, fittingly contrasting with the filthy crew of half-clad ruffians, who scowl back or cringe as he frowns down upon them from his just eminence, even though later they adoringly follow

him through a veritable hell of slaughter, in which he unerringly singles out the only foe worthy of his steel, the equally high bred captain of the enemy. Almost invariably the scene is the Spanish Main, and the arch enemy a haughty, black bearded Spanish noble, who is outwitted, outfought, and deprived of the superlatively lovely *Senorita*, his unwilling lady love, to whom the pirate captain comes as a welcome saviour.

Presently, the lady, at first disdainful of the handsome pirate, rewards his chivalry by falling into his arms, followed by the baleful glare of the dying Spanish nobleman, and he bears her to his cabin, leaving the ragged rascals gasping with envious admiration of his bravery and her beauty, until he dismisses them with a contemptuous: "To your kennels, scum!"

In the end, after many most wonderful adventures, we see the high born pirate triumphant over his enemies, and restored to his ancestral home with the *Senorita* (by whom he has apparently done the honest thing) and we leave them to "wander hand in hand down the sequestered vale of life," in the enjoyment of the wealth bloodily earned by the crew, of whose fate we hear nothing. Probably they were satisfactorily hanged, which was what they richly deserved, for they were, after all, only a foil and background. As for the *Flints* and *Sharkeys*, they also rightfully die of D.T. or something worse.

Such then are the *Pirates of Fiction*. Though apocryphal, they have a certain value in giving a vicarious thrill, or experience of adventure to lives that are cast within the barbed wire lines of convention, such being ever avid of the bizarre, the romantic, or the bloodily terrible, and delighting to wade in gore by proxy. But, you may ask, what are your wares? What can you offer in place of our demolished idols? Be not disturbed! We can give you just as exciting, though real, tales of *Gentlemen of Fortune*, even though there are no lovely ladies, for such did not bulk in the lives of those who sailed "On the Account."

We can show you Every, Kidd, England, Baldrige, Culliford, Chivers, Bowen, and many others, who 200 years ago, fought, plundered, and sailed over many thousands of miles in ships but little larger than a modern Thames barge. Especially can we tell you of those amazing Pirate colonies on Madagascar, where for near on forty years the "Pirates of the Eastern Seas" ruled as kings over vast tracts of country, and commanded native armies, dominated by their own ruthless courage and indomitable energy. Of such were the Englishmen Plantain, White and North, the Scot Adair, and the Dane Burgen.

Much we must quote from the "General History of the Most Notorious Pirates," by Captain Charles Johnson, the latter name known to be a pseudonym, and which we ourselves suspect to cover the identity of Daniel Defoe, than whom none knew more of the pirates of the period of whom he wrote voluminously in some cases under their own names. Certainly the writer must have derived his information first hand, from the men themselves, for much of his narrative is confirmed by official records and other sources he could have had no access to. We may imagine the low-voiced head-to-head conversations held with low-browed, scarred-faced and maimed rascals in the pot-houses of Wapping, Stepney, and Limehouse over a stoup of fiery brandy or a jorum or two of as potent rum. Certainly ships, men and incidents are occasionally confused, but on the whole Johnson is reliable.

From him we learn that the atrocities usually attributed to the pirates of the 17th and 18th centuries really belong to the pre-Christian era. For instance "Julius Caesar, whilst yet a youth was taken by Cilician Pirates near the Island of Pharmacusa. . . . These said Pirates had a barbarous custom of tying their captives back to back and casting them into the sea. But, finding Caesar to be a man of rank, they preserved him for a ransom.

"Still more barbarous was their custom of enquiring of a captive his name and rank. If he said he was a Roman, they pretended to be greatly frightened at the greatness of the

name and, going on their knees, begged pardon for their audacity. After they had deceived the victim into the belief that they were sincere, they took him to the side of the ship, hung out the ladder and desired him to walk out of the ship, even though they were in the middle of the sea. And when they discovered his surprise, which was only natural, they were greatly diverted, and with mighty shouts of laughter, threw him overboard. So wanton were they in their cruelty. Thus, whilst Rome was Mistress of the World, she suffered many insults and affronts at her very gates from these powerful robbers."

We shall indent upon Sir Wm. Monson's "Naval Tracts", published in 1620, drawing from the learned disquisitions on piracy the startling fact that the tutors of the once famed Sallee Rovers were Englishmen, whose pupils improved on the teaching. Astley's "Voyages", published when the exploits of the Most Notorious Pirates were still living memories, shall afford its quota, as shall the literally ponderous tomes of Churchill, Dampier, Harris, and others, all fare for physically, as well as mentally, strong men.

We shall draw from the Records of "The Company of Merchant Adventurers of London, trading into the East Indies," the little known memoir of Clement Downing, to whom we owe first hand knowledge of the three Pirate Kings of Madagascar, Hans Burgen the Dane, James Plantain the Englishman, and James Adair the Scot, as well as much amplifying Johnson, or correcting him, and especially that great mass of inchoate pirate lore published by Mr. Charles Hill in "The Indian Antiquary." Thus premising, let us commence.

.

A DISSERTATION ON PIRACY

"A Pirate (vide Johnson), is *hostis humani generis*, i.e., a common enemy to mankind, with whom neither oath nor faith need be kept. If letters of marque be granted to merchants who fit out ships with arms, captains and mariners, and they,

instead of taking the ships and goods of the nations against whom their commission is granted, take the ships of their own, or a friendly nation, that is *Piracy*. If Piracy be committed on the High Seas, and the Pirates in the attempt may be overcome, the Captain who takes them may, without any semblance of condemnation, hang them at the yard-arm. Or, if they are brought to the next port, and the judge rejects the trial, or the captors cannot wait for the judge without peril of loss to themselves, justice may be done on the Pirates by the Captors, summarily."

There are several other definitions, all more or less legally abstruse, which, reduced to the common understanding, indicate that piracy is robbery under arms at sea, either with or without violence, and those who run away with a ship, or fit one out for such a purpose are guilty of piracy and liable to the punishments laid down for such crime. Like another disreputable profession of extreme antiquity, piracy has existed since the remotest æons of time. Probably the first practitioner was a prehistoric fisherman astride a floating log, who forcibly deprived another similarly embarked mariner of his palæolithic prey, annexing his craft, and consigning the owner to the recesses of a prehistoric Davy Jones's locker.

Jason and his Argonauts were but pirates, and the Quest of the Golden Fleece but a piratical cruise, while Ulysses and other heroes of the Iliad must have often, or at least occasionally, financed and reprovisioned themselves at the cost of a weaker vessel cruising or voyaging in the Peloponnesian seas. Nor, during their far flung voyages did the Phœnicians ever scruple to replenish themselves, or add to their cargoes by the easy means of piracy. Carthage was famed for its pirate ships, which cruised almost as far and as wide as the Norwegian vikings.

Dropping down the centuries to the spacious times of Good Queen Bess, we find John Hawkins, Amyas Preston, John Oxenham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Grenville, and all the Elizabethan worthies of the sea, openly practising

piracy on the Spanish Main. As for the greatest of all the Elizabethan mariners, Sir Francis Drake, does not Andrew Lang style him the greatest pirate of all time?

In those days piracy seems to have been considered quite a legitimate profession, and the end as justifying the means. Especially was this the case in Eastern seas, which, until late in the 17th century, were legitimate cruising grounds for pirates, spoiling the heathen being considered no sin. For this purpose vessels were fitted out by kings, cardinals, and reputable merchants, and even the pirates taken *in flagrante delicto* pleaded in justification that spoiling the heathen was a laudable act.

As to the English pirates, Sir William Monson, Admiral of the Narrow Seas in the first decades of the 17th century, writes as follows:

“As in all lands where there are many people, there are many thieves; so in all much frequented seas there are many pirates. The most ancient in three score years memory (1560-1620) was one Collis, who refreshed himself on the coast of Wales; and Clinton and Purser, who grew famous until Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, hanged them all at Wapping. Fleming was as much expert as they, yet such a friend to his country that, discovering the Spanish Armada, he yielded himself to the Lord Admiral, and gave him notice of the Spaniard’s coming, which came so happily and unexpectedly that he had his pardon and a good reward.

“After the death of our Most Gracious Queen of Blessed Memory, King James, being at peace with all the world, had no employment for his men of war, letters of marque, or privateer ships; so that those men who were rich rested with what they had, and those that were poor, having been hand to mouth, turned pirates. Some others did so because they were slighted of those for whom they had gotten much wealth some for they got not their due, some that they had lived bravely, and could not abate themselves, some from vanity to get a name, others from revenge or covetousness, or as ill,

and as they grew more oppressed (poverty struck) their passions increasing with discontent, made them also turn pirate.

“Because they grew hateful to a Christian Prince, they retired to Barbary where, though there be not many convenient harbours but Tunis, Tetuan, Salley and Marone, there be many convenient roads on the open seas, which are their convenience. For the best harbours, Masalquealar, Orkellilla, Tangier, and Ceuta, which lie within the Straits, are possessed by the Spaniards. Ward, a poor English sailor, and Daniger, a Dutchman, made first their mart when the Moors scarce knew how to sail a ship. Bishop was ancient and got not much, but Easton got so much that he made himself a Marquis in Savoy. Ward lived like a Bashaw in Barbary, and these were the first who taught the Moors to be men of war.

“Jennings, Bronson, Harris, and divers others were taken in Ireland and died at Wapping—Hawes, Bough, Smith, Walsingham, Ellis Cousins, Swakwell, Hollingstone, Barrow, Sayres and others, all captains amongst the Pirates, King James graciously pardoned. Was it not strange that these few could command the many. Notwithstanding the Maltese, the Pope’s ships, the Florentines, the French, Dutch and English galleys, they would rob before the eyes of all, though seldom more than six in a fleet. Many times they had good ships in a fleet and well manned but came to such factions amongst themselves and were so riotous and blasphemous, that they could not long continue to do great mischief, and all they got, they spent or wasted on Jews, Moors, Turks and Whores.”

They would seldom go to sea as long as they could possibly live ashore, and, being composed of English, French, Dutch and Moors, with very few Italians and Spaniards, they were continually running the one from the other until they became so disjointed, miserable and debauched, that the Turks and Moors began to command them as slaves and force them to instruct them in their best skill, which many an accursed Christian turned Turk did, until they made the Sallee men

and the Moors so powerful that they now are insomuch that they take purchase not only on the high seas, but in the very Narrow Seas of England these renegades are the most powerful of all the Pirates in Turkey and Barbary.

A most interesting fact emerging from this disquisition is the antiquity of Wapping as a place of execution for pirates. It is also curious to note that Johnson, writing one hundred years later, also attributes the prevalence of piracy to the cessation of maritime wars setting free a number of poor and reckless men used to sea fighting. But such a reason does not hold good in the case of the Buccaneers, who, originally peaceful hunters and purveyors of smoked beef (*boucan*), became, by reason of persecution from the Spaniards, very fierce, able, and bloody robbers, both by sea and land.

The Buccaneers flourished as such from the mid decades of the 17th century to about 1680, by which period they had become actual pirates, preying on all and sundry, instead of, as before, solely on the Spaniards. When the Spanish vessels on the Main, and in the West Indies, became too powerful or too wary, the "Brethren of the Coast" divided up into two sections, one of which came to frequent the Guinea Coast and the West Indies for Europe ships, whilst the other passed into Eastern seas by way of the Philippines, or by the Horn and the Cape of Good Hope.

Those who made for the Guinea Coast cut across the routes of the outgoing and home-coming vessels of the Royal African and East India Companies, from the former of whom they made most of their booty, and in addition, preyed on the shipping of the Dutch and Portuguese engaged in the local trade, or returning home from the East Indies and the Far East. Those who passed into the Eastern seas made their rendezvous and cleaning, provisioning, and refreshing stations in Madagascar, which then became a pirate depot, both for men and for the sale of goods and slaves given to the pirates for their services to the native chiefs in internecine wars.

These pirate ships were from two sources. First, those who came direct from America for piratical purposes, and

secondly, unwary trading vessels which were seized and converted into pirate ships by the pirates settled in Madagascar. Both classes preyed principally on the Mahomedan ships which yearly passed between India and the gulf ports of Jeddah and Mocha, and on others voyaging between ports in the Red Sea and India. Most lucrative of all were the pilgrim ships, which always afforded extremely rich booty, for in addition to great quantities of specie and rich goods carried for the trade, they carried numerous passengers of the wealthier classes, who, in accordance with Asiatic custom, decked themselves in their richest jewels and garments, and carried large sums of money for their expenses on the pilgrimage and voyages.

But even before the advent of the ex-buccaneers and their successors, the Eastern seas were a happy hunting ground for European ships, both for independent pirates, and for ships fitted out for such purposes by King Charles I, Cardinal Richelieu, the French merchants of St. Malo and L'Orient, and certain London merchants enamoured of the profits accruing from the "Great Game." Such vessels were of all nations, French predominating at first, for that country, having small interests in India, could not be held to such account for the depredations of its countrymen as were the Dutch and English.

Very naturally, these ships were extremely modest as regards their exploits and gains, for fear of competition. Therefore it is only by casual entries in old books and records that we learn of the existence of a few, and the amount of booty that they took. The gains were enormous: for instance, Hugo Lambert, the Fleming, is soberly mentioned in the "Court Minutes" as having taken away three and a half tons weight of gold alone. There is also the case of the first piracy we shall relate—that of the two ships sent out by Rich and Bernhardt, from whom Martin Pring of the Company's service rescued a Moor ship having aboard specie weighing three tons.

As for the gains of the later pirates, these will appear in the course of our narratives. They, also, were very great, ships' companies having been known to share out from £3,500

per man, down to the lowest recorded sum of £500 per man for a single cruise; and there is a mention of two unknown pirates who arrived at New York in 1691, and owned to having taken a combined booty for the two ships of £240,000. It is a curious fact that those who bulk largest in pirate literature, such as Every and Kidd, were not the most successful from a monetary point of view. There were several obscure pirates who far exceeded Every's hauls in booty, whilst as for Kidd, he was really one of the least successful in this matter.

We owe much concerning this booty question to the Journal of Adam Baldrige, a pirate trader who settled at St. Mary's in 1691, and lived there for some seven or eight years. He kept a detailed journal, giving particulars of a number of pirate ships which returned from their cruise to St. Mary's during his residence on that island, and in these he mentions the amount shared out. But there is reason to believe that Baldrige omitted a considerable number in his deposition on this matter. Probably he did not desire to offend the pirate traffickers of New York, who were then in power in that city.

It is a great pity from our point of view that the principal men of those who lived at St. Augustine's, the Comoro Islands, Port Dauphin and other pirate settlements on the mainland of Madagascar and the adjacent islands, did not keep similar diaries. Had they done so, we should have been able to add much more to our accounts.

.

WHY MASTERS AND MARINERS BECAME PIRATES

In a pamphlet published in 1701, entitled "Piracy Destroyed" (a misnomer, for it was then most flourishing) there occur the following remarks:

"The pirates in the Eastern Seas began their barbarous trade soon after the year 1690. The news of the rich booties taken by the East India Company in their private wars from the year 1686 to 1690, stirred up the old buccaneer gangs,

who now found it more difficult to rob the Spaniards than it had been formerly, and that the trade of the West Indies was also becoming better protected. So they directed their course to the East.

“Their success answering their expectations, the numbers increased with the rich booties taken and the facilities at Madagascar. So vessels from England and the American colonies flocked to that Island, and from thence to the Eastern Seas. Those who went from England either had a commission to suppress these enemies of the nation, or went in merchants’ ships, the crews of which, on arrival, mutinied against their officers and ran away with the ships, or else they were such as touched there for refreshment or traffick, or the crews of ships whose vessels had been sold in India, or had been taken by pirates, or cast away.

“These latter, being destitute of the immediate opportunity of getting home, became Pirates, making their permanent home at Madagascar. Those who went from our American colonies were either old buccanneers or privateers who had commissions from the different governors of the colonies, and made no distinction between pirating and privateering, or were such as went to trade with the Pirates at Madagascar, and masters and men, becoming debauched by that company, joined in with them.

“As for other mariners, many joined the Pirates after capture by them, by reason that they had been torn from their families by the Press Gangs and resentment at the cruel treatments received when so carried off, and on account of the sufferings of their families owing to being deprived of their bread-winners, or by the irregularities of the payments made to them from the money deducted from the pay of the mariners. Other causes were bad and insufficient food on both classes of ships, merchant or navy, and especially cruel treatment, the master having absolute power of punishment even up to the infliction of death, if they could allege mutiny or insubordination which, with the connivance of the officers, could easily be done.”

The punishments thus inflicted comprised brutal floggings to within an inch of life, keelhauling, dropping from the yard-arm, making men work in chains, or when dragging a heavy shot at their heels, solitary confinement in irons for lengthened periods without food or only bread and water, and even deprivation of the whole of their pay for the round voyage at the will of the captain. In the year 1704 Captain Staines, of the *Rochester*, inflicted no less than 600 lashes on James Fowler, one of his crew, though the legal punishment for the offence mentioned was only 15. The severity of the punishment may be judged from the fact that it was inflicted with a tarred rope an inch in diameter.

In some cases the number of lashes was, queerly enough, fixed by the number of persons aboard; as for instance in the case of William Johnson, of the *Queen*, who in 1698 was given 78 strokes with a one inch rope, that being the number of crew and passengers aboard. On the ships of the East India Company, what was called the Law of Moses prevailed; this being the limitation of the number of lashes inflicted at one time to 39. But in this case there was no limitation to the number of times such punishment could be inflicted. It was often done on the ship itself, in front of other ships of the squadron, and ashore.

A special grievance in those days, when the crews of merchant vessels were frequently called upon to fight, was the distribution of any prize money that might be earned. On the privateers and letters of marque, special agreements were made, but on the Company's vessels and the men-o'-war, the Captain took three-eighths of the total, the officers one-eighth, the Admiralty one-eighth, the remainder being shared amongst the crew. Naturally, unless the prize was of great value, which was seldom the case, the share of each member of the crew might amount to a few shillings only. As a comparison, the round pay of a seaman on the Company's ships for the out and home voyage, ranging from fifteen to eighteen months, would amount to (at 30s. per month) from £22 10s. to £30. Added to this, he might, if lucky, obtain a bonus up to £15 on his private

venture, provided it was not financed by somebody else, which was usually the case.

For a cruise of the same duration, attended by little more danger, and with full liberty of movement, unrestricted food and liquor, and easy times, the pirate might nett anything from £500 to £3,000. It may be argued that he ran the risk of execution; this, however, was small, for a perusal of the records shows that the proportion of pirates who suffered death was much less than one per cent. Even of those brought to trial, most escaped capital punishment.

WHY SO MANY MEN REMAINED HONEST

With so many convincing reasons why they should become pirates, it does seem strange that so many mariners, who had the opportunity, refrained from going "On the Account." The countervailing reasons were: fear of the law, love of home and family, and, according to a little book published in 1706, entitled "The Art of Sea Faring," the fact that, if successful in the defence, they saved their wages, their gratuity, if any, their venture, and their personal effects. But here again, in most cases the pirates made good all these to men who joined them voluntarily. Probably the most convincing reason for a stubborn defence was fear of ill-treatment or death at the hands of the pirates, once a defence was opened.

The chances of a successful defence by a resolute crew were quite good, for the fore-castle and the steerage and after-cabins were practically miniature fortresses, to which the crew could retreat when the ship was boarded, and there hold out indefinitely. Each of these was defended by small cannon, whilst the Round House, on the upper deck, and the fore-castle peak usually housed a gun or two, used to clear the decks of boarders. Thus says Barker:

"A ship worth £8,000, manned by a courageous crew of 60 men, and commanded by a resolute captain, could hold

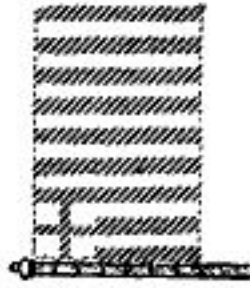
FLAGS OF PIRATE AND E.I. COMPANY



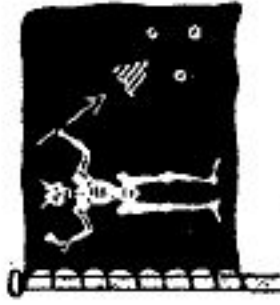
East India Co., 1706

England, 1721

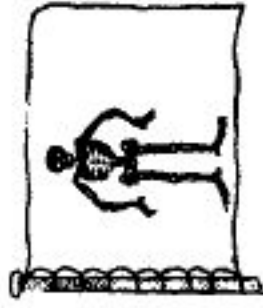
Jack of Bartholomew Roberts



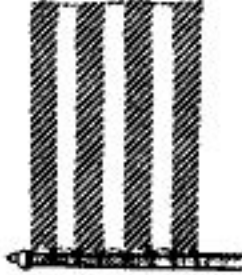
East India Co., 1668



The original Jolly Roger



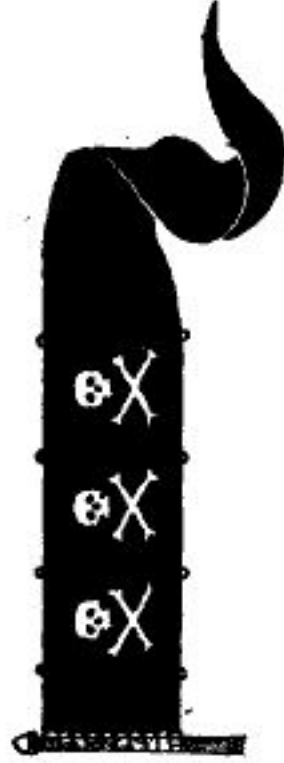
The Jolly Roger



Ensign at Mitzen-Peak, Bartholomew Roberts



Moody



Condent



Emmanuel Wynne



out and drive off a pirate ship of 40 guns and 200 of a crew. The pirate fought purely for booty, and not for the honour of his country, or his captain. His life was his only asset, and having neither country nor honour, he could quit the fight at any time when he thought the risk greater than the prospective gain."

This was the real reason for the apparent cowardice occasionally displayed by pirate crews.

THE BLACK FLAG, OR THE JOLLY ROGER

To those who have been accustomed to consider the Black Flag with the skull and cross-bones, the invariable ensign of the pirates from a very early period, it will come as a surprise to learn that so far from this being the case, this flag was only used in the last two decades of the Golden Age of piracy, i.e., from 1700-1722. Even then it was not universal. The earlier pirates all fought under their national colours, to which was added a red Flag, denoting no quarter if resistance were offered. Even when the black flag came in, the national colours were occasionally used in conjunction with it and the red flag.

The first mention of the Jolly Roger occurs in the year 1700 when it was shown by the French pirate Emanuel Wynne, who fought an indecisive action with H.M.S. *Poole* off the Island of St. Jago.

This flag was described by Captain Poole as "A Sable Flag with a White Death's Head and Crossed Bones in the Fly." The next recorded appearance of a similar flag is eighteen years later, when it was shewn by a vessel which, with considerable hardihood, chased the Portuguese man-of-war conveying the Governor of Bahia to his destination. His report runs: "It is believed that this ship was one of those English Pirates who have so recently taken many ships of that and other nations in the West Indies, for it is said that they display Black Flags of a like kind."

By this it would seem that the black flag with various emblems of mortality was well known as the regular ensign of the American Pirates frequenting the West Indies and the Guinea Coast. It was shown by Bartholomew Roberts, by England, Cocklyn, La Bouche, and Howell-Davis probably long before but certainly in 1718, for in that year Captain Snelgrave, taken by Cocklyn in the Gambia river, remarks that "Captain Howell-Davis came in the river with a Black Flag shewing, which said flag is intended to frighten honest merchantmen into surrender on penalty of being murdered if they do not."

At first the variations were fairly numerous, and most of them are shown in the plate facing page 20. That under which a number of pirates executed at Boston in 1719 sailed is described as "A Black Flag in the midst of which was portrayed in White an Anatomy having an Hourglass in one hand and in the other a Bleeding Heart transfixed by a dart from which said heart dropped Three Gouts of Blood. This flag they called the 'Jolly Roger.'" The same flag is mentioned by Captain Hawkins taken by pirates in the West Indies in the year 1724. He records that: "The Pirates hung out a Black Ensign having an Emblem of Mortality upon it, which they called their 'Jolly Roger.' When they fight under this Flag they will give Quarter if no resistance offered, but if so they put out their Red or Bloody Flag which means they will give quarter to none."

Bartholomew Roberts used two flags, a Jack and an ensign both of which are given in the illustrations in page 20. The words A.B.H. and A.M.H. mean a Barbadian's Head and a Martinican's Head, both being inhabitants of islands against whom Roberts appears to have cherished a special enmity. But all these flags were such as required a certain amount of skill, beyond the compass of the ordinary sail maker, which the simple skull and crossbones was not. Hence in the end they seem to have fined down to that only. As to the derivation of the nickname "Jolly Roger," that seems simple enough. Those who have had experience of anatomical

lectures, museums and the pseudo secret societies where such articles are used will recall the grimly jocular nicknames applied to the skulls and skeletons. To those of such a turn of mind the ghastly grin of a skull will suggest the name "Jolly Roger."

THE LAWS, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PIRATES

The occasionally elaborate laws or rules framed by some of the pirates, though probably they were honoured more in the breach, etc., would appear to have originated in those of the "Brethren of the Coast" or the Buccaneers, and the ship's consultations enjoined on the deep-sea sailing vessels of the period to decide on all matters outside the ordinary routine of a ship. Each vessel of the East India Company was provided with such rules, the interpretation of which, and their application, was left to the captain of the ship, as president of a committee of ships' officers and the senior merchants.

But the pirates, being a true Republic of Rogues, framed their own and not only elected their president, but ruled him in turn by a General Council of all hands, whose decisions, from which there was no appeal, were faithfully executed by the quartermaster.

THE ARTICLES OF THE BUCCANEERS

From the "Lives of the Buccaneers" (Harris)

"Before setting out on any enterprise the Brethren of the Coast enter into the following Articles, which all subscribe to and take oath to observe.

"Firstly, for the ship is allotted so much according to size and condition. The shipwright hath from 150 to 200 pieces of eight, and the Chirurgeon hath from 150 to 200 pieces of eight for himself and his chest. Then cometh the Mariners and the wounded. For each man that loseth a right arm is set aside 600 pieces of eight or six slaves. For a left arm, 500 pieces of eight or five slaves. For a right leg 500 pieces of

eight or five slaves and for a left leg 400 pieces of eight or four slaves. For an eye 200 pieces of eight or two slaves and for all other injuries as may be decided by the Company at large.

“All these provisions are first set aside from the common stock, which is then made into an exact division and apportioned according to the several stations. The Captain hath five or six shares, the Master and his Mates two shares each, the Mariners one share each, and the boys each one half share. For the purposes of this Division, all are obliged to take a solemn oath that they conceal nothing, and should they be found doing so, the penalty is death on the spot, or marooning as the Company shall decide. For the rest they interpret their rules most charitably for each other.”

But these Rules were practically fixed, for the buccaneers differed from the pirates in being settled in regular communities, from amongst whom they made up their crews for a particular cruise, hiring a ship from their more careful comrades who had invested their booty in buying in a prize. The pirates were more or less spasmodic, some having turned pirates from privateers, or suddenly made up their mind to mutiny, seize a ship and go “On the Account.” Unlike the buccaneers, who had regular marts for the disposal of plunder, and safe careening places, etc., the pirates were true Sea Rovers, having no fixed habitations save those at Madagascar, and even there, only a small percentage made their permanent home. Hence their Articles differed for each company.

THE ARTICLES OF CAPTAIN LOWTHER'S COMPANY

“I. The Captain shall have two full shares, the Master one and one half, and the Doctor, Gunner, Boatswain and Mates one and one quarter.

“II. He that shall be found guilty of unlawfully taking up a weapon aboard the privateer, or any prize taken by us with intent to abuse or strike another of the Company,

shall suffer whatever punishment the Captain and the Majority of the Company shall think fit.

“III. He that shall be found guilty of cowardice in the time of the engagement shall suffer such punishment as the Captain and the Majority of the Company shall think fit.

“IV. If any gold, jewels, silver, or other valuables be found aboard the prize to the values of even one piece of eight and the finder do not deliver it to the Quartermaster within the space of 24 hours he shall suffer such punishment as the Captain and the Majority of the Company shall think fit.

“V. He that shall be found guilty of defrauding another in gaming even to the extent of one shilling only, shall suffer such punishment as the Captain and the Majority of the Company shall think fit.

“VI. He that shall have the misfortune to lose a limb in the time of engagement shall have the sum of £150 sterling, and shall remain with the Company as long as he may choose.

“VII. Good quarter shall be given to all when called for.

“VIII. He that first sights a sail that may prove a prize shall have the best pistol or other small arm aboard her as he may choose.”

All these articles were entered in a book and each man subscribed his signature or if unable to do so, affixed his mark before witnesses. The idea was that, in the event of the ship being taken, the equal guilt of all aboard was proven. But the pirates were just enough to those whom they occasionally pressed into their service such as doctors, carpenters, sail-makers, and others necessary, all these being usually given a certificate that they were entered against their will. Article VI well explained why so many *maimed* men were found aboard pirate ships.

THE ARTICLES OF CAPTAIN ROBERTS AND HIS COMPANY

“I. Every man shall have an equal vote in affairs of moment. He shall have an equal title to the fresh provisions

of strong liquors at any time seized, and shall use them at pleasure unless a scarcity may make it necessary for the common good that a retrenchment may be voted.

“II. Every man shall be called fairly in turn by the list on board of prizes, because over and above their proper share, they are allowed a shift of clothes. But if they defraud the Company to the value of even one dollar in plate, jewels or money, they shall be marooned. If any man rob another he shall have his nose and ears slit, and be put ashore where he shall be sure to encounter hardships.

“III. None shall game for money either with dice or cards.

“IV. The lights and candles shall be put out at eight at night, and if any of the crew desire to drink after that hour they shall sit upon the open deck without lights.

“V. Each man shall keep his piece, cutlass and pistols, at all times clean and ready for action. (In this they are extravagantly nice, vieing to outdo each other in the richness and beauty of their arms even giving at auction at the mast foot £30 to £40 for a pair of pistols. These are slung round their shoulders in time of action in a manner peculiar to themselves.)

“VI. No boy or woman to be allowed amongst them. If any man shall be found seducing any of the latter sex and carrying her to sea in disguise he shall suffer death.

“VII. He that shall desert the ship or his quarters in time of battle shall be punished by death or marooning.

“VIII. None shall strike another on board the ship, but every man's quarrel shall be ended on shore by sword or pistol in this manner. At the word of command from the Quartermaster, each man being previously placed back to back, shall turn and fire immediately. If any man do not the Quartermaster shall knock the piece out of his hand. If both miss their aim they shall take to their cutlasses, and he who draweth first blood shall be declared the victor.

“IX. No man shall talk of breaking up our way of living till each hath a share of £1,000. Every man who shall become a cripple or lose a limb in the service shall have 800 pieces of eight from the common stock and remain with the Company as long as he may choose. For lesser hurts proportionately.

“X. The Captain and the Quartermaster shall each receive two shares of a prize, the Master Gunner and Boatswain, one and one half shares, all other officers one and one quarter, and private ‘gentlemen of fortune’ one share each.

“XI. The musicians shall have rest on the Sabbath day only by right. On all other days by favour only.

“GENERAL RULES.—For the punishment of small offences not herein provided for the Quartermaster shall have all authority. If any disobey his commands, or are mutinous or quarrelsome with each other, or plunder beyond his order, and especially be negligent of their arms, which he may muster at discretion, he may punish at his own arbitrament with drubbing or whipping which none other may do without incurring the displeasure and the lash from the whole of the Company. The Quartermaster shall be the trustee for the whole of the ship’s Company, must be the first on any prize, may separate what he chooses for the Company, and return what he thinks fit to the owners; saving jewels, money, gold and silver, and articles of value, none of which are returnable.

“The power of the Captain is uncontrollable in the chase or in the battle, he being permitted to drub, cut down or shoot dead, any one who disputes his commands. But in general they only permit him to be Captain so that they may be Captain over him. Every man may at his pleasure intrude into the Captain’s Cabin, swear at him, or take what part of his victuals or drink that may please them without his offering to deny them.

“There is no certain allowance of victuals or drink, unless there is prospect of a shortage, in which case all is placed under charge of the Quartermaster, who discharges to all with the same equality, be they Captain or ship’s boy. Every

man hath his own quarter where he may lie and eat and sleep, though all have the same equality in ranging the ship all over, the bulkheads being thrown down to make a clear ship throughout."

PIRATE TREASURE

There is no subject, other than sex, in the whole gamut of fiction more hackneyed than this of the treasures supposed to have been hidden by pirates. Most of it is but pot-boiling fiction, and all based on the unapproachable original of the "Gold Bug," by Edgar Allan Poe, or "Treasure Island," another superlative gem of such fiction. Poe bases his story on the treasures supposed to have been buried by Kidd in the West Indies before he came on to New York after his return from his piratical cruise in eastern waters, and others have so exploited this same mythical treasure that scarce a West Indian islet but is the imaginary scene of some such burial of many millions.

"Treasure Island" would seem to us to have originated in Washington Irving's "Tales of a Traveller," the particular one being called Wolfert Webber, and in Roberts' "Most Notorious Pirates." In the former will be found the very prototype of Billy Bones dominating the village inn, and a mysterious sea chest. From Roberts may have been taken Israel Hands, who was gunner to Teach, Tew easily becomes Pew, and Darby Mullins, of Kidd's crew, Darby MacGraw, of Captain Flint's crew. Here it must be distinctly understood that we have no idea of belittling Stevenson's genius or his very fine story. We only point out the possible source of some of the material he has so skilfully woven into an outstanding example of pirate fiction. Others have drawn on similar sources, but none has yet attained his standard.

As will be seen in the narratives that follow there is absolutely no foundation for the egregious legend that any pirate ever disposed of the combined booty by burying it on some solitary island. In all our very extensive researches, we have found only four mentions, two of which refer to Teach and

two to John Plantain. In the latter case the treasure was only temporarily put away and dug up again shortly after, and for the former we shall quote Johnson and Downing. Johnson writes, "The night before Teach was killed he sat up the whole night drinking with some of his men. One of them asked him where had he buried his money, to which he made answer that only the Devil and himself knew and he who lived longest should have all."

This is mere bravado, for every ship that Teach took or was supposed to have taken was perfectly well known. All were coasters of small value. The money aboard would be only the trading cash of not more than £500 or so, and as for the cargoes, the proceeds were shared with those who gave him protection. Concerning this same Teach, Downing writes:

"While I was Gunner to the Nabob of Guzeratt, there came there, seeking service, two Dutchmen and a Portuguese. This last was named Antonio de Silvestro, and, having been brought up by Captain Westerby, of Poplar, and sailed in English ships most of his life, he talked very good English. After we had become familiar he told me that he had been with the Pyratts in the West Indies and was in one of the Pyratt sloops from Virginia when Teach was fought and taken. He said that, if ever I should go to York River in Maryland near to a place called Mulberry Island I should go ashore at the place where the ships used to ride and seek for the treasure the Pyratts had buried there in *great chests well clamped with iron*.

"I have never been able to get there, but having made enquiry am informed that there is such a place as Mulberry Island. If any person who uses that place should think it worth while to dig a little way at the upper end of a small sandy cove he would soon find out if the information is well grounded. Fronting the landing place there are five trees amongst which he said the money is hidden. I cannot warrant the truth of this account though if ever I was to go there I would soon satisfy myself whether or no. But if any one should

profit by this account I hope if it pleases God they come to England they will remember the writer of this information."

As Clement Downing died some ten years later worth only £6 6s. 8d. he did not derive any benefit from "this Information." Probably he never expected to, any more than he really believed in the truth of what was told to him. Had there been anything in it Anthony de Silvestro would have found means to get back there and dig up "Teach's Treasure."

Yet year after year expeditions set forth from England to attempt to discover equally mythical millions! Last year one set out to discover treasure buried by the De Soto whom we give an account of in our Appendix and even now another is on the way to the Cocos Island to dig up another worth anything from £3,000,000 to £12,000,000. Pious the hope, but improbable the contingency.

CHAPTER II

The Taking of Captain Snelgrave and his Treatment by the Pirates—The Narrative of Captain Roberts taken by the Pirate Low—The Attack on the Bauden Frigate—The *Caesar* beats off Five Pirates off the Island of St. Jago.

THOUGH the piratical attacks we shall now quote from contemporary accounts and official records did not actually occur in Eastern waters, yet they were made on east bound vessels, and withal, are so vividly descriptive of sea fighting in bygone days by vessels of types long consigned to the limbo of Davy Jones's Locker, and of first hand experiences at the hands of pirates, that we hesitate not to include them in our compilation. None of these are to be found in Johnson, and only fortuitous circumstance has enabled us to find them in the pages of long forgotten books relegated to the remote shelves of ancient libraries or collections, or in musty old records.

THE NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN SNELGRAVE

"In November 1718, Captain Snelgrave arrived at Sierra Leone, where he was taken by three Pirate ships who had already taken ten others on that coast. The first of these villains to arrive was one Cocklyn of the *Rising Sun* from which ship he and 25 others had been set ashore by Captain Moody without any share of the plunder by reason of mutiny. This *Rising Sun*, a Pirate ship commanded by Moody was formerly called the *Resolution* before she was taken by the Pirates and had been in the West Indies and on the African Coast. In the river Cocklyn and his mates surprised and took prisoner Signior Joseph, a Black man of great wealth, whose ransom procured them provisions and ammunition.

With these they surprised and took prisoner several Bristol ships arriving in the river, one of which they went aboard of and called her the *Rising Sun* also.

“A number of the men from the prizes joining in with the Pirates soon made their number up to about eighty men. Soon after Cocklyn and his companions had been marooned, a number of Moody’s men misliking his actions, put him and twelve others into a boat at sea and sent them adrift. Never being again heard of ’tis thought they have perished at sea. After sending Moody adrift, the crew chose one Oliver La Bouche, a Frenchman, for their commander and came into the river where they re-joined Cocklyn about a month after the parting. The same day there came in one Howel Davis in a large ship with a Black Flag at the masthead having on it emblems of mortality, the same flag which these Pirates use to *terrify* honest merchantmen. Yet this Davis was a generous kind of man who kept his villainous crew of near upon 150 men in good order. Nor did he join with the others in inflicting misfortunes on the author.

“This Cocklyn and his men were truly a set of the basest and most cruel villains ever known. The united companies chose Cocklyn for their commander because of his brutality, being determined they said, never again to have a gentleman commander such as Moody was. . . . The day the author made the land, and when he was within three leagues of the river mouth, it fell calm and so continued until evening. About five they stood into the river with the strong flood tide, and at sunset perceived a ship a great way up the river which was the Pirate that afterwards took them, the other ships being hid by a point of the land. It being now calm again, and growing dark Snelgrave cast anchor in the river’s mouth, where everything continued quiet until about eight o’clock the officer of the watch sent word that he heard the rowing of a boat.

“Whereon they all got upon the quarter deck being twenty men with firearms and cutlasses. They hailed the boat which answered that it belonged to the *Three Friends*, of Barbadoes.

However, Snelgrave ordered the loading of the firearms to be hastened, and candles being brought, again hailed the boat. They again answered that they were from America, but being now within pistol shot fired a volley of small shot at the ship which, says Snelgrave, shewed the boldness of the villains for there were only twelve men in the boat, whereas the strength of the ship was 16 guns and 45 men.

“Snelgrave called to his men to fire out of the ports, which, not being done, he went down to find the cause which was that the men could not find the chest containing the firearms. So the pirates immediately boarded them without any resistance, and on coming aboard, shot a seaman in the loins after which they threw down Grenado shells, which, though they burst, did no harm. At last some one calling for quarter up comes the pirate Quartermaster enquiring for the Captain to which Snelgrave answered that he had been Captain up to now. Then the other asked how dared he order his men to fire out of the steerage and put a pistol to his breast, which he had but just time to parry when it went off, the bullet passing between his arm and his side.

“The Rogue finding it missed, gave Snelgrave such a violent blow with the butt that it brought him to his knees. Recovering from the blow he ran on the Quarter Deck whereon was the Pirate gunner who, swearing that no Captain who offered to defend his ship should have quarter, lifted up his broadsword and made a full stroke at Snelgrave’s head. Snelgrave stooped to avoid the blow, which missing him, cut into the quarter rails full two inches deep and with the great force of the blow the cutlass broke. By great good luck also the pistols which were in the Pirate’s belt were all discharged, on finding which he attempted to beat out Snelgrave’s brains with one of them. Which observing, one of Snelgrave’s men cried out ‘Do not kill the Captain for we never sailed with a better man.’ Which outcry saved his life. But before this one of the men received a wound which laid him dead and another had his chin near cut off. Hearing the outcry up came the Quartermaster and taking Snelgrave by the

hand, gave him Quarter, telling him his life was quite safe, providing none of the crew testified against him.

“The Pirates now firing several vollies for joy at their success, their comrades on the Pirate ship, misunderstanding, cut their cables, and drove down on Snelgrave’s ship. On seeing its lights, without any question they gave Snelgrave’s ship a broadside with their great guns in the belief that their comrades had all been destroyed. Seeing this confusion Snelgrave asked the Quartermaster why he did not hail his comrades and tell them the ship was taken. Upon this the Quartermaster said with great anger, ‘What, think you I am afraid of being sent to hell with a great shot! For my part I desire nothing better than to be sent to join the Devil.’

“Nevertheless he made good use of the advice, hailing his comrades, and informing them that he had taken a great ship with all manner of good liquor aboard and plenty of fresh provisions. Then Cocklyn, coming aboard, ordered many geese, turkeys, fowls, and ducks, to be killed which being done, they were all put into the great boiler without any more preparation than drawing the guts and singeing the feathers. They also put in several Westphalia hams and killed the old sow, though great with pig, which was only disembowelled and leaving the hair on it they directed the cook to boil all together out of hand. Which being done the Pirates fell to feasting in a most horrid manner bringing up casks of wine and brandy and when they could drink no more swilling the deck with buckets of brandy dipped from the casks.

“Presently they fell to fighting though all so drunk that they fell all together on the decks and slept like pigs amongst their swill. The next morning the Quartermaster sent a man to demand his watch which was sent with a message that it was a good one and of pure gold. Presently the Quartermaster laid the watch down on the deck and fell to kicking it about, saying it made a pretty football, upon which one of the Pirates took it up saying he would put it in the common chest to be sold at outcry at the mast foot. Soon after Snelgrave

was carried aboard the Pirate ship where the Captain told him that he was sorry he had met with bad usage after quarter given, but it was the fortune of war.

“He then told Snelgrave to give true answers to the questions given, otherwise he should be cut to pieces. But if he told the truth, and his men made no complaints of their treatment by him, he should find it the best voyage he had ever made, by reason of what they would give him. On being told that the ship sailed very well, both large and on a wind, Cocklyn threw up his hat saying she would make a fine pirate man-of-war. After Snelgrave had gone through this examination, up came a tall man with three pistols in his girdle and a broadsword in his hand, and told him that his name was James Griffin, and they had been schoolfellows.

“The author, though he did know him, thought it best to dissemble, upon which Griffin said that he was not one of the crew but a forced man having lately been chief mate to Captain Crichton, of Bristol, whose ship was up the river, and that the Pirates had taken her and forced him to act as master of their ship, and that he went about fully armed by reason that these Pirates were very desperate bloody and cruel villains. He told Snelgrave that the next few nights would be the most dangerous when the Pirates would all be drunk and ready to do mischief to anyone, but that he would take care of him. He then went to Captain Cocklyn and asked for a bowl of punch, which being prepared they all went into the cabin and drank it, sitting crosslegged on the deck for want of chairs.

“At midnight Snelgrave obtained a hammock with difficulty, the Pirates not using them, but each sleeping where he fell with his arms beside him. But he could not sleep, being greatly shocked by the horrid blasphemies and oaths of the Pirates though James Griffin sat by the hammock with his pistols and sword ready. About two in the morning the Pirate Boatswain came aboard very drunk, and seeing the hammock demanded to know who was in it. Being told, he made up to the hammock, sword in hand, saying he would

slice Snelgrave's liver, for he was a vile dog in ordering his men to fire on the Pirates from the Steerage, nor had he delivered up his watch when ordered.

"Griffin told him the last charge was untrue, and bade him keep his distance or he would cleave him in two. Nevertheless the Rogue came pushing on to kill Snelgrave, whereat Griffin struck at him with his own sword, upon which he went off. The next day when all were sober Snelgrave complained to the Quartermaster and the Company about this assault, saying that they should observe their own law not to permit any ill usage of prisoners after quarter given. Some of the Pirates voted for the Boatswain to be whipped, but in prudence Snelgrave pleaded for him, so that his arms were only taken away and he was told to molest Snelgrave no more.

"Nevertheless soon after he made one more attempt to kill Snelgrave. Presently Snelgrave's Mate, one Jones, came to him and said that his circumstances being bad, and he with a wife at home he could not love, he had joined in with the Pirates and signed their articles. After this Snelgrave being now permitted to go into his cabin discovered that his books had been thrown overboard, for one of the Pirates had sworn there was enough *jaw work* in them to *destroy a nation*, and persuaded the others that if these volumes were left aboard they would infallibly breed mischief. While there one of the young Pirates broke open a chest concerning which the Quartermaster taxed him. To him the lad replied that being all Pirates they could do as they chose, on which the Quartermaster told him it was contrary to their laws, and drew his sword and would have killed him had he not fled to his own Captain, Howell-Davis.

"The next day most of the Pirates being ashore on their own vile business, Snelgrave was left aboard with three or four others amongst whom was the bloody-minded boatswain. This fellow becoming very drunk commenced to abuse Snelgrave and threaten his life on which the Carpenter turned him out of the cabin. He presently returned with

his pistols, and, finding the candle had gone out, swore that Snelgrave had done it with a view to go into the powder room and blow up the ship. He then fired his pistols at Random in the dark cabin. The Carpenter perceiving where he was by the flash, fell upon him, wrenched the pistol from his hand and beat him with it about the head so severely that he left him for dead.

“The next morning all the crew having returned they brought up many hogsheads of claret and French brandy, of which they knocked in the heads. Then dipping in cans and buckets they drank their fill, some in sport casting buckets of liquor over one another until they could not stand. As for bottle liquor they would not be at the trouble of drawing the corks, but nicked off the heads with their swords. . . . The next day Oliver La Bouche and his crew came aboard and behaved in like manner. There were no women, white nor black, aboard, for they allow none aboard, even in harbour, and if they take a ship at sea with women aboard, none may force them, which rule they strictly observe to prevent disturbances amongst themselves.

“Three days later a French ship came into the river and was taken by the Pirates. Before they boarded her some of Snelgrave’s men who had joined in with the Pirates said they had never seen a shot fired in anger, on which Cocklyn caned them soundly telling them they would soon grow to love it. This Cocklyn was a very hard scoundrel. When the ship was in action with the French vessel, which had aboard 20,000 pounds of powder, the powder room was left open, and when Captain Davis called attention to it Cocklyn only replied, ‘Let be, ’twill be a fine blast to go to hell with.’

“After some days the Pirates being all surfeited with drink and waste, the plunder was sold by outcry at the mast, the proceeds being divided into shares of which the Captain took three, and the other officers two shares each. Amongst the articles put up for sale was Snelgrave’s gold watch, which has bought by one of the Pirates for £100: But after he bought it, he put it to the touch when finding it gave a

coppery colour, he exclaimed loudly against Snelgrave, saying he was a greater Rogue than the Pirates, for they openly confessed their profession whereas Snelgrave was a snivelling cozener who carried copper watches with which to cheat *honest men*. He made up to kill Snelgrave but was stayed by the others."

To conclude. After a few more days of drunkenness, a quarrel broke out between the captains and the crews, which resulted in so much bloodshed, that, to avoid more, the three ships, after again ransacking the prizes and removing their powder and small arms, put out to sea leaving the merchant captains to make their homeward way, or go about their other business. In the end Snelgrave managed to get back to Bristol with a valuable cargo, and then left the ship. Luckily he did, for in her next voyage the *Hannibal* was run off with by her crew, who, after a successful piratical career, entered with her into the Brazilian navy.

Howell-Davis was killed in an unsuccessful attempt on the Portuguese fort of the Isle of Princes. Cocklyn made his voyage and dispersed his crew, whilst Oliver La Bouche sailed for the East Indies and was wrecked on Mayotta just before the arrival at Madagascar of England and Taylor, whom he and his Company joined.

Our next extract introduces two other well known pirates, Low and Spriggs, the former a bloodthirsty ruffian, who once burned the cook of a prize tied to the mast of her, saying such a "greasy rascal should burn well." Spriggs, of the *Susannah*, was almost as bad.

THE NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN ROBERTS OF THE
"MARGARET"

At dawn on the morning of the 20th October 1722, Captain Roberts espied three ships cruising off the Bay of Currisal, which on seeing him, backed their sails to await his coming up. When within about a mile, the nearest vessel stood towards the *Margaret* under the English flag and passing

across his bows hailed him in a peremptory manner to come aboard with his boat. Accordingly the boat was sent, but Roberts not coming with it, the pirate captain hailed him, calling out "You Dog, You Son of a Bitch. Why have you not come aboard us?" Upon hearing this rude greeting Roberts deemed it best to comply and accordingly, when the boat returned got into it and ran alongside the Pirate ship.

When he arrived the glib-tongued captain of the ship which they now realised was a pirate continued to abuse Roberts and then bade him come up the side. Having got aboard the Pirate captain informed Roberts that his consort commanded by Captain Scot had been taken a few days before. She had aboard a full cargo and £5,800 in cash, and had been carried off by the Pirate crew which had been put aboard her, enraged at which the others had sent Scot and his men adrift in their boats, after they had taken, plundered, and burnt another ship. Roberts was informed that the fate of himself and his ship would be decided by the general council of both Pirate ships, which were the *Rose Pink*, commanded by Edward Loe, and the *Susannah*, commanded by Francis Spriggs.

Roberts was ushered into the presence of Commodore Loe by the Gunner with great ceremony. Loe (or Low), who was an Englishman, condoled with Roberts, saying, "Since fortune has ordered that you fall into our hands I would have you be of good cheer for we are all Gentlemen of Honour and Quality (he was an ex-Thames boatman). But your fortune does not lie in my hands but in those of the Company who, little as they would desire to rob a countryman cannot avoid taking what fortune hath sent them. As Gentlemen of Fortune they dare not slight her gifts, or what she has put in their way, be it ever so mean for thus she might be offended and withdraw her countenance.

Having ended his discourse the Commodore rang the bell and one of his *valets de chambre* appearing, he ordered a bowl of Punch. The Commodore bewailed Roberts' fate, assuring him that had they met a few days earlier he should not only

have kept his ship but have laden her with the proceeds of a prize which they had heaved into Davy Jones's Locker.

To all these civilities Roberts could do no more than express his thanks. During all this discourse, the Commodore had sat astride one of the great guns doubtless deeming it more martial than a chair, though there were some in the cabin. After a time in came Quartermaster Russell, followed by all who stood fairest for preferment, they being the choicest rascals of the many aboard. The Commodore bade them all welcome, saying "How goes the great Game?" to which they answered "Well," after which salutation all set to for a carouse, passing the glass and drinking each other's health in bumpers of brandy.

The next morning two men came secretly to Roberts and told him that having sailed with him three years before, they had a kindly recollection of the manner in which he treated his crew. On this account they now told him that the night before, his fate had been put before a general council of all the crews, including those of his own men who had joined, at which it had been decided to spare his life, but to retain his ship and force him to join their Company and pilot them to the Coast of Brazil. After strongly pressing on him that they had an article, by which any betrayal of their plans meant death to an informer, they told him that another was never to press a *married man*, and that he should reply to that effect.

Half an hour later Captain Low came on deck and ordered the Consultation signal to be hoisted. This was a Green silk flag bearing the figure of a Trumpeter in yellow, which, when hoisted directed all that a General Council was to be held, and that they were to repair aboard the Commodore. When all were assembled breakfast was served in the great cabin after which all were sent out, save Roberts, Russell, and the Commodore. The latter asked Roberts if he was a married man to which he answered that he had been married ten years, and had four children and another on the stocks when he left home, so that there might be five by this time.

Then a great altercation arose between Low and Russell,

the former insisting that the Rules of the Fraternity, and the voice of the majority, gave Roberts his liberty and must be adhered to. Thereupon Russell said that necessity knew no laws, and they requiring a pilot for the coast of Brazil, Roberts must be compelled to go with them. They coming to no agreement, the ship's company was called in and the question put to them. But they too failed to agree, and for about two hours, a very angry Consultation proceeded, during which Roberts was confined to his cabin. After a time they sent for Roberts, and without informing him what had been decided they, especially Russell, commenced jeering at him and threatening until Low said, "Come, come, let the good man alone. Let us toss the bowl about and call a new chorus."

Thereupon they all fell to bragging and carousing, talking about their past Piracies and all the murders they had committed on the Eastern Coast. When they were tired of that, they fell to dinner each behaving like a dog in a kennel, snatching food and drink from one another, and throwing it upon the deck. Thus they continued behaving, drinking and quarrelling the whole day, but first some of the better men confined Roberts and his boys (two) to the cabin for their own safety. The next morning one of Robert's own men who had joined the Pirates, told him his own mate, who also had joined with the Pirates, had been his most bitter enemy, voting for his death and trying to persuade others to do so.

He further told him that the four chief officers were the Captain, Quartermaster, Gunner and Boatswain all of whom were elected by elevation of hands at a General Council and could be deposed in the same manner. Soon after this man had gone away, Russell and Low came to Roberts, and after informing him that his life had been spared by the vote of the majority, endeavoured to induce him to join them of his own free will and accord. Finding both their threats and their entreaties alike futile they left him for the time but that night sent for him to dinner with the Captain, Quartermaster, and the chief officers in the great Cabin. After dinner the great silver bowl was brought full of punch, and the first toast given

was "Prosperity to Trade," meaning their own villainous occupation.

They then fell to drinking the health of the different kings; but when they left out the King of England, Roberts demurred and filling a bumper said "Gentlemen of Fortune. The King of England." To this Russell demurred asking "Who is the King of England?" to which Roberts replied, "Why, he who wears the Crown of course." Then this Russell, who pretended to be an ardent supporter of the Pretender, whipped out a pistol from his sash, and but for the Gunner snatching it away, would have shot Roberts dead. He then drew out another, but the Gunner struck that down and the bullet went into the deck. Thereupon a quarrel arose between the Gunner and Russell, the former requiring the Quartermaster to be imprisoned, as he had attempted to kill a prisoner whose life had been guaranteed by the Majority.

The Quartermaster was then deprived of his arms and told that any further disobedience to the will of the majority would cause his certain death. However, after a time they all became friends and drank until they all fell dead drunk on the deck and slept where they fell. The next morning, Russell having promised due obedience to the will of the majority was released and restored to his authority, of which he made use by ordering all the provisions to be taken out of the boat wherein it had been decided that Roberts and his boys were to be sent adrift. To this Low demurred, saying that to send men adrift in such a plight was certain death. Russell now answered that he was only obeying the will of the majority vested in him as Quartermaster, and the authority he would use as he chose.

Said he "I am the proper authority entrusted by this Company to carry out their orders, and I have a pistol and balls ready for any one here who dares to oppose my authority." Then turning to Roberts he said, "Master, the Company have decreed the sloop to you and you shall have it, but with it no provisions or anything else." Amongst all these men the Gunner was the only one that showed any humanity, for, whilst Russell and the others jeered and exulted over the

certain fate awaiting Roberts and the boys, he turned to Russell and said:

“John Russell. You have the Company’s assent and I can say no more save that I and this Company came out to get money in fair fight and not to kill in wantonness. I now tell you, John Russell, that if ever you again practise such cruelties, I will leave this Company.” To this address, Russell made no other reply than to so far relent as to order a musket and four rounds of ammunition, four pounds of biscuit, a bottle of water and some tobacco to be put into the boat with Roberts and the two boys, and then send them adrift.

The original narrative, all in the third person, is interminable. Suffice it that after fourteen days of extreme suffering and distress the boat managed to gain one of the Leeward Islands and ultimately to get to Jamaica. The leniency displayed to Roberts by Low is all the more surprising because a prize or so later, he cut off the ears of a couple of prisoners and had them roasted for his supper. In the end however, his crew tired of him and marooned him on an islet, from which he was taken off by a passing ship, and being recognised, was hanged at Martinique in January, 1724.

.

We now continue with two more extracts giving accounts of piratical attacks on India bound ships, by French pirates. Neither of these appears in Johnson. Before doing so, however, it is necessary that we should describe the general construction of the armed merchantmen of the period and explain what was meant by the term “closed quarters.” Incidentally, this is the origin of the term “close quarters.” The ships were broadly of two classes, galley built, and frigate built. The latter were flush-decked with a round house on the quarter deck of very massive construction, loopholed for musketry, and with doors wide enough to permit of a small cannon being placed between the posts to block the entrance and sweep the decks of an enemy, who had gained them. It

also contained the steering gear, and was occasionally the captain's own quarters.

Frigate-built ships were well-decked, meaning an open space between forecastle and the after part of the ship, occasionally called in old books the "*after* castle". Both these places were fronted by heavy scantling pierced for musketry and looped for small guns on either side of the sliding door, and in the doors themselves. When the enemy had gained the deck and threatened to overpower the defence, the latter took shelter in the "closed quarters" wherein they could hold out indefinitely, or until the enemy battered or blew in the partitions. Besides the round house and the closed quarters, other means of defence were the fighting tops manned by musketeers, and throwers of grenades or stink bombs.

As the great guns were all within the closed quarters of the frigate-built ships and below deck in those of the galley-built (save a few light ones), both classes were not confined to purely defensive tactics even when boarded, and driven to shelter. As a last desperate resource if the enemy were in full possession of the upper decks powder barrels were stacked below them, and the enemy and decks blown up together. There are several instances of this in the Company's Old Records, examples being the *Lion* taken by the Portuguese in 1625, and the *Comfort* taken by Malabar pirates in 1638.

THE NARRATIVE OF THE ATTACK ON THE BAUDEN FRIGATE,
OCTOBER 1686

"On the 26th October about six in the morning, we being then *off the Island of St. Jago*, descried a sail to the westward on our starboard quarter, standing as we did and about three leagues distant. We kept on our way with an easy gale untill at last we had a smale squalle. Wee going right before it brought the strange saile asterne about three leagues which distance he kept untill a smale breeze coming to him sooner than to us he commenced to gaine untill it fell a stark calme.

Aboute eight wee perseved his boate towing after us which wee concluded was to ascertaine who wee were though not trusting wee commenced to run out our great guns and loading smale arms.

“About nine the boate came within haile of us and laying on their oars they haled us in French asking us whence and whither bound. Wee ansering of London bound for the East Indies, they also ansered they were of Rochelle bound for Brazill. They laid within musquett shott viewing us for about half an hour after which they seemed about to make the best of their way to their ship, though only keeping half way. Wee now made use of our perspective glass to discover what she was and perseved her to row with 12 oars on a side. So, being confirmed in our opinion that she was a Rogue (They were usually fitted with sweeps), wee made ready to receive him with a full welcome.

“We ran out our guns double loaded with shot and partridge, knocked down our cabins and all other impediments, cleared our decks and slung our foreyards in chains, fixed our powder chests, two on the forecastle and one on the poop, and powdered melted butter and strowed pease upon the decks. Wee also laid down deal boards stuck full of tenpenny nails with their points upward projecting laying them below the bulwarks should they attempt to board. Wee had four great guns on our quarter deck, with one wee carried into the round-house and levell out of the doore to sweep the decks should the enemy board us, and the others we spiked, lest they should turn them against us in like case.

“After which our commander spoke words to encourage the men, and everyone repaired to his station. About 12 noon their ship got the weather gage of us and came ranging down on our starboard quarter with the French colours flying. She beeing soone within musquett shott, upon our boatswaine winding his call, we gave three cheers and beat our drumme. They beinge come nigher broadside of us, our master called to them to come under our sterne or he would fire upon them. Upon this one got upon their bowsprit,

and in a commanding manner bade our master to come aboard them in his baate.

“Our master replying that he would not do that but if they had any business with us they might come aboard our ship. One of them now called out in broken English. ‘We’re bound aboard of you,’ to which our master answered, ‘Welcome, win her and wear her.’ No sooner had he spoke than they sent a volley of small shot into us, upon which our master and Mr. Salwey fired twice from the Quarter deck, and went into the Roundhouse. Then our men giving them a volley from the waste, retired according to order half into the stearidge, and half into the forecastle, saving a soldier who was shot dead when about to enter the forecastle doore.

“All beeing now in closed quarters, they in the forecastle brought their aftermost great gun to bear on the enemy’s bow, which they firing, saw do execution. Whereupon they ran aboard us with their bowsprit in our main shrouds at which time we discharged both our stearidge guns laaded with double round shot and partridge, which made her shudder. Upon which the enemy gave a great outcry, and veered so far astern that their bowsprit came into our mizzen shrouds which they lashed fast to our chain plates by reason of which we could not bring our forecastle guns to bear upon her. All this time they continued firing upon us with their great and small guns as wee upon them. After which the enemy commanded his men to enter upon us, which they seemed eager enough to do, some coming along their bowsprit and others creeping up our sides, where they made a halt giving us an opportunity of doing great execution from our portholes.

“Some of their men run up our shrouds endeavouring to cut down our yards, but finding them lashed with chains were discouraged. They thatt went up were either shott down and fell into the sea being so drowned, or went round on the other side and gained their ship, not daring to enter upon our Quarter deck seeing us traverse the great gun upon it from the Roundhouse door. Neither did they dare to board us on the

poop by reason of our powder chest and other warlike provision there. Their captain from on board of their ship kept earnestly pressing them to board us, but they found our ship too hot for them.

“They still continued firing upon us, their chief aim being our Roundhouse, Great Cabbin and Stearidge, through which they fired three great shott endeavouring to set fire to a powder chest or kill our captain, which former they in the end, accomplished. Upon its blowing up the enemy made a great shout, and with renewed courage entered upon our poop and with their pole axes endeavoured to cutt down our ancient staff. Which our men from the foretop and loop-holes seeing, fired so thickly upon them that they were obliged to desist and their living, instead of cutting into us, were compelled to dispatch their dead out of our sight, though compelled to leave one aboard.

“This villain was armed with a long fusil having a seven foot barrel, two pistols, a scimitar, a pole axe, a stink pot, a catuch box, with 23 charges and bullets to match, and ropes with which to bind us back to back which some of their men were urged by the commander to do and than cast us into the sea. Most unhappily our Master when coming out from the Roundhouse to the great cabin to encourage the men, received a mortall wound in his groin and when he returned, which was about two o'clock, another through his right pap which coming out through his back caused his death within half an hour. After which Mr. Salwey, though very dangerously wounded, still encouraged the men to stand to it until the end, though hurt about 2 in the afternoon.

“About this time the enemy struck his ensigne, as wee thoughte, his captain being killed and having many shots between wind and water. But they still continued to fire upon us untill aboute foure, what time wee brought to bear upon them one of our greate guns loaded with partridge and double chain shot upon the firing of which there was a terrible outcry in their ship. They then cutt loose from us and sheered off. Unhappily at this time,oure

Chiefe mate going from the Cabbin to fire a parting shot at them received a mortall wound in the head from a small shot.

“Having soe cleered ourselves our men gott upon the poop and beatinge their drumme most bravely gave the enemy a “What Cheero,” in farewell. At this time it began to blow fresh and rain, the enemy making all the speed she could from us and wee employinge ourselves in mending oure rigging which was much damnified, by the firing of above 1,000 great shott into us. They being out of shott from us brought their ship on the careen to stop her leakes. All that night we spent in refitting, outrigging and knocking out our gunroom ports which were caulked up so that we might bring up our other great guns from the hold, and next day run them out, by the help of which we should make him yield or sink, should he return.

“But next morning he was gone out of sight being helped by his oars. We could never bring more than three great guns to bear upon although, but with the help of our small arms we did great execution upon him. . We judged this Rogue to be the *Trompeuse*, a French Pirate of 300 tons which carried 30 guns. She played on our larboard side with 12 guns being so nigh that most of them that struck in the hull came through and through us. ’Tis judged by all that there were about 250 Rogues on this ship and by computation we killed at least 60 of them. To the number of twenty, we saw them fall, and might have seen more had not the smoke of the guns obscured our sight.

“We lost in this engagement our Commander, our chief mate with six more killed and 16 wounded their names being,

KILLED

John Cribb, *Commander*
John Bristow
John Adamson
William Jones

John Allen, *Chief Mate*
John Beneto, *Sarjeant*
Moses Jones
Tim Rymer

WOUNDED

Richard Sawley	Benjamin Henry
Robert Bathurst	Nathaniel Brangwyn
Adam Bushell, <i>Gunner</i>	Swan Swanson, <i>Boatswain</i>
James Farlee, <i>Quartermaster</i>	Thomas Bodey
Hans Fabeen	James James
Richard Booth	Phillip Cockram
Henry Godfrey	William Smith
Richard Dragger	Albert Nesbitt

“Of all the wounded Mr. Salwey is the most dangerous. The enemy, by the help of his oars, being now out of sight, we re-officered our ship, making Mr. Baker, the Second Mate, Master, with several other in turn according to their desert and course (seniority). I, the writer of this, Richard Salwey, have received besides bruises, one small shott which went in a little below my small ribs and struck down to my bladder above five inches where it still remains (October 1687) in my body. But blessed be God, I feel no pain save on change of weather.”

The *Bauden* was of only 170 tons with 16 guns and a crew of 68 all told, of whom 38 were soldiers on passage to the Bombay garrison. The composition of the *Stink Pott* herein mentioned was probably much the same as the hellish compound we find in *Captain Sturmeys Magazine, or the Whole Art of Gunnery for Seamen 1669*.

TO MAKE A STINK BOMB OR GRENADE

“Take of Powder 102, of Ship Pitch 60, of Tar 201, Saltpeter 81, Sulphur 41. Melt all together by a gentle Heat and being well melted, put in 21 of Cole dust, of the Filings of Horse’s Hoofs 61, of Assafoetida 31, of Sagapanam 11, and of Spatula Fetida half a pound. Incorporate the whole well together and then put into the Mixture as much Linnen or Woollen Cloths or Tow, as will Drink it all up. Of the

whole make globes or balls of whatsoever bigness you may conveniently handle. You may mayke these Balls even more venemous if to the Composition there be added Mercury, Sinnabar or Orpinment."

If our forefathers knew nothing of poison gas they could do tolerably well with other materials!

The *Bauden* called at Johanna, in the Comoros, on the way out to India and there left this account with a warning to homeward bound ships. By some oversight, or neglect to make over the letter on the part of the native chief to whom it was entrusted it did not reach European hands until August 1689 when it was made over to Nathaniel Warren, of the *Charles*, by whom it was brought to England. The end of the *Bauden* was tragic enough for such a gallant little ship and her Company. On the return voyage to England she put in at Massalege, on the Coast of Madagascar, to purchase slaves, and was there treacherously seized by the natives who murdered all the crew but a boy named Robert Everard, who after three years' captivity escaped to a ship that called there, and was brought to Bombay in the year 1690.

THE FIGHT OF THE "CAESAR" WITH FIVE FRENCH PIRATES

A True and Exact Account of the Engagement maintained by the Ship *Caesar* against Five Pirate Ships in View of the Island of St. Jago on Sunday the last day of October 1686:

"By sunrising on the last day of the month we were gotten under sail and had scarce opened the weathermost point of the road when we sighted five ships lying under sail awaiting our coming which they no sooner espied than they made sail in chase crowding on all they could after us. Thereupon, imagining the worst, we likewise made sail for gaining of time to put ourselves in the best posture for defence which we did by starting down all our water casks and having overboard all that might be of the least hindrance to us.

"We then lined our Quarter rails with the men's bedding, slung our yards in chains, and distributed all the small arms to the soldiers sending some with grenades and muskets to the tops. We then visited the several posts to see that all things were fitting and contrived for our utmost advantage, omitting nothing we could in the least imagine that was requisite for such an occasion. And now, perceiving we had done all that men in our position could possibly do both for defending ourselves and offending the enemy, and that they now gained on us apace, our captain commanded our small sayles to be handed and our mainsails and mizzen to be unfurled putting the ship right before the wind judging this to be the best manner in which to engage.

"And so passed on to exhorting our men to be of good cheer, telling what an eternal credit we should get unto ourselves and our nation by baffling the attempts of so many and subtil enemies, and then, on the contrary, describing what would be their miserable fate should they fall into the hands of these piratical villains. With such exhortations all were dismissed to their separate stations. By this time, being now about ten in the morning, two of the nimblest were come up with us, having, like all the rest, hung out French colours. The headmost firing three or four great shot at us and finding we slighted him, changed his French to Bloody Colours (no quarter) and then stretching to windward, lay pecking (single shots) at us.

"One of his consorts doing the same astern our great guns from the stearidge soon did such execution as to bring him on the careen (to stop the leaks). Which we had scarce done when all the other ships got our length having all changed their French to Bloody colours and firing amain at us. These were all ships of burthen, being not less than 20 to 30 guns each, and all alike full of men. Their Admiral lay upon our starboard side designing to lay us aboard, which another did upon our counter. But we plied the Admiral and the other ship so well with our small shot showered upon him from the tops, the poop and other places that he could not attempt

to make an entry. Though wee indeed heard a voice in French crying to us to surrender none were bold enough to try for possession.

“In the end they were glad enough to get clear of us again by filling astern, though cutting away, and sinking all our boats, though for that he paid dear enough in the loss of his bowsprit and abundance of his men. His hull at the same time not being impenetrable to our shot we plied him through and through. The Vice-Admiral being on the bow had a short entertainment and no better success, for we spoake such terror into him from our fore-castle and other quarters and he hearing likewise our frequent cheers and hurrahs bore away in fright by that means having the luck to receive both our broadsides which carried away his fore yard and mizzen mast.

“Our stern chaser, for by now we had gotten out our gunroom guns, gave the rest astern such hot fire that after five hours’ sharp engagement they began to bear away to repair the damage done them by us. Which questionless was very considerable, for their men on our first coming up were very bold and lay open to our small shot for near upon three houres without the least intermission and their men loading their great guns outboard (without running them back) were cut off as fast as they appeared to do their duty. For this reason they fired few great guns at us as they bore down for which we were beholden to our small arms men and indeed all our men in general who behaved themselves like true Englishmen, shewing such courage and bravery.

“By our small arms men we mean your honours disciplined soldiers and their officers whose example they so well imitated that we must forbear to mention any one in particular when all fired so nimbly, and with such skill and caution of placing their shot to good purpose; and we must acknowledge as their juste share and meritt a large share of the glory and honour of this day’s action. Wee now brought too to see if wee could save our barge which wee had toed astarne during the action; but finding her full of water and not worth the

saving, sent her adrift with the reste of oure boates, and so continued our course under easy saile having no doubt that they would try t'other bout.

"But they were all busy on the careene, licking their wounds as well they might. At last, findinge wee were to heare noe more from them we examined into the damage sustained by us. Wee founde all oure boates lost. 300 cwt. of bread hove overboard to cleare the gun roome ports, a great shott through oure boltsprit, foure of our shrowds cutt and much of oure running rigging, oure sailes full of holes, and manie shott stickinge in oure sydes. But, thankes to God, we founde but one man killed and eight wounded, a most wonderful deliverance. Soe, wee concluded the day with offerings of Thanks and Prayers to Him who had soe wonderfully preserved us in the midst of such great and terrible dangers."

The *Caesar* had been specially armed and manned not only for her own protection, but to deal aggressively with the pirates in the Eastern Seas, whose depredations had been visited on the East India Company. Besides her ordinary crew of 120 men she had aboard 116 officers and soldiers for the garrison of Bombay, who are the disciplined soldiers mentioned in the account. She was of 600 tons with 40 guns, great and small.

CHAPTER III

The Pirate Harbours and Settlements at Madagascar.

FROM almost the first voyages of English ships to India and the Farther East, the harbours or inlets on the coast of Madagascar and the adjacent islands became known to the captains as places where ships could refit, water, provision or land their sick men to recuperate from the ravages of scurvy and other sea complaints; fresh meat, and especially oranges and limes, both indispensable for the cure of scurvy, being plentiful and very cheap. Most of the ships went up to the Comoro Islands, on the north, but those who were in bad case with their crews, or had been too badly battered in rounding the Cape, put in at St. Augustine's, on the South-West or if French or Dutch, to Port Dauphin further round to the East.

Though at first a few ships measuring up to 1,000 tons had been used, these were soon found unsuitable for the trade owing to the occasional difficulty of obtaining sufficient cargo in time for the monsoons, and the much larger crews required, they being ship rigged. Hence the tonnage during the seventeenth century rarely exceeded 600 tons, the usual ranging between 300 and 500, mostly about midway. Such small vessels being unable to carry full provisions and water for the whole voyage, several ports of call became necessary, for this reason as well as for those previously mentioned.

Ships on the outward voyage would call at the Canaries, the Cape Verdes, St. Helena, Table Bay (then called Saldanha) and after rounding the Cape, at some place on the Madagascar coast, or the Islands. If the voyage had been prolonged by the ship meeting with foul winds or calms, the bottom became

very foul with marine growths, and thus retarded her speed, and besides this, the danger from the *Teredo* worm perforating her bottom if left too long without examination, was great. Metal sheathing being then unused, its place was supplied by double timber sheathing the bottoms of all ships using tropical waters. In order to clean the bottom of the ship and renew the sheathing an operation called careening was necessary. To do this the ship was run up on a sandy beach and emptied of guns and cargo, etc. She was then pulled over on her side and the sheathing renewed, or cleaned. Sometimes another ship was used as a hulk by which to pull the vessel over, if the beach was rocky, and the water shallow.

The scraped bottom, and the new sheathing was then smeared with a mixture of tar, tallow, and sulphur, both above and below, these both increasing her speed and keeping the growths and worms off for a time. Ordinary vessels were so treated in docks or harbours when necessary, but such places being usually forbidden to the pirates they had to seek some safe and suitable place where the operation could be carried out. In such places the guns were placed in an earthwork commanding the ship, and the men lived ashore in tents ready to man the guns, or work on the ship as necessary, as well as to escape from the cramped ship quarters for a time.

Most of the labour and trouble was avoided wherever proper facilities and safety were available, and as the demand creates supply this need was met by harbours at Madagascar, which became a regular base for pirate ships proceeding to or from Eastern Waters. When such piracy promised to become a regular and profitable trade, certain American Merchants who had already profited by the trade, thought to have it both ways by establishing a depot at Madagascar where arms, stores, ammunition, liquor and every other necessity of pirate life, could be exchanged for their booty, or the slaves given to the pirates for their aid in the strife, between the ever-warring native tribes on the mainland and in the islands adjacent.

The first to open such a depot was one Adam Baldrige, an ex-pirate who had cruised in Eastern Seas, and knowing both the place, and the prospective customers, realised the possibilities of both. Having murdered, or otherwise fatally disposed of a comrade, in a fatal tavern brawl at Jamaica, he thought to take shelter at St. Mary's and there combine safety with profit. He induced the Phillips brothers, both notorious traffickers with pirates at New York, to entrust him with a full cargo of the necessary goods, and with them duly arrived at St. Mary's as we shall set forth later. The place was admirable, being landlocked and bottle-necked.

He built a fort and warehouses at the entrance, mounting a number of guns in the former, and enclosing the latter in a strong stockade wherein the pirates could find shelter whilst their ships were being treated, or they were having a spell ashore. Even before the advent of Adam Baldrige there were other pirates settled ashore at different places, though these were only a medium, through which slaves and provisions, etc., could be obtained from the tribes amongst whom they had settled. In time these places formed the nucleus of fairly large settlements where 30 to 50 ex-pirates, or men waiting for a ship lived ashore dominating the neighbouring tribes, and leading them in tribal warfare for, of course, their own advantage.

The known leaders in these settlements were Tom Collins, ex-carpenter of the *Degrave*, Abraham Samuells, Quartermaster of the *John and Rebecca*, John Plantain, Ort Van Tyle and his brother, John Pro, David Watkin, Arthur Gardiner, and John Rivers. One of the most interesting was Abraham Samuells, one of the survivors of the *John and Rebecca*, when she was wrecked off Port Dauphin, as mentioned by Baldrige. As usual in shipwrecks on Madagascar, the survivors were very well treated by the natives, more especially if they were known to be pirates, a very open-handed fraternity, with what cost them little save effort.

Some twenty-five years before this, the daughter of the then chief had taken up with the captain of an English ship

wrecked at Port Dauphin, and by him had a child. Two years later, when the captain and his men were taken off by a vessel, the former took away the child with him to America or England. The woman had never ceased to mourn her loss, and one day when she was watching the ship-wrecked men bathing she thought she recognised in Samuells, who was a Jamaican mulatto, her long-lost child. Naturally the mulatto encouraged the idea, with the result that he was formally recognised and succeeded to the chieftainship when the supposed mother abdicated in his favour.

As usual with renegades, Samuells was merciless to such Europeans as were wrecked on his shores or whose ships he could seize. In 1686, he cut off the English ship *Jacob*, and all her crew. Later he attempted the Dutch ship *Tamboer*, which had called there to endeavour to ascertain what had become of the crew of another Dutch ship wrecked near by, of whom none were ever found, for obvious reasons. But he was either killed by his comrade pirates or his tribe, for, when the *Charles* called there in 1707 Tom Collins was king in the room of Samuells, said to have been killed some years previously.

With Collins were about 40 other pirates of whom he was the acknowledged chief, and by whose aid he dominated the natives. By the year 1718 all but Collins and three others had died or departed, and, these finding the place dangerous by reason of their small numbers and their previous character, left Port Dauphin for St. Mary's where a number of others were still to be found. In the years 1703-1706 the pirate chiefs of the various settlements were reported to be John Pro, at St. Mary's, David Watkin, at Masselege, Arthur Gardiner, at Maritan, and Captain John Rivers, at St. Augustine's. This last had been there ever since 1686, and so continued until 1719 when he was reported as dead.

Pro and Collins died in the same year, and others were known to have survived until 1730 after which none were ever heard of, though English names, and the English language, continued to be used at Madagascar until 30 years later, and many half breeds existed even longer. Of the last

of the pirates, Captain Lewis, of the *St. George*, thus writes, under date: St. Mary's, 17th July 1719,

“There came aboard two men, John Guernsey and Nick of Dover whom I plentifully entertained with liquor for three nights to see what might be gathered from them. They faithfully promised to procure me provision though I put no trust in them. They were very cautious of speaking until drunk when they bragged and told of their loose way of living like so many bravoës. They acknowledged being in the *Charles* Brigantine which took and killed Chamberlayne, and at the plundering of three Moors ships and the bringing away of a fourth which lay sunk in their harbour. They brag of their life which they call the *fair chance*, and say they want but one hit more and then to go home for they are weary of this way of life. Their number is now reduced to about seventeen with 10 or 12 Mustees (half caste Portuguese and English) and some free negroes. They live separate on the coast of the Island some 20 or 30 miles asunder, each having a town to himself, and not less than 500 or 600 negroes, who are their vassals, ready to serve them on all occasions.

“Thus freely would they talk when in liquor, being then in no way concerned for their former actions though very cautious when sober. I asked them why they did not accept of the King's pardon and go home, on which they told me it was all a sham, designed to make them surrender and they would not trust to any unless they had the Great Seal to it. Such impudence and ignorance possess them! There came also a Frenchman named Peter Jerram who also told me that he and all the Company who dwelt with him had been ‘On the Account,’ as they called, but now designed only to live *honest* and only *steal* slaves to sell to ships that call for such commodities.”

The price of slaves at this time is thus given:

“For a man one buccaneer gun and one trade gun each, with two measures of powder (pounds) and 30 flints with

30 balls. For a woman, two trade guns, a quart of powder, 30 flints and 30 balls. For a boy, a buccaneer gun, a pint of powder, 30 balls and 30 flints. A girl equal to a boy and both paid for according to size." The buccaneer gun was that used by the beef hunters of the West Indies, mostly made in Spain, and having a six foot barrel thus giving a higher range than the ordinary musket. The trade gun was of the gaspipe variety specially made for the slave trade and as liable to burst as not.

But Captain Lewis was incorrectly informed as to the numbers of the pirates on Madagascar, for some other accounts set the approximate totals as from 150 to 250, in the whole of the island. These figures are more likely to be correct judging from the fact that in 1722, Taylor, of the *Cassandra*, was able to obtain about 100 men. The head white men of each place where ships called to trade or slave, were the intermediaries through whom all business was arranged with the native chiefs, and for their services they charged the sum of £100 each ship, this being paid by the English slaver *Eugenie* to Arthur Gardiner in 1718, whilst others mention similar sums to Rivers, Collins and John Pro. Fortunately for our compilation we have a very full account of the career of John Plantain, written by Clement Downing, a seaman who was at St. Mary's in 1722.

He was then serving on the *Salisbury*, one of a fleet of four ships under Commodore Matthews, sent out to aid the East India Company in their war with the Portuguese and this done, to extirpate the pirates at Madagascar and in the Eastern seas generally. After the operations against the Portuguese were suspended by an armistice, Matthews was ordered to Madagascar to break up the settlements and destroy their bases and harbours. He did absolutely nothing save help himself to what he found lying about, and on his return to England was accused of trafficking with the pirates and superseded.

(Downing). "April 22nd, 1722. The Squadron came to anchor at Charnock Point, three leagues from St. Mary's.

The Commodore sent a boat up to the Island to make discoveries, and there we found the wrecks of ships demolished by the Pirates who had been there (Taylor Condent) with their rich cargos of Chinaware, Drugs, and all sorts of Spices, lying in great heaps on the beach. There were also a number of Guns which the Commodore took aboard together with such commodities as were the least damaged. Whilst we were watering at Charnock Point a White man came down who told us that his name was John Plantain, born on the Island of Jamaica, that he had once been pyrating but had now left off and settled at Ranter (Antongil) Bay where he had fortified himself and was called by the Natives, King of Ranter Bay.

“Captain Cockburn having an account of this Pyrat coming down went himself to bring him off, but finding he had a number of armed men in the woods behind the landing place thought better not to attempt it. Plantain having given some of the petty officers an invitation to his fort the Captain let them go which said men brought back an account of the great riches the said Plantain was possessed of and how he was homaged by the natives who called him King of Ranter Bay, he having a great number of slaves under him. There was also one James Adair, a Scotsman, and Hans Burgen, a Dane, with Plantain, and they all lived a very profane and debauched life.

“They own they were at the taking of the great Moors ship wherin was said to have been 13 Lakhs of Rupees and great merchandise which they took and brought to St. Mary’s. He said they now design to leave of these vile practices. We sold them several hogsheads and puncheons of Arrack, and Hampers of Wine for which Plantain paid a very large price in Diamonds & Sequins. He sent down some cattle for the use of the Squadron, delivering his goods and money personally. We also sold him some hats shoes and clothing. His place was strongly fortified with many Guns and guarded by numbers of men both Black and White. During the time the Commodore was ashore Plantain had the impudence to

keep St. George's Flag flying over his Castle and he also barbecued a hog which he sent down for his entertainment.

"He little thought we should serve him such a trick as we did, for he, leaving only a slight guard of Black men to guard the liquor he had bought from us and paid for, we sent the long boats full of armed men to bring off the liquor and also the Black men who guarded it. (This is corroborated by another account.) We were not able to suppress these Pyrates who after all the vile actions possible are now settled ashore as Kings over a parcel of Heathens and indulge themselves in all manner of vices. . . . I brought off several bags of what I thought most useful from what was lying on the Beach and made good money from them. The ruins of Captain Kidd's Fortification (Baldrige's) were still to be seen, as well as the wrecks of many rich ships wantonly destroyed by the Pyrates.

"This John Plantain was born at Chocolate Hole of English parents, who bestowed upon him the same education they were themselves possessed of which was to curse, swear and blaspheme, with his first words. When about thirteen he went as boy on a trading sloop going a privateering and cutting Logwood in the Bay of Campeachy where they used to Maroon the Spaniards, or the Spaniards Maroon them, according to which was the strongest. When he was about twenty he fell in with a Pyrat sloop at Rhode Island where the men shewed him great sums of Gold and treated him in a most expensive manner, which, together with his own wicked inclinations, led him to join them with little hesitation.

"They told him they would make a voyage which should prove the making of them after which they would accept of the Act of Grace and leave off Pyrating. They left Rhode Island in this sloop which was called the *Terrible*, and was commanded by one John Williams, and one Roberts, being a bold and resolute fellow, was made Quartermaster. With Plantain was entered John James of Boston, Henry Mills of Stepney, Richard Dean of Falmouth, John Harvey of Shadwell, and Henry Jones of St. Paul's, London, the oldest

not being above 23 years. Whenever any enter on board of these ships voluntarily they are compelled to sign the Articles of Agreement which in effect is to renounce all honour and Human Compassion for they seldom shew mercy to any who fall into their hands.

“From Rhode Island (in the Bahamas) they shaped their course for the Coast of Guinea in their way taking three ships. They pretended to give liberty to these ships’ crews either to go or stay with them, on which the boatswain and several other men of one ship, entered and would have barbarously used their captain which Roberts the Quartermaster would not permit. By compulsion they kept the surgeon and the carpenter of one of the ships which they kept and called the *Defiance*. Now they had a good ship of about 300 tons mounting 20 guns and a good sailer, besides being well stored with provisions.

“This ship had been formerly called the *Prosperous* (sic) whose captain and as many as were not willing to go a Pyratting, they put on the other two vessels which they let go after taking out a number of East India bales which the Quartermaster cut open and distributed amongst the Pyrats. On the Guinea Coast they met with the *Onslow*, with which they fought a considerable time; but the Pyrats being too well manned made sad havoc of her before she brought her to cry for quarter, which they gave very indifferently at the best. When they had taken her they made one of their number, called England, who had been mate of several good ships, the Captain of her.

“Not long after they took a Dutch interloper (free ship) which made a great resistance, and had not the *Terrible* sloop come to the assistance of England and his Company they would have been compelled to let her go. But the sloop pouring a great number of men aboard they soon overpowered them and murdered all the crew that did not join with them. This ship they also kept, giving one Taylor command of her. They now daily increased their store of ships, and were not for keeping so many when Captain

England proposed a new voyage to them which was to go to the East Indies."

Here we omit a certain amount of matter which will be found elsewhere, to proceed with the personal adventures of Plantain and his co-kings, all three of whom must have gone ashore after the taking of the *Cassandra*, probably in sympathy with England.

. . . "Plantain, James Adair, the Scot, and Hans Burgen, the Dane, seized upon a great tract of country with the assistance of the natives, and fortified themselves very strongly at Ranter Bay. Plantain having the most money and power called himself King of Ranter Bay, and the natives sang songs in his praise. He brought great numbers of them to be subject to him, and seemed to govern them in an arbitrary manner through paying his soldiers much to their satisfaction. He would frequently send parties of men or lead them to other dominions to make war and take their cattle to extort tribute from the petty kings his neighbours and to increase his dominions at their expense.

"James Adair's birth and education were somewhat superior to that of Plantain, for he had learnt to write as well as to read, and been brought up in the town of Leith by a sober and industrious father and mother. Not behaving to the satisfaction of his parents he ran off to London and from thence to the West Indies and Guinea Coast where he was taken by the Pyratts and joined voluntarily with them. He was a young man of a very hard countenance but something inclined to good nature. When we bartered with the Pyratts at Ranter Bay for provisions they frequently shewed the wickedness of their dispositions by quarreling and fighting with each other on the most trifling occasions. It was their custom never to go abroad except when armed with pistols in their belts, and a naked sword in their hand to be in instant readiness to defend themselves or attack others.

"Hans Burgen, the Dane, was born at Copenhagen, and entered himself as a cooper at London with Captain Creed for a voyage to the Guinea Coast. The ship (the *Coward*)

being taken by the Pyratts he agreed to go with them and became a comrade to King Plantain. This Plantain's house was built in as commodious a manner as the place would permit and for his recreation he took a great many wives and servants whom he kept in great subjection and after the English manner called them Moll, Kate, Sue, or Peg. These wives were dressed in the richest silks and some of them had diamond necklaces. He frequently came over from his own territory to St. Mary's Island and there began to repair part of Captain Avery's Fortifications (Baldrige's).

"The King of Masselege had with him a very beautiful grand-daughter said to have been the daughter of an Englishman who came there on the slaving trade in a Bristol ship. This lady was called Elenora Brown, so named by her father. She had been taught to speak English though this is a common enough on the Island of Madagascar, it being the chief place where the English victual and refit their ships. Plantain having a desire to have a wife of English extraction, sent to the King of Masselege whom the Pyrates call King Dick or Long Dick, to demand his daughter for a wife. Captain England, with 60 or 70 men had dispersed themselves about the Island, but, being very poor, he was obliged to be-holden to several of the white men for his subsistence. Several of these men had joined King Dick at Masselege, and persuaded him to refuse Plantain's demand; to put himself in a posture of defence, and to prohibit all correspondence between his subjects and those of Plantain.

"The chief weapon used by the natives is the lance, which they are very expert in throwing. But Plantain had got some hundreds of firelocks, which he distributed amongst his subjects, and had learned them to exercise in a pretty regular manner. He had also great store of powder and ball, and a good magazine provided with all manner of necessaries. He was a man of undaunted courage, which he showed by venturing down to Charnock Point. Indeed, I was surprised to see a stranger pop on me armed as he was, with two pistols in his sash, though but mean in habit. He told me he had

belonged to the *Cassandra*, but had now left off pyrating and lived at Ranter Bay. He then gave me the aforementioned account of his birth and parentage."

But to return from this digression.

"On Plantain's receiving this message of defiance from the King of Masselege, he sent to tell him that if he did not directly comply he would bring such an armed force against him as would drive him from his dominions, and if he happened to fall into his hands, he would send him to Prince William, at St. Augustine's Bay, who would certainly sell him to the first English ship that put in there. These menaces made King Dick somewhat fearful at first, but being buoyed up by the Englishmen with him, he refused the demands, and boldly sent word that he would certainly meet Plantain half way.

"This answer much enraged Plantain, so that he called his chief officers to a consultation, which however mattered little, for let their advice be what it was, he always followed his own inclination. His chief general was a fellow they called Mulatto Tom, who pretended to be the son of Captain Avery, which might be true, for the man was near 40 years of age at this time. This man, being born on the Island of Madagascar, and of English blood, Plantain put much confidence in him, and entrusted him to raise men, of which he brought over about 1,000 from St. Mary's Island, which stood by Plantain the best, and did not flinch from him.

"But Plantain had like to have been tricked by King Kelly of Mannagoe, who brought 1,000 men with him, and agreed for a certain sum of money to fight for him, which King Plantain willingly embraced. But Kelly led off his men just before the battle, being afraid that should he assist Plantain, it would cause perpetual war between himself and King Dick. By this time, there were four or five other kings come to Plantain, who having received injuries from King Dick, were resolved to demolish him.

"Plantain entertained his brother kings in a grand manner, causing a whole bullock to be roasted for their entertainment,

though for liquor he would let them have but little, though they covet it greatly, and will drink such as will take away their breath. The natives of Madagascar are very deceitful, on which account Plantain entrusted very few with firearms, giving only about 20 into the hands of the 1,000 he could depend on.

“King Dick, being positively resolved to fight, met Plantain half way according to his promise. Plantain put his whole army in battle array, intermixing the men with firearms amongst the others, and with English to keep up their firing, and suffer none to lie down. He had English colours at the head of his party, that commanded by the Dane had Danish colours, and that commanded by Adair, the Scot, had St. Andrew’s colours before them. Whilst they were on the march, King Dick attacked them, but after a smart engagement Plantain took some of the Englishmen, who had persuaded King Dick to fight and drove the remainder out of the field.

“As for the Englishmen he had taken, he ordered a great fire to be made and scattered the hot ashes about, making the Englishmen run to and fro upon them, and the natives to throw lances at them, till by these tortures they expired. After this success, he resolved to be avenged upon King Kelly, who had deserted him and been joined by King Dick’s scattered forces. He put himself in march and came up with King Kelly. There ensued a smart encounter, which continued for a whole day, each party being supported by some Englishmen. Plantain maintaining his ground with great resolution, the other party desired a parley, which he refused, and they continued the fight till it was quite dark.

“There were a great number of men killed on both sides but they meant to renew the fight in the morning, and in the meantime Plantain encouraged his men by distributing brandy amongst them. Kelly and King Dick were resolved to defend themselves to the utmost; but early in the morning Plantain’s men attacked them with great vigour, put them to the rout, and took many prisoners. Amongst them was

John Darby, of the town of Chester, and William Mills, of Gosport, who were afterwards tortured to death in a most inhuman manner.

“Plantain, to make the best he could of the victory, pursued the enemy to the town of Masselege, but could not force the town, the enemy firing from houses, which caused him to retreat, which so enraged him that he swore to cut the two kings in pieces, or put them to the most cruel death, whenever he got them in his power. The Europeans who were dispersed about the Island came soon to hear of these disturbances, and some of them proposed to take Plantain’s castle; but the place being situated near a river, and strongly guarded with cannon, the design was laid aside.

“I observed the first morning we lay at St. Mary’s, a number of canoes going from Ranter Bay. It was likely these canoes conveyed away the treasure which Plantain, Adair, and the Dane had concealed there, for fear of its being discovered. A man came aboard the *Shoreham*, who was a gunstock maker, and had been amongst the pirates. The account he gave of himself was that he had shipped himself armourer of a ship that sailed from London for Madagascar to take in slaves. This man, whose name was Thomas Lloyd, who formerly lived in the Minorities, said he was left with six more of their men on the Island (probably deserted) and had suffered much at the hands of a petty prince called King Caleb.

“Had it not been for Prince William, they should all have been murdered. When the pirates were there, Prince William would not suffer them to go out of his house, for the natives were rogues who would murder them all. Two of them died soon after. The Pirates lived a most wicked and profligate life, rambling from place to place, sometimes having the misfortune to meet the natives, who would put them to lingering deaths by tying them to a tree by their arms and putting lighted matches between their fingers. They served two of their shipmates in such manner, and would stand and laugh during the time of their agonies. This, I think,

was a very just retaliation for the barbarous cruelties the Pirates were guilty of.

“King Dick, and all that belonged to him were taken by Plantain; however, the lady on whose account these wars were begun proved to be with child by one of the Englishmen which Plantain had murdered. This so much enraged him that he ordered King Dick to be put to the same cruel death as the English and Dutchmen had suffered. He was now resolved to be revenged on King Kelly, who, conjointly with the *Dane*, had concealed a great hoard of jewels and money at Port Dolphin in an unfrequented wood, which he was informed by an intimate of theirs, who alone they had entrusted with this secret, and who had deserted to Plantain. . . .

“After Plantain had put King Dick to death, and those Dutch and English who had fought against him, he marched to the King of Massalege’s dominions, and found a great store of such sort of grain as the island produced, as well as a great deal of treasure, which Plantain ordered to be packed up and sent to Ranter Bay. As to the inhabitants, he sent great numbers of them down to Ranter Bay, made slaves of them, and caused them to form several plantations of sugar canes, and after brought the same to great perfection.

“So soon as he had cleared the town, he caused his men to set the same on fire, and then went to King Kelly’s chief town, and did the same there. He found but little subsistence in all these dominions; for Kelly was a subtle, sly fellow, who took care of himself; and so soon as he found that Plantain was on the victorious side he fled in the night from his associates, came to Mannagora, secured all he had there of any value, and then fled to Port Dauphin to his brother, where he secured himself for a time until Plantain came again with an army and totally demolished both one and the other, for by now he tyrannised over the natives all over the Island.

“After he had burnt King Kelly’s town he came down to Ranter Bay bringing the lady before mentioned with him which he accounted the chief trophy of his victory though



CAREENING AND CLEANING SHIP
From Johnson's *History of the Pirates*.

[Face page 64

she was with child, which he accepted of, being much enamoured with her. This woman having chiefly been brought up under the care of her father, who was by all accounts a very honest man, though he had actually left her behind at that place; he had taught her the Lord's prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments, and gave her an insight into the Christian religion, though not having the conveniency of books he could not instruct her as he desired.

"By this wife Plantain had several children. When he brought her to Ranter Bay he made a great entertainment, and gave her the whole government of his household affairs, discharging his other women. This Eleanora Brown would often talk with him concerning religion, ask him after God, and according to her father's direction, say her prayers night and morning, on which account Plantain used to say he had a religious wife, though he took all she said to him in good part. He clothed her with the richest jewels and diamonds he had, and gave her twenty girl slaves to wait upon her. It was this woman that Mr. Christopher Lisle would have been great with, for which attempt Plantain shot him dead upon the spot. . . . If he has any friends now living this account will tell them of his fatal destiny, being killed by the hand of a Pyraticall King in a savage Island.

"Now Plantain sat down for a considerable time to recover from his fatigues and to recruit his forces, which in the end, he did, though not so speedily as he desired. And after he had made sure of the treasure King Kelly and the Dane had concealed (apparently the Dane had joined Kelly), he got all things in readiness and went over to Captain Avery's castle (Baldrige's) on St. Mary's, and brought away such materials as he wanted. Then, being joined by his allies, he gave orders for his whole force to march for Port Dolphin, which they gained, though very much fatigued on the way. In this matter young Captain Avery was of much assistance in keeping a regular discipline in the army.

"This Mulatto Tom was so much feared amongst them that at the very sight of him they would tremble; they would

often have made him a king but he would never take that title upon himself. He was a man of tall stature, very clean limbed, and of a pleasant countenance, having hair on his head and not wool as have the others of that mongrel breed. He had long black hair like the Malabar Indians, and this made me think he might really be the son of Captain Avery by one of the Moors women taken in the great Mogull's ship which had his daughter aboard. This is probable, for he could not remember his mother, but said that for some years he had sucked a black woman who he took for his mother."

As Mulatto Tom was then about 40, and any probable son of Avery would have been about 26 only, this parentage is ruled out. However, he may have been a son of one of the earlier pirates, for they also had taken ships with Indian women aboard.

(Downing.) "We must now return to our Majestic Pyratt. He put himself forward on his journey to Port Dolphin destroying in his way all those that opposed, being filled with desire for revenge upon King Kelly and his brother. But that king at Port Dolphin had very strongly fortified himself, having got together some guns left by the Pyratts and in a very odd manner mounted them on carriages without wheels (sledges?). The natives in Plantain's army were greatly affrighted at the sight of these guns and he was informed that some of them intended to betray him if they could.

"On this Mulatto Tom or young Avery immediately seized some of those suspected and by torturing them very severely caused to reveal the design which was then entirely squashed. But Plantain was not furnished with tents and other articles for carrying on a siege, the trees being his chief covering though he was incumbered with a great deal of plunder and baggage. As to provisions, they went out daily in quest of these, plundering all the towns and villages near by, and if these made the least opposition the inhabitants were killed and their houses fired. In the height of this war the Dane and the Scot were both killed leaving Plantain sole king.

“He was now resolved that he would make himself king over all Madagascar and govern with absolute power. . . . He kept near upon 1,000 slaves which he constantly employed on the fortifications of his castle, and, had he acted as Captain Avery (Baldrige) did would certainly have made a very strong place of his chief residence. It was nearly a year and a half before Plantain completed his design of conquest, in which time he was forced twice to return to Ranter Bay where two or three kings had laid siege to his castle while he was engaged in his wars. But those he had entrusted with the defence proved so true to him that they maintained out till he came.

“When within a day’s march of home he met so strong opposition that he was forced to fight his way down the river which so soon as they in the castle perceived his colours moving down the river they sent over all their canoes, well manned, for there were never less than 500 men in the castle. Once the enemy had brought their canoes to make a bridge with which to cross over to the castle. But the garrison sallied out, and taking the enemy by surprise, killed a great many, cut off their heads and stuck them on spikes on the castle walls. This greatly pleased Plantain, being proof of their fidelity. When he arrived he soon made the enemy sheer off and pursued them to the edge of a wood wherein they concealed themselves and from there did Plantain much damage.

“This so enraged him that he gave Mulatto Tom orders to draw off a great body of men and make the best of his way to their towns, himself giving out that he would follow in a short time, and destroy them. On this the enemy marched with the greatest haste to save their towns from destruction. This warlike strategem was of a sort never before heard of in those islands. But young Captain Avery got there first, and, having set afire one of their chief towns, returned to Plantain Castle, bringing with him a great number of men, women, and children prisoners. Then whilst the enemy was busy, saving what they could, Plantain came down

upon them with his whole army and made a sad massacre of them, besides taking over 500 prisoners in men slaves.

“After this success, being then near St. Augustine’s, he went there and found three interlopers from Bristol come for slaves, which suited both them and Plantain very well, for he disposed of several hundreds of men slaves, as well as women and children, to these ships, which were the *Mermaid*, *Princess*, and *Renown* of Bristol. He refused all their invitations to go aboard. The ships having loaded their freight at a very cheap rate gave in exchange great quantities of beads, some firearms, powder and shot, and the commanders gave Plantain two of their fine Gold Laced suits to wear. They also let him have what shoes, stockings, hats, and other things they could spare for himself and his fellow Pyrats, and gave him several puncheons of liquor. But having got their cargoes in, they made haste out to sea with all possible expedition not knowing what might happen if they delayed.

“These ships brought Plantain the news of Captain Roberts having been taken and executed at Cape Coast Castle where most of his men were also hanged in chains. Which gave Plantain a little shock who was in hopes to have seen Chocolate Hole again. . . . Having at length subdued King Kelly and his brother and put them to death with also John Darby, of the town of Chester, and William Mills, of Gosport, Plantain appointed the petty princes who had assisted him in his wars to govern these places and became absolute monarchs of the whole Island. In the end, however, he became weary of his kingship and resolved to quit his territories with the advice and consent of his comrades though but few remained, 60 or 70 of the English having been lost by sickness and in the several engagements. To this end he determined to build a sloop big enough to carry him to India.

“He designed to take service with Angria, the chief Pyratt of the Malabarrs, who used many Europeans. . . . Plantain found the number of his Europeans decreasing daily, and he could not trust the natives whom he had often used in

a barbarous manner. They were a long time building the sloop having only two carpenters amongst them and being hard put to it for ironwork for the rudder of their sloop. But this they supplied by sending to St. Mary's where they took the rudder off a vessel that was sunk there, and also all her ironwork. They then took the new sloop to St. Mary's where they found cordage and sails laying ashore, sufficient to rig her out ready for sea.

"Having fixed all the sails and rigging and got aboard all his treasure, Plantain took aboard his wife Nelly and her children and then they set sail for India. They first went to Johanna where they could not forbear playing their old game when they found a Moors ship commanded by an Englishman. But they only took a few quills of cordage and all the liquor she had aboard and left her. They left Johanna in the month of July, this being the height of the monsoon and made their way to India, touching on the way at a small island where they made a disturbance amongst the inhabitants plundering their houses and then setting fire to them.

"They had been nearly lost on the Island of Bombay, save for a Dutchman aboard who knew the coast very well and, eventually, got them safe to Gheria, where Angria, the great Malabar Pirate, received them warmly and made Plantain his chief gunner. I got this large (full) account of Plantain's doings in the Island of Madagascar from John Davis, one of his men, who in the end married a Portuguese lady of great wealth and beauty. He told me that Plantain had charge of all the affairs of the grabs and gallivats, and though they received small wages he and his comrades got three quarters of the value of all the prizes they took, which is unlike the practice amongst our commanders, who *run away with what the meaner men ought to have.*"

Exigencies of space have compelled us to abridge Downing's garrulous narrative, but all that he says concerning the position of Plantain and the others on Madagascar is confirmed by others, notably Captain Reddish, of the *Lion*, in Matthew's Fleet who writes:

“April 22nd, 1722. The three leaders of the Pyratts near and at St. Mary’s are an Englishman from Jamaica, a Scotsman and a Dane. They all have abundance of riches and slaves all gained by Piracy and wars. The Pyratts acknowledge they were at the taking of the great Moors ships in which was said to be 13 lakhs of rupees and of the Portuguese Viceroy. Only two ships’ lengths within the harbour, which is called Pyratts’ Town, there lie four great ships which they burnt and sunck and there are others within the harbour. Upon Pyratts’ Island there are abundance of houses all exceeding well built and raised on wood piles two feet from the ground in the custom of the country. The Pyratts have mostly left this Island some time since and made their main settlements about 20 miles up country on the mainland.”

CHAPTER IV

Captain Misson and his Mythical Pirate settlement—The Piratical enterprises of Sir Robert Rich and Phillip Bernhardt—The Amazing Adventure of Captain Quail and the *Seahorse*, and the Notable Piracies of Ayres, Cobb, and Davy Jones.

IN Johnson's General History of the "Most Notorious Pirates" there is a most circumstantial and picturesque account of a Pirate Utopia founded by a Frenchman named Misson, aided and supported by an Italian named Caraccioli and the Pirate Captain Tew whose career we shall give later. Both the two first are apocryphal, and a comparison of this narrative with the known works of Defoe such as "Captain Singleton," "Colonel Jack," "John Gard," and the "King of the Pirates" induces the belief that this part of the "History of the Most Notorious Pirates" at least, is, if not actually written by Defoe, at least inspired by him.

Captain Johnson, the reputed author of the book in question, was a nebulous person whom none had ever seen. *If he ever existed* he was a literary ghost of Defoe, though it is more likely that Defoe wrote the whole book from start to finish, and for reasons best known to himself, covered his identity by a fictitious name and military title. The only Frenchman known to have cruised in Indian waters at this time was a very different person to the mythical Misson as will appear from the following:

During the year 1693 there cruised in Indian waters a French Pirate captain whose name does not transpire. According to Jonas Hanway, one of the original crew of a Portuguese ship which was taken by this captain off the Madeiras on the 15th May 1692, by being treacherously

approached and boarded under English colours, this Frenchman had murdered the Captain of the Portuguese vessel, and sent the remainder of her crew adrift in boats with the exception of Hanway and a few more of the crew of the Portuguese ship who had joined in with the Pirates. Hanway deposed that the ship was of 600 tons with 42 guns, and a crew of 250 of whom about 50 were negroes. Whilst cruising in the Red Sea they had taken a number of Moors ships the passengers and crews of which had been treated very cruelly, cutting off their noses, ears, and fingers to make them discover their property, and murdering those who proved obdurate.

After leaving the Red Sea the French Pirate ship cruised in Indian waters, and whilst lying off Point de Galle to procure water and provisions, was blown out to sea, leaving the boat's crew, of which Hanway was in charge, ashore. They were taken by the Dutch and sent to Madras for trial where Hanway saved his own life by turning King's evidence, the others being hanged or imprisoned.

THE PIRATICAL ENTERPRISE OF SIR ROBERT RICH AND PHILIP BERNHARDI

During the whole of the seventeenth century spoiling the heathen was considered a justifiable if not a laudable enterprise, and so continued to be regarded, until the heathen began to make reprisals on the shore establishments of the East India Company whose own countrymen were the worst offenders. So lightly were such enterprises considered and so great the profit arising from them as a rule that Kings, cardinals and knightly merchants, commissioned their own ships or gave letters of marque to private vessels in return for a share of the plunder. The earlier pirate enterprises in Eastern Seas were all by vessels of this description, though mostly they were French, sailing from St. Malo or L'Orient, with commissions from the King, or Cardinal.

How early they commenced their operations in Eastern Seas we have not discovered, but there are reports concerning

them as early as 1614, and in February 1617, Sir Thomas Roe then Ambassador at the Court of Jehanghir, reported the presence of two French pirates in the Red Sea, and, as they were reported to be sailing under English colours, feared that their depredations might be fathered on the English nation. Unfortunately for the worthy knight whose denunciations of these rascals to the Mogul Emperor were very vigorous and comminatory, he was not aware that at the very moment two English ships were on their way out to share in the similar harvest of these seas.

The accounts of the great booty brought home by the French ships had roused the envy of two London merchants, named Sir Robert Rich, and Philip Bernhardt, and though each was a large shareholder in the East India Company, they combined to fit out two small ships for a similar enterprise. Whether they obtained direct sanction from the King does not transpire, but, as the Court of Admiralty from which papers for all deep sea voyages were issued, was one of the sources of his income, and all clearance papers were signed on his behalf, he could not have been entirely ignorant in the matter.

The two ships, called the *Francis*, and the *Lion*, left England early in January 1617 and reached the coast of India about August of that year apparently, for at the end of that month intimation reached Surat that two ships flying English colours were hanging about near Bombay with the apparent intention of intercepting the Mogul fleet of merchant ships that were expected about that time from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, having aboard numerous rich passengers and valuable cargo. Unfortunately for the two, though they may not have expected any interference from it, they having the open or tacit sanction of the King, the annual fleet of the Company from England, under command of Martin Pring, happened upon them just as they were rummaging a *Moor's* ship from which they would have obtained an exceedingly rich booty, she having aboard some *nine tons* of specie alone. There are two reports of the subsequent proceedings both of which we

shall quote, the first being that of Edward Monnox Chief Merchant with the Fleet:

“March 18th 1618. The 16th September Anno 1617 wee came upon the Coast of India. Wee descried four ships to which we gave chase to the nearest which proved to be a junk from Gogo. But it was night before we could come near her for she sailed exceeding well. About sunset the *Bee*, and the *Gift*, came up with her, but before they could come near her, two English men-of-war, one called the *Francis*, belonging to Sir Robert Riche, Knight, and the other called the *Lion*, belonging to Phillip Bernhardi, both of London; the first of 140 tons, and ten guns, and the other of 120 tons, with six guns, had been with her and doubtless had it not been for our ships coming so near would have made prize of her. This junk was very rich, having by report in her 35 tons of silver besides rich goods of great value. She was of burden 1,400 tons, and had in her about 200 people, some of whom had many rich things with them.”

The other report, that of Captain Pring, differs slightly hence we give both:

“In the evening the *Bee* and the *Gift* came up with the three sail that stood to the Eastward and found one of them to be a Guzeratt junk belonging to the Queen Mother. The other two were English men-of-war, viz., the *Francis* of 150 tons set forth by Sir Robert Rich, and the other the *Lion* of 100 tons belonging to Phillip Bernhardi, an Italian merchant of London. These two men-of-war were both busy about the junk and would certainly have plundered her, had they not been prevented by us. . . . Soone after my arrival here having gotten the two vessels over the Barre of Suratt, I sent Captain Shilling to strip their sayles from their yeards, after which I dispersed their men in every ship of our fleet according to their proportion, and sent our men aboard them for the better security.

“The Mogul shipp was of the burthen of 12-1400 tons and had in her about 1,000 person with 9 tons of silver and other goods. The two ships had already taken out of her £1,135 in pieces of eight and six hundredweight of opium which I restored. Both ships were extreme wormeaten, and their provision of stores so much exhausted that we were unable to fully furnish them without unduly disfurnishing ourselves. Their poor mariners were entertained by the month and knew not whither bound until they came south of the Canaries. They are all stout seamen bred to the sea and will do you good service therefore are entertained by me in your service.”

Both ships were appropriated by the Company, without, apparently, any protest to the Court of Directors, there being nothing extant. Probably they dared not enter any, in view of their being caught in the act. In May 1618 the *Francis* was condemned and broken up, whilst the end of the *Lion* is thus described:

“January 13th 1618. The *Lion* coming over the Barre of Suratt shott off a piece of ordnance in salute from her gun-room port where the fire from her touchhole set alight the bandeleros, and these catching to the powder, blew up her decks abaft the mast and set her suddenly of a light fire which instantly grew so violent that none of the boats durst approach her. Three or four of her men are so scorched that it will cost them their lives, and though the rest escaped without burns, 'twill cost them all they had. She drove in between the *James* and the *Anne* and then drifted until the wind sent her ashore where she burnt down to the buildge consuming all but her ordinaunce. God give us Grace enough to be truly thankful for the escape of our other ships.”

THE AMAZING ADVENTURE OF CAPTAIN QUAIL

Any other word but amazing would be inadequate when applied to this piratical enterprise of the king of a great

country against the vessels of a power in whose territory his own subjects, chartered by himself, had great trading interests and immense quantities of cash and valuable goods. But then nothing is really amazing where the Stuarts were concerned, for believing they ruled by Divine right, they disregarded the elementary principles of justice and even common honesty where their subjects were concerned.

James the First secretly compounded with the Dutch for the atrocious outrage at Amboyna in 1623, when seven English merchants were judicially murdered by the Dutch. Charles the First sent out Captain Quail on a pirating enterprise, and connived at that of Cobb and Ayres of which he got most of the profits. Charles the Second took bribes from our Dutch and French enemies, whilst James the Second in 1686 forbade the great fleet assembled at Bombay for the purpose of exacting satisfaction from the Dutch for many past outrages to do so.

Being as usual hard up for cash in early 1630 King Charles thought of his fleet, and believing, probably, that the smaller the ship the lesser the offence, or again, as just an experiment, issued a Royal Commission to Captain Quail, of the *Seahorse*, a ship of 100 tons and 50 crew, authorising him to "Range the world all over and make prize of any ship he could not belonging to a country having a formal Treaty of Alliance or Peace with the King of England below the Equinoctial Line." Being fully aware that even for a King such an enterprise was most indefensible, the Commission was issued very secretly, to be opened at the Cape Verdes, where the crew would be informed of the destination and object of the cruise.

At the Cape Verdes Quail was met by a Company ship homeward bound, the captain of which got wind of the enterprise, probably over a bottle of wine or so. On arrival the Court of Directors were at once informed of the matter, and as promptly enquired from Sir William Russell, Comptroller of the Navy, whether there was any truth in what they heard and if so, to request the King to have Quail recalled or

disavow responsibility for his actions and proclaim him a pirate. Though Sir William was one of those who had signed the Commission he denied all knowledge of any such instructions given to Quail, with which the Company had to rest content. The next heard of Quail was in a letter from Madagascar sent by Captain Slade, Commander of the homeward bound fleet of the year, who wrote:

“On the 29th June 1631 we arrived at the Bay of St. Augustine where we found a small shipp called the *Seahorse* burden about 100 tons belonging to His Most Gracious Majestie and immediately sent forth by him. Captain Richard Quail, the Commander, hath by Royal Commission under the King's hand and Seale with other instructions attached, orders to goe to the Red Sea and there to make purchases (prizes) of anie shippes he may meet with that are not friendes or allies of his Majestie. Having seen his Committion and the force of it and also examined his people whom wee detayned aboard our shipp prisoners for several days, and thus findeing he had done nothing contrary to his Committion, wee, in the ende, thoughte it safest to release both him and all his people.”

The following letter is an extract from Dutch records:

“Suratt, 21st December 1631. Here is arrived a smale shipp called by the name of the Kinge of Englande's shipp. Her commaunder hath a strong Committion. His name is Quaile, his leftenant being one Robinson. This Captain hath bin in the Red Sea and broughte from thence great store of Ducketts, but certainly of the summe we cannot learn. The king's committion aforesaid giveth him full authority to sail all over the world and tayke prize, giving accompt thereof only to his king. He carrieth the King's flag in despight of the Company's ships, and suffers none to wear any other but a White flag with a Red Crosse in it. Since coming here he hath had great mortality amongst his people, and in all there are but seventeen remaying out of fiftie that came out of England with him.”

This remark about the flags refers to the rule that the Union Flag was only to be shewn by King's ships, all others flying the Cross of their respective nations.

Having refitted his ship and made up his crew, Quail gave out that he was about to return to England. "But instead, he again wente into the Red Sea and robbed." A letter from John Skibbow dated at Bundar Abbass the 15th February 1632 mentions that "Divers more of your servauntes are dead. Besides all these disasters we are given to understaunde that a smale English shipp from Suratt called the *Seahorse* hath bin pilladging and ransackinge the traders in the Red Sea and by all accounts hath tayken greate prize. To whome they belonge we cannot learn but gretelie fear that both Your Worship's estate and your servauntes' persons in India will pay dearlie for such villainies. The Commaunder of this ship is one Captain Richard Quaile of Plymouth who hath bin at Suratte, and latelie returned to the Red Sea from thence."

Apparently Quail must have remained in the Red Sea for some considerable time for he did not arrive at Mohilla to refit, preparatory to the voyage home, until late in 1632. He died there in November of that year leaving the command to one William Marsh, who succeeded Robinson when the latter left the ship at Surat before her return to the Red Sea. Before going to England she called at the West Indies where she disposed of the piece goods plundered from the Red Sea ships, and other goods which if found in her possession, on return to England, might have proved the piracy the East India Company accused her of.

Immediately on arrival at Plymouth in July 1633 the Company applied for an attachment on the ship and such goods as might be in her which, however, was refused on the plea that she was owned by the King and therefore privileged. The amount she brought home was variously estimated at from £20,000 to £30,000 which, even assuming the latter only, was a very decent profit, as she had maintained herself abroad during the whole time. It was probably the returns from this voyage that prompted

THE NOTABLE PIRACIES OF COBB AND AYRES

Late in the year 1634 two London merchants named Samuel Bonnell, and Thomas Kynaston, inspired by the example of their King and the news that the *Rose*, of Dieppe, and the *Victoire*, of St. Malo, had recently returned from similar cruises in the Red Sea the one with £30,000, and the other with £40,000, decided to enter this very profitable field with a couple of vessels, and with this view set about to obtain the necessary permission from the King. This was very necessary for the Company's captains had a short way of dealing with any pirates they took (under orders from their superiors). In fact, as will already have been seen, it was only the King's Commission that saved Captain Quail from being seized and sent home to be dealt with as a pirate. This commission also enabled them to demand aid from any of the Company's ships they met, should they desire it.

For this purpose they approached a person named Endymion Porter, who was the backstairs medium through whom the King was approached on all shady transactions. The preliminaries in the matter of bribes having been duly completed, the enterprise was sanctioned, though, as even Charles and his satellites had some qualms in the matter, by an indirect method, this being to issue two commissions, one to enable the ships to leave England without suspicion, and the other to be opened when well at sea; the latter authorising the real purpose of the cruise, and protecting the ships from seizure as pirates.

The open commission issued to Richard Ofield, Master of the *Samaritan*, authorised him jointly with William Cobb, of the *Roebuck*, to "range and discover along the Coast of America from Virginia to Florida and explore any other Coasts he might deem necessary." The other, dated two days later, gave Cobb full command of the expedition and authorised him to

"Range the world all over and to make prize of all such treasure, merchandise, goods and other commodities, wiche

to his best abilities, hee shall be able to take from infidells, or from any other prince or potentate, not in Amities with us beyond the Line Equinoctiall *notwithstanding our former comition graunted* to our loyal subject Richard Ofield, Master of the *Samaritan*. An accompt of all captures shall be rendred to our loyal subjects Endymion Porter and Samuel Bonnell, and both shippes shall wear the Colours appointed for Oure Royall Navy, and all oure other Loyal subjects, are hereby enjoined to assist them with men, munitions, provisions, and all such necessaries or other things as they may require."

The means of the speculators being limited or they not desiring to risk too much on an enterprise of which the double commission shewed the doubtful legality, the vessels chartered were comparatively small, one being of the same size as the *Seahorse*, with ten guns, and the other, the *Samaritan*, of 250 with 20 guns, none probably larger than 12 pounds, the others being 3 to 9, as was usual for these small ships. Cobb, being now Admiral of the expedition, the command of the *Roebuck* was given to one William Ayres with whom was associated a truculent rascal named David Jones to whose activities in covering up the evidence of their misdeeds, Sir William Foster is inclined (wrongly) to attribute the origin of the sea phrase "Davy Jones's Locker."

The existencé of the secret commission was kept from Ofield, who had no hand in the fitting out of the ships and the securing of a suitable crew. The latter task was left to the redoubtable Davy, who doubtless, set about obtaining trusty rascals from the taverns of Wapping, Stepney, and Limehouse, where were always to be found mariners eager to engage in anything promising the wherewithal for many a rousing carouse in Dockland accompanied by the venal caresses of Moll and Kate, and Doll and Sue, and Dorothy Draggletail, and others of the frail sisterhood. We may imagine the many low-voiced conferences over a black jack of strong ale, or a canikin of brandy wherewith David, and the prospective recruits exchanged confidences amply proving their qualification for an exalted position on the lower Thames

reaches, encased in a suit of pitched garments and suspended by creaking chains. Full many a salt sea joke must have been cracked at the *fond* (foolish) idea that such as they would be content with merely "ranging and discovering"?

It was not until the ships had left the Cape Verdes that the secret commission was shewn to Ofield, who at once refused any further part in the enterprise and demanded to be taken back to the Cape Verdes and there set ashore. This was, of course, refused, and he was taken on to Madagascar where he died, soon after the wreck of the *Samaritan* on the Comoros. The vessels were blown apart when rounding the Cape, and the *Samaritan* went on to St. Augustine's, where for some time she waited for her consort. At last, thinking she might have gone to the Comoros, the *Samaritan* proceeded there herself but was wrecked when attempting to enter the harbour of Mohilla during a storm.

As usual, in the hardy fashion of the time when crews wrecked in such places had to depend only on themselves, the men of the *Samaritan* set to work to construct a sloop from the wreckage in which they might get to Johanna, a fairly frequented port, or to the African coast. But the long, confined voyage and the severe weather met with when rounding the Cape had so weakened the crew, that when to this was added the exposure of a sea-swept beach and scanty and coarse provision saved from the wreck, the wonder was that any at all survived. In the end only 23 out of a crew of 72 survived to be taken off later by the *Roebuck*.

Meanwhile the latter called at St. Augustine's and Johanna, after which, thinking that the *Samaritan* had gone on to the Red Sea she herself proceeded thither, first waiting a few weeks at Cape Guardafui, another rendezvous. From there she sailed to the entrance to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, where after a time at the demand of the Company headed by Jones, the Master decided to attempt the first ship that came along. This victim turned up in the *Taufiqui*, a native-owned ship from Surat whose Nakhoda (native captain) thus describes what then happened:

“September 16th 1635. About evening on the 27th April wee espeied a smale shipp whiche drewe nere and then fired upon us though wee called oute that wee were from Surat and had a passe from the English. But the stranger continued to fire, so thinkinge we had to deal with Portuguese, or Turkish Pyrates, we began to plie oure owne ordinaunce in returne. We foughte the whole night, in whiche divers of oure people were slaine, and when it began to bee within two houres of day wee thoughte wee shoulde all die, and resolved ourselves to our fate. But Coja Abull Hussain bidde us bee of goode courage, and yf God were soe pleased, to die with resolucion. Oure enemies nowe seeing they could not prevail by firing, hung out an English flag and called to us that they were English, at which we were exceedinge overjoyed and sent oure boate with oure passe.”

This pass was a safe conduct issued by each Company to vessels under its protection. Other companies did the same and if they were at war, or even at open enmity, the possession of a pass signed by the one Company was considered sufficient justification for the seizure of the vessel by the other. Though the prize was already pre-condemned by the captors, they professed to find justification in the fact that though this pass was not signed by an enemy, and issued by the English Company at Surat, the signature of William Methwold, the President, had been by an oversight, omitted. Therefore this omission was seized upon by the pirates as shewing that the owners of the ship were “not in alliance with the King of England” and her seizure justified by the terms of their commission!

Accordingly they put a prize crew aboard the *Taufiqui*, threw all the arms and powder overboard, and commenced a search of the ship and cargo for money and jewels. The ships being very crowded with passengers and crew, the results of this preliminary rummage was meagre, so it was decided to take the ships to Socotra and there empty them

of everything living, in order that the passengers might be thoroughly searched ashore, and the ship when empty of them. The Nakhoda's account runs:

“For seven full days tenne Englishmen serched the ship throughout. They boared holes into the timbers to find money and jewels, and of what they found the captain tooke halfe and the generality the remainder. But the saylors stole more than they gave up. Tenne others days they searched the *Mahmudi*, till they found all they coulde, though she had a Portuguese pass and the nations were friendly. But they did not find all they desired so they again serched the passengers and the ship and then commenced to torture them to make them confess. Then they tooke the Nakhoda of her and bundinge his fingers together with wyre, put lighted match between them untill his fingers being burnt to the bones he confest where lay all the money. When they had broughte aboarde their shipp all the rials, then sayde the English: ‘Here bee the rials, but where bee the Ibrahims, for we heare you have great store of them aboarde.’ But not being told they again burnt the Nakhoda, the boat-swaine, the carpenters and the merchantes till all were neared and confest all they knew. But most cruelly of all did they torment the jeweller from Diu.

“Wee men of Suratt often told the captain that, att the news of this surprizall being tolde at Suratt, the Englishe shippes woulde come after them. But he onlie ansered: ‘Let be. Wee belonge to the Kinge and hold his Commitment. They at Suratt are but merchants who dare not meddle with us.’ The name of the Captain we were tolde is Collergo (sic) the leftenant, Franglee (Franklin) who hath a ring in his left eare. The masters and his mate Hassallee, and Dower, John Chubb, steward, and the carpenter called Tom. They have 28 men aboard and provisions for two years, carrying their flag at the missen. Yet despighte their most barbarous usage of the people they returned to the Coja 200 Venecians they tooke from him.”

Another mention gives the mate's name as Jones, and that there was aboard a boy named Harry. After having got all she could the *Roebuck* released the prizes to make the best of their way home giving the *Taufiqui* a pass signed by false names written in English, which foolish proceeding proved them to be English, and caused the imprisonment and severe treatment of President Methwold in reprisal. She then went to Johanna to seek for news of her consort and from thence to Mohilla to bring away the survivors. She found the pinnace half completed and that there were 23 survivors all of whom were brought back to Johanna with the longboat of the *Samaritan* which they later fitted out as a tender, the half-built pinnace not being likely to make a seaworthy craft. At Mohilla they landed their guns and established them in an earthwork, after which they careened and cleaned and re-sheathed their ship.

Whilst so engaged, though they had got as far as righting the vessel, the Company's ship *Swan*, Captain Proud outward bound, to India came into the harbour to water and provision. He was friendly enough until he heard of the piratical proceedings of the *Roebuck*, on which he called a consultation of the ship's officers and merchants, and on their advice decided to arrest Ayres and Cobb, and take them and their ship back to India where the case would be laid before the President at Surat; the supreme power of the English, east of the Cape. Shortly after Ayres and Cobb came aboard, and producing the King's commission demanded stores and assistance by virtue of the clause therein to that effect.

On this Proud produced his own commission which, like all those issued to the Company's commanders by virtue of their general Charter, gave him authority to deal with pirates east of the Cape, who were to be taken to the nearest English port to be tried.

"Wee now arrested the said Captain Cobb with Mr. Ayres and all under their command and forthwith gave orders that the £8,000—said to be aboard the *Roebuck*—be brought aboard us and kept in the Roundhouse under Captain Cobb's

own custody. But at the instigation of Mr. Ayres, Captain Cobb commanded his coxon and the rest of his men to goe ashoare and there to resiste anie of us thatt shoulde goe to demaunde monie, goodes or aught else with armes shoulde wee persiste.

“Oure two boates went ashoare with the intent aforesaid. But before wee coulde come neere the place where their shipp lay ashoare wee were charged on oure lives to come no neerer, their men beeing all up in arms, their drumme beatinge, their shipp well manned, and with a fort raised on the side of the hill wherin they had planted four great guns to command their ship also. They had also a number of small shott, each man having four peeces ready laden standing by him, and all of them bindinge themselves by oath to lose their lives ere they wolde part with the money. They thretininge to make oure gutts flie about oure heeles, came we any neerer.

“Nigte cominge on, and wee seinge them so resolute that wee coulde not obtain what wee wanted without bloodshed, wee returned aboarde. The next daye wee sente to demand of David Joanes, the mate of the *Roebuck*, the reason for suche resistance. To this hee ansered that wee shoulde get nothings without Mr. Cobb’s order. Consequently on June 29th the boate was again sent ashore with a written order from Ayres and Cobb, for Mr. Joanes to surrender the money, whiche hee most insolently refused to do. At this Captain Cobb was much mooved, and went off in oure longboate well manned with musketeers and with more small shotte in the skiffe.

“The boates were no sooner within shott than off comes three greate shott at them. Whereupon Mr. Cobb stood up in the boate and called to Mr. Joanes standing in the Fort to have a care of what he did. But, notwithstanding, this command was by him slighted, for instead of obeying Mr. Joanes sent off two more great shott at oure boate though within it was his own captain. Mr. Joanes beeing challenged to give up the money, ansered that hee woulde not surrender

thatt whiche belonged to His Majestie, wherupon Captain Cobb told him to father his theeveries on his Majestie."

However, in the end they came to an agreement under which the *Roebuck* made over a sum of £9,712 *os. od.* in cash and jewels which was to be sealed up in barrels and taken to Surat under charge of David Jones, and handed over to the President, until orders for its disposal came from England. Very naturally, Jones, who seems to have been responsible for the torturing and the prime mover in the seizure of the vessels, objected when so ordered. Cobb writes: "When I told Mr. Joanes to goe to Suratt with the money and there answer for that which he had done, he violently ansered that he wolde blow up the shipp first and itt wolde coast muche hott water to fetch him."

Eventually John Vincent, the coxswain, consented to accompany the money, and in return for this delivery, the carpenters of the *Swan* were sent to complete the repairs of the *Roebuck* and the longboat, the latter having the sides raised to act as a tender on the alleged voyage home. Early in July the *Swan* left for India and almost as soon as she had cleared the harbour, the *Roebuck* and her tiny consort prepared to indemnify themselves for the loss of their hard won booty. Certainly she broke her promise to return to England, but then so did Captain Proud his guarantee of immunity in return for the surrender of the plunder, for as soon as he got to Surat he had Vincent arrested and charges of piracy laid against him.

However, it made little difference, for long before this the President had despatched the *Blessing*, his largest available ship, to arrest the *Roebuck* wherever found and bring her to Surat for trial. But the luck was with the pirates, for on the 8th October 1636 White ruefully reported that "the *Roebuck* departed from Johanna with her longboat four days before I got there and hath gone to the Red Sea in pursuite of her villainous designs of which I misdoubte mee wee shall heare muche moore."

He was quite right, for on the 8th of November 1636

President Methwold, who had already suffered imprisonment on account of the former piracies by the same ship, entered in his Journal:

“This verie daye the whole towne is full of news dispeeded hither from Cambay that divers shippes were tayken in the Redd Sea amongst others two from Diu wiche are said to have lost 150,000 or 200,000 rials. This newes is confirmed by the Captain of Diu who bitterly complayneth of the renewed robberies perpetrated by the English who have againe this yeare tayken two shippes belonging to thatt port wherin were laden the proceeds of goodes belonging to merchauntes of Guzeratt. From one hath been taken 90,000 rials of eight the other not yet arrived therefore her losse not known.

“He also advises thatt there is tayken a junk of Porebunder and another of Dabull and alle done by the smale English shipp thatt was here last year and robbed. She is nowe assisted by the *Samaritan's* longboat built up higher and accomodated for their wicked purposes under charge of David Joanes.”

Meanwhile the *Blessing* was chasing after the elusive pirate. From Johanna the *Blessing* went off to Aden where White again missed the *Roebuck* by a few days. Being told she was near Bab-el-Mandeb he made all sail for that place only to find she had gone to Mohilla, where he followed. Here he again missed her, she having left for Johanna on Christmas Day 1636 three days before his own arrival. Again fortune favoured the pirates, for as he came in sight of the entrance to Johanna Harbour he sighted the *Roebuck* coming out with a favouring wind. The same wind that favoured the Rogues hindered the *Blessing* which had the mortification to see the *Roebuck* pass within two leagues dipping her colours and firing a derisive salute.

Before returning to England the *Roebuck* went over to the West Indies, where she must have gone to dispose of the silks and bale goods plundered from the prizes. It was not until

the 10th May 1637 that she arrived at Falmouth, having then aboard, according to report, cash and jewels, etc., to the value of £30,000, all of which was immediately landed and sent to London, to avoid the embargo which the East India Company had managed to procure with the idea of obtaining more with which to indemnify themselves for the large amount they had already paid as compensation.

Soon after warrants were issued for the arrest of Bonnell, Kynaston, Ayres and Cobb, which the former evaded by crossing to France, having been privately warned. Ayres and Cobb were arrested but released on bail, and remained so until 1642 when they were imprisoned by the Warden of the Cinque ports on an application from the Company. However, nothing was ever done in the way of trial, and in 1643 they were finally released. Bonnell and Kynaston had been pardoned by the King in the exercises of his prerogative soon after their flight to France and with the release of the others the matter dropped into the limbo of unredressed grievances.

The claims made on the Company were "For the three junks belonging to Diu Dabull and Porebunder, 317,000 pieces of eight (about £75,000) a claim that might safely be divided by half. They had already paid £22,413 for the *Taufiqui*, which would make the total over £50,000. Deducting the £9,712 recovered at Johanna, the balance in favour of the *Roebuck* would be over £40,000. The £30,000 landed must have gone to the King and the promoters, so that Captains and crew may have pouched about £10,000.

CHAPTER V

Miscellaneous Piracies, 1634-54—The Cruise of Hubert Hugo in the *Black Eagle*—John Hands of the *Bristol*—Piracies by Danish ships—John Coats and the Redclyffe Danish Piracies, 1684—The Cruise of the *Morning Star*—The *Nicholas of London* and her Company—The Taking of the Ketch, *Good Hope*—The Cruise of the *Good Hope*, 1686-89.

MISCELLANEOUS PIRACIES 1634-54

IN June 1634 the commander of the *Palsgrave*, an East India Company's ship, encountered two French vessels cruising off Diu whose manœuvres seemed so suspicious that he hove them to and demanded whence they came, and what was the object underlying their presence in waters where their country had no interests. He was informed that they had just come across from Madagascar and were bound for Sumatra which was not a very plausible explanation seeing that they were more than a thousand miles out of their course. However, there being no evidence of piracy, though plenty of intent, nothing could be done and the *Palsgrave* sailed off on her own business. What happened later is thus explained:

“The greatest of these French shippes afterwards arrived to Mauritius where she was cast away in a harrocan the shipp and all on board perishing save only 14 men that were ashore hunting and wood cutting. Which sayd information was brought to Suratt by the captain of a Dutch shipp coming from thence. These men were found to have many Venetians and Ibrahims about them, and it being demanded whence they had them, they replied thatt they had tayken them oute of a Junk in the Red Sea last year. Their smale shipp had also been cast away.”

In April 1637 the *St. Lois*, of St. Malo, returned to her home port after sixteen months' absence on a privateering excursion

into the Red Sea. It was reported to the Court of Directors of the East India Company that she had brought home specie and other value amounting to over £30,000, without counting a quantity of silks she had disposed of before reaching St. Malo. The sad experience of having to pay heavily for the piracies of the *Roebuck* still rankled with the Company, and fearing that the sins of the French pirates and others might be visited upon them, they issued very strict orders to their commanders to stop and arrest any persons or ships suspected of piratical intent. The result was that,

“October 16th, 1639. The *Discovery* returning from Mocha in September of this year encountered, near the Bab, a French ship called the *Eendracht* (Dutch: *Concord*) commanded by one Gilles de Regimont, the same that three years since pillaged the ships of Diu, who being invited aboard readily consented, and was there deteyned prisoner on suspicion of piratical intent. Whome his consorts would readily have rescued for finding themselves nimbler than your ships they presumed to come neere and discharge several great shott against the *Discovery* without doing her the least harm. What hurt the *Discovery* did her in return is not known but judged important because they so abruptly left her.

“It appeareth that they have not yet robbed any vessel, a conception confirmed by the safe return of all ships both belonging to the Company and to Suratt. The ship that escaped was about 300 tons, had 18 guns and sailed excellently well, otherwise she would have had to accompany her commander to England with the *Discovery*. She is now gone to the Red Sea and doubtless will do injury to the English if she hath good opportunity. . . . The *Supply* in her voyage from Sind being neere Kakkhan in Cutch descried one ship with a pinnace whiche gave her six hours' chase. The *Supply* being nimbler of sails plied her course so excellently well that she left the Frenchmen who are the same that your *Discovery* met with near Mocha.

“These ships have been before Sinda River where they continued some days in the hope of surprising some Portugall

ships returning from Bussora. Had they but stayed one day later they would without doubt have taken two galliots which arrived at Sinda and there unloaded 300,000 rials of eight. But they were not entirely empty handed for they soon surprised one of the Rawnee's ships and robbed her of 100,000 laress (about £5,000) after which they discharged her, willing her company to say to all that should ask they had been robbed by *the English*."

Regimont was taken to England, where on arrival, the Company had him arrested on account of a claim they made against him for £30,000, to meet any possible amounts that might be claimed from them on account of his previous piracies, for the Moguls knew no distinction between European nations at sea. After protracted legislation on this and Regimont's counter claims for wrongful arrest, the whole was dismissed by the Court of Admiralty in June 1641. On his return to France, Regimont fitted out another ship, and in 1643 returned the richer by some £20,000 (according to the Court Minutes).

The next after Regimont was a cruise fostered by Cardinal Richelieu of which the following account is given:

"September 1641. In May of this yeare, the *Marguerite*, of Dieppe, having a comition given to Captain David Digart by Cardinal Richelieu, arrived to the Island of Madagascar, and there spawned a demi-pinnace called the *Magdalen*, which they fitted, rigged and furnisht with two minion cutts (three pounders) oares, sayles, and what elce wanting. In which equipage Mr. Bayley found them at St. Augustine's whence both sett sayle for the Red Sea, where meeting with over boistrous weather and the pinnace not daring to face alone those overgrown seas, they parted company, she steering before the winde which brought her to the Coast of India in sight of your ship *London* sailing off Daman.

"Necessity enforced their retirement into the *London*, and they sending their vessel adrift Mr. Prowd bought her for £30, put 12 of your seamen into her and brought her to

Swally. Thereafter she made one voyage with lead, but being brought to ground, bilged and was entirely lost, though her guns, masts and anchor were saved. Of her own crew of 12 men, six were Frenchmen and six Scots, which latter were at once added to the crew of the *London* and the others served without pay until want of seamen enforced their entertainment on the same pay. The *Marguerite* hath returned to Dieppe having done no damage as yet ascerteyned, no ship being reported lost or plundered."

In 1644-5 another French ship was reported by John Spiller, Factor at Gombroom, to have made "great booty." "She is now gone to the backside of Madagascar where they have a Fort and plantation (Port Dauphin). She is said to be a very great ship." In 1647 Spiller reported that "a great French ship lying off Muscatt hath lately plundred some ships and let them go. She is said to have 80 (sic) guns and 300 men in her." But this ship was not French, being one of a fleet of six Danish vessels sent out to establish a Factory or trading station in India. In January 1648 one of them appeared off Balasore and there seized a ship belonging to the *Subah* of Bengal aboard which were six elephants and all his baggage from Arracan.

As the English and Dutch ships lying there took no action against the Dane, the *Subah* attempted reprisals on them, his plea being that they were all alike Christians, and therefore responsible for each other's misdeeds. He then attempted to confiscate their goods in the up-river factories, to which the Europeans objecting, he threatened such action that they all went aboard their ships and cleared for action. The report runs:

"The tide being spent and the winde blowing fresh at N.N.E. wee were compelled to falle down the river where wee roade untill one or two of the clocke without shootinge. What time it seemes because of oure sufferance, they deemed us their owne, and came downe uppon us like a flock of tigers first firing oure bankshall (warehouse) ashoare and then heaving

dust at us. At last our pacience could hold no longer, soe we addreste ourselves to oure greate gunns, and for three fowre houres made such warm work that each was glad to make peece." Of the Danes no more was heard.

The next batch were Frenchmen, being part of a squadron of six ships under the Duc de Meilleraye who arrived at Port Dauphin in 1654. Some stayed at Madagascar to procure slaves whilst others went into the Red Sea and the Gulf to see what they could pick up. One was rather unfortunate according to the following report:

"November 1656. This monthe a French Pyratt was forced by foul weather and want of provisions to go into Aden where her crew were all seized by the Grete Imaun by whom all were circumcised. But after the greter part escaped and got to Tatta, from whence they came to Suratt. They had another ship which was their Admirall, shee being an English built ship of 25 guns. They cannot say what hath become of her, they parting company in a grete storm."

But she had got safely to Madagascar where she filled up with slaves and returned to France in the year 1657.

THE CRUISE OF HUBERT HUGO IN THE BLACK EAGLE

In the year 1654 the President of the Dutch East India Company at Ahmadabad, a Fleming named Hubert Hugo, for reasons which do not transpire, resigned his post and returned to Holland. His long residence and high position in India had familiarised him with the rich cargoes and numbers of very wealthy pilgrims to Mecca in the ships which yearly passed between the Gulf Ports and Surat, Diu, or Goa, and that in accordance with the Indian custom, these pilgrims took all their valuable jewels and large sums of money with them.

Having resolved to turn to the very profitable occupation of robbing these ships, Hugo, to avoid the risk of being taken and hung as a common pirate, procured a commission from the Duc de Vendôme for a privateering cruise to the East

Indies on the usual terms of a share in the profits. Having secured this, he purchased and fitted out at Amsterdam, ostensibly for a slaving cruise to the Guinea Coast, a ship of 450 tons and 36 guns, which he named the *Black Eagle*. Early in 1661 he sailed from Amsterdam to Havre de Grace, where he completed his crew up to 350 men and officers, mostly Frenchmen lent from their Navy.

From here he went down the African coast calling nowhere until he reached Table Bay where he re-provisioned and watered. He then rounded the Cape and after a short stay at St. Augustine's sailed to the Red Sea, where he arrived about April 1662 having been greatly delayed by calms and adverse winds. His proceedings there are given in two separate accounts both of which we shall give. J. John Smith, Principal at Mocha, wrote: "May 1662. This great French Pyratt, Signior Hubert Hugo, hath this year surprised many country vessels from whome he is possest of much riches. Sometyes he shroudeth himsself under Dutch collors, and sometyes under Englishe, and at all tyme most unmercifull to all soe unfortunitt as to fall intoe his handes. He hath made gret havock in Mocha Bunder, having twice beten the Governor and burnt three jounckes in the harbour, slayne his souldiers, and taken six of his grete boates with 14 peeces of artillerie. Which sayde boates in derision he broughte before the Governor and burnt them all in a row, and then went awaye with divers riche prizes he hath tayken, and carryinge certain Moores thatt were sent unto him to mayke peece."

Niccolo Manucci, the Venetian, who was then a captain of artillery in the service of Aurungzebe, gives the following version:

"The reason why Aurungzebe decided to establish a fighting navy of his own was the loss of several vessels to the Pirates amongst which was one laden with cowries taken on the way to Mecca after some fighting. The captain and the merchants on the ship told the Pirates that the cowries were of no use to

them, but that if they would take the ship to Mecca it would be ransomed for Rs 80,000. The proposal being accepted, the Pirates took the captured ship to Mecca where at a distance from the Port, they awaited the fulfillment of the bargain. But the Mahommedans instead of carrying out the bargain honestly, made use of two Royal vessels being there, which had brought rich lords and ladies to Mecca from Hindustan, and, with the assistance of other ships, sailed out to capture the Franks.

“But, from being the hunter, they became the hunted, for the Pirates, pretending to take flight, drew these inexperienced men out to sea, and then suddenly veering round, discharged their ordnance amongst the pursuing vessels, dispersing them in all directions. They captured one ship and after stripping it set it on fire so consuming not only the ship but all that were in it. Nor were they satisfied with this revenge, but knowing that the Mahommedans possessed little skill at sea, they sailed to the latitude of Diu, where they awaited the Royal ships returning from Mecca with high-placed lords and ladies, besides much store of sequins and jewels, with their owners. When the two ships arrived they attacked and took them, taking away all the valuables and dishonouring the ladies before they let the ships go.

“When the news of this outrage reached Aurungzebe, he decided to establish a navy of his own. The chief secretary to whom he imparted the design said that though there was no lack of materials there were no men suitable to direct such a navy. To this the Emperor replied that this should be done by the Frank gunners of whom there were many in his employ. Therefore, he ordered a ship to be constructed, which, when ready, was launched on a great tank. Then the European artillerymen accustomed to navigation, went aboard the vessel, and by managing the sails and rudder, caused it to move in all directions—discharging the cannon as if engaged with an enemy. When the Emperor saw the skill required to manage this ship, he concluded that such work was unsuited to the natives of Hindustan, but required European dexterity and boldness.”

Thevenot, a French traveller in India at this time, gives yet a third account which we quote, though it apparently refers to a ship other than those just mentioned.

“The ship carrying the luggage of the Queen of Bijapur and many pilgrims was stranded near Socotra Island, at the entrance to the Red Sea. The Queen was not on board, having taken passage in a Dutch ship. When the Pirate Hugo came up with the ship finding he could not gain access he waited patiently and not in vain, for the Indians had buried or concealed all their gold, silver, jewels and suchlike articles, hoping for a ship to rescue them. But having been short of water for a long time they were compelled to resort to the Pirate, there being none where they were wrecked. They hoped he would be satisfied with what they had left in the vessel, which might have been, had not a false brother told Hugo that all had been concealed and sunk in the sea, and that the carpenter and his son knew the whereabouts of the great quantities of money, jewels and valuables, brought by the Queen and others, for presents at Mecca, Medina, and to the Great Imaum. Therefore he thoroughly tortured the Carpenter and his son until they brought out all that had been hidden on land and in the sea.”

This account of the taking of the ship belonging to the Queen of Bijapur is corroborated by the Records of the Dutch Factory which give the total amount of gold and silver, taken by Hugo, at between two and three tons weight, besides a quantity of jewels of which one diamond alone was worth about £12,000. The value of the general booty was about three million pounds, content with which Hugo sailed homewards in June 1633 taking with him the Mahomedan prisoners mentioned by John Smith. One he put ashore at St. Helena, and turned the others adrift in France, from whence they were brought to England by the charity of the English East India Company, and, after giving a sworn statement that the pirates were not English, given a free passage to Persia.

This cruise of Hubert Hugo, though the least known, was about the most successful of all in the amount of plunder taken.

JOHN HANDS AND THE "BRISTOL," 1684

Early in the year 1684 an interloping (private trader) ship named the *Bristol* made a piratical attack on a Dutch vessel off the coast of Sumatra which failed, she being driven off and pursued until she got clear under cover of night. A few months later Hands landed a party, and attacked, plundered, and burnt some native villages on the Sumatran coast in revenge for being denied provisions. In this encounter Hands himself was killed, and the ship, under a new captain, whose name does not transpire, sailed to the Maldives to pick up a cargo of cowries to use in bartering on the Indian coast. Being again refused permission to trade, they plundered, and burnt the native villages and then filled up with cowries.

From here she went to the Coromandel coast, where by using the stolen cowries she obtained a cargo of piece goods, and then sailed for home. She put in at Johanna for wood, water, etc., and whilst there was arrested by the *Phoenix* man of war, a vessel sent out at the request of the East India Company to prevent interloping trade. Having ascertained what the *Bristol* had been up to on the Sumatran coast and the Maldives, and that she had a cargo obtained in India, Captain Tyrrell seized the *Bristol*, and another small ship of the same sort named the *Betty*. What next happened is described by Captain Hamilton, himself a noted interloper:

"Captain Tyrrell designed to carry the *Bristol* and the other ship to India, but she being very wormeaten, sank the second day out from Johanna, her crew being saved by the *Phoenix*. When they came to Bombay, the crew of the *Bristol* were treated as Pirates, and cast into prison. Mr. Mews, the supercargo, was arraigned before the tribunal, where after being called many opprobrious names he was fined £1,000, all he possessed confiscated, and then cast into prison until the fine should be paid. But Mr. Vaux, the Judge, reviewing the case, had the men released and given a passage

to England. When the owners of the *Bristol* found out what had been done with their ship and her company they brought an action against the East India Company, and had them cast in £20,000 damages, Captain Tyrrell being their agent."

JOHN COATS MASTER OF THE "REDCLYFFE"

About the middle of the year 1684, John Coats, an interloper who had been trading and cruising, maybe on less reputable business, since 1680, between Sumatra and Siam, was chartered by the King of Siam to make reprisals on the ships of the subjects of one of the Indian states for some insults or injuries. There were at this time a number of vagabond Englishmen in the service of the King from whom Coats made up a full crew and then set out on his cruise. The first prize he took was one called the *Kedderee*, belonging to a merchant of Golconda, from which they took goods and money to the value of £24,000 after which she was released.

He next captured the *New Jerusalem* belonging to an Armenian merchant of Madras which was clear piracy, even if the former act was doubtful. This ship was taken to Bangkok where she was armed with 18 guns, supplied with a European crew of 80 men of the same description as that of the *Redclyffe*, and, under one Alexander Leslie, sent off on a separate cruise. Both vessels took a number of Indian-owned ships, mostly hailing from native states, which piracies being attributed to the countrymen of the English Company, caused an embargo to be laid on their factories and goods, in order to exact compensation. It was not until the deaths of Coats, Leslie, and a number of their men in an attack on the Fort of Maccassar, that the embargo was raised, this unprovoked attack convincing the Indian princes that the men who had taken their ships were really pirates.

PIRACIES BY DANISH SHIPS, 1684

In February of this year it was reported to the President of the English Company at Surat, that two Danish ships which

were known to be cruising in Indian waters, had taken, plundered, and in some cases sunk, a number of Indian-owned vessels, which latter was unusual with English pirates unless they had suffered severely. These vessels, which were ships of 24 and 30 guns, were also held to be responsible for the disappearance of the *Formosa*, a vessel belonging to the East India Company, which sailed for England from Calicut in March 1684. Both the Danish ships were hovering off Calicut at the time, which caused Captain Hamilton to write:

"'Tis supposed that the *Formosa* was sunk by the two Dane ships, for on the same night she left Calicut, a great firing was heard out at sea, and no further news ever given of the *Formosa*. It is supposed she was sunk by them, but on what account, none but themselves could tell."

On the 16th of November, the same ships held up the *Calicut Merchant*, commanded by Thomas Dobson, of Mangalore, on the Malabar Coast, some distance above Calicut. They commanded Dobson to send his boat aboard them, and when he refused opened fire on him, after which they boarded and attacked the crew killing one man and wounding several others. Apparently having made a mistake, or realising the possible consequences, the Danes now left the ship, and not only that but sent a surgeon to attend to the wounded men, and paid liberal compensation for the relatives of the man they had killed. No proceedings were taken against them.

THE CRUISE OF THE "MORNING STAR"

In November 1685 a man named Charles Hopkinson was accidentally left ashore at Point de Galle, through the boat from which he had landed to purchase provisions for a ship in the offing, being blown off shore in a sudden squall. As the ship sailed off without waiting for Hopkinson, or making any signals, such conduct was thought suspicious, and Hopkinson was arrested and sent to Bombay to be dealt with by his own countrymen. At his trial for suspected piracy it transpired that Hopkinson had been first mate of the *Satisfaction*, an

American privateer, commanded by Captain Conway, which left New York in January 1684 for a cruise on the Guinea Coast.

After taking a number of ships for the owners' account the Company decided to set up on their own, and as Captain Conway refused to join them, put him and some other dissentients aboard a prize in which they arrived safely at New York. Having disposed of their late captain, the Company elected Thomas Harris Captain, with Hopkinson as their Quartermaster. They then sailed down the African coast, and rounding the Cape, cruised along the coast of East Africa where they took several small prizes, some of which they sunk after plundering because they had offered resistance. They also attacked and burnt some coast villages, seemingly in pure wantonness.

Being in need of careening, the *Satisfaction* went to Johanna preparatory to a cruise in Indian waters, but, as with so many other ships, whether pirate or honest, was wrecked in attempting to make that very dangerous harbour in a storm. Most of the crew got ashore, and there remained for some six months until an outward bound pirate, called the *Morning Star*, arrived on her way to the Red Sea the happy hunting grounds of the pirate fraternity. The survivors of *Satisfaction* joined the *Morning Star*, Harris becoming Quartermaster as their representative.

Though the *Morning Star* made all possible haste to the Red Sea, she missed the annual fleets from Mocha and Jeddah, and had to content herself with such small game as a few coasting vessels. She had no better luck on the east coast of India, and was on her way to try the Straits of Malacca when Hopkinson was accidentally left ashore at Point de Galle. The evidence against Hopkinson being only his own admission that he had been engaged in piracy, to which he alleged he had been forced, he was deported to England for disposal and there ultimately released. Of the *Morning Star* nothing was ever again heard, so it may be possible that she was sunk in the storm which blew her boat off shore.

THE "NICHOLAS" OF LONDON AND HER COMPANY

This vessel was the harbinger of the Pirates of the Spanish Main and the Pacific Coast, themselves the successors of the Buccaneers, who about the year 1683-4, began to find those once very profitable seas yielding a very poor harvest, both by reason of the increasing strength of the Spanish Coast-guard, and the wariness of the merchant ships. For many years the semi-piratical enterprises of the buccaneers and their successors, had been so profitable, that unscrupulous speculators in England, France, and later in America, regularly despatched well-found vessels on such expeditions.

Amongst the English ships was the *Nicholas*, of London, 250 tons, 20 guns, and 80 men, which in November 1682, left London Pool for the South Seas, under command of John Eaton. After taking a few prizes of small value on the east coast of South America, the *Nicholas* arrived off the entrance to the Straits of Magellan, where she found the *Cygnets*, another London ship, commanded by, curiously enough, one Swan. After passing the Straits together, the consorts shaped a course for Juan Fernandez, a noted rendezvous for the privateers of the Pacific coast until their decline and final extinction about ten years later. Here they found a number of leaders whose names are still well known in the literature of the Brethren of the Coast, and their successors, these being Coxon, Sharp, Watling, and Sawkins (amongst others).

Soon after the arrival of the *Nicholas* and the *Swan*, there came in a French contingent, aboard of one of which was William Dampier, who left her to ship with John Davis for a time, after which he engaged with Swan in the *Cygnets*. For some time Davis, Eaton, and Swan, cruised in company taking a few prizes which yielded an insufficient booty to suit all. Therefore they parted, Davis remaining in the South Seas, and the *Nicholas* and *Cygnets* making for Eastern Seas, via the Philippines, the first of a number who afterwards

followed their example. Soon after sailing they lost company, each then steering his own course.

Eaton first fetched up at Guam, in the Ladrones, from the Spanish Governor of which, he accepted a commission to suppress a revolt, the reward for success being all the plunder he could take, and a free hand in other matters. Though the rebellion was most ruthlessly put down, the results in plunder were not up to the expectations of the pirates, who then turned on the Spanish Governor and the settlers, and robbed them just as thoroughly. They then had their ship fully provisioned free of charge, after which they left Guam, much to the relief of the Spanish. From here the *Nicholas* cruised amongst the Islands, taking ships and plundering, burning, and ravishing, wherever the Company landed.

In May 1685 the *Nicholas* arrived in the Canton River so gorged with rich plunder that the crew haughtily refused to plunder some Chinese junks laden with silks lying near by, averring that they were "Gentlemen of Fortune" not mere hucksters. However, their sails being worn out, they did condescend to relieve the junks of sufficient silk to make a new suit of sails, thus being the only pirates who ever emulated Cleopatra's famous barge in which she met Mark Antony. But such splendour did not mean efficiency, for soon after leaving Canton they relieved an East India Company's ship of her sails giving their own in exchange, much to the disgust of the recipient.

From Canton they were next heard of at Timor, where their usual proceedings made them so unwelcome that the inhabitants sent off for the Portuguese Fleet, on the approach of which the *Nicholas* left the place, to be next heard of at Madras, where Eaton died just in time to avoid arrest, the goods he was disposing of being very suspicious. Part of the crew here quitted the *Nicholas* while the rest remained with her and ultimately reached England after having come to terms with the authorities at Madras. The others, who were the most choice of all the rascals, made their way to

Masulipatam where they seized a small country ship and went on a pirating cruise in the Bay of Bengal.

Not long afterwards the new venture was caught in a great storm off Point Palmyras by which she was dismasted, and soon after foundered, the crew having barely time to take to the boats with nothing but their arms and a beaker of water. Up to this St. Nicholas had done quite well by this batch of his *clerks*, and it must have been owing to forgetfulness, or the pressing claims of some neophytes, that he permitted their Rogues' Ark to founder almost beneath their feet, and though they took to the boats, before morning all but one of the boats had descended to Davy Jones's locker while the sable-tinted souls of their once occupants had found the innermost corner of the nethermost pit of their patron's domain. However, just in time for those in the last boat, St. Nicholas noticed that their contract was still unexpired, so, extending his trident, he guided the boat to where lay the means of enabling them to serve out the stipulated term.

Chief amongst those so respited was Walter Beard, the Quartermaster, and Lawrence French, the Gunner, the latter having a wife at Bombay so well worthy of him that the Chief Justice eventually awarded her the sun-drying cure necessary for the malodorous duck peculiar to the place, though out of consideration for her sex he omitted the concomitant operations of eviscerating and sun-drying. This by the way. However, after some days of tossing about in the Bay the Gentlemen of Fortune arrived off Balasore where awaited them the "Pylott Ketch *Good Hope*" which though a trifle small for deep sea work was still better than nothing as a means to a larger end.

"20th April 1687. The Right Honourable Company's Ketch *Good Hope* having brought up to Balasore two Pylotts destined to carry the *Rebecca* and *Rochester* to Heugely, was at sunrising surprised and taken by some of Captain Eaton's men. They first bound the master and myself, Henry Watson, and the rest of the men, one George Robinson alone excepted, readily consenting to go try their fortune with them they confined

the master, Samuel Herron, and Charles Hopkins and myself and cutting the cabel in the halse went for the Nincumbarrs."

Now, this bare statement of facts, though containing all essential ones, is to what it might have been, as the handful of dry grains and spices is to the lordly dish of succulently steaming provender that the nut brown matron furnishes therefrom for the delectation of her expectant lord. Let us in like manner try to expand in the manner of the writer of pirate fiction. Something like this it should run. . . .

Dimly by the fading gleams of the waning moon fast setting behind the feathery palms on the league distant shore, do we discern a quaint old duck-breasted, two-masted, squat and archaic vessel dipping and straining to her anchor responsive to the swell of the dying gale passing on to break in dull booming, watery wrath on the low, sandy shore. Save for the riding light at her mainmast head there is no visible sign of life within her. Yet, on her deck lie sprawled a score of white mariners bemused with arrack, and snatching that uneasy slumber that comes to men exhausted by the blanketing heat of a tropic night just before dawn.

But besides *sight*, there are *sounds* of life, for up through the open hatch rumbles a dreadful concatenation of cacophonous discords engendered by the nasal organs of Master and *Pylott* who lie stretched on the locker tops partnered in slumber by empty rum bottles. None keeps watch, for the European "Pirate of the Eastern Seas" is as yet unheard of, while the Mug and Portuguese rascals of the Sunderbunds have just before been exterminated by the *Subah* of Bengal, restoring security to the coast.

But vain their slumbering security, for in from the Bay creeps a battered longboat crusted with salt rime, and pitching and plunging over the swells under a patchwork sail of tattered shirts stretched to a crazy jury rig of boat oars. Fiercely intent on the dimly-looming ketch crouches in the bow Walter Beard, a burly, rufous ruffian bearded to the very eyes, mossy chested as an Himalayan, red and naked save for a pair of tarry,

ragged breeches and a broad flap-brimmed hat tied on with a faded kerchief darkly stained with ominous marks of bygone slaughter. Dismally crouched on the thwarts or miserably sprawled beneath them lie a dozen others as scantily clad, all half dead with thirst and hunger, their sole sustenance the mouthful of tepid, salty water doled out by Lawrence French, at whose feet lie the collected weapons guarded by himself knife at girdle and clumsy flintlock pistol in hand.

The moment at hand, Beard growls forth muttered orders, sulkily obedient to which the wretches bestir themselves and grasp the weapons handed forth by French testing the pistol primings and feeling cutlass edge in grim preparation. A quarter mile further and at another signal down drops the rude sail and apart comes the jury rig, the one to be torn to muffle the rowlocks and the other to urge the boat silently forward beneath the stern of the slumbering unsuspecting ketch. Keenly alert for any slight sign of watch and ward Beard quietly hooks on to the low stern and hangs to it while his mates, pistol in breeches band and cutlass in mouth, clamber aboard, himself following last after making fast.

A slight pause while whispered orders are repeated, and then, dividing, the band sweep along either side of the deck, pricking the dazed prisoners into frightened life and sweeping them forward into the forecastle, there to be fastened in while the others drop down and secure the after-guard before they, too, are well awake. All secured, the pirates drop back into their boats and, passing round to the bow, while Beard cuts the cable, drag her head round to the open sea. This done, the crew again clamber aboard, set sail, and away "On the *Account*" goes the *Good Hope* to the toast of a "Good voyage and a Bloody one," hoarsely drunk in hook pots of fiery arrack by the rejoicing pirates. Thus and thus; now let us descend from the mast head of fiction to the prosaic deck of sober fact as narrated by the worthy Henry Watson.

THE CRUISE OF THE "GOOD HOPE," 1686-9

"The Mate Duncan Mackindes (Mackintosh) having turned Rogue with the Remaynder was elected captain (Being the only navigator) after which the villains sett sayle for the Nincumbarrs before coming to which it was putt to the vote whether they would putt the Master and Myself ashore on the Andiman Islands, inhabited by man eater. This not being decided, they went to the Nincumbarrs, where they watered and wooded the Ketch, and then proceeded on their Pyratting designs to the Streights of Mallacca. Off Achim they took a small prow bound for that place whereon they putt the Master but would not let me goe with him.

"One George Robinson, not desiring to goe with them, also went into the boat thinking to leave the ship, but was hauled back by the hair of the head and threatened to be murdered. In the sight of Mallacca they came up with a Chinese Junk which hadd two Portuguese Pylotts aboard, one of which, with the Chinese merchant, came aboard with a Dutch pass. They deteyned them, manned the Junks boate with their own Rogues, went on board, found no money in her, she beeinge laden with Sandall Wood, soe they tooke out a chest of silke, some cloathes, cutt holes in her and sunke her crewe and all. The aforesayde Portuguese Pylotts informed them that there was a great Portuguese shipp gone before and iff they mayde the best of their way they mighte come up with her. Which befell accordingly in the Streights of Sincumpura (Singapore). They tooke her under the King of England's colours firing three guns only. The first cutt away their top gallant sayles, the next their topsayles, and the third hulled her all up." Good shooting!

"After they had tayken the plate and jewells out of her, they burned her with her crew, and ran away by the light of the fyre. From thence they went to Pulo Condore to await the coming of the Junkes from Manilla, alsoe two greate Junkes that yearly goe to Japan with much wealth. There they remayned until the closing of the yeare served for the

coming of the ships from China, Japan and, the Manillas, in the menetye making the ketch a pink, by putting in another mast. Then they went a cruising to windward. Riding at the southermost part of the Island they see a ship to which they gave chase, came up with her fyred att her withoute haleing, whiche fought her stoutly, killing the Pyratt's one man. The Sea being soe greate they were forsed to lett her goe without boarding.

"Neere Pulo Chee they saw a Malay prow, manned theire boate in order to tayke her, and when they came under her sterne ordered them aboard the Ketch. But the Malayers ansered thatt the sun was setting and in the morning they woulde come which caused one Richard Webb to fire his fusee into the Prow wiche returned a volley killing two men and wounding three. Soe the Pyratts turned tayle. As soone as the Malayers saw this they nimbly stepped intoe theire boates and pursued the Pyratts until within gunshott of their ketch (Pink?) Soon after this the Pyratts see a Japan junk, gave chase untill the Japoners seeing they coulde nott get cleere of the Rogues, bore down upon them and hadd run them under water had they not lett goe the mainesheet.

"Neere a Rogue of them all durst even fyre a grenade into the Japoner, which chased them neere to Pulo Panjang when secing the Pyratts prepare to attack she left them. Soone after they saw another Japon Junk to which they gave chase butt colde nott come up with her. Soe, feringe they would gett soe deepe intoe the Bay of Siam they colde nott turn itt up again (be landlocked?) they left the chase and came back to Pulo Panjang, and Pulo Condore, where they cruised for some tyme untill, provisions being scarce, they went off to some Islands neere the Coast of Borneo where some had before bin with Eaton. Heere I layd a plott to cutt them off, perswadinge some ten others to enter into the conspiracy. Butt the nighte wee were to putt itt intoe execucion we were betrayd by the Dutch carpenter though as deeply engaged as ourselves.

“Therefore they putt us all, and as many others as were willing, on an uninhabited island four miles distant from Tymbolan. About sunsett there came much lightning, thunder and rain, from which wee suffered much, having nothing to protect us, save the canopie of Heaven from which dropped much moisture. In the morning they relented and sent the cannoe to bring us aboard. But findinge wee wolde nott come they gott up their anchor and sailed away. We then mayde itt oure business to try to gett to Tymbolan by wading on the corally rocks which cutt us full sore. Some-tymes we were onlie up to the knees and then suddenlie at one tyme in the water upp to oure neckes.

“At laste Divine Providence sente us a fishing boate to whiche wee called, and they tayking us intoe their cannoe, carried us to Tymbolan where wee continewed for six weekes before wee colde have opportunity of going thence to the Streights of Mallacca by reason they were embroyled in a warr with the Dutch and theire neighbouring princes. From hence wee went to Johore where a cessation of armes happening, wee embarked on a Dutch sloop for Mallacca. At Johore wee left three of oure Company whom we suspected will turn Malayers, or Mussalman, viz. Thomas Steele, Matthew Curtis, and Antony Budart. Arrived safe at Mallacca the following, Henry Watson, George Robinson, Francis Cook, where wee founde the ‘*Pearl Frigatt*’ with wiche wee came safe to Madras where wee gave in oure Depositions to the Honourable Elihu Yale and Sir George Bigge.”

Here followeth a list of Captain Eaton’s men who took the *Good Hope* and what happened to them (this is dated four years later):

Duncan Mackindes, Captain Herron’s mate turned Rogue	Hanged at Guinea
Nicholas Burton	
Richard Webb	
Richard Potter	
John Dunkston	Killed at Malayers
Marcus Carpenter	Killed by Malayers
George Robertson	An Honest Man

Antony Budart	Turned Mussalman
Thomas Steele	Turned Mussalman
Matthew Curtis	Turned Mussalman
John Linch	Died at Johore
Francis Cook	Killed by Malayers
Lawrence French, whose wife was hanged at Bombay	Killed by Malayers
Cornelius Patterson, Dutchman	Hanged at Guinea
Hendrick —, Dutchman	
James Williamson	Killed by Portuguese
Walter Beard	Hanged at Guinea

This list does not account for all on board, who would be between 30 and 40 at least. Probably these names and the fates of those given were all that the writer recollected four years after the piracy. The next heard of the *Good Hope* was her arrival at St. Augustine's in May 1689 "with good store of money and diamonds." Judging by the fate of Macintosh and Beard she must have been taken on her way home by a man-of-war and taken to Cape Corse Castle where her crew were tried, and duly hanged.

CHAPTER VI

Danish Piracies, 1686-87—The Cruise of the *Bachelor's Delight* and the *Little England*—The Cruise of the *Unity*—Punishments for Piracy, 1687-90—The Deposition of Captain Adam Baldrige—Minor Piracies.

DANISH PIRACIES

IN January 1686 a squadron of four Danish vessels cruising on the Malabar Coast were reported to have plundered a Surat-owned ship of cash and goods to the value of Rs. 200,000. A month later these same ships were held up near Calicut by Captain Tyrrell of the *Phoenix*, a Royal ship sent out expressly to suppress piracy. On being asked to explain their action the Danes "shewed a commission from His Danish Majesty authorising them to exact such reparation as they thought fitting from Indian-owned vessels for injuries done to Danish subjects by the Great Mogull." For this reason, and the odds, no action was taken.

THE CRUISE OF THE "BACHELOR'S DELIGHT"

In March 1683 the buccaneer, John Cook, fell out with Watling, Sharpe and Coxon, over the division of plunder taken by the fraternity and with 70 others of like mind, marched across the Isthmus of Panama to the Eastern side. Here they found at anchor a vessel of 18 guns which they took by surprise and re-named the *Revenge*. Meeting with little success in the Carribbean Sea, the *Revenge* cruised up to the Virginian coast with no better luck, so decided to return to their old haunts in the South Sea by way of the Guinea Coast and Cape Horn. On the coast they took a number of prizes, one being a Portuguese ship which they exchanged for their own, re-naming it the *Bachelor's Delight*.

They now crossed over to the coast of South America and through the Straits of Magellan into the South Seas where in June 1684 Cook died, and was succeeded by John Davis, another old buccaneer, who gathered round him four other buccaneer ships, of which he became commodore. The next we hear of the buccaneer fleet is in August 1685 when they plundered and burnt the town of St. Leon, in Nicaragua. There is another hiatus until May 1686, when the buccaneer fleet was attacked by a Spanish squadron of seven ships with whom they fought a bloody but indecisive action. Whether of choice or necessity, Davis now cruised alone for the next two years, apparently meeting with enough success to enable him to quit the profession with wealth, if not honour.

In January 1688 he left the South Seas and came to Carolina, arriving there in May of the same year. Here the Company broke up, selling the *Bachelor's Delight* to a syndicate, and Davis, taking advantage of an Act of Grace, returned to England to become a landed gentleman. The new owners fitted the *Bachelor's Delight* for what they were pleased to call a privateering cruise in Eastern waters, giving the command to a Captain Raynor who, with the enthusiastic consent of the Company, declared for "The Account" as soon as they were fairly out to sea. As most of them were probably old pirates, for by now the buccaneers were nothing else, the owners might have expected such an event to happen. At St. Augustine's the *Bachelor's Delight* met the *Cygnets*, now renamed the *Little England*, the same ship that had cruised with Eaton in the South Seas.

As this vessel has been sometimes confused with the *Bachelor's Delight* it will be as well to recount her adventures after parting company with Eaton on their way to the Philippines. With William Dampier aboard, the *Cygnets* cruised off the Philippines and in the Chinese Seas, taking a number of ships other than English or Dutch, and plundering, burning, and outraging wherever they landed near unarmed towns or villages. As often happened in these cases crew and

captain soon came to cross purposes and continual quarrels arose. The climax came at Mindanao in January 1687 at which date Dampier left the ship and very soon after the crew ran off with it leaving their captain to the vengeance of the Mindanoans. When fairly out to sea the crew elected James Smith captain and then sailed across to the Bay of Bengal where in April 1688 they took a Surat-bound vessel which they plundered and stripped even to her sails and cordage.

Being in need of careening they put in at Trimlewas, a small and unfrequented harbour some distance above Madras, and this having been done took in wood and water preparatory to resuming the cruise. But on this matter a difference of opinion arose which in the end resulted in some of the company going to Madras to seek pardon and others into the interior to endeavour to obtain employment as gunners with the native princes, with whom such men were always in demand. The first few, led by Herman Coppinger, the surgeon, were pardoned and sent to England while the others, led by one John Oliver, managed to secure the desired posts at about Rs. 100 a month.

Soon tiring of their new life, they left it and gathering a number of other European derelicts formed a predatory band existing by robbery from the natives. As might be expected, it was not long before many were killed, the remainder surrendering to the Company, by whom they were mostly hanged. Meanwhile the 60 or so left aboard renamed the *Cygnets* the *Little England* and in her went round to Cannanore off which in February 1689 they took and plundered a country ship of Rs. 200,000, and after sinking her went to St. Augustine's Bay, where she was found by Captain Freke of the *James* (wrecked near by) in May 1689 in company with the *Bachelor's Delight*.

Being informed of the expected arrival of the *Chandos*, an East India Company's ship having power to take pirates, both vessels left the harbour, the *Bachelor's Delight* to continue her voyage, and the *Little England* to return after the

Chandos had passed by St. Augustine's, she being unseaworthy through the ravages of the Teredo worms. It was as well that she did so, for she sank at her anchors within a week of her return. Of these ships and a third of which we have only this mention, Ovington writes:

"Whilst we were at St. Helena there came there a ship from Madagascar with negroes, bound for New York. She informed us of three Pyrats she had left rendezvousing at St. Augustine's Bay, two of which were English, and one Dutch, all richly laden with store of silks and plunder taken in the Red Sea and elsewhere. Their rigging was much worn and weathered, and for want of a new suit of sails they were forced to employ double silk instead of canvas. They had spent so much time in the naval surprise of the Moors, and loading themselves with rich booty, that their ships were almost useless and unfit for navigation.

"They were prodigal in the expenses of their unjust gain, quenching their thirst in the most expensive Europe liquors. They were frank enough in distributing their goods, and guzzling the noble wines as if they were both weary with the recollection of their rapine, and willing to stifle all recollections of melancholy connected with it. These European Pyrates shelter at Madagascar and have such contempt for the Asiatic traders that one of their small ships with but twenty men aboard will board and take the largest Moors' ship."

After leaving St. Augustine's Bay the *Bachelor's Delight* went up the African coast, where, off Sofala, she took a Portuguese ship bound to Goa with which she returned to Mohilla Bay in order to search the prize there more thoroughly than could be done at sea. Fortune favoured them so far that they found there another Portuguese ship which proved as rich a prize as the one they had brought with them. No further harm was done to either after they had been relieved of all that the pirates wanted and they were released and told to make the best of their way to Goa with

a pass stating they had been relieved of anything worth having, which was a thoughtful piece of attention.

The next heard of the *Bachelor's Delight* was on the 10th January 1691 on which date she took the Company's ship *Unity* near Bombay. The whole of the crew of the latter having joined the pirates, their officers were sent adrift and the Company having elected one John Gilliam, Quartermaster of the *Bachelor's Delight*, their Captain, went off on their own account. After this adventure the *Bachelor's Delight* sailed to Madagascar and having careened there made her way to New York, where, before dispersing the Company shared out about £1,100 a man and gave the ship back to her real owner with a present of £3,000 to compensate him for its use.

THE CRUISE OF THE "UNITY"

Though, as the Quartermaster of the *Bachelor's Delight* and an old and experienced pirate, John Gilliam might be expected to have been a wary old customer, he was foolish enough to permit himself and his boat's crew to be taken prisoners by a simple enough ruse at a place called Mongrol, in Kathiawar, where they had put in for water. As he had been on the *Bachelor's Delight* when that ship had called there for a similar purpose and left without paying save with the *foresheet*, his folly in permitting himself to be caught so easily was all the more inexcusable.

What happened was that the natives primed their visitors so well with country liquor and hospitality that they forgot their wonted caution, and were cajoled into shewing their skill with firearms by firing a volley at a mark set up on the beach. No sooner were their muskets thus emptied than the natives fell upon them, bound them with ropes, and sent the lot up country to be dealt with by their ruler, who forcibly converted the lot to Mahomedanism, several dying under the operation. After a time Gilliam managed to get a message down to Bombay, asking the President there to arrange for their release, which quite naturally he declined to do, think-

ing them out of the way of further mischief. They remained prisoners until 1696 when they managed to seize a country boat and find their way to Bombay where we shall meet them later as part of the crew of the *Mocha*.

Meanwhile the *Unity*, as so often happened in similar cases, sailed off without making any attempt to rescue the prisoners, and elected George Paris, Captain, and William Orr, Quartermaster, under whom they did so well that when she returned to New York in June 1692, the Company shared out about £1,000 per man, allowing the Captain ten shares and the Quartermaster five in recognition of their very successful leadership. The *Unity* was given to the Governor of New York in return for immunity for the late Company, with £2,000 in addition, and as three months later, he sold the ship for double that amount, he must often have wished for similar bargains.

PUNISHMENTS FOR PIRACY 1687-1690

Until the year 1683 the East India Company possessed powers of legal punishment over their own land servants and seamen only, and even then, could not inflict the death penalty except in very exceptional cases, for which *post mortem* sanction was to be obtained. All cases of piracy had to be sent to England for trial, and, as the necessary evidence was seldom forthcoming, the culprits escaped punishment. Hence they applied for, and were granted, permission to try piracy cases and inflict the same punishments as given by the Court of Admiralty, though the powers were restricted to the High Courts of Bombay and Madras.

The first trials were held at Madras in 1686, in which year certain of the crew of the *Royal James* were tried for running off with the *Royal James* with the intention of becoming pirates. The ship having been recovered by the loyal portion of her crew, who brought the others back to Madras in her, the latter were arraigned for piracy, and being found guilty were awarded punishments as follows: Alexander Murray

was hung at the yardarm of the ship in harbour, James Smith on the common gibbet at the gate of Fort St. George, Ralph Shackleby shot to death at the same place, and John Naseby, Nicholas Dorrill, and John Read were branded on the forehead and hand with the letter "P" and sentenced to be deported in chains. At the same trial Robert Sutherland, Chief Gunner of the Fort, was sentenced to "run the Gantlope" and be dismissed from the service of the Company for receiving stolen property from the would-be pirates.

In April 1689 two un-named men were sentenced to be branded and another hung at the yardarm of the *Defence* for piracy, and in June nine English pirates sent in by the Dutch were put up for trial, having been taken red-handed by a Dutch ship they attacked. Two were hung at the yardarms of ships in harbour, whilst the others were flogged round the six ships in harbour, receiving 30 lashes before each, after which they were branded and deported in chains. In 1690 the Dutch sent in another batch of 20 English pirates whom they had taken off Malacca. But when they came up for sentence in November (six months later) the following curious verdict was recorded:

"In consideracion of the small damage these men have done and being always favourably inclined to Mercy, the Court sentence two only to Death for Terrours sake, all taking the Fortune of the Dice. The remainder not so elected for death to be branded with the letter "P" by the Common Hangman and deported." The next case recorded was in June 1697 when Richard Caswell and Adrian Van Reed were sentenced to death for being concerned in the seizure of the *Josiah Ketch*, and the taking by her of the *Gingalle* Brigantine, off Anjengo. But both men escaped by benefit of clergy, which meant that any man who could read a verse of a selected Psalm, and then write it out "in a fair hand", was thereby pardoned. This must have been one of the last instances of this once common means of securing a pardon.

.

The document we shall now quote is of the greatest importance in pirate literature, giving, as it does, first hand accounts of the vessels concerned in Eastern piracy, and the amounts the men obtained and shared out. It also effectually disposes of the legend that pirates buried their plunder, if indeed any sensible person ever believed it.

THE DEPOSITION OF CAPTAIN ADAM BALDRIDGE

"I, Adam Baldrige, arrived at the Island of St. Mary's in the ship *Fortune*, Richard Conyers, Commander, on the 7th January 1691. Being minded to settle on the Island, I left the ship with two more men. The ship then went to Port Dolphin at which place she was cast away on the 15th April 1691, half the crew being drowned, and the others swimming to shore. I continued with the Negroes at St. Mary's and went to war in alliance with them. Before my going to war one of the men that went ashore with me died, and the other being discouraged went aboard again, leaving none with me save my apprentice, George King. On March 9th the *Fortune* sailed for Bonavoula where she stayed to take in rice and slaves.

"After I went to war six more men left the ship before she was wrecked, whereof two died within six weeks and the remainder soon after. In May 1691, I returned from the war and brought with me 70 head of cattle and 60 slaves. Then I had a house built on St. Mary's where great store of Negroes resorted to me from the mainland to live quietly. I helped them to redeem their wives and children that were taken by other Negroes before I came to Madagascar, they living some sixty leagues to the northward of St. Mary's. While I resided on St. Mary's I kept some account of the ships that came thither to trade and provision.

"October 1691. Arrived the *Bachelor's Delight*, Captain Raynor, 180 tons, 18 guns, 80 men, that had made a voyage into the Red Sea and taken ships belonging to the Moors. They took so much money as made a whole share about

£1,100 per man. They careened at St. Mary's, and while there I supplied them with cattle for their present spending for which in return, they gave me a quantity of agate beads, six barrels of flour, seventy bars of iron, five great guns, for my fortifications, and sufficient powder and shot. This ship belonged to Jamaica and set sail for America in November 4th 1691, where I hear she is since arrived at Carolina and compounded with the owners for £3,000.

"October 4th 1692. Arrived the *Nassau*, Captain Edward Coates, burden 170 tons or thereabouts, 6 guns, 70 men, whereof about 30 stayed on Madagascar having most of them been concerned in the taking of the *Hackboat*, Colonel Shyrmptom owner, which said *Hackboat* was afterwards lost on St. Augustine's with all her crew. Captain Coates careened at St. Mary's and while there I supplied him with cattle for his present spending. For these I had two chests and one jar of powder, six great guns with a quantity of great shot, some nails and spikes, five bolts of duck, and a hogshead of flour. Captain Coates set sail from St. Mary's in November, victualled at Port Dolphin, and in December 1692 set sail for New York. His men shared out about £500 a man at St. Mary's."

Coates was again in the Red Sea in 1694 with the ship *Jacob*, Samuel Burgess being his Quartermaster. "They took a rich ship from Mocha which yielded them 2,800 pieces of eight a man (at then current rates about £840). He returned to New York at the end of 1695, and by presenting their ship to Governor Fletcher who sold it for £2,000, gained a free pardon." This time she victualled at Johanna.

"August 7th 1693. Arrived the ship *Charles*, John Churcher, Master, Frederick Phillips, owner, sent to bring me certain sorts of goods, these being four pairs of pumps, six dozen worster stockings, three dozen speckled shirts, three dozen canvas trousers, twelve hats, some carpenter's tools, two stills, one grindstone, two cross cut saws, one whip saw, three jars of oil, two iron pots, three barrels of cannon powder, some books being catechisms, hornbooks, primers and *Bibles*, some

garden seeds and some cocks and hens. For these goods I paid 1,100 pieces of eight, 34 slaves, 15 head of cattle and 57 bars of iron. On October the 4th the *Charles* set sail for Maritan to take in slaves, having meanwhile sold the rest of her cargo to the white men living at Madagascar.

"October 9th 1693. Arrived the Ship *Amity* 170 tons, 16 guns, 70 men, Captain Thomas Tew, commander, having taken in the Red Sea a ship belonging to the Moors which gave them for a whole share about £1,200 a man. They bought cattle from me for their present spending and careened at St. Mary's. The men belonged, most of them, to Bermuda. After victualling, Captain Tew set sail for New York on the 23rd December 1693.

"August 9th 1695. Arrived the *Charming Mary* from Barbados, Captain Richard Glover, commander. Most of the vessel belonged to Colonel Russell and Judge Coates. She had several sorts of goods aboard of which I bought most, she selling the rest to the white men on St. Mary's. She careened at St. Mary's and in August went to the mainland to take in slaves.

"August 13th 1695. Arrived the *Catherine* from New York, Captain Thomas Mostyn, commander, Frederick Phillips, owner, with several sorts of goods which she sold to the white men on Madagascar. After careening she went to Maritan to take in slaves for New York.

"December 11th 1696. Arrived the ship *Amity* having no captain, Thomas Tew having been killed by a great shot from a Moors' ship in the Red Sea, John Yarland, master, They stayed a few days at St. Mary's and then went out to seek the *Charming Mary* which they met at Maritan. There they took her though giving Captain Glover their own ship to take him home and all his own goods, keeping nothing but the ship. After they had taken her they brought the ship to St. Mary's where they made her, and gave the command to one Richard Bobbington. They then went to the East Indies to make a voyage and I have since heard they were trepanned by the Moors.

“*December 17th 1695.* Arrived the ship *Susanna*, Captain Thomas Week. They had fitted out at Boston and Rhode Island and been in the Red Sea but made no voyage by reason they missed the Moors’ Fleet. I sold them most of the goods bought from the *Charming Mary* and supplied them with some cattle though for the most part they bought them from the negroes. They careened at St. Mary’s and stayed until the middle of April, in which time the Captain and a great number of men died. The rest of the men took the ship to St. Augustine’s where they left her and went to the Red Sea with Captain Hore.

“*December 26th 1695.* Arrived a Moors’ ship taken by the *Resolution* and given to Captain Robert Glover and 24 of his men that were not willing to go privateering in the Red Sea. The Company turned Glover out of the ship with these 24 men by reason they would not go into the Red Sea from the Coast of Guinea round the Cape of Good Hope though he was captain and part owner. The Moors’ ship very leaky and hardly swam with them to St. Mary’s. When they arrived they applied to me for charity and I maintained them in my house until shipping came to enable them to go to America.

“*January 17th 1696-7.* Arrived the Brigantine *Amity* that had been Captain Tew’s sloop fitted at Barbados into a brigantine by the owners of the *Charming Mary*, Captain Richard Glover, commander and supercargo (the ship already described when a Brigantine. She was laden with several sorts of goods which I bought, selling part thereof to the white men on Madagascar and part to Captain Hore and his Company. This Brigantine afterwards taken by the *Resolution* at St. Mary’s.

“*February 13th 1696-7.* Arrived Captain John Hore’s Prize from the Gulf of Persia, and four days after came John Hore in the *John and Rebecca*, burthen about 180 tons, 20 guns, 100 men in ship and prize, the prize about 300 tons laden with calicoes. I sold some of the goods with me to Captain Hore and his Company, as likewise to the white men living on Madagascar, and Captain Robert Glover.

“*June 9th 1697.* Arrived the *Resolution*, Captain Chivers, commander, burthen near 200 tons, 90 men, 20 guns. Formerly the ship belonged to Captain Richard Glover, but the Company took her from him and turned him and 24 men out of her, by reason they were not willing to go a privateering. They met with a Mousoune, at sea, and lost all their masts, and put into Madagascar about ten leagues to the northward of St. Mary’s (Antongil Bay) and there masted and fitted their ship. Whilst they lay there they took the brigantine *Amity*, for her water casks, sails, rigging and masts, and then turned the hull adrift to run upon a reef and be lost. Captain Glover promised to forgive them what was past, if they would let him have his ship again, and go home to America with him, but they would not, except he would go into the Indies with them. September 25th they set sail for the Indies.

“*June 14th 1697.* Arrived the ship *Fortune* from New York, Captain Thomas Mostyn, commander, Robert Allison, supercargo, ship burthen about 150 tons or thereabouts, 8 guns, near 20 men, having several sorts of goods aboard, sold to Captain Hore and to the white men on Madagascar.

“*June 1st, 1697.* Arrived a ship from New York, Captain Cornelius, Commander, Frederick Phillips, owner, burthen about 150 tons, 2 guns, near 20 men, and having several sorts of goods aboard, sold to Captain Hore and his Company and the white men on Madagascar.

“*July 1st 1697.* Arrived the Brigantine *Swift* from New York, Mr. Andrew Knott, master, and part owner John Johnson, merchant, Burthen about 40 tons, 2 guns, 10 men (the smallest yet noted for such a voyage) having aboard several sorts of goods, some sold to Captain Hore and Company, the rest put ashore at St. Mary’s and left there. A small time after his arrival I bought three quarters of her and careened, and went out to seek a trade and settle a foreign commerce on several places in Madagascar. About eight or ten days after I went from St. Mary’s, the negroes killed about 30 white men on Madagascar and St. Mary’s, and took all they, or I, had.

“Captain Mostyn and Captain Jacobs, and Captain Hore’s ship and Company, being all there at the same time, set sail from St. Mary’s October 1697 for Madagascar, to take in their slaves and rice. Having made a firm commerce with the natives on the mainland. On my return I met with Captain Mostyn about 60 leagues from St. Mary’s. He acquainted me with the negroes’ rising and killing the white men. He persuaded me to return back with him and not proceed any further, for there was no safe going to St. Mary’s, all my men being sick. After good consideration we agreed to return and go for America. The above-mentioned men that were killed by the natives were most of the privateers that had been in the Red Sea and taken several ships there. They were chiefly the reason of the natives rising, by their abusing of them, and taking their cattle, and were most of them, to the best of my knowledge, men that came in several ships, as Captain Raynor, Captain Coats, Captain Hore, and in the *Resolution* with Captain Chivers.”

Samuel Perkins, who had sailed with Tew, and turned approver under the Act of Grace of 1698, gives the following account of these men:

“This informant further saith that when he was at St. Mary’s, he heard that a little while before his arrival there, 14 pirates who had belonged to the Companies of Captain Tew, Captain Mason and Captain Coats had, by consent, divided themselves into two parties of seven each, to fight for what they jointly possessed, thinking they had not sufficient for so many. One of the said seven was entirely killed, and five men of the other, so that the two who endured, enjoyed the whole of the booty.”

The Captain Mason here mentioned was Captain of the *Charming Mary* at the end of her cruise. He returned to New York in December 1694 where the crew shared out £700 a man. Baldrige omits to mention that a number of the pirate residents escaped to a neighbouring islet where they

remained until he came to the rescue, and conveyed them to another settlement on the mainland. Those who could pay 100 dollars each were taken to New York if they desired to go. Three months later a large body of natives led by pirates attacked St. Mary's and wreaked full vengeance for the loss of their property and the murder of their comrades.

Perkins also mentions that the Fort erected by Baldrige was the general centre of pirate life on St. Mary's and that they were treacherously surprised. Amongst those killed on this occasion was the unlucky Glover, who seems to have courted disaster by a second venture amongst men who had already badly treated him. Regarding this Fort, Captain Warren of the Fleet sent to clean up the Island gives the number of guns therein at 40, the number of pirate ships using the Port at 17, and the general pirate population of the Island at 1,500. This seems much overestimated. Most probably the numbers of the pirate ships seldom exceeded half a dozen or so, nor the pirates, permanent or temporary, more than 500 to 700 men at any time.

MISCELLANEOUS PIRATES AND PIRACIES 1691

In October 1691 an employee of the East India Company at Calicut, while strolling on the sea shore, was accosted by one of the crew of a boat which seeing him had put off from a ship lying off the place. He was given a letter to the head of the Factory and told that the boat would return to the same place next day for an answer. Who the writer was we have not been able to ascertain as there were quite a number of pirate ships operating in these waters at that date. The letter ran:

"October 7th 1691. Though unknown to each other, yet being countryman I presume to write to you to lett you know that we design to clean our ship at your haven, and get some wood and water, as well as provisions for refreshing our men, for which we honestly design to pay as well as for one hundredweight of chunam (lime). I suppose I need not

acquaint you who we are, for you may easily conceive if the bearer doth not inform you. We design no harm to any of our countrymen and it is only the troublesomeness of the times that sends us out on 'The Account.' And, upon the word of a *soldier* if you come aboard our ship there shall be nothing offered you but what shall be civil and you shall be safely put ashore. We can then with more freedom inform and discourse than now either time nor volume will allow. Being all that now offers from

"YOUR UNKNOWN FRIEND."

No reply being returned, a week later another letter was sent in,

"SIR,

"I wrote to you by one of your white people that I designed to wood and water and clean our ship and to obtain other necessaries your place may afford, on money paid down. I now send this by the master of a ship which I intend to keep until I receive your answer whether to expect what I desire or not. Otherwise I shall come and take it. Send us a hogshead of rum and sugar equivalent for punch and also sufficient dammar and resin for our ship. A speedy answer is requested by one yet unknown if you desire that he continue your

"FRIEND."

Whatever the pirate may have done we cannot say, for he was driven off by the unexpected appearance of three large ships coming down from Bombay.

In 1694 two pirate ships commanded by Daniel Smith, and John Birch, sailed from the Bermudas for Eastern Seas. After refreshing at St. Augustine's they continued their voyages, though, from there, taking a separate course. Birch managed a prize which was worth £800 a man, with which he returned to St. Augustine's where he was soon joined by Smith who had obtained nothing. The disappointed Company demanded a share of the booty acquired by the other,

and on this being refused, treacherously set upon and murdered both captain and Company, afterwards sinking their ship. The news of what had occurred leaked out when Smith and his Company returned to the Bermudas, but, as might be expected, nothing was done about it.

A letter from Surat dated the 12th September 1694 gives the following account of a piratical outrage by a vessel we are unable to trace:

“In July of this year a ship of Surat was attacked near Jeddah by a Pirate which after encountering some resistance got aboard. Some men were killed when they came aboard and they used the other with such manner of cruelty to make them confess where their money was that eight died under the torments and torture used upon them. After six or seven days of this kind of usage, the Pirates got about two lakhs of rupees, took out sixteen men and let the rest go with the ship leaving it so bare that the company could barely exist until they came to Versawa (near Bombay). In such miserable case were they that there is not anyone but can shew marks of the cruelty exercised upon them.

“They say the ship that took them is large, having 60 guns and about 250 men, all Danes, for the lascars who have sailed with English, French, and Dutch ships, saw none of those nations aboard, nor heard a word of their language. They have a Moorman aboard who hath learnt their language and he is their interpreter to all they meet. They further say the Captain hath his wife with him who did them good offices otherwise they would have been worse used.”

Which is difficult to believe. The ship seems to have been a Dane.

CHAPTER VII

Captain Thomas Tew and his Company—The Cruise of the *Charming Mary*—Captain William May of the *Pearl* and the *Charming Mary*—Captain Robert Culliford and his Company—The Fight of the *Mocha* and the *Dorrill* off Achin, August 1697.

IN December 1692, the Governor of the Bermudas, one Sir John Richier, probably for the usual consideration in cash, and more in promises, issued privateering commissions to Captains George Dew and Thomas Tew, authorising them to assist the Royal English African Company in an expedition to capture and destroy the French Forts and Factories on the Guinea Coast. Both sailed in company, but before long were blown apart by a great storm which caused the topmasts of one ship to be so badly sprung that Dew was compelled to abandon the cruise, and return to the Bermudas.

(Johnson) "Tew, being now separated from his consort, thought of providing for himself by one bold push, and accordingly calling all hands on deck he spoke to them to this purpose. He told them they were well aware of the design with which they had been fitted out which was the taking and destroying of the French Factories, and that though, for the sake of being employed, he had readily agreed to take a commission for that purpose, he still thought it a most injudicious expedition, for, if they succeeded, they would do no good to the public, advantaging only a private company of men, from whom they could expect no proper reward for their bravery.

"That he, personally, could see nothing but danger in the undertaking without the least prospect of booty, that he could not suppose any man so fond of fighting as to do it for its own sake. Few ventured their lives but for some particular view of public gain or private interest. Wherefore, he was of opinion

that they should turn their thoughts to what might better their own circumstances, and if they were so inclined, he would lead them to a course which should ensure such ease and plenty that they would have no care for their future, but could spend the remainder of their days in comfort. That one bold push would do their business and they might then return home not only without danger but with reputation.

“The Company, finding he expected their resolution cried out ‘One and all; One and all, a gold chain or a wooden leg we’ll stand by you.’ Hearing their consent, he desired them to choose a Quartermaster who would consult with him for the common good, which was accordingly done. I must here acquaint the reader that amongst the privateers and freebooters the Quartermaster is like the Grand Mifti amongst the Turks to their Sultan for the Captain can do nothing which the Quartermaster does not approve of. The Quartermaster is an humble imitation of the Roman Tribune for he speaks for and looks after the interest of the Company.

“Entering into the Red Sea, they came up with a tall ship bound from the Indies to Arabia. She was richly laden and well armed, her business being to clear the coast after which five more, one very rich in gold, were to follow her. She had 500 soldiers aboard besides her seamen. On making this ship, Tew told his men that she carried their fortune which they would have no difficulty in making, for though she was full of men and mounted with a great number of guns her crew wanted the two things most necessary, resolution and courage. And so it proved, for he carried her by boarding without any loss, every one running from danger.

“In rummaging this prize the Pirates threw over a great many bales to search for gold, silver, and jewels, until having taken what they thought proper and throwing overboard all the powder they did not want they left her, sharing out £3,000 a man (Baldrige £1,200). Encouraged by this success, Captain Tew proposed the going in search of the other ships, which, the Quartermaster opposing, he was obliged to abandon the design and steer for Madagascar.

. . . Here the Quartermaster finding the Island productive of all the necessaries of life, that the air was wholesome, the soil fruitful, and the sea abounding with fish, proposed settling, and went ashore with some men agreeable. The rest stayed with Captain Tew, who, having given the settlers their share of the plunder, designed to return to America, and set sail.

. . . "Captain Tew lived unquestioned in America for some time, having an easy fortune and designing to live quietly. But some of the old Company who lived near him having squandered their shares continually desired him to make a new voyage. He withstood them for some time, until they, having got together by spreading reports of the vast riches to be obtained, a number of resolute fellows, at last induced him to head them for a last voyage. They prepared a small ship and making the best of their way to the Red Sea, entered the straits of Bal el Mandeb where they met with and attacked a ship belonging to the Great Mogull. In the engagement a great shot carried away the rim of Tew's belly who held in his bowels for a small space until he dropped, which spread such terror amongst his men that they suffered themselves to be taken without resistance."

Which is incorrect as will be seen by a reference to Baldrige and the account of Every later on.

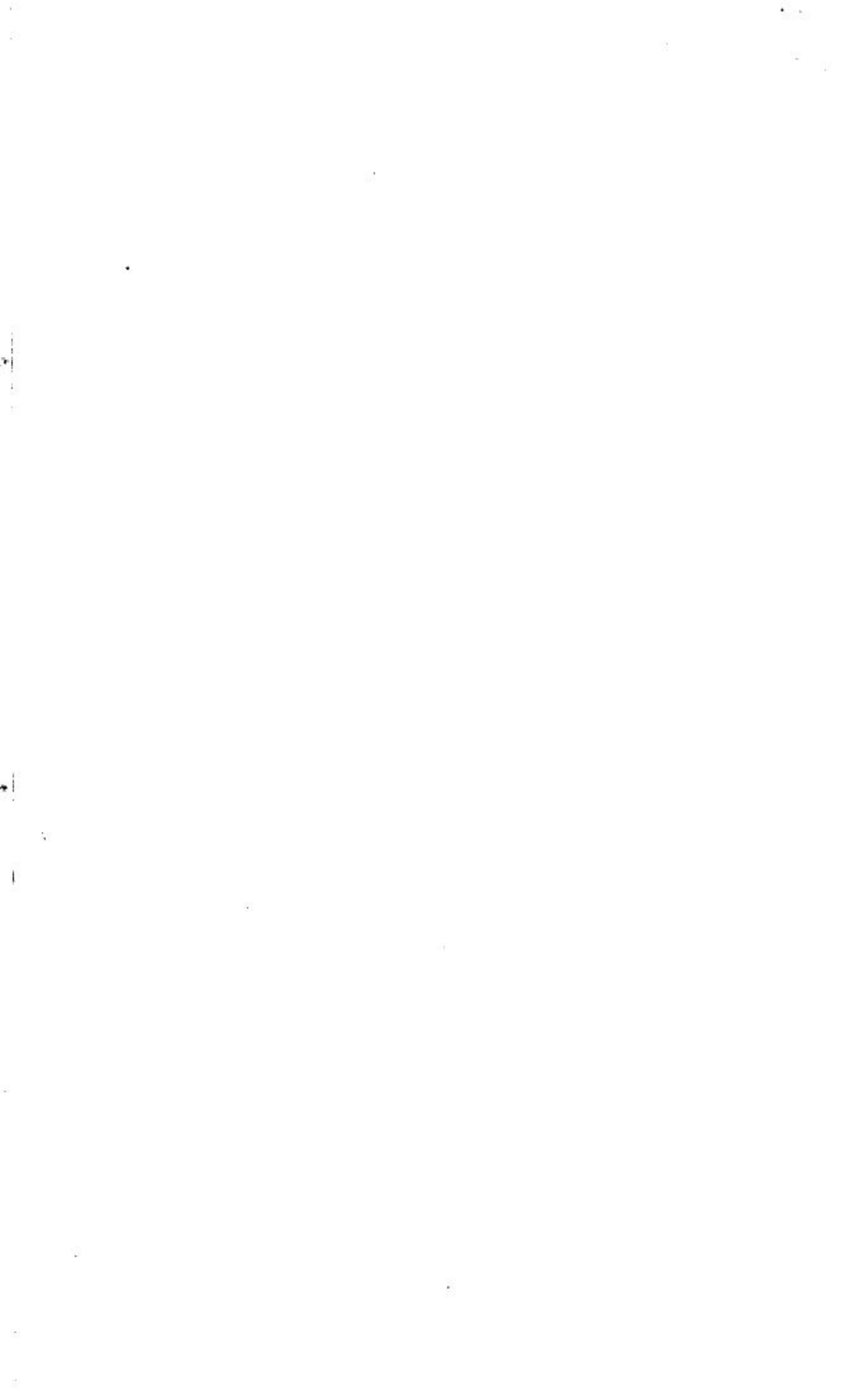
THE CRUISE OF THE "CHARMING MARY"

It must have been about May 1696 when the *Charming Mary* left St. Mary's for she had visited the Red Sea before September, on the 16th of which month she took a Moors' ship off Rajapore after a stubborn resistance, in which the prize was reported to have lost 20 men killed and a considerable number wounded, most of whom were slaughtered after the pirates had boarded in revenge for their own men who to the number of about ten were killed and wounded before they got aboard the prize. The survivors who were set ashore before the *Charming Mary* went off with their ship describe her as of 170 tons, 22 guns, and 90 men. If this is



THE MURDER OF A PRISONER
From Johnson's *History of the Pirates*.

[Face page 128



correct both men and guns must have been added to during the cruise or at St. Mary's.

. In July she appeared off Tellicherry, and landed a party under Babbington himself which terrorised the East India Company's merchants and the inhabitants into permitting them to refit the ship and provision her at their expense. From hence she went up the coast and into the Persian Gulf where, in December, the trepanning mentioned by Baldridge occurred. A mention in the East India Company's Record runs:

“*March 16th 1697.* In December last a boat's crew of Pirates under one Bobbington, their commander, landed near Cape Jask to plunder for provisions. The Persians fought with them and after killing three of the Pirates took their commander and the rest prisoners. This Bobbington says that he is an Irishman though his father was Dutch and his mother English. He confesses that the crew are of all nations, but that the ship comes from English Dominions. For this reason the Persians say that the English are the only sea robbers. The English demanded that Bobbington be given up by the Persian Government to be sent to Bombay to answer for his late roguery in burning two ships belonging to the Great Mogull in the Gulf of Mocha.”

Neither Babbington nor any of the others were ever again heard of.

Leaving their comrades without any attempt to rescue them, the Company of the *Charming Mary* decided to try new cruising grounds, and are next heard of as on the coast of Sumatra and the Straits of Malacca. The double losses of Tew and Babbington, seem to have decided the crew to manage without a Captain, for according to report she had none, the only officers mentioned being John Yarland, Master, and Henry Smith, Quartermaster. Though she cruised in company with Culliford she retained her independence, being away either provisioning or on a separate cruise when the attack on the *Dorrit* hereafter described was made. However

she did fairly well, for on her return to Barbados, in October 1697, the Company shared out £700 a man.

Her piratical career was not yet finished, for in January 1699 she was at St. Mary's under command of William May, late of the *Pearl*, waiting for the favourable time in the Gulf when the pilgrim ships were returning to India. Hearing of the approach of Commodore Warren with a squadron sent out to clear out the pirates from Madagascar, May put out to sea and was not again heard of until December 1699, when he returned to New York with booty estimated at £300,000 which shared out at £3,000 a full share. We hear no more of either May or the *Charming Mary*, both of whom were high on the list of successful pirate captains and ships.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM MAY

In February 1693, May, whose name is variously given as Mues, Mace, Maze, and Mason, all referring to the same individual, obtained from the Governor of New York, a privateering commission against the French ships and factories on the Guinea Coast for the *Pearl*, a vessel of 200 tons, 16 guns and 100 in crew. Wasting no time on even visiting the African coast, the commission for which was only a blind as well known to those who issued it as to May himself, the *Pearl* went straight to Madagascar, and there refitted and provisioned, leaving that place about January 1694. He did not leave New York until July 1693.

What he was doing until October 1694 there is nothing to show save vague reports of depredations in the Red Sea, but in the latter month, the *Pearl* put in at Mangalore for provisions and water. When she left that place some time later, her Quartermaster, Robert Culliford, was left ashore for reasons which do not transpire. As even till that time the cruise of the *Pearl* seems to have been fairly profitable judging by what she afterwards shared out, he could hardly have left her of his own accord. After landing Culliford the *Pearl* returned to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

At this time there were a number of pirate ships in these waters, most of whom are reported to have joined Every when the latter arrived. If they did they were certainly not under his command, though perhaps acting in company with him on certain occasions. The *Pearl* was said to have taken part in the plundering and burning of the coast town of Leat and in the taking of the *Gang-i-Sawai* by Every and his company. She may have been at the former exploit, but was certainly not at the latter, for she is not mentioned in any of the evidence adduced against Every's men or the depositions of the informers.

Apparently there had been some monetary dealings between the two Companies before the taking of the *Gang-i-Sawai* by Every, for when the *Pearl* sold the other Company some provisions, wood and water, after that event, the Company of the *Fancy* paid 1,000 dollars short, retaining that amount as compensation for some clipped Venetians the others had given them in exchange for silver dollars. We next hear of the *Pearl* on the 17th of January 1696 by a report from Captain Phinney, of the *Sceptre*, mentioning that "This Pirate ship, the *Pearl*, hath taken two rich Moors ships off Cape Comorin, and, after heaving the crews overboard, hath burnt both vessels."

In February 1696 she took another ship off Mangalore from which she obtained £20,000 in cash alone, and in March two others reported missing between Diu and Cannanore were set down to her account. Whatever she may have taken the fact remains that when May returned to New York the Company were reported to have shared out £200,000. Though the amount is great, May's own share would not come to more than about £6,000 to £8,000, which will account for his second cruise in the *Charming Mary* soon after.

CAPTAIN ROBERT CULLIFORD AND HIS COMPANY

In February 1690 the *Blessed William*, a privateer commanded by Captain William Kidd, after a fairly successful

cruise, put in at Antigua for provisions, etc. While Kidd was ashore making his arrangements his crew, headed by Robert Culliford and Samuel Burgess, ran off with the *Blessed William* and went "On the Account." What eventually became of this ship we do not know, but probably, after "making her Voyage" the Company shared out and either sold or scuttled the ship before dispersing. The next we hear of Culliford is as being set ashore from the *Pearl* at Mangalore as previously mentioned.

For the next three years or so he was Gunners' Mate of Fort St. George at Madras, though how such a man managed to obtain this responsible and well paid post is difficult to understand. However, the old Adam of piracy re-asserted itself in the end, for in June 1696, he headed the crew of the *Josiah Ketch* in seizing her when lying at Madras and going "On the Account." A few days later the newly-fledged pirates, under the old cock, sailed into Anjengo harbour wherein they took, plundered and burnt the *Gingali* sloop under the noses of her owners, the East India Company.

They now went to the Nicobars to provision the ketch, etc. for a regular cruise and whilst there, behaved very badly, plundering and burning the villages, and outraging the women until the natives turned upon them, only to be slaughtered in numbers by the pirates. Taking advantage of all but two of the pirates being ashore on their unlawful occasions, and these two drunk, James Croft, Armourer of Fort St. George, who had come aboard with Culliford, and was drunk in the cabin when the ship was run off with, headed the Lascars in a successful attempt to overpower the two men and leave the Pirates. The two men taken were brought to Madras for trial and sentenced to a death they escaped by "benefit of Clergy" as already mentioned.

After about a month, the marooned pirates were rejoiced by the appearance of a small trading vessel largely manned by Europeans, which they made a bold attempt to take with native canoes. But John Wallis, her captain, was equal to the occasion, for knowing that so many Europeans in such

a place could be only one sort, he concealed his crew and made his dispositions with such success that when the pirates came alongside they found themselves under the muzzles of so many guns and muskets that they were compelled to surrender at discretion.

Being bound for Mergui, Captain Wallis continued his voyage to his port wherein, on arrival, he found the *Micha pirate* now commanded by Ralph Stout having John Gilliam as Quartermaster, both men who had belonged to the boats crew abandoned by the *Unity* after they had allowed themselves to be trepanned by the natives at Mongrol on the Kathiawar coast. They had originally been about 20 in number, of which five had died in captivity while the remainder had endured much at the hands of their captors, one item being forcible conversion with the usual painful operation. After some time the survivors had seized a country boat in which they eventually reached Bombay determined on revenge on the Company on account of its having abandoned any attempts at their rescue from captivity.

No one seems to have taken any account of them at Bombay, maybe by reason that there was no actual proof of piracy for lack of witnesses (effectually disposed of). Hence they were allowed to ship on the *Mocha East Indiaman*, a vessel whose crew had deserted her at Bombay *en masse*, driven to that step by the extreme cruelty of their Captain Edgecumbe, a man distinguished above the many brutal shipmasters of the period. What manner of man he was is best shewn by the following most interesting letter, a copy of which is preserved in the Bombay Archives, one having been sent direct by the surgeon, John Leckie, from Gombrien, where the ship had gone from Mohilla before coming to Bombay.

"24th of August 1695, Captain Edgecumbe. The many abuses I, John Leckie, have received from you, with your unjust illegal and arbitrary proceedings against me by pretended power as captain of an East India ship hath made me assume the liberty to informe you that your beating me

with your cutlass at Mohilla on the 15th of March last, your beating and wounding of me on the 19th of June, as also beating my servant and barber on the same day without any crime and making me fast in order to duck me on the 21st June (Keelhaul), which is the next punishment to death, and not to be inflicted without martial law and after a sufficient trial and proof of being guilty of some notorious crime; but your accusation proving false both before your officers and men rendered the ducking odious to them, insomuch that they would not obey you, notwithstanding your cutlass and threatening, knowing my innocence and your lack of justice.

“You also sent your steward to your cook, with your order not to let the barber, or my servant come into the cook room, and if they came to take care they threw not any of my powders among your victuals, saying you did believe yourself poisoned, having already gotten a dose in your water gruel, because for four days past you could not eat. Your detaining me a prisoner without letting me know the cause, your keeping three pints of cordila waters belonging to me which I had presented to Mr. Popham; your hindering me from sending some goods ashore for which I had the Company’s liberty; your denying several other priveleges that are due to me as Chirurgeon; your threatening me with the Laws of Oleron, which I presume you have forgotten, or would not have exceeded them so often as you have done on this voyage.

“Sir, you may impose on your officers and sailors who do not know those Laws. But know that I have read all the Marine Laws in practice, and particularly those of Oleron, Wisby, and the Hanse Towns; with the Statute Laws appointed by King Charles II for regulating the Navy Royall, with *Jure Maritime* and *Lex Mercatoria* relating to Marine Laws; as also the Civil Statutes on which the others depend, and am sensible that your proceeding with me and *others aboard* are illegal and without a precedent for no man is to be beaten for lying ashore but his wages deducted for the time; neither is any man obliged to receive from a Master of a merchant ship more than one blow and retire and if that Master then

pursue him, he hath liberty to defend himself. All commissions relating to marine or martial law which are not from the Commissioners of the Admiralty are void.

"As for the pretended power as Captain of an East India-man, it is both illegal and arbitrary and a master of a collier of 50 tons may just as legally assume such powers. . . . I have served their Majesties in several capital ships (three) as their chirurgeon, I have also served them as Principall surgeon of their Majesties Hospital in Flanders and in Surrey and Plymouth and have had betwixt 5,000 and 6,000 wounded men under my care in the late wars. I have been entrusted with about £40,000 of their Majesties' money which I did faithfully dispense, and for all these services have ample certificates to show. Yet am I taxed by you as an embezzler of the medicines belonging to the ships which have not cost more than £55 and of which no more than £5 value hath been expended.

"Sir, in consideration of the abuses I have received from you, the denying me the priveleges and liberties all chirurgeons enjoy, I do desire you to let me know what crimes you consider me guilty of. Sir, if my humble requests are not complied with in three days I will deliver you the key of your chest and act no more as your chirurgeon. I desire if you do not come on board here you will let me go ashore that I may prove myself either an honest man or a rogue."

The Laws of Oleron were the generic names for all the different Codes of Maritime Law used by the seafaring nations, which were digested and revised at that place in 1614. They were drastic enough even when properly administered, and if Edgcumbe exceeded them he must have been singularly brutal and richly deserved the fate he met.

Such of the crew as could not conceal themselves effectually were arrested and sent aboard the ship whose full complement was 110 men of which over 30 evaded capture. Their places were taken from the usual beachcombing element to be found in all large Indian ports, being men who had deserted from ships, or lost their jobs through shipwreck. Amongst

them were the ex-pirates all eager for a new ship and with it revenge on the East India Company. Though warned of their antecedents, Captain Edgcombe considered himself quite competent to deal effectually with them, in which expectation he was rudely disillusioned, for these ex-pirates were very different men from the surgeon, and having a sullen and dangerous crew at their backs, rose and took the ship eight days after leaving Bombay.

None of the other officers were molested, they being sent adrift in some fishing boats picked up near Acheen. But Edgcombe now paid for all his former brutality being pelted to death with broken bottles, and then thrown to the sharks. The other officers (Leckie had gone ashore at Bombay) with such men as would not join the pirates eventually reached Acheen in safety, and there found the recovered *Josiah Ketch*, in which they all returned to Madras. Having got rid of the "honest men" the pirates shared out the Rs.150,000 they found on the ship and after electing Ralph Stout, Captain, and John Gilliam, Quartermaster, set out "On the Account." After taking and plundering a few small country craft, the *Mocha* made for the Mergui Archipelago to take in wood and water, there, fortunately, or unfortunately, according to different points of view, came into the very cove where John Wallis with the *Elizabeth* was on the same errand. No harm other than taking all they required, was done to the prize which eventually was released, and reached Madras safely. Soon after the *Charming Mary* came in also, and divided up the released pirates, and a few of the crew of the *Elizabeth* who turned pirates.

Both ships now cruised in company between the head of the Straits of Malacca and Cape Comorin. Off the latter place they took a large Portuguese ship with the Governor of Malacca aboard, obtaining Rs.300,000 in cash and goods from the ship and a promise of Rs.100,000 more for the ransoms of the Governor and the vessel, the latter in bills on Malacca. Whether they were ever honoured is difficult to believe. Their next attempt was unfortunate, being on a Malay vessel

lying becalmed on the N.W. coast of Sumatra. Anticipating no resistance, the pirates sent a long boat with 12 men to take possession, all of whom were killed as they came aboard, by the Malays, and their boat staved in by a cannon ball.

As the Malay was out of range in water too shallow for the pirate ships, and boat attacks too dangerous, on such an enemy, the consorts sailed off, doubtless with Dogberry's blessing.

On the 14th January 1697, they encountered the *Satisfaction*, a Company vessel bound from Madras to Acheen. Though only a small ship the *Satisfaction* put up a big fight, killing three of the pirates, and losing four killed, and ten wounded out of her little crew of 40 men before she surrendered. Her mainmast was shot down and her hull badly pierced before she gave in.

Taking out of her Rs.100,000 and her master, William Willocks, to pilot them in waters strange to themselves, the pirates, contrary to the usual custom of "no quarter" in the event of resistance, released the *Satisfaction* without further harm than taking her spare set of sails.

On the 8th February 1697, the consorts took "a rich Portuguese ship bound for Macao from Goa. They treated the passengers and the crew most vilely and cruelly to make them discover where they had hidden their valuables. One of the Padres who would not speak they hoisted up with his hands tied over his head and with a cutlass cut off part of his head. But God was pleased to shew a judgment on him that did it, for in three days his flesh turned to corruption, so that he died gnashing his teeth."

On the 15th February 1697 the *Mocha* took the *Alamshay*, a large ship bound from Surat to Bengal. This vessel which had a European captain and officers, put up a stubborn fight, losing eight killed including her captain, and many more wounded, before she surrendered. Though the pirates had three men killed, and many wounded, they again contented themselves with merely plundering the ship of her money, the best of her goods, and all her serviceable guns, which were required to replace their own unserviceable weapons.

While they were transferring the guns and goods to their own ship, another ship bound from Surat to Manilla came up which the pirates at once attacked and took after a fight in which they lost three more men killed.

This time they shewed no mercy, for after plundering the ship they battened down all the surviving passengers and crew and burnt them alive with their vessel. Being now foul, and in need of water and provisions, the two pirate ships went to the Maldives, where they careened and as usual treated the natives outrageously, murdering, burning, and outraging without mercy.

On the 29th March 1697 they took another Portuguese ship, from which they obtained an amount not specified, and whatever provisions and liquor they required.

On the 8th April they took another Surat ship, from which besides plunder, they took off sixteen Lascars to assist in the working of their ship, and the native pilot, whose aid they required for the cruise in the Persian Gulf they were now considering. They now parted company, the *Charming Mary* going down the west coast of Sumatra and the *Mocha* to the Maldives.

Whilst there the Captain, Robert Stout, was murdered by the Company who believed that he was about to quit them, and his place taken by Culliford, up to then Quartermaster. From the Maldives the *Mocha* sailed to the Straits of Malacca, now become a favourite hunting ground of the pirates by reason of the rich ships continually passing through, to and from India, China and the Philippines.

On the 7th July 1697, she, being still alone, encountered the Company's Ship *Dorrill* bound from Madras to China with a valuable cargo and a large amount of specie. There are several accounts of what now happened, all of which we shall give, as each supplements the other in details.

(William Reynolds, Supercargo)—“To Sir John Gayer

“A Large (full) Account of the Action of the Ship *Dorrill* with the Pirate Ship *Mocha*, dated Achin, 28th August 1697.

“Most Respected and Right Honourable Sir,

"These presents truly representeth a scheme of what misfortune befell us as we were going through the Straits of Mallacca in pursuance of our pretended voyage. Vizt, Wednesday the 7th June at 5 o'clock in the morning we espied a ship to windward; as soon as it was well light, we perseved her to bear down upon us. We thought at first she had been a Dutchman, bound for Achin or Bengall untill wee perseved she had taken down all her galleries, and did then suppose her to be what to our dreadful sorrow we afterwards found her. Wee got our shipp into the best posture of defence that such sudden emergent necessity would permitt of, and kept looking out expecting to see an Island called Pulo Verello, but as then, saw it not. About eight of the clock the shipp came fairly within shott.

"Then wee saw that in room of her galleries there were large sally ports in each of which was a large gun, seemingly of brass. Her taffrail was likewise taken down. Wee, having done what wee possibly could do to prepare ourselves, fearing wee might suddenlie bee sett upon sent all our people to their respective quarters for action, and now hoisted our collours whiche the Captain desired *nailed to the staffe* in sighte of the enemy; which was immediately done. As soon as they perceived oure collours, they hoisted theirs which were the Union Jack, and let fly a Broad Red Pendant, at their masthead.

"The Pirate being now in little more than half pistol shott, wee colde discerne abundance of men whiche went forward to the quarter deck as wee supposed, to consult. They stood as wee stood but wee spoke neither to the other. At noone it fell so calme that wee were afraid that wee shoulde by the sea, bee hove one on the other. At noone sprung up a gale. The Pirate kept as we kept (sailing parallel). At three o'clocke the Pirate backt her saile and they went from us. Wee kept close hauled, the wind beeing contrary for Mallacca. When about seven miles distant from us the Pirate tacked and again stood after us with all sail.

"At Six in the evening wee saw the lookt for Island at whiche time the Pirate came up on oure starboard side within

shott. Wee saw that he kept a man at each topmast head looking out till it was dark then he hauled off a little from us, though keeping company all night. Att eight in the morning he drewe neare us by whiche time wee had brought up oure other four guns that were in the hold, and were now the the best posture of defence wee coulde desire. Hee drawing nere to us and seeing thatt if we woulde wee colde nott get from him, hee far outsailing us bye and large, oure Captain resolved to see what the Rogue woulde do, so ordered us to hand oure small sailes, and furl oure mainsail.

“Hee, seeing this, did the like, and as wee came back to him, beat his drum and sounded his trumpetts, and then haled us foure times before wee woulde answer him. At last it was thought fitting to see what he woulde say, soe the Boatswaine spoke to him as ordered whiche was thatt wee came from London. Then he enquired, was it peace or war with France. We answered thatt itt was universal peace throughout Europe at which he pawsed a little, and then answered ‘That’s well.’ He further enquired had wee touched at Achin; we said a boate came off, but came not neare us by seven miles. Further he enquired oure Captain’s name and whither bound. We answered to Mallacca to which they replied, they also, and would oure Captain come aboard for a glass of wine?

“Wee declining, said they ‘Shall meete you at Mallacca.’ Then again he called to us to lie bye and he woulde come aboard us. Our answer was ‘Too late.’ He said ‘True, it is late for China’ and enquired whether wee should touch at the Water Islands (Pulo Ondan) for water. Wee said wee shoulde. Then saide hee ‘So shall wee.’ After he had asked us all these questions wee desired to know who hee was and whence hee came. Hee saide from London, there Captain’s name Collyford, the ship the *Resolution*, bound for China. Wee knew this Collyford had been Gunner’s mate at Madras and run away with the *Josiah Ketch*. Thus passed the 8th July. Friday the 9th hee beeing some distance from us, wee coulde disceren a fellow on the Quarter deck wearing a sword.

"As they drewe nearer this hellish Imp cried, 'Strike, you Doggs,' which wee perseved was nott by general consent for he was called away. Now oure Boatswaine, unknown to the Captain, in a fury, ran upon the poop and answered wee shoulde strike to noe suche doggs telling him the Rogue Every and all his gang were hanged, as hee shoulde bee. Oure Captain was angry thatt he spoke thus without order, but again ordered the Boatswaine to hail and ask why he dogged us. One stept forward upon the forecastle and said, 'Gentlemen, we want nott your shipp, but onlie youre monie.' Wee told them wee had none for them, bidding them come along-side and take whatever they coulde get.

"Then the parcel of Bloodhound Rogues clasht their cutlasses and said they woulde have oure money or oure hearts' blood saying, 'Do you nott know us to be the *Mocha*? Our answer was 'Yes Yes.' Thereupon they gave a great shout and all retired oute of sighte, and wee also to our quarters. They were about to hoist collours but their halliards broke seeing which oure people gave a greate shoute. As soone as they coulde bring their chase guns to bear on they fired them, so keeping on oure quarter. Oure guns could not bear for a short time, but as soon as did hap, we gave the Pirates better than they did like.

"His second shott caried away oure sprit sayle yard. About half an hour after or more he carried on and came alongside after which wee both continewed powering owre fire, wee giving sometimes single guns, and sometimes broadsides of three or four, as opportunity presented, and could bring them to doe best service. He was going to lay us athwart the hawse, but by good fortune Captain Hide frustrated his attempt by powering in a broadside which made him give back and goe astarne where he lay without firing for a small space. Then he fired one gun which shot came through oure Roundhouse window though without damage.

"He now filled and bore away, and when about a quarter mile off fired another gun which wee answered. Aboute an houre after he tacked and came up with we making no sayle,

but lying by to wait him. The distance at most in all our firing was never more than two ships' lengths, the time of our engagement from half an hour after eleven till three in the afternoon. At this time he lay aloof and made no sign to renew the engagement. When we came to see what damage we had sustained we found our chiefe mate Mr. Smith wounded in the leg close up to the knee with a piece of chaine, and the barber's mate two fingers shott off as hee was sponging a gun.

"The Gunners' boy had his legg shott off when in the waist. Oure Quartermaster John Amos, had his leg shott off when att the helm, the Boatswaine's boy, a lad of thirteen, shott in the thigh going right through and splintering the bone, John Osbourne, in the Roundhouse, wounded in the temple, the Captain's boy on the Quarter deck, his skull raised by a shott. William Reynolds his boy, his hat shot off and his hand sore wounded, and John Blake, half his calf shott away.

"The shipp's damage is the mizzen maste shott away in the cap ('twas a miracle it stood so long), all oure rigging save one rope only shott to pieces, our mainmast ten feet from the deck cutt eight inches deep by great shott, a great shot through the Roundhouse, one on the quarter deck, two in the fore-castle, two in the bread room, which cawsed us to make much water and damaged the greater part of our bread. They dismounted two of our guns in the stearidge, two in the waist, one in the Roundhouse and one in the fore-castle with abundance more damage 'twould be tedious to relate. Their small shot was mostly tin and tutenagle (pewter) and they fired pieces of glass bottles, teapotts, chains, stones and what not, which we found on our decks.

"We perseved abundance of our great shott pass through the Rogue's sayles and our hope is to have done him such damage as will now make him shun any Europe ship. At night we perseved and kept close to their lights, and in the morning they made off as far as wee coulde discern. We knotted and spliced our rigging and in the morning made all

haste to repair our damages. At the beginning our men seeing the Pirates stand after us wee coulde perseve their countenances to bee dejected. Wee chered them what wee coulde, and the Captain and wee, oute of our own proper money, gave to every man and boy three dollars each which animated them, and wee further promised them if wee took the Pirate ship for every prisoner, five pounds, besides a gratuity from oure Gentlemen employers.

"At 9 o'clock July 10th wee perseved the Rogue make from us, so gave the Almighty our most condign thanks that hee had delivered us from the worst of oure enemies, for, truly the Pirate was very strong having at least 100 Europeans aboarde, besides 10 patereroes and two small mortars in the forecastle head, his lower tier being, wee judged sixteen, and eighteen pounders. The 12th July, died the Boatswaine's boy, George Mopp, Friday the 16th, died the Gunner's boy, Thomas Matthews, Sunday the 18th, died the barber, Andrew Miller, Sunday the 25th, died the Chiefe mate, Mr. John Smith. The other two are yet in a deplorable condition and wee are ashore here to refresh ourselves. The Chinese report that these Rogues careened at the Maldives, where they gave an end to their Commanding Rogue, Ralph Stout, who they murdered for attempting to run away."

.

The number of boys on each ship was considerable, for each of the officers and ship craftsmen was entitled to an apprentice at the expense of the ship though he was not entirely a personal servant. In action such boys became *powder monkeys*, whose duty it was to bring up the powder or cartridges from the magazine. Their exposure on the duty and the natural recklessness of boys accounts for their high proportion of casualties as compared to the adults.

The next account is that of William Willocks, which is especially interesting as one from the other side. It is headed

"A Narrative About the *Mocha Frigatt*, written by William Willocks, prisoner aboard her for eleven months."

“About the *end* of July, the Pyrates met with a Europe ship near to Pulo Verrero. They came right up with her and haled her. The ship’s name I do not remember, but they gave her Commander, Captain Hide, newly arived from London. Hell was never in greater confusion than was then aboard the Pyrate, some being for fighting under French Collours, some for shewing no Collours and some for not fighting at all. The Captain laid down his charge, because of such confusion. Then ’bout ship they go to choose another Captain. All this time they were within speech of each other so that the other ship could hear what they said.

“At length they concluded to fight, and the Captain resumed his place again. Then they went after the Europe ship. They came close up to her weather quarter so they could call to her and were asked what they wanted. Said they ‘Money we want, and money we shall have.’ ‘That’s well,’ said the English ship, ‘Come and take it.’ So the Pyrates gave three cheers and went to their quarters. First they fired their two chase guns into the English ship, but before they could fire again they received both her broadsides, he taking care to work his ship to the best advantage and having about 20 guns mounted and they as good as the Pyrate.

“They had not passed above three or four broadsides before I could see the Pyrates become disheartened. Said they ‘Here we shall get nothing but broken bones, and if we lose a mast, where shall we get another!’ they having received a great shott right in the heart of the foremast going clean through. Says the Pyrate Captain, ‘We have wind enough, let us go about ship and take him, for he lies by for us.’ Says one, ‘You may put her about yourself an you will, for I’ll fight no more.’ ‘Nor I,’ says another, which then became the general cry. So they let fall their mainsail and foresail, and stood away on their course, seeing which the English ship also set her sails and left them.”

The report personally made by Captain Hyde is much the same as that which now follows. He also mentions having

sighted the *Charming Mary*, and expresses his thankfulness that she was not in company at the time of the attack, though confident of his ability to tackle both had she been so. The final report to be quoted is by William Soames, Factor, at Achin.

"Achin, 11th August, 1697. Captain Samuel Hyde arrived here in the ship *Dorrill* on the 8th instant giving account that on the 7th July the day after being forced to ride (becalmed) fifteen days off Dyamond Point, he spied a saile bearing down upon him which, coming under his stern after giving a Levitt with the musick of Hautboys and Drums, drops aterne without haling or anything of parley, but keeping company all the night. The next morning she seemed inclined to withdraw, baring away somewhat before the winde untill July the 9th being then in sight of Pulo Verrero, she sprang her luff, and haling the *Dorrill* said their ship's name was the *Resolution*, Captain Robert Collifer, bound for China.

"The Boatswaine of the *Dorrill* demanding the reason of their suspitious behaviour, they answered, 'Do you nott know us to be the *Mocha*. Wee want neither you nor your ship, but your money wee will have.' Wherunto Captain Hyde replied that if they had itt 'twould bee from the Muzzles of his guns and bade them come fairly alongside and get it. Therunto the engagement began, and lasted from 11 o'clock till past two in the afternoon when the *Mocha* wheeled off and left them. Those who have since died of their wounds at sea are Chiefe Mate James Smith, Andrew Miller, George Mopp and Thomas Matthews.

"Those who continue dangerously wounded are John Amos who hath lost one of his legs, and 'tis feared thatt one of John Blake's must also be cutt off. Their volleys of small shott very thick and almost incessant beeing extraordinarily well manned and keeping look out constantly at the mast head 'twas supposed in expectacion of their associate. The damages Captain Hyde's ship received, were loss of her sprit saile yarde, several shott between decks breaking her main

beame, some into the bread room, and several betweene wind and water, with most of her rigging shott away.

“The Rogues before the engagement putt out the King’s Jack and a broad red Pendant but fought under no Collours. After the engagement Captain Hyde tried tenn days for Mallacca. But contrary winds took him over to the Sembilan Islands on the Eastern shoare, from whence, when taking off a boatload of water they were in great need of, there appeared a sail from windward making towards them, which wee took to be the *Mocha’s* consort. But night coming on and we steering our course another way happily lost sight of her before morning.”

This vessel was really the *Charming Mary*, who a few days later, rejoined her consort with whom she cruised in company until the 2nd December, on which day they took another European ship (an interloper), which they plundered and let go, after putting aboard Willocks and some other Europeans they had taken out of other ships. The late prisoners eventually reached Negrais Island, where they found a Madras bound ship which gave them all passage to that place. After releasing the prisoners, the consorts parted, the *Charming Mary* making for St. Mary’s where she refitted and landed such of her crew as desired to remain on the Island before sailing for New York.

The *Mocha* soon followed, arriving at St. Mary’s on the 7th of May 1698, and found there Captain Kidd in the *Quedah Merchant*. At first each was very wary of the other, Culliford by reason of the matter of the *Blessed William*, and the knowledge that, Kidd being on a pirate-hunting expedition, he could apprehend him for that alone if still ignorant of other exploits. Kidd, in turn, was afraid that Culliford being so much the stronger, might attack him and take away the prize. However they soon discovered that their interests were mutual and fraternised, Kidd “swearing that his soul might fry in hell ere he harmed his old comrade, and new found companion.” This business settled Culliford plundered a

French ship lying in harbour from which he took £2,000 in cash and a large stock of clothing and wines and spirits brought for bartering for slaves.

Apparently greatly dissatisfied with the meagre result of the cruise under Kidd, or disliking him, a great number of Kidd's men, took their share of the plunder and joined Culliford, to whom Kidd also gave some guns and ammunition. His Company were further augmented by about 20 men from the French ship, and a few others tired of the shore, for a time. In return Kidd received John Gilliam and some others for passage to America, all of whom were eventually arrested and most executed, though they had come in under an Act of Grace, which, as usual was interpreted against them.

On the 15th June 1698, Culliford sailed from St. Mary's for the west coast of India. Off the Highlands of St. John's, he fell in with Chivers and Powell, in the *Soldado* and the *Pelican*, respectively, with whom he now cruised in company. About the middle of September they came up with a Surat vessel from Jeddah called the *Great Mahomet*, which, rather unfortunately for her, had left the convoy under charge of Captain Southby of the *London* on the 12th September to forestall the market, or make a quicker passage, the speed of the convoy being regulated by the slowest sailer. According to the statement of Ibrahim Khan, owner of the vessel, who was aboard, the action was very hardly fought on both sides. He gives the numbers of the pirates killed at 20 and many more wounded, whilst over 300 of the passengers and crew of the *Great Mahomet* were either killed, or cast overboard by the pirates after the action. He further says,

"These dreadful villains tortured the Nakhoda, together with the merchants, and all whom they suspected of having hidden money or jewels, most cruelly. Not content with this even, when they had extracted a confession by such vile means they shot the poor wretches and threw them overboard, living or dead. They then put about 150 of the passengers into boats, without oars, sails or even water, and cast them off, keeping about sixty women aboard. Fortunately the

wind and tide favoured those sent adrift and they reached the shore in safety. The poor women who were kept on the ship were most barbarously treated by the Pirates in their usual manner. Some stabbed themselves to death and others threw themselves into the sea rather than endure the outrages they were subjected to."

A letter from Fort St. George of the 3rd January 1699 gives the value of the cargo and the specie aboard at 25 lakhs of rupees which, in view of the statement made by Theophilus Turner, an informer at the trial of Culliford, and the others, that they shared out £800 a man would be about correct. Though in company the *Pelican* took no part in the fight, and hence, received no share of the plunder, the rule being that only actual combatants should share. She still kept company, however, for she was present when the three chased the *Mary*, interloper, into Quilon in mid February, after a running fight. In March, they took a Moors ship, after which they made for St. Mary's where the vessels were disposed of in the manner related in our account of Captain Dirk Chivers.

Here the crews broke up after sharing out, some settling down on the Island or returning to their permanent homes either there or on the mainland, whilst others settled down to await the first opportunity of a passage to America or England. This offered in the *Margaret*, commanded by Samuel Burgess, then experiencing a spell of honest trading, though they had to wait until she filled up with slaves. Whilst engaged in so doing there arrived at Madagascar a naval squadron under Commodore Warren which had been directed to call at the Island on its way to India to endeavour to break up the pirate settlement by the combined efforts of force if necessary and an Act of Grace offering free pardon to all who would surrender, to the Commodore. Whether by accident or design the stipulated period had expired before the arrival of the squadron, but Warren promised to have the dates extended to cover the cases of all who came in.

Amongst those who did so was Culliford and about 14 others of the Company of the Mocha, all of whom left St.

Mary's in the *Vine*, a small ship acting as a tender to the squadron under command of a brother of the Commodore, which was ordered home. She arrived at Cape Town on the 20th September 1699, and was then called upon by Captain Lowth of the Company's vessel *Loyal Merchant* to surrender her prisoners to him for conveyance to Bombay for trial, by virtue of his commission to take pirates; as had been done by the *Margaret*. This demand being refused by Warren the other threatened to use force on which Warren, whose ship was much smaller, invoked the protection of the Dutch Governor, who sent an armed party aboard until the *Loyal Merchant* had left.

The *Vine* landed the prisoners at St. Helena, where they remained until a man-of-war, homeward bound, brought them home and made them over for trial. Though they pleaded that they had only surrendered under a promise of pardon by the extension of the Act of Grace, the case was decided against them in the end and all save Culliford, who had interested the Bishops on his behalf, were hung for piracy and their bodies exposed in chains, as usual.

CHAPTER VIII

Captain Henry Every and his Company.

THOUGH variously mentioned as John Avery, Henry Avery, Henry Ivory, and Benjamin Bridgman, his true name, according to the contemporary records and his own signature was, Henry Every, by which we shall call him throughout. His exploit in taking the *Gang-i-Sawai*, though not nearly so profitable as many other piracies of the time, gained him such notoriety that quite a number of people interested themselves in ascertaining his early career, or in inventing one for him.

These accounts range from the wildly impossible to the mildly probable, from which we shall select a few, commencing with that of Adrian Van Broecke, a Dutchman supposed to have been long a prisoner aboard Every's ship whilst she was cruising in Indian waters. If Van Broecke was really aboard the ship it was more than probable that he was one of the Company. The narrative, which he claims to have obtained from Every himself runs thus:

"*John* Every was born in the year 1653 at Cat Down, where his father was a landed proprietor, who died when the lad was about ten years old. The orphan was taken over by an uncle who first robbed him of his estates and money, and then had him bound 'prentice to a brutal sea captain in the hope of his dying under the hardships of such a life. But, even at this early age, young Every was capable of looking after himself and survived all the brutalities of the wicked ship-master. Eventually he managed to get into the Royal Navy, in which he served at the Bombardment of Algiers in 1671 gaining the favourable notice of Sir Edward Spragge.

On quitting the Navy Every entered on a ship bound for the Spanish Main, the natural bourne of all true pirates. Here he

joined a buccaneer ship and made several cruises in this profession before returning to England to rejoin the Navy and take part in the Dutch War of 1674 (?) He next became captain of a Logwood cutting ship in the Bay of Campeach in which capacity he was honest enough to gain the favour of his employers, and tactful enough to become a favourite with his men. Having thus gained a permanent command Every married and settled down in the West Indies until finding that his wife had become unfaithful he abandoned both her and his home, to go 'On the Account,' being at times, pirate and slave trader, both.

"Every was, as to his proportions middle-sized, inclinable to be fat, and of a jolly complexion. His temper was of a piece with his person, daring and good tempered, but insolent and uneasy at times, and always unforgiving to the last degree if at any time imposed upon. His manner of living was imprinted in his face, and his profession might easily be told from it. His knowledge of his profession was great, being founded on a strong natural judgment, and sufficient experience advanced by incessant application to mathematics. Notwithstanding the remissness of his education, and the converse in his minority, he still had many principles of morality, which since his defection from equitable procedure, many subjects of the King have experienced."

Defoe, in his "King of the Pirates," which is supposed to be founded on Every's career, the facts being supplied by *himself* (when?) states that in the year 1691, Every sailed with a pirate named Nicholls usually known as Bloody Hand, from his merciless exercise of his profession: This Nicholls sailed under the Black and never gave quarter, save when Every insisted upon it in order to obtain recruits from the prizes, especially the carpenters and surgeons, men always greatly desired by the pirates. His merciful disposition gained Every, the captaincy of the ship, when Red Hand was killed in action on the 10th December 1692, apparently to the relief of his crew if the following, attributed to Every by Defoe, is true.

“Never did I find any man in the ship showing the least concern for him. Certain it is that cruelty for its own sake never recommends itself to any man amongst Englishmen not even when they have no share in the infliction.” However, we may doubt it for all Defoe’s writings concerning these gentry are interspersed with many moral reflections.

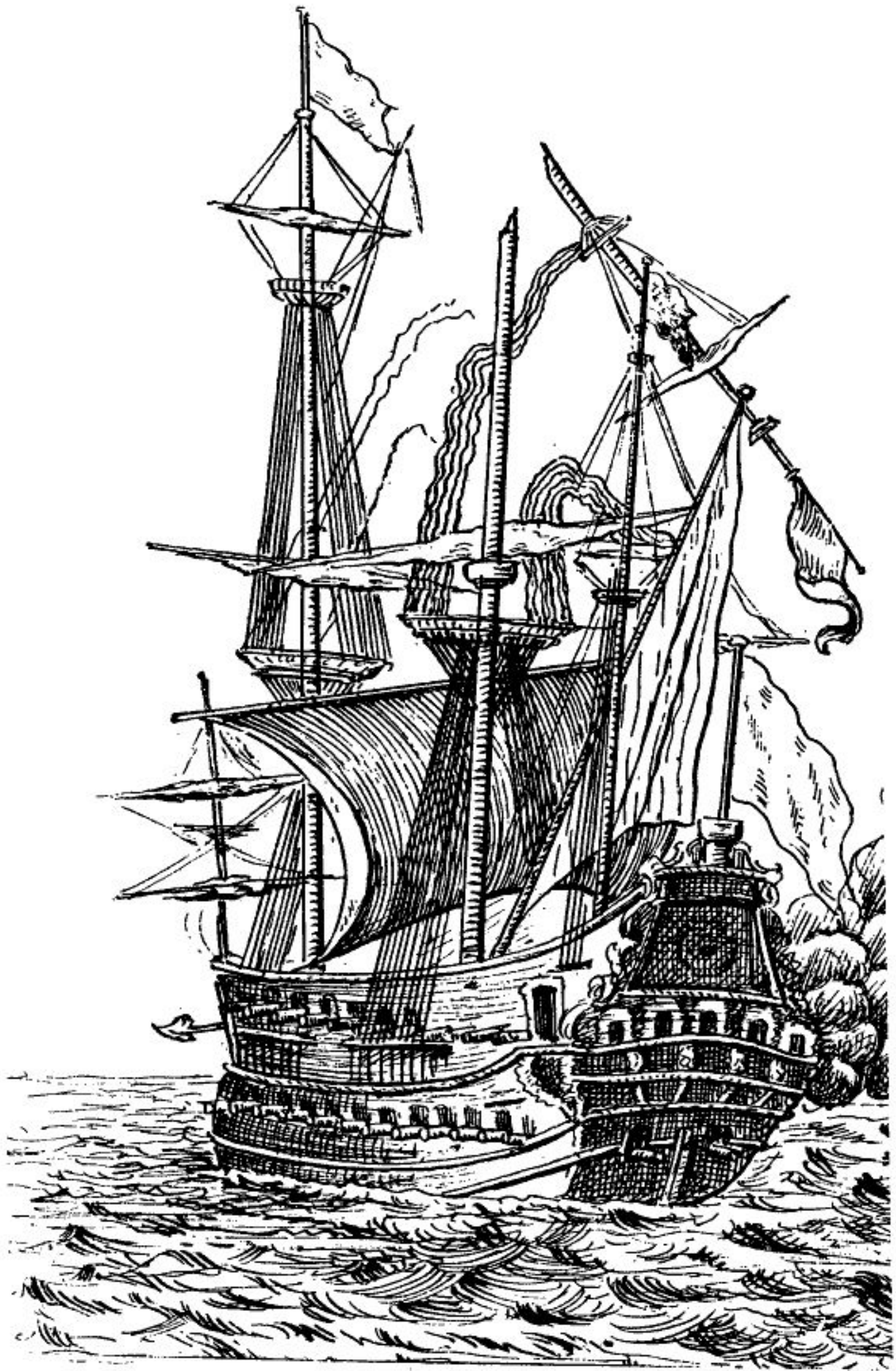
Another account appears in a Ballad said to exist in the Pepy’s collection entitled, “A Copy of Verses lately Composed by Henry Every, now gone to sea to seek his fortune.” According to this, Every was once a landed gentleman possessing great estates near Plymouth on losing which by unjust litigation he went to sea to try and make his fortune at the expense of the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and heathen. He fought under the Flag of St. George and his own flag, “four Silver chevrons in a Bloody Field,” and under this would always give “good quarter.” But if resistance was offered he would hang out the Bloody Flag, after which

“No quarters to give, no quarters to take
We will save nothing living; for now ’tis too late,
For we are all sworn by the Blood and the Wine
More serious are we than any Divine.”

Poesy lost nothing when piracy gained a recruit.

All this may be disregarded save as fiction? Every had been a slave trader long before his advent into notorious piracy, for in the year 1693 Captain Phillips, of the *Hannibal*, then on a slaving mission on the Guinea Coast thus writes of Every whom he always mentions as Long Ben; “The Author (of an account of the voyage) never found the Negroes so shy and so scarce, which he attributes to kidnapping tricks having been played on them by Long Ben, alias Every and others of his Kidney who had seized upon them and carried them off without any payment.” Piracy and slaving were always kindred professions, and it is very probable that Every had been aboard some of the ships whose exploits we have already recounted.

The Memoirs of Henry Bruce, a West Indian merchant of



THE GANG-I-SAWAI
By an Indian Artist. From an Old Print.

[Face page 152



the late 17th century, definitely state that from 1690 to 1694 Every was under the protection of Sir William Jones, Governor of the Bahamas who fostered the pirates in return for their aid in exacting illegal contributions from the Colonists by threats of armed force. How he came to be mate of the *Charles* there is nothing to show, but it seems probable that being out of a ship, he and some of his old comrades shipped on the *Charles* with the deliberate intention of seizing her at the earliest and best opportunity. From hence we shall for a time quote from Johnson whose account, if at times slightly in error, is well worth repeating.

(Johnson.) "It having been resolved by the Spanish to hire two or three stout ships to act as Coast Guards for their West Indian Trade, certain merchants of Bristol fitted out each two ships of about 30 guns, and 120 of a crew, well furnished with ammunition, provisions, and all other stores necessary. The hire being agreed on by some agents from Spain the ships were commanded to rendezvous at the Groyne (Coruna), there to receive orders and take aboard some Spanish Gentlemen for New Spain. On one of these ships which I take to be the *Duke* (it was the *Charles*) Captain Gibson, Avery was first mate, and being a fellow of more cunning than courage, managed to insinuate himself into the good will of several of the boldest fellows aboard both ships.

"Having sounded their inclinations before he discovered himself and found them ripe for his design, he at length proposed to them to run off with the ship telling them what great wealth was to be had on the Coast of India. It was no sooner said than agreed on and they resolved to execute the plot at ten o'clock the night following. It must be observed that the Captain was one of those who are mightily addicted to punch so that he passed most of his time ashore in some little drinking den. But on this day he did not go ashore as usual, which, however, did not spoil his game for he took his usual dose on board and retired to bed before the hour fixed for the business.

“Those not privy to the design turned into their hammocks leaving none upon deck save the conspirators who, indeed, were the greater part of the ship’s crew. At the time agreed upon the *Duchess* long boat appeared, which, Every hailing in the usual manner, was answered, ‘Is your drunken boatswain aboard,’ which, being the agreed upon watchword, was answered in the affirmative. Then the boat came alongside with fifteen stout fellows who had joined the Company. When our gentry saw that all was clear they secured the hatches and went to work. They did not slip the anchor but weighed leisurely and so put to sea without any disorder or confusion though there were then several ships lying in the Bay and amongst them the Dutch Frigatt of 40 guns the Captain of which was offered a great reward to sail after her.

“But Mynheer, who would not have been willing to be so served himself, could not be prevailed upon to give chase, and so Avery was let pursue his voyage whither he had a mind to. The captain who by this time was waked either by the motion of the ship or the noise of working the tackles, rang the bell on which Avery and two others went into the cabin. The captain half asleep and in a kind of fright asked, ‘What is the matter?’ Avery answered coolly, ‘Nothing.’ The Captain replied, ‘Something is the matter with the ship. Does she drive? What weather is it?’ he thinking there had been a storm and the ship driven from her anchors.

“‘No, no,’ said Avery, ‘we are at sea with a fair wind and good weather!’ ‘At sea?’ said the captain. ‘How can that be?’ ‘Come, come,’ said Avery, ‘don’t be in a fright, but put your clothes on and I will let you into the secret.’ Then he said, ‘You must know I am Captain of this ship now and this is my cabin. Therefore you must walk out. I am bound for Madagascar with the design of making my own fortune and that of all the brave fellows that have now joined with me.’

“The captain, having a little recovered his senses began to apprehend their meaning though his fright was as great as before. Which Avery perceiving, bade him fear nothing

'For,' said he, 'if you have a mind to make one with us we will receive you, and, if you *turn sober and mind your business well*, perhaps in time I may make you one of my lieutenants. But if not, there is a boat alongside and you shall be set on shore.' The captain was very glad to hear this and accepted the offer, and, the whole crew being turned up, they were asked who were willing to go ashore with the captain, and who to seek their fortunes with the rest.

"There were not above five or six who were willing to quit the enterprise; wherefore they were put into the boat that minute and made their way to shore as best they could." Here we must leave Johnson for other sources of information, for though fairly correct in most of his other accounts of the pirates of this era, he is unreliable in the matter of Every, or Avery as he calls him.

We next hear of the *Charles* at the Cape Verdes through the Deposition of the approver Phillip Middleton who deposed that

"The ship *Charles* now re-named by the Privateers, the *Fancy*, fell in with three English ships at the Isle of Maio. They plundered them of their provisions and what else they fancied and nine of their men, viz: James Grey, Thomas Summerton, John Reidy, Edward Kerwood, William Downe and some others, most of them West countrymen entered aboard the said *Fancy*. Thence they went to the Isle of Princes where they fought with and took two Danish ships out of which they had a quantity of Elephants' teeth, and divided about eight or nine ounces of gold per man."

These ships and their fate are thus described by the Captain Phillips we have already mentioned in this narrative.

"The Danish Castle at Accra having been taken by the natives and all the Danes held prisoner, hearing of this, two ships, each of 26 guns were sent out from Denmark to take back the castle and ransom the Governor bringing him home for trial. Having ransomed the Governor and the Castle they set out to return home, first putting in at Whydah to procure a cargo of slaves which they proposed

to sell in the West Indies to defray expenses. On their way to the West Indies they put in at the Isle of Princes where they found the pirate Every, who fought with them, took their ships, plundered and burnt them. The poor Governor went from me with great reluctance fearing harsh treatment in Denmark. But Long Ben, alias Every, put a stop to his fears and his life at the same time, the Governor being killed in the fight."

But only one of these ships was sunk, the other, the *Golden Lion*, of 16 guns, being retained to carry the slaves surviving the fight to Madagascar where after they had been disposed of the ship was burnt, her Danish crew joining the pirates. There were 14 of these men, and at Johanna the Company was still further augmented by 52 French pirates, 12 of whom were from a shipwrecked vessel and the others gained under circumstances thus described by Middleton:

"Whilst we were at Johanna there came in a French Pirate ship having forty men aboard which had made good booty in the Red Sea. We took their ship and all the men came aboard of us and joined our Company." On his departure from Johanna, Every left the following curious document, announcing his policy towards English ships, with the native chief asking him to deliver it to the first English ship that came in:

"To all English Commanders. Let this satisfy all concerned that there was riding here at this instant date the ship, *Fancy*, man-of-war, formerly the *Charles* of the Spanish Expedition who departed from Corunna the 17th May 1694, being then and now a ship of 46 guns 150 men bound out for the Red Sea to seek our fortunes. I have never yet wronged any English or Dutch, or ever so intend while I am commander. Wherefore, as I commonly speak with all ships I desire all that come to the perusall of this, to take this signal following. If any of you, or any whom you may inform are desirous to know what we are from a distance, then make up your ancient in a ball and hoist him at the mizzen

peak, leaving your mizzen peak ensign unfurled. I shall answer with the same, and never molest you if it is possible. But my men are hungry, stout and resolute and should they exceed my desire I cannot help myself. *As yet*, a friend to all Englishmen

“At Johanna 18th February 1695,

“HENRY EVERY.”

This letter was delivered to the Company's ship *Benjamin*, outward bound to India which came into Johanna a few days after Every had left. According to Middleton, when the *Fancy* left Johanna her Company numbered 170 in all, of whom 104 were English, 52 French, and 14 Danes. The English would include Irish, and Scots, for at this period these latter were not usually mentioned separately from the better known Englishmen. Certainly there were a number of both in the Company as will be shewn later, but whether, as the following extract from *Country Life* of the 14th January 1924 claims, Alexander Selkirk was amongst them, there is nothing to show. His name does not appear amongst the Scots mentioned by Middleton.

The letter now quoted concerns a 17th century article in the possession of the Earl of Ancaster which bears the following inscription:

“This Inkholder and sand-dredger belonged to the Sophy of Persia's daughter, who when on her way to be married to the Great Mogul was taken Prisoner by Every the Pirate on whose ship was Alexander Selkirk who from Every got these two pieces. To Largo, the place of his nativity, Alexander Selkirk, commonly known as Robinson Crusoe, returned after all his wonderful adventures, and a little before his death he sent this Inkstand and sandholder to Robert Lundy of that Ilk (same place). Signed A. L. Cox.” The only circumstances detracting from the probability of this story are that Aurungzebe never married any Persian princess, that Persian ladies were not taught to write, and that neither inkhorns nor sand-dredgers were used by Indian scribes.

Even before the arrival of Every, there were already a number of other European Pirate ships cruising in the Red Sea. It has been said that these ships formed themselves into a squadron under his general orders, which is incorrect except in so far as they may have kept company at times, and if at hand assisted in the taking of a prize, though only when called upon by the ship which first engaged. These vessels were

The Dolphin.—Originally taken from the Spaniards and now commanded by William Want whose crew were mainly from Madagascar.

The Portsmouth Adventure.—Of Rhode Island, commanded by Joseph Farrell, variously known as Faro, or Ferro.

The Pearl.—Of Rhode Island, commanded by William May.

The Susanna.—Of Boston, commanded by an old pirate, Thomas Week, already pardoned under the Act of Grace of 1688–90.

The Amity.—From Barbados and New York, commanded by our old friend Thomas Tew, of whom we have already written.

(Johnson). “After some time the Company of the Dolphin found her quite unseaworthy, and, at a general consultation of all the Companies, it was decided that she should be burnt and her Company distributed amongst the other ships, the *Fancy* receiving the most. Not long after this, the whole of the Pirates combined to attack and bombard the coast town of Leet in revenge for the denial of water and provisions to one of them, and then thoroughly plundered that place and a few more small towns or ports on the coast.

“They then separated and cruised independantly for the annual fleet from Mocha and Jeddah which was now due but which the majority missed by the Moors ships passing through them at night. The only vessels that came into action with any of the Mocha fleet were those of Tew and Every, of whom the first engaged the *Fateh Mahomed* but left her to the *Fancy*, after Tew had been killed by a round shot.”

The action and what followed are thus described by the informer Middleton:

“After we had cruised for some time in the Red Sea without making prize, we had intelligence of two rich ships bound from Mocha to Surat, but missed them, they passing in the night. The next day we took a small junk bound inwards, from which we heard of the ships being gone before, and so made haste after them. The next day we came up with the smaller (the *Fateh Mahomed*), which we took with little or no resistance. In the afternoon we came up with the large ship which fought us strongly for two hours killing many of our men. On this ship there were about 1,300 persons and on the smaller about 700. We kept both ships in our possession for two days, and all the men from the *Fancy*, saving Every himself, boarded them in turn.

“We took out of the said ships provisions and all other necessaries, and all their treasure which was very great. But what we got was little in comparison to what was said to be aboard, of which none told, though we put them to the torture. Yet they would not confess. We took great quantities of gold, silver and jewels and a saddle set with rubies destined a present to the Great Mogul. The men lay with the women aboard, and there were several that, from their jewels and habits, seemed to be of better quality than the rest. The great ship was called the *Gang-i-Sawai*.”

Another informer named John Dann, deposed that the great ship had 40 guns and besides her crew carried 500 soldiers and 600 passengers. His statement agrees with that of Middleton regarding the tortures of the passengers and principal members of the crew, and the treatment of the women, several of whom died from their treatment or jumped into the sea to escape. Alexander Hamilton mentions that Every helped himself to a young Mogul lady of high rank, by whom he had a son, who with the mother was put ashore at Madagascar. This does not seem correct, for there was

not time enough for such a birth and Every does not appear to have touched at Madagascar on the homeward voyage. An account by Khufi Khan the native historian, runs:

“Every year one of the Emperor’s ships was sent from Surat to Mecca. There was no greater ship in all the Mogull dominions than this which was called the *Gang-i-Sawai*. . . . At this time she was bringing from Mecca 52 lakhs in gold and silver, the produce of the sales of Indian goods there, and at Jeddah. Ibrahim Khan was captain of the ship, which carried 62 great guns and had 400 musketeers besides other soldiers and all necessary implements of war. When she was within eight days of Surat, she was met by an English ship not one third of her size and having a smaller number of guns.

“When this ship came within gunshot the royal vessel fired her great guns at it. But by ill luck, one of them burst, and three or four men were killed by fragments of it. Seeing the confusion and that their own shots had broken the main-mast on which depended the safety of the ship, the Englishmen were encouraged to bear down to attack, and, drawing their swords, jumped aboard the royal ship. The English are not bold in the use of the sword, and there were so many weapons aboard that, if any determined resistance had been made they had been defeated. But, as soon as they came aboard, Ibrahim Khan ran down into the hold where there were some Turkish girls whom he was bringing from Mecca to be his concubines.

“He put turbans on their heads, and then incited them to fight. But these girls quickly fell into the hands of the Englishmen, who had made themselves masters of the ship. When they had laden their ship with the spoil from the *Gang-i-Sawai*, they took her to one of their *settlements* where they busied themselves stripping the men and killing them and dishonouring the women, both young and old. They then left the ship to go free but took with them most of the women. Several of the ladies threw themselves into the sea,

and others killed themselves with the swords and daggers of the Englishmen."

This account does not do any measure of justice to the captain of the *Gang-i-Sawai*, who, on the testimony of the several informers, *did* defend his ship and stubbornly at that. The losses of the pirates is not mentioned, but judging by the fact that they had lost fifty of the Company by the time they shared out, probably fifteen or twenty were killed or died of wounds received in the action. The statements as to atrocities committed on the men and women of the captured ships are confirmed by "The Last Dying Words and Confession of John Sparkes, of the *Fancy*, hung at Execution Dock on the 25th of October 1696."

"This villain expressed his contrition for the horrid barbarities he had committed, though only on the bodies of heathens. The inhuman treatment and merciless tortures inflicted on the poor Indians and their women still afflicted his soul. He declared that he justly suffered death for such inhumanity even more than for his crime in running away with the *Charles*, which was the lesser concern."

How much of this stuff was due to Sparkes, and how much to either, or both of the broadsheet author, or the Chaplain, the reader may judge for himself. Most of the pirates were more of the stamp of Dennis MacCarthy, who "after taking off his shoes, kicked them off the scaffold, saying he would prove those to be liars who had said he would die with his boots on."

Khufi Khan was in error when stating that the pirates took the ships to one of their settlements, for they went no farther than Socotra before they set to work on the prizes. What eventually became of the unfortunate women they kept aboard does not transpire, but probably they were either cast overboard when the pirates tired of them or left at Bourbon. When the released ship with the news of the outrages and robberies arrived at Surat, the consequences to the servants and establishments of the East India Company were severe and grave. The whole of their establishments at

Surat, Broach, Agra and Ahmedabad, with the goods and money therein, were sequestrated and the merchants and others imprisoned and so severely treated that some of them died from the effects.

It was not until it was conclusively proved that they had no concern with, or knowledge of, the pirates that all were released six months later. Meanwhile the *Fancy*, which was rejoined by some of the others, had gone down to Rajapore, on the west coast of India, where they cleaned and careened. As so often happened they provoked a regular battle with the natives in which a number on both sides were killed. From here the *Fancy* sailed for Bourbon where they shared out, after which all the foreigners and a few of the Englishmen left the ship to settle ashore.

Each took with him his share of plunder, which, according to Dann and the others, amounted to £970 in cash and a proportion of jewels for each full share, to which was later added another £80 on account of the bale goods, etc., sold at Bourbon. Boys from 16 to 18 received each £500, and those under that age £100 each, with which to apprentice themselves to *an honest trade ashore*. The Depositions agree that Every only received two shares, the sailing master, one and one half, and the surgeon, one and one quarter.

As to the value of the plunder, there are several estimates. The owner of the ship set the total losses to all at £600,000, in coin and jewels, which, naturally would be an over estimate with a view to compensation. Alexander Hamilton, then at Surat, gives the amount at £325,000 which, as it agrees fairly well with the estimate of the President of the East India Company at Surat, may be taken as about the real figure. In view of the positive statement of the approvers that Every was only awarded two full shares, we cannot believe the vast amount he was credited with. Certainly he may have helped himself liberally from what may have been put in charge of himself and the Quartermaster, especially in the matter of jewels of small bulk and high value.

After having completed her fitting and provisioning the

Fancy, took aboard, according to the Depositions, some 90 slaves for the West Indies, though why men with such wealth at their command should trouble about such an item seems curious. Still they did. Whether she touched at Madagascar we cannot say, but as none of the Depositions say so, we may assume that she steered clear of the Island, especially as Baldrige makes no mention of Every, and the fortifications attributed to him were certainly built by Baldrige himself.

The next heard of the *Fancy* was at the Portuguese Island of St. Thomas, where the ship put in to provision for the last stage for the West Indies and paid for the supplies in the manner indicated by our old friend Captain Phillips, of the *Hannibal*, who writes: "That Pyraticall rascal Long Ben, got himself provisioned at the Island of St. Thomas by the Governor thereof and for the goods supplied thereat he paid with a Bill of Exchange drawn on The Bank of Aldgate Pump, attested by John -a Noakes and signed by Timothy Tugmutton and Simon Whifflepin." These three personages were the 17th century prototypes of the later Hooky Walker and Co. In any case, however, none can doubt but that the assets of the said bank were liquid enough.

They now sailed to the Bahamas, where despite the fact of their having obtained huge supplies of liquor and provisions at St. Thomas, they arrived quite out of liquor and with only two days' provisions of any kind left. But all these troubles were now over and they were received most effusively by the merchants and Governor, to the former of whom, with the active support of the other they disposed of the slaves and the balance of the plunder at bargain rates. Concerning their reception by the Governor, Middleton deposed:

"At the Bahamas the Pyrates were hospitably received by Governor Nicholas Trott to whom they made a present of twenty dollars a man (about £900) and two gold sequins each. They were then permitted to come ashore and publicly entertained at his house. One of them accidentally broke a glass for which the Governor made him pay eight sequins (£3 16s.). In the end they made a present of the ship and

some elephants' teeth to the Governor which he shared with the Deputy Governor, Nicholas Taliaferro."

Not long after, the *Fancy* being still in possession of her own Company, most of whom were probably drunk, or careless, was driven ashore by a gale and became a total loss, with the exception of the guns, which, at the request of the Governor, the pirates salved and mounted in an earthwork commanding the entrance in order to repel an expected attack by the French, for which service the Governor recommended them for pardon, though not daring to do so officially. The following letter from the Governor of Jamaica, who was the head authority in the islands, gives the result:

"Jamaica. 15th June 1696. The Pyrates that ran off with the *Charles* from Corunna have since been in the Red Sea where they have gotten great wealth, amounting to, it is said, above £300,000. They are arrived at Providence, in the Bahamas, and have from thence sent privately to me, to try if they could prevail upon me to pardon them and let them come hither, and, in order that I should do so, have promised to pay me the great sum of £20,000. But even double that would not tempt me from my duty to the king and his Government."

Failing in their attempt to enter America as free men the pirates broke up their Company, each man going where he chose. Some of them got secretly into America and disappeared, whilst of the others Middleton and Dann relate:

"Every changed his name to Benjamin Bridgeman, and went ashore at Providence with about eighty men, who dispersed to different places where some bought sloops to go home in. One of these called the *Seaflower* was brought from Crosskeys and Flavell, and commanded by Captain Farrell. In this there embarked, Captain Every, John Down, John Dann, Nathaniel Pike, Peter Soames, Henry Adams, Francis Wilson, Thomas Johnson, Joseph Dawson, Samuel Dawson, James Lewis, James Hammond, Joseph Roy, John Sparkes, James Murry, Thomas Summerton, Joseph Goss, James Grey,

Charles Faulkner, and John Reidy. All of these were landed at Dunfanahan, 20 miles north of Londonderry, from whence all except Every went to Dublin. Every went in the sloop to Carrickfergus and from thence to England by ship. The Company gave the sloop to Farrell.

“Another sloop commanded by one Hollinsworth had 16 more men from the *Charles*, and was chased into Dublin by a French privateer; these men were Robert Richy, John Millar, Richard Saville, Edward Saville, William Phillips and Thomas Joyce with other, mostly Scotchmen bund thither. William Mason went to New England with some others, and two men who got to Jamaica returned back to Providence. Joseph Morris was left at Providence, he having gone mad through losing all his jewels on a wager. Edward Short was eaten by a shark at Jamaica and Thomas Bolitho was met at Dublin where he and some others had come with a boat other than those mentioned.

“When the news of the depredations of the Pirates and the large sums the East India Company had been obliged to pay as compensation reached England, the general indignation forced the Admiralty to place a reward of £500 a head on each of the Pirates, to which the East India Company added a similar sum, a free pardon being offered to all informers irrespective of their degree of complicity saving only Every.” In the end 24 were arrested and brought to trial of whom six were eventually hung, and the remainder transported as slaves to Virginia, a fate even worse. As to Every himself we may quote.

(Johnson.) “Avery was afraid to offer his diamonds for sale lest it should occasion his discovery. Presently he thought of some friends at Bristol whom he might trust and sent for them at Bideford.

“When he had discovered himself to his friends, and consulted with them they agreed that the safest method was to put his means into the hands of some merchants they knew, who, being men of substance and credit would be able to dispose of them without any inconvenient enquiries as to

how they came by them. One of his friends told him that if he would allow him a very good commission he would do the business faithfully, being well acquainted with some merchants very fit for the purpose. To this proposal Every was compelled to agree, having no other means of managing the affair since he could not appear in it himself.

“Therefore the friend went back to Bristol and opened the matter to the merchants, who agreeing made a visit to Avery at Bideford. After many protestations of integrity on their part Avery delivered all he had, being diamonds and vessels of gold. They gave him a little money for his present needs and so they parted. Avery changed his name and lived at Bideford without making any figure, therefore little notice was taken of him, save by a few of his relations, whom he let know where he was on which they came to see him.

“After some time his money being spent and he hearing nothing from his merchants he wrote to them, and, after much importunity they sent him a little supply, though scarce enough to pay his debts. In fine what they sent him from time to time was bare sufficient to get him bread, nor could he obtain even that without much trouble and importunity. Wherefore, being weary of this life, he went to Bristol to speak to the merchants but there, instead of money, he met with a most shocking repulse; for when he desired them to come to an account they threatened to discover him, so that our merchants were as good Pirates on land as their client had been at sea.

“Whether he was frightened by their menaces or had seen some one whom he thought knew him is not known but he went back to Ireland and from there solicited his merchants for a supply, though to no purpose, being reduced to beggary. In this extremity he resolved to return and cast himself on their mercy, be the consequences what they might. Therefore he put himself aboard a trading vessel and worked his way over to Plymouth; from thence travelling by foot to Biddeford, where he was but a few days when he fell sick and died not worth so much as would buy him a coffin.

“Thus much have I given all that could be collected with any certainty concerning this man, rejecting the idle stories that have been made of his fantastic greatness. By which it would appear that his actions were more inconsiderable than those of other pirates, who made much less stir in the world.” Which was quite correct.

Mr. Hill mentions that a search through the Bideford registers of 1728 (when Every was supposed to have died) has revealed nothing. As he died within two years of his return, the registers for 1698-1700 might give better results, especially if looked for under the name of Benjamin Bridgeman. It may be noted that Captain Phillips, who probably knew Every personally, always speaks of him as “Long Ben alias Every” and it is quite possible that his true name was Benjamin Bridgeman.

CHAPTER IX

Captain Dirk Chivers and his Company in the *Resolution* and the *Soldado*—The taking of the *Ruparel* and the *Calicut Merchant*—Their Cruel Treatment of Captain Sawbridge—The Bombardment of Kung—The Taking of the *Great Mahomet*—She becomes the *New Soldado*—They Surrender at St. Mary's—Their Fate—The Cruises of the *Pelican*, the *Dolphin*, and the *John and Rebecca*.

BEFORE attaining the exalted rank of a Pirate Captain, Dirk Chivers was one of the Company of the *Portsmouth Adventure*, which we have already mentioned as being in the Red Sea at the same time as Every and occasionally in company with him. Even before the departure of Every from the Red Sea, the *Portsmouth Adventure* seems to have "made her voyage," for she was on her homeward voyage when she was driven ashore by a storm off Mayotta, and there became a total wreck. Apparently the Company, or most of them, got ashore, for some of them managed to get to Mascarenhas, from whence they went home with Every, whilst the others remained at Mayotta in the hope of being shipped on an outgoing Pirate, and so to retrieve their fortunes.

Amongst them was Chivers, and their opportunity came with the arrival of the *Resolution*, a vessel of 200 tons, 20 guns and an original crew of 110 men, which had been commissioned from Barbados for a privateering cruise against the French on the Guinea Coast under Captain Robert Glover. Most of the crew, as usual with such ships, were rascals who required little urge to become downright pirates, and the slight stimulus required was given by the failure of the *Resolution* to make any prizes from French ships, or get any plunder from their Forts or Factories.

Therefore, in February 1695, the crew of the *Resolution* announced to their captain, that they were resolved to go

“On the Account” in the Red Sea, and much against his will forced Glover to retain the command and take them, first to Madagascar, and then into the Red Sea and the Gulf. They seem to have lost a considerable number of men, or the original crew had fallen short of the sanctioned numbers, for on arrival at Mayotta, the *Resolution* took aboard all the men from the *Portsmouth Adventure*, and some others from the resident pirate population of the island.

Whether by lack of skill, or energy, on the part of Captain Glover, most probably the latter, the *Resolution* took no prizes for a considerable time, the upshot being that the Company elected Dirk Chivers their Captain, retaining Glover as sailing master. Almost immediately their luck changed and they took a *Moors* ship, aboard which they placed Glover and those of his old crew of the same opinion as himself, after plundering her, and sent them off to Madagascar. What became of the native crew we cannot say, but they may have been put ashore, or, as possibly, cast overboard.

After parting with Glover and his “honest men,” the Company of the *Resolution* changed her name to that of the *Soldado*, which was her second change of name, she having originally been the *Algerine Galley*, captured from the French, who, in their turn had taken her from the Barbary Corsairs. Thus, as she commenced life so she ended as a pirate ship. Some time later she was joined by the *John and Rebecca*, belonging to Frederick Phillips, of New York, which had also been a French prize, and was now sailing under a privateering commission from that very Governor of Jamaica who so virtuously refused a great bribe from Every and his Company.

As usual with such commissions, this was merely a blind with which to enable armed ships, whose intentions were otherwise obvious, to avoid interference by Naval vessels, and though, also as usual, the commission was for the Guinea Coast, Hore made no pretence even of touching there, but passed into the Red Sea by way of Madagascar. For some time the *John and Rebecca* cruised in company with Chivers

and the *Charming Mary*, taking several prizes, the principal being a vessel from Diu, from which they obtained a large sum of money, though only after a stout resistance, angered at which the whole of her crew, according to Captain Phinney, who found the derelict vessel, "they hove all her crew and passengers overboard."

Their next exploits were the taking of the *Ruparel*, and the *Calicut Merchant*, both ships belonging to the East India Company and having European captains, surgeons, and mates. According to the official report in the Bombay Records they used the native super-cargoes "most barbarously" in order to make them discover what was in the ship. Having extracted all they could, they were about to turn the crews of the ships adrift in their boats before burning the vessels when Captain Sawbridge, of the *Ruparel*, suggested that they would find it more profitable to take the ships to Aden and there have them ransomed.

This was agreed to and the whole sailed off to Aden to find their time wasted, for the Governor refused both to advance the necessary money and permit any traffic with pirates from the shore. Angered at this the pirates burnt both ships, one of which had a valuable cargo of Arabian horses, with their crews and everything else, in full sight of the shore, though first taking the Europeans aboard their own ships. Whilst the ships were burning, the pirates became so annoyed at the incessant reproaches of Captain Sawbridge, at their needless and wanton cruelty and his own heavy losses, that they silenced him by sewing his lips up with a *sail needle*. No harm was done to any of the other Europeans, all of whom, with Sawbridge, were set ashore a few days later where the unfortunate captain died of his injuries and grief at his entire ruin. His ship had been twice taken by pirates within 12 months.

The *Charming Mary* now left the Red Sea on her own occasions cruising alone until she picked up with Culliford her place being taken by the *Pelican*. The whole now went off to the Persian Gulf where they bombarded the coast

town of Kung, as reprisal for being denied shelter and provisions. Fortunately for the place, the timely arrival of a Portuguese naval squadron caused the pirates to clear off before too much damage had been done. From the Gulf the pirates sailed down to Calicut off which they appeared under Danish colours, which they changed to English before taking and plundering three country ships within full view of the port.

All these ships, in the usual custom of the time, had English captains, who were spared and sent ashore with a letter to the Chief of the English Factory demanding a sum of £10,000, failing which, they would first burn the captured ships, and then land and kill every Englishman in the Factory. The letter ended with "We acknowledge no country having sold (sic) our own, and as we are sure to be hanged if taken, we shall have no scruple in murdering and destroying if our demands are not granted in full." For some time the Indian Governor temporised, meanwhile sending for aid from the Indian Governor of Malabar.

At length, realising that they were being played with, the Pirate Fleet anchored as close as possible to shore, preparatory to opening the bombardment, in which they were baulked by the news of the near proximity of a fleet of ten large Malabar junks. Though neither they nor the junks made any attempt to engage one another, the pirates judged it expedient to clear off, and did so, first hoisting their "Bloody Flag" and burning the captured ships in full sight of both the Malabar ships and the shore in most leisurely fashion.

By the end of April 1697, the *Soldado* was so foul and leaky, being already an old ship, that it was absolutely necessary to careen and re-sheath her, with which object Chivers and his Company, decided to go to Madagascar as the only really safe place where they could do so at their own leisure, and have a run ashore in safety. Though it was the wrong season of the year for such a voyage her state was so bad that they were compelled to take the risk. Though she managed to get a landfall, she met with such heavy weather near Antongil,

that she was dismasted and just managed to make the safety of the Bay.

The difficulty as to new masts would have been very great, owing to the local timbers being so hard, brittle and heavy, had it not been for news of the arrival of the *Amity* at St. Mary's. This vessel had been completely remasted before her new voyage, and hence was exactly what the pirates required. The crew went down to St. Mary's in their boats and seizing the *Amity*, brought her up to Antongil Bay, where they so stripped her, that nothing but the mere hulk was left and this was sent adrift to founder on the rocks at the entrance to the Bay. Probably they paid her Master for the ship, this being their usual custom except in cases where they considered they had justification for not doing so.

Her preparations having been completed and the Company made up from the men always handy, the *Soldado* left St. Mary's on the 25th September 1697. Her first known exploit was the taking of the *Sedgwick* on the 6th April 1698, a vessel bound from Anjengo to Madras which had escaped Kidd on the outward journey. The following amusing account of the episode is from the Records of Fort St. David:

“*Wednesday, 12th April 1698.* The *Sedgwick*, Captain Watts, commander, arrived from Anjengo to-day. The Master reports that, in going to Anjengo he was chased by Kidd the Pirate for three days and nights and only escaped with the greatest difficulty, it being calm and Kidd outrowing him. On his return from Anjengo he was chased and taken by another Pirate, Chivers the Dutchman, in the *Algerine Galley* which, with excellent rowing and sailing, fetched up with him in nine hours. Her cargo of pepper not being to their liking, they dismissed the ship after they had taken out of her two courses, her sheet anchor and cable, cordage, pitch, tar, and other stores which they required. Though some of the Pirates were mightily taken with the build of the *Sedgwick*, saying she would make a fine Pirate cruiser, Captain Watts, though with great difficulty, in the end prevailed on them to give

him back his ship by merry management of a bowl of punch which caused them to say 'He is an honest old fellow, let him go with his ship.'"

The next mention from the same, runs:

"*Friday, 10th June 1698.* A ship came into the harbour of St. Thome with an English ensign shewing, but no Jack. In the evening her doctor and purser came ashore to the house of Captain Lucas Luiz and gave out that they came from the South Seas by way of Batavia, bound for Bengal, and called at St. Thome, for wood and water, the Captain's name being Etherington and his ship the *Resolution*. But a letter from a Portuguese at St. Thome advises that this ship is a Pirate. . . . On Sunday the doctor and the purser were treating with Francisco Mendez for saltpeter, which sent two Portuguese aboard the ship with musters (samples) desiring to truck saltpeter for sugar. These men both say that she is a Pirate because she refuses to permit any one to come aboard and offers 30 great guns for sale while her captain keeps out of view."

From this letter it would appear that the *Soldado* had recently taken a cargo of sugar, which she was desirous of exchanging for saltpetre for use in making gunpowder, or fuse match. The guns were undoubtedly the proceeds of unreported piracies, the vessels having been sunk after the valuable guns were taken off. Such articles were always in demand by the native princes, especially if made of iron, for the locally-made brass ordnance was very shortlived owing to the irregular projectiles used.

As soon as this letter was received at Madras, two armed vessels were despatched to St. Thome with orders to sink the Pirate or bring her to Madras. However, the *Soldado* had already gone when they got there and was not again heard of until the 28th September 1698, on which date, she, in company with the *Mocha* and the *Pelican*, took a large and

rich Moors ship. As an account of this capture is given in our narrative of Culliford and his company, we need not here repeat it.

The *Soldado*, being now unseaworthy and the prize very suitable, Chivers and his Company transferred their armament to her and having now brought their numbers up to near upon 200 by various additions from prizes, renamed the prize the *New Soldado* and continued the cruise in her. Though the *Pelican* had taken no share in the taking of the *Great Mahomet* she still kept company, being so reported in the account of the attempted taking by the pirates of the *Mary*, a Company's ship, off Calicut on the 3rd November 1696. The *Mary* kept the pirates off whilst she made a running fight into Quilon outside which the pirates abandoned the chase, there being other Company's ships in the harbour. Soon after this they were joined by, or fraternised with two other pirate ships from New York one of which was the *Swan* commanded by Thomas Wilson. The other is not given.

On the 10th November 1698 the pirates made their last prize, in a Moors ship, about which there is nothing more forthcoming than the simple mention of her capture. They now made for St. Mary's, where they arrived on the 29th January 1699. Soon after their arrival, intimation of the approach of the squadron under Commodore Warren having been received too late to enable the pirates to clear off out to sea, they prepared to defend the place. The *Mocha* and the *Soldado* were sunk across the entrance to the bottle-necked harbour leaving only a narrow entrance, whilst the other ships there were either burnt, or run high ashore.

But, as it turned out, Commodore Warren contented himself with offering the pirates the Act of Grace, pledging himself to have the provisions extended to cover their cases. On this Chivers and a number of his Company came in and were permitted to take a passage on the *Margaret*, commanded by Samuel Burgess, to whom each man paid 100 dollars. Owing to many causes, principally difficulty in filling up his slave cargo at the various places around the coast

Burgess did not arrive at Cape Town until the 18th December 1699. On arrival the ship was seized by Captain Lowth, of the *Loyal Merchant*, by virtue of the commission to take pirates, which had now been given to all masters of Company's ships.

It seems probable that he was as much actuated by his own interests as the desire to take the pirates, for Lowth seized £10,000 in cash, which he alleged was the money belonging to the proceeds of piracy, and another £6,000 belonging to Burgess himself. Besides this he took and sold the 80 slaves found on the ship also appropriating the proceeds. Though the first amount may have been justly seized the others certainly were not, and so the Court of Admiralty found, for Burgess brought suit and the Company were condemned in the whole, and had to compensate the owners of the *Margaret*.

The *Margaret* was brought to Bombay where Lowth and his prisoners were very coolly received, the arrival of the latter being most inconvenient. The Governor had been for some time, vehemently denying that any of the pirates were Englishmen, and the marching of this batch through Bombay to the Fort gave him the living lie. Hence he gave Lowth clearly to understand that he would have been far better pleased if he had not interfered with the pirates, who should have been let go on to England and America. What eventually became of the prisoners there is nothing to shew in the Bombay Records. They may have been allowed to go free, or as likely died in jail.

THE CRUISE OF THE "PELICAN"

The first mention we find of the *Pelican* is in Johnson's account of Captain Nathaniel North's first adventures as a member of a privateering crew on the coast of Newfoundland. They had previously taken a prize, the disposal of which, and the acquisition of the *Pelican* are told in the following quotation:

“Having carried their prize into harbour, the privateers went again on the cruise, and met with a French Letter of Marque called the *Pelican* of 18 guns, and 75 men half laden with fish. This ship stood them a long argument. They clapped her aboard and two of their men entering made an attempt to make fast, missing which the *Barca longa* fell astern, and the two men were made prisoners. However, they soon came up with her again, clapped her aboard, and took her carrying her into the same port where they had left their former prize. After turning adrift all the prisoners except such as were necessary to work the prizes, they took them all to Rhode Island.

“Here they found much difficulty in having the *Pelican* condemned, she having been taken from the English and her former owners putting in their claim. But at length a Scotch lawyer did their business on their leaving in his hands £300 to meet the expenses of any future suit. The ship’s Company now bought the *Pelican* and got a commission for her master to cruise southwards as far as the Line, and to be valid for eighteen months, or two full years in case of accidents. Being fitted out for sea they set sail and steered for the Cape of Good Hope which they doubled in the month of June, and then went into the Bay of St. Augustine’s where they victualled and watered.

“Before this was completed it was August and too late to go into the East Indies, which they had proposed to do, with design to cruise on the Moors, not intending to pirate amongst Europeans, but just *honestly and quietly*, to rob the Moors of all they could and then return home with a clear conscience, and clean through full hands within the limited time of their commission. From St. Augustine’s, they went up to Johanna to wait the monsoon, and there found the provisions they had salted up at the former place, not being well done, had begun to spoil. This and their clothes wanting repair, made them desperately resolve to take the King of Johanna, and hold him to ransom.

“But the Master would not take the ship there, being unacquainted with the coast, therefore they cruised amongst

the Islands and landed at Comoro where they took the town, but found no booty excepting some few silver chains and checked linen. From hence they went to Mayotta where they found a Frenchman who had been marooned there, and was maintained by the King. They consulted with him about the surprizall and taking of the town to which the Frenchman was averse owing the King the obligation of being preserved. However, being in their hands he must do as they would have him. After being three days quietly in the town they surrounded the King's house, and took him and all the inhabitants prisoners, save the King's son, who cut his way out, with cutlass until they shot him.

"The pretence they made for this treacherous conduct was that the King had poisoned the crew of a ship which had been their consort. He denied it, as well he might, for they themselves had never heard of such a ship. They carried the King aboard their ship and put the others into a kind of temple with a guard of 36 men over them. The alarm being given in the country, the natives came down in thousands and attacked the guard. But the men on the ship, seeing the hills covered with blacks, discharged their great guns loaded with partridge which made such a slaughter amongst them that they were obliged to retire.

"After this notable exploit they stayed for some time until the King ransomed himself, though always keeping good guard, and after a fortnight went back to St. Augustine's with about 20 slaves. There a sickness coming on they went ashore and built huts in which to live. But, notwithstanding all their care and precaution they lost Captain Colley and about 30 men by a distemper they contracted. The sickness abating, they thought again of going to sea, but on examining their water casks found the hoops all worm-eaten and so rotten that there was no proceeding with them. However, this defect was remedied by their cooper, a most ingenious fellow who went into the woods with some negroes who shewed him withies and other stuff with which he repaired the casks and made them watertight.

“In acknowledgment of this service, they elected him Captain and Nathaniel North, Quartermaster. At St. Augustine’s they picked up some stragglers, amongst whom was David Williams, and when they took their muster they found they had one hundred and five men. Then they made their ship free, which means that every man has an equal share in all prize taken, and steered their course for the mouth of the Red Sea. In the night after they made the station they met with two ships, one of which was the *Mocha* a ship of 40 (34) guns which had formerly been an Indiaman under the command of Captain Stout. They hailed each other and on receiving the concerted answer ‘From the Sea,’ they all lay by during that night.”

In the morning they all concerted and agreed to make an equal division of all prizes for three months forward from that time. The third ship was called the *Soldado* of 16 guns, under Captain Chivers. The *Pelican* spared wood and water and some of her hands to Captain Culliford. About ten days later they espied a Moors ship on which they afterwards mounted ten guns. They all gave chase and the *Pelican* coming up with the Moor first exchanged several shot with her. But, before they could clap her aboard the *Soldado* entered and the Moors called for quarter. The Moor fired a broadside on the *Soldado*, but only hulled her with two shots and killed two men, which were the only loss she sustained in taking a ship having a thousand in her company including sailors and soldiers.

All the money was carried away aboard the *Soldado* and divided between her Company and that of the *Mocha* excluding for no other reason than *Sic Volumnus* (their own caprice) the Company of the *Pelican* from any share. These latter expostulated with them, bidding them remember they had spared both wood and water to the *Mocha*, without which she could not have kept her station. But they only received answer to begone or the others would sink them, which they heeded not, wanting back their wood and water or its value.

At length they were given the wood and water out of the Moors ship and a thousand dollars, with which they parted company.

The *Mocha* and the *Soldado* then went down to the Malabar Coast, where they landed the prisoners and took the Moors ship in place of the *Soldado*, which they sunk, calling their new ship the *New Soldado*. They went with her to St. Mary's, where she now lies sunk at the harbour mouth. Out of her they shared about £1,000 a man to their Companies of 350 men besides other goods. Before they parted Company with the *Pelican* they offered to exchange either of their ships for her, which was declined, both being badly worm-eaten. The *Pelican* kept on the station.

She cruised for some time without taking a single prize, which may have been the reason why the cooper Captain, Powell, went mad, and was taken to St. Mary's in such condition. As with the *Charming Mary* they elected no captain, leaving the navigation to the sailing master, and the fighting command to the Quartermaster John Watson who eventually was trepanned by the Natives at Karwar on the Malabar Coast. An attempt to cut out the *Pelican* after the capture of Watson failed, through her Company becoming alarmed at his prolonged absence, after which taking no more risks, she sailed off down the coast, leaving Watson to his fate. Watson eventually found his way to the English Factory, where he died of dysentery on the 12th November 1698.

(Johnson.) "Soon after leaving Karwar, the *Pelican* sighted a large Moors ship to which they gave chase. The Moor not suspecting her for an enemy did not endeavour to get away, until the *Pelican* fired a gun for the Moor to bring too, on which he set his small sails, in doing which he lost several men, for the *Pelican* being now very close, brought them down with her small arms. When the Moor had at length hove out his small sails, the *Pelican* could not gain on him enough to board though only a pistol shot astern, for, whenever she came on his lee quarter the Moor being a tall ship

took away all the wind from the *Pelican* so that she could never get to windward.

“The *Pelican* plied her for chase all this while and made the Moors quit their stern chase guns, but though they endeavoured to strike his rudder they could never do so nor in any other way disable him. At length by the fear and bad steering of the Moor the *Pelican* ran alongside and tried to grapple, but missing she was obliged to shoot ahead. But by this time the Moor had got on all the canvas he could pack, and so *wronged* the *Pelican* and got away. The loss of this ship made the Company almost distracted, and for a time made a great division amongst them, some cursing the ship for a heavy sailer and proposing to return home, others cursing themselves and the ill-Management.

“But time, which mollifies the greatest rages, soon abated these contentions, and put an end to the animosities springing from the disappointment. Being once more cool they resolved for the Malabar Coast where they had the good fortune to take three Moors ships in a very short time. The first they discharged after taking out 6,000 dollars; the second they took for their own use mounting her with 25 guns and calling her the *Dolphin*, and the third they sold on the same coast for 18,000 dollars. They sent their own ship adrift and then went to Mascarenhas near which they lost all their masts in a hurricane. They then put up jury masts and in the end came to St. Mary’s where they re-masted and shared out about £700 a man.”

They found there Captain Culliford, Captain Chivers, and their prize, together with three merchantmen who had come from America to trade with them, one of which was the *Pembroke* (Margaret) commanded by Samuel Burgess. The Captain of the *Dolphin* and some of his men, being tired of this life, went home in these merchant ships, after which the remainder of the Company chose one Samuel Inless, who lived on the island, for their Captain, and set out to prepare for another cruise.

THE CRUISE OF AND END OF THE "DOLPHIN"

"After the *Dolphin* had been made ready the Company went to the Straits of Mallacca where they made prize of several Moors ships though of small value. . . . Some time after they took a large Dane ship which they plundered and then took to the Nicobars where they hove down by her. After cleaning they returned to Madagascar and shared out their booty, which, besides goods, came to about £300—£400 a man. They were preparing to return to the Indian Seas when up came three English men-of-war, commanded by Commodore Warren which necessitated their hauling up the *Dolphin* and burning her."

THE "JOHN AND REBECCA" AND THE STRANGE CASE
OF ABRAHAM SAMUELLS

This ship, probably so named after the owner Captain and his wife, was originally a French privateer named the *St. Paul*, which had been taken by John Hore and by him bought in from the prize court. In December 1695 she left Boston for a privateering cruise on the Guinea Coast under a commission from the Governor of New York. As so often occurred, she went straight to St. Augustine's where she arrived in April 1696 to wood, water and provision and there found awaiting a ship, the survivors of the wreck of the *Susanna*, most of whom had either been drowned or died of climatic diseases and exposure.

Having completed her requirements and taken aboard the men from the *Susanna*, the *John and Rebecca* sailed for the Red Sea, where for a time she cruised in company with the other pirate ships though having no agreements with them. Her luck was not very good or enterprise wanting, for all she managed to pick up was a small ship bound from Calicut to Jeddah with calicoes and chintzes for the Persian market. Nothing more coming her way until November, she returned to St. Mary's where she arrived in February 1697 there to

await the coming of the next shipping season and dispose of her booty to the Arab merchants from Mombassa and Zanzibar, who had now begun to frequent Madagascar to purchase pirate plunder at cheap rates.

Whilst at St. Mary's their intemperate habits and the usual climatic diseases and complaints carried off the Captain and so many of the crew that the remainder decided to return to America while there were still enough to work the ship for the voyage. Having elected one Abraham Samuells, a Martinican Mulatto, their Quartermaster, and with the sailing master in charge of the ship they left St. Mary's in August and were wrecked off Port Dauphin on the 26th. Most of the crew, including Samuells, managed to get ashore, and were well treated by the natives with whom the pirates were always popular when friendly inclined, by reason of their openhanded squandering of what they had so easily come by. Possibly some of them had been at Port Dauphin before.

On the present occasion they were even more fortunate, for the chief personage was a woman, who, many years before had borne a child to one of the French settlers at Port Dauphin, which said child had been taken away with the father when the French settlers were compelled to quit the place by a native rising in 1668. What then happened is told in a letter from Captain Coin, of the Dutch ship *Tamboer*, who arrived at Port Dauphin on the 3rd July 1699 to endeavour to ascertain the fate of the crew of another Dutch ship called the *Ridderschap* which was reported to have been wrecked on Madagascar in the year 1694, and the survivors murdered by the resident pirates.

“Captain Coin found the principal man amongst the Pirate residents at Port Dauphin to be one Abraham Samuells, a Mulatto from Martinique, who had been Quartermaster to Captain John Hore, of the Pirate ship *John and Rebecca*. On the death of Captain Hore at St. Mary's Samuells had endeavoured to take the ship to America, but being no sailing master, had run her ashore near Port Dauphin about

a year and a half before the arrival of the *Tamboer*. A number of the crew got safely to the shore and were as usual kindly treated by the natives, especially their chief, who in this case was a woman. Many years before when she was the Chief's daughter she had been the mistress of a French Captain.

"Much to the sorrow of the mother, this child had been taken away by the father when the French left Port Dauphin, and she still cherished its memory, and was always kind to white men on that account, always seeking their company. One day whilst watching the shipwrecked seamen bathing, she was struck by the similarity of some marks on his body to those on the body of her lost son, added to which was his dark complexion. On this account she claimed him as her child, and made him chief of the tribe, in which position he was supported by the resident pirates, all of whom were well armed. Samuells professed to be very friendly with Captain Coin and requested his aid to quit the Island.

"However, Coin was warned by a Dutchman amongst the Pirates that this was merely a pretext to put him off his guard, in order that the Pirates might seize the ship, and murder all the crew as they had done with the Dutch ship *Jacob* six months before. On this Captain Coin took the earliest opportunity of leaving the Port, before a similar fate should befall him and his ship. That Samuells was practically king of Port Dauphin, is shewn by a curious document still existing in the Public Records Office at London, this being a trading licence issued to the Captain of an American ship which put in there to provision in 1699."

This document, for which £100 was charged, was made out in quasi-legal form signed by Abraham Samuells, King of Port Dauphin at Madagascar on the 31st October 1699, and had attached a large wax seal bearing the Lamb and Cross on an Octagonal shield. Probably it was part of the plunder of some unfortunate Portuguese vessel which unwarily put in there. How long the reign of Samuells endured, we cannot say, but on the 8th December 1706, another Dutch

ship which put in at Port Dauphin found the fort built by Samuells in ruins and a native chief named Demarrasive in authority who announced himself as the successor of King Samuells, whose fate he was very vague about.

However, Demarrasive did not last long, the next year being deposed by Tom Collins, a Welshman born at Pembroke, who had been carpenter of the *Degrave*, wrecked near St. Augustine's in 1701 of which ship Robert Drury had been amongst the crew. The position was very valuable, for Collins, like Samuells, held the monopoly of the slave trade and, like Samuells, charged £100 to each ship that called in for that purpose, or to provision and shelter. He was there in 1718 when the *Eugenie* called in, and her captain recorded that he had paid that amount to Collins.

Other details concerning Collins will be found in our account of the resident pirates at St. Mary's and in the ensuing pages.



CAPTAIN KIDD

By an Indian Artist. From an Old Print.

[Face page 184

CHAPTER X

The Cruise of the *Beckford Galley* and Captain William Kidd in the *Adventure Galley* and the *Quedah Merchant*.

IN June 1698, the *Beckford Galley* of 200 tons and 20 guns sailed from the Thames for a slaving venture to Madagascar with a crew of only 30 men. The captain was one of those brutal shipmasters so common at that period, and his ill-treatment and semi-starvation of the scanty crew during the voyage to St. Augustine's, rendered the men absolutely ripe for anything desperate by the time they arrived at that place.

This condition rendered them particularly amenable to the advances of a body of resident pirates tired of an unprofitable existence ashore, and on the look out for a suitable ship for another cruise. The leader of these men was one named John Ryder, who, between spells of piracy, had been a gunner in the army of Aurungzebe, quitting which for his old profession he had gone aboard the *Mocha* at Bombay and become one of the ringleaders in the mutiny and seizure. He had cruised with Culliford until the *Mocha* arrived at St. Mary's, but, being distrustful of the Act of Grace, had declined to accept it, and with a number of others in like case, had crossed to the Mainland, and eventually made their way to St. Augustine's.

The crew of the *Beckford Galley*, with the exception of the Purser, Andrew Somerville, and a few others, readily fell in with the suggestions of the pirates, acting on which the captain was murdered whilst ashore, and the purser and about a dozen men, unwilling to join the pirates, were given a boat and told to go where they pleased. Contrary

to the usual practice the new fledged pirate did not make for Eastern waters, but turned back and cruised up the West African coast with a Welshman named Evan Jones as Captain, and John Ryder as Quartermaster. They could not have had any luck, for on the 17th September 1699, the *Tolier Galley*, as she had now been renamed, was back at Tolier Bay (after which she had been re-christened) in very bad condition both as to ship and men.

On arrival she found the Brigantine *Peter* from Boston for slaves which the pirates took and then sank, after setting ashore such men as would not enter with them. After refitting she cruised along the East African coast picking up a few paltry prizes with the proceeds of which she was returning to St. Augustine's to careen and refit. Whether by carelessness, or lack of knowledge they ran the ship on the beach, preparatory to careening, so clumsily that they broke her back. Johnson says that her commander was Achin Jones, a Welshman from Cardiff, and that a number of the shipwrecked pirates joined Culliford. This is incorrect for by that time Culliford had finished his career save for the Old Bailey trial.

Meanwhile the men who, with the purser, had been marooned had made their way up to Mayotta in the hope of obtaining passage from there to India. They found there the survivors of another catastrophe, this being the wreck of the *Ruby* an outward bound Company's ship, of 400 tons, 36 guns, and 116 in passengers and crew, which had been wrecked in attempting to make the harbour. Most of the passengers and crew had been drowned and, at the time of the arrival of the people from the *Beckford Galley*, there were only about 30 people there controlled by the sole surviving officer, another purser named Benjamin Preston.

These latter were engaged in salvaging the treasure and valuable merchandise from the *Ruby* and in this endeavour welcomed the new arrivals when they found them to be, what was rather uncommon on that coast, honest men. Between them they had succeeded in recovering 62,000

dollars in specie when they were notified of the arrival of a small sloop, said to be a French pirate, in the inner Bay, which they surprised and took. Whether she actually was a pirate or not, or that the honest men suited their purpose in calling her so, the fact remains that they took her, and loading up the treasure in her left for a place called Patta, on the east coast of Africa, on the 30th March 1700.

What became of the dispossessed pirates does not appear, but probably they were put ashore without their plunder, to find another ship as soon as they could, if they so desired. The party hoped to find passage to India from Patta, this being a place frequented by Arab merchants who traded with Surat and Bombay. Unfortunately just before this the natives had fallen foul of the crew of a European ship and killed a number, though losing heavily themselves, and feared an attack from this newly-arrived party, when *they* had heard of the occurrence. Taking the initiative, they attacked the party without any warning and killed all except Somerville whose life was saved by an Arab merchant whom he had known at Bombay. However this was not all, for Somerville was forcibly converted to Mahomedanism and kept prisoner until late in 1701, when he managed to escape and get to Bombay, the sole survivor of two ships' companies.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM KIDD AND HIS COMPANY

Though in one of his letters which will be quoted later, Kidd styles himself an Englishman, he appears to have been a Scot born at Greenock. As, however, in those days the claim to Scots birth was not, as now, accepted as almost a patent of nobility, and the English man, strange to say, was even better known and regarded, the statement may have been actuated by a desire to gain the support and sympathy of the inferior race. But in any case, Kidd was such a paltry pirate that neither English or Scots have any reason to be proud of him. We might quote Lord Birkenhead's remarks in this connection.

“To arrive at real pre-eminence as a Pirate must in any age have required a rare combination of force of character, recklessness and luck. To command a miscellaneous crew of desperadoes gathered together by chance, all of whom had forfeited their lives and renounced obedience to law and order must have been an ordeal that only the strongest could pass through and survive. The exploits of the most famous of their leaders prove that under happier auspices they might have risen to fame in the legitimate service of their country (would they have had the opportunity! This is the old lawyer’s gag.)

“But it must be confessed that William Kidd, judged solely by his piratical career, did not display any marked ability, and cannot be ranked among the great Pirates. His claim to the notice of posterity rests on two facts. First, that he, almost alone amongst their number, was sent out to catch, but *remained to lead* Pirates, turning from keeper to poacher. The second remarkable circumstance is that he nearly involved in his misdeeds no less than a Lord High Chancellor of England.”

The circumstances attending the trial of Kidd were so marked by judging strained to fit the case, by the exalted station of some of those involved whom these judges desired to screen, and by the gibbeting of himself and some of his Company along the banks of the Thames for so many years, that his memory was invested with all kinds of enormities, and the acquisition of enormous treasures, neither having any real foundation. Another reason why Kidd has become so notorious as the typical pirate of fiction, is that Washington Irving and Edgar Allan Poe, the founders of that school, have chosen him as the peg on which to hang their very fine tales. Irving has taken one of his supposed mates as the principal character in a pirate story in the “Tales of a Traveller,” and this, in turn, has been utilised by Stevenson as a model for *Billy Bones* in “Treasure Island.”

Even the incomparable tale of the “Gold Bug” might have attracted less attention had it not been for the inclusion of

the name of Captain Kidd. How early Kidd commenced to become the legendary pirate of fiction is shewn by the following verse from an old Blackletter broadsheet ballad published in 1720:

“ My Name was Captain Kidd and so wickedly I did as I
sailed, as I sailed,
God’s laws I did forbid, as I sailed, as I sailed.
I’d the Bible in my hand which I buried in the sand as I
sailed, as I sailed.”

And so on interminably, to a tune as doleful as the words.

Though at the end Kidd became the victim of circumstances, he was himself to blame, for he must have known how hopeless was the task he undertook for men who were not so much interested in the suppression of piracy as in robbing the robbers under the guise of a patriotic and philanthropic effort. The expedition for which the *Adventure Galley* was fitted out was on a par with those of the *Seahorse* and the *Roebuck* already narrated, and undertaken purely for the profit of highly-placed persons, who left their tools to pay the penalty. Kidd was less fortunate than his predecessors.

Kidd must have known perfectly well that the reputed great hoards of pirate treasure were mythical, and that the pirates shared out after every cruise, for if he had not been in Eastern waters himself, he undoubtedly knew very many who had, they frequenting the same ports and taverns. Such being the case he would also know that even the Naval Squadron sent out to suppress the pirates at Madagascar had made no attempt to raid the pirate strongholds as not being worth the trouble, or too strong and scattered. Such a knowledge must also have been shared by his partners, or the promoters of the enterprise, for the principal, Lord Bellamont was Governor of New York, and another partner, Colonel Levingstone, hailed from that place.

Therefore the conclusion is that both Kidd and his backers meant piracy in Eastern Seas from the commencement, being fired by the tales current in New York of the vast profits

appertaining thereto. All were equally guilty. Those most to be pitied were the poor devils of private pirates who had accepted the Act of Grace only to suffer death for their gullibility or for having "put their trust in princes." However Kidd himself is waiting whilst we rake up "dead men's bones."

William Kidd was born at Greenock in the year 1645, being at the time of his execution in 1701 just about 56 years of age. Bred to the sea from early youth, he found his way to America when quite a young man, there being much greater opportunities of attaining a command in the Colonies than there were at home. After commanding a number of ships engaged in the local trade for over twenty years he engaged as master of a privateer cruising in West Indian waters against the French, gaining a well-deserved reputation for skill and bravery, though occasionally rather blown upon as to honesty. In the year 1689 he took a French prize which was bought by Colonel Hewitson, of New York, for the same trade, becoming the *Blessed William*, commanded by William Kidd.

On the 16th January 1690, the *Blessed William* was cruising in company with another privateer commanded by Colonel Hewitson himself when they fell in with six French privateers near Antigua. In the ensuing fight they took two of the French ships and scattered the remainder with considerable loss to themselves and damage to their ships. That of Kidd, which had borne the brunt of the action, was so badly knocked about that he was compelled to make for Antigua in a sinking condition. Whilst undergoing repairs the crew were sounded by Robert Culliford, and Samuel Burgess, mate and gunner of the ships, as to their willingness to convert privateering for others to piracy on their own account, with the result that in June 1690 they ran off with the ship whilst Kidd was ashore.

What eventually became of the *Blessed William* we do not know, but we have already met Culliford, and shall again meet Samuel Burgess at his old games a little later on. Being

well known as a skilful, and brave commander, Kidd was soon provided with another privateering command, in which he did so well that on the 14th May 1691 he was given a special reward of £150, by the Governor of New York, in reward for the taking of a notorious French privateer which had done great damage to American shipping. On the 8th June he was sent out against another French privateer reputed to have aboard not less than £10,000 taken from English shipping in which errand he failed.

In fact he narrowly escaped indictment for downright piracy, having stopped and searched on the high sea, a number of English and American vessels, from whom he requisitioned supplies. He managed to escape the consequences of the indictment, by pleading the authority conferred by his privateering commission to demand aid and supplies, and by paying for the goods and court expenses. But that the matter was seriously considered is shewn by the fact that he received no more privateering commissions from America. About June 1695 he came to England in a small sloop said to have belonged to himself, and was in London seeking a return cargo, when he fell in with Colonel Levingstone, of New York, an old acquaintance.

By this gentleman Kidd was introduced to Lord Bellamont, formerly Governor of Barbadoes, as a fit person to command the enterprise the new made Governor of New York had in mind, with some others of high degree, this being, under the guise of the suppression of piracy in the interests of the public safety and trade, to appropriate the enormous wealth supposed to have been accumulated by the pirates at Madagascar. They had already approached the Admiralty on the matter, but having failed there, were, in the words of Johnson, "Tempted to fit out a ship at their own private charges, and give the command to Captain Kidd, for whom, to give the matter a better complexion, they procured a king's commission."

The syndicate which had interested itself in this projected expedition was composed of Lord Bellamont, Governor of

New York; Lord Orford, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Somer, Lord High Chancellor; Lord Rodney, Secretary of State; Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Chief Justice; Colonel Levingstone and Kidd himself. The total capital was £6,000, of which the noblemen put up £1,000 each, and Kidd and Levingstone £1,000 between them in equal parts. By an agreement signed on the 10th of October 1695 the prospective profits were divided up into three equal parts to be shared by the Crown, the promoters and the crew.

The crew were recruited on the principle of "no prize no pay," a system responsible for turning many privateersmen into downright pirates. The proportion allotted to the promoters was divided into 160 shares of which Kidd and Levingstone were to receive 40 between them. Everything having been settled, a vessel of 200 tons, then lying at Deptford, was purchased and fitted out with an armament of 30 guns and a crew of 150 men, together with all necessary stores, ammunition, etc., and named the *Adventure Galley*. The commission granted to Kidd ran as follows:

"William the Third, etc. To our Trusty and Well Beloved Captain William Kid, Commander of the *Adventure Galley*, or any other the Commander of the said ship for the time being. Whereas we are informed that Captain Thomas Tew, Captain John Ireland, Captain Thomas Wake (Weeks), Captain William Maze or Mace (Mason) and others of our subjects, natives of New York or elsewhere in America, do against all the Laws of the Nations committ many and Great Piracies upon the Seas in America and in other parts to the Great Hindrance of Trade and Navigation and the Great Danger and Hurt of our loving Subjects our Allies and Others, Navigating the Seas on their Lawful Occasions.

"NOW KNOW YE. That being desirous to prevent the aforesaid mischiefs and in as much as in us lies, to bring the said Pirates, Freebooters and Sea Robbers to Justice we do Hereby Grant and Give to the Said William Kid (*sic*) . . . a Commission as a Private Man-of-War bearing the date this 11th

Day of December 1695, and unto all who shall be under your command Full Power and Authority, to Apprehend, Seize and take into yours and their true and fully authorised lawful custody the said Captains Tew, Ireland, Wake, Maze, and all other such Pirates, Freebooters, Sea Robbers, being either our own nation or of other nations associated with them which you shall meet with upon the Sea or Coasts of America or upon any other Seas or Coasts with all their ships and vessels and upon all such Merchandise money goods and wares as shall be found on board or with them whether they shall willingly yield themselves or not.

“And we do require you to bring or cause to be brought all such Pirates, Freebooters and Sea Robbers as you shall seize to a legal trial to the end that they may be proceeded according to the Laws provided for all such cases. And we do hereby enjoin you to *keep an exact journal of your proceedings in the execution of the* premises and set down therein the names of all such Ships and Vessels the numbers of the Pirates their Officers and Companies as you shall by virtue of these presents seize or take and the quantities of arms ammunition provision lading, and other contents of such Ships with the true value of the same so far as you may judge.

“And We do hereby charge and Command you as you will answer the Contrary at your Peril that you do not molest or in any way offend our friends or Allies by colour of this authority granted you or any such pretence.

“Given at our Court at Kensington, and our Great Seal affixed this 26th Day of January 1696.”

With this special commission was issued another for ordinary privateering. But it was not until the 20th April 1696 that the *Adventure Galley* with a full crew of 150 men left Deptford (not Falmouth) and dropped down to the Nore, where she was boarded by the Naval Press, who disregarding the commissions which should have exempted her crew from the Press took out about 80 of the best seamen. Probably Kidd troubled little about this matter, as he knew there were

plenty even more suitable for his purposes to be obtained at New York, and, on the 23rd April 1696, he sailed from the Downs for New York, where he arrived on the 4th of July in company with a small French ship he had taken on the passage. He remained there until the beginning of September completing a crew which Governor Fletcher had no delusions about, as witness:

“*December 19th, 1696.* One Captain Kid recently arrived here and produced a Commission under the Great Seal for the suppression of Piracy. He sailed from hence on the 7th September 1696 with about 155 men the greater part of whom, I am informed, are got from this province. It is generally believed that they are gone to get money *per fas et nefas* (fair means or foul) for while he was here many men, all of whom were of desperate fortunes and needs, flocked to him from all parts. If he misses the design mentioned in his commission he will never be able to govern such a villainous herd of men under no pay.”

Which was correct enough. According to Johnson, Kidd engaged the crew on a sharing out basis of all they took, which was to be divided into as many shares as there were men added to which were forty more for Kidd and the owners, an agreement which seems to exclude both the Crown and the one-third of the promoters. This would indicate that from the commencement he contemplated piracy, and the crew were fully aware of the intention. From New York he went to the Cape Verdes and at the latter place had some trouble with the crew, some of whom, probably repenting their piratical intent, deserted to the shore, from which, however, they were surrendered by the Governor.

He was next heard of as on the West Coast of Africa about 100 miles above Capetown where, on the 12th December 1696, he fell in with the Squadron under Commodore Warren, bound for Madagascar, from whom he attempted to obtain some sails in place of some he had lost by storms on the voyage.

The request being very curtly refused by the Commodore, Kidd told him bluntly enough that by virtue of his commission he was entitled to aid and that if the sails were not supplied by the Commodore, they would be taken from the first merchant ship he met after parting with the fleet. On this some very high words arose, the end being that Kidd was ordered to return to his ship and next morning come aboard the Commodore with 30 prime seamen.

It was then a dead calm and continued so during the night, taking advantage of which, Kidd got out his sweeps and by morning was far enough off to take advantage of a morning breeze and get out of sight. This encounter put any idea of calling in at the Cape out of the question, for he would most certainly have been arrested had he done so, so Kidd continued the voyage to round the Cape and go on up to Johanna where he remained for some time. About three weeks later there came in two Company ships named the *Severn* and the *Scarborough*, both of whom had been warned at Cape Town to be careful of Kidd should they meet him.

The captain of the *Scarborough* flew the Broad Pendant of the Navy in virtue of his commission empowering him to take pirates should he meet them, though this authority was delegated by the East India Company. Conceiving that his own direct commission gave him seniority, and thus sole right to the flag, Kidd ordered the captain of the *Scarborough* to strike the pendant and use only the striped Ensign of the East India Company, an order the captain refused to obey, and in this was supported by his fellow captain, thus setting the scene for a very pretty quarrel. However, before matters got too far two other Company's ships came in, on which Kidd changed his tune and invited all the captains to a dinner aboard his own ship.

His already suspicious conduct had so excited their suspicions, that they declined and kept their guns trained on Kidd's ship during the whole of the time they remained at Johanna. Just before they left they were informed that Kidd

was only awaiting their departure and the coming up of another outward bound ship named the *East India Merchant* to make a capture, on which they warned him to quit the harbour at once or they would make a combined attack upon him. Therefore, on the 27th April 1697, he left Johanna in company with a small French sloop which he had engaged to act as a tender, giving out that he was going to St. Mary's to seek for pirates.

However, he went to Mohilla instead, probably on the chance of picking up a stray ship and remained there for about two months, during which time about 30 of his men died from various causes which still, however, left him 170, for the *Scarborough* reported the *Adventure Galley* as being of 200 tons, 30 guns, 26 oars, and 200 of a crew when at Johanna. Where the others had come from since leaving America does not transpire, but probably he had picked up some men on the Island and absorbed the crew of the French sloop. From Mohilla he returned to Johanna where he remained until the end of June, losing another 20 men before he set sail for the Red Sea and the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb.

(Johnson.) "Here it was that he first began to open himself to the ship's Company and let them know that he intended to change his measures, for, happening to mention the Mogul Fleet that was to pass that way he said, 'Hitherto, we have been unsuccessful; but courage, brave boys, we'll make our fortunes out of this fleet.' Then, finding none averse he ordered out a boat to go and make discoveries. The boat returned in a few days with word that they saw 14 or 25 ships at Jeddah ready to sail of which some were English and Dutch, and the remainder Moors. About four days later these ships appeared in sight convoyed by one English and one Dutch man of war. Kidd soon got into the midst of them and attacked the Moors ship next to him, until the man-of-war, taking the alarm, bore down and compelled him to sheer off not being strong enough to contend with it." This ship was the *Sceptre*, commanded by John Barlow, whose account follows:

“The 15th September being gotten past the Bab, we espied a ship more than our company having gotten into the middell of our fleet, which being parted made a vacancy. He shewed no colours but came jogging along with his courses hauled up under his topsails, which made us presentlie judge what he was. Coming close to us we could see what like ship he was, being a pretty galley-built ship called the *Adventure Galley* (we afterwards heard), built at Deptford. She carried about 20-30 guns and had on the lower deck a line of ports for rowers withal in calm weather. Seeing the Pirate so neare us as she intended to come we hung out our colours and lett flie three or four well shotted guns at him.

“We next got out our boats he meanwhile firing four or five shotts at a Moors ship striking him in the hull and sayled. But he, seeing us make towards him presentlie mayde all the sayle he coulde besides getting oute his oares and rowing and sayling so hard as he could, we meantyme firing all we coulde and our men shouting. We fired whenever we coulde so long as he was neere (within range) and judged we hit him with some of our shott. The next morning this Pirate, whose name we heard was William Kidd, was gone cleere oute of oure sighte. Some of the Moorres had a great deal of money aboard and being parted, had not oure ship been in company Kidd would certainly have plundered all the foremost ships of their wealth.”

Barlow further mentions the *Adventure Galley* as a “Deptford built ship.”

There being now nothing to be gained in the Red Sea worth cruising for, Kidd went down to the Malabar Coast, where, under the very walls of the Fort of Janjira, the headquarters of the Mogul Admiral of the Coast, he made his first capture. This was a small country owned ship with a European master and mates, of whom the first was an Englishman named Thomas Parker. (Johnson.) “Though Kidd used the men very cruelly causing them to be drubbed with a naked cutlass whilst hoisted up by the arms, to make them

discover whether they had money aboard and where it was hidden he got nothing by his cruelty." Which is not quite correct, as will be seen later.

Though he eventually released the ship he retained Parker and another Englishman named Franks, the one to act as a pilot and the other for a messenger to the shore, and then on the 3rd September appeared off Karwar. Here he sent Franks ashore to demand a stock of provisions and water which only resulted in his true character being revealed as soon as Franks was safe. Here we may quote a letter from Thomas Pattle, Chief Factor at Karwar:

"22nd September 1697. Honourable Sirs, This to acquaint you with what lately happened here. The 3rd instant there came into this cove one Captain William Kidd in the *Adventure Galley*, having aboard 140 well men and 30 guns. This is the same man-of-war that the Hon'ble Company's ships met at Madagascar when coming out. He saith he hath been at the Mohelas and other places at Madagascar to look for Pirates but not having met with any, hath come here for the same purpose. Since he came here, two of his men who came ashore have informed me that he hath taken an English ship from Bombay and hath now her commander aboard as prisoner. They took out of this ship about £100 in gold, some rice and some raisins. They have also been to Mocha with full intent to take one of the Moors ships but were prevented by the convoy.

"They now intend to take some of Abdul Ghaffar's ships either here in the cove or wait for them outside, which will cause abundance of trouble with the Mogul Government. The men say their ship is very leaky and rotten and they intend to take the first good ship they fall in with, for which purpose he will lie off here for one of Abdul Ghaffar's ships. They sailed from here on the 13th instant without doing any harm. Whilst here we did not let him know how we had come to knowledge of his evil intentions for fear that if discovered he would do us some harm. We several times sent

Captain Perrin and Captain Mason aboard to pry into what had been done and what was intended in the future.

“They could never come to a sight of Thomas Parker, he being kept very close prisoner in the hold, nor to any certainty of what they intended to do, some talking of going one way and some another, though we much fear that he will cruise off here for one of Abdul Ghaffar’s ships. We were informed that at St. Mary’s is settled great abundance of these villianous people with their families, yearly supplied from New York with store of liquors, provisions and other goods from New York so that any ship that desires such men may obtain as many as they please there. This Kidd shewed Captain Mason his commission under the Broad Seal of England whereby he hath liberty to range all seas, and destroy Pirates wherever he may meet them.

“This captain is very severe to his people, by reason of his commission, and carries a very different form from what other Pirates use to do, this commission procuring him awe and respect from his men, and to this is added his own strength, being a very lusty man often calling for his pistols and threatening any that durst speak to the contrary of what he desireth, to knock out their brains which causeth them to be very desirous of putting off his yoke. They attempted (sounded) Captain Mason to take over their command, which he very honestly refused to do. They are a very distracted company, continually quarreling and fighting amongst themselves, so it is likely they will in a short time destroy one another, or starve, having only sufficient provision to keep the sea for a month more.

“Three of the Pirates ran to Goa and acquainted the Viceroy of a Pirate in Karwar Roads, on which intelligence he fitted out two ships full of men one having 44 guns and the other 20 guns with instructions to take him wherever found. They imagined they would find him in the Roads, but he saved them the trouble by going half way and meeting them between here and Goa. He, presentlie perceiving what they were, pretended to run from them. The smaller ship

followed them with all the sail they could make, the greater being a slow sailer, lagging behind. As soon as Kidd perceived that he had gotten a good distance from the greater he tacked and made up to the smaller.

“When they came near, the Portuguese very valiantly attacked and fired as fast as they were able. But Kidd’s hardy Rogues soon gave them more than enough and miserably mauled them before the great ship could come up to their aid. When she came near, Kidd set his sails and made from them leaving the smaller ship so much damaged and with such abundance of men killed and disabled that they were forced to run for Goa with all speed.”

In his evidence Kidd mentioned this action, which he says was forced upon him by the Portuguese who fired first, and had he not defended himself he might have been captured whilst flying the King’s Colours. Very naturally he had no desire for an engagement promising nothing but hard knocks, but having entered into it, did the best he could. He remarked, “The said fight was sharp enough and the Portuguese got such satisfaction from the Galley that the narrator believes their nation will never again attack the King’s Colours in that part of the world.”

After this action Kidd returned to Karwar, near which he ran into a cove and careened his ship at a place which for many years later was known as Kidd’s Harbour. This done he went down to Calicut, off which he cruised for some time without any luck until, being short of wood and water, he anchored in the roads and endeavoured to get into communication with the shore through the fishermen. Finding these shunning him, he at last sent a boat ashore with a letter to be delivered to the first European the crew met. This letter ran,

“*4th October 1697.* I can’t admire that the people are so fearful to come near us for I have used every possible means to let them know that I am an Englishman and a friend,

never offering to molest any of their canoes or take without payment. So I thought it convenient to write this so that you may know who and what we are and so end all suspicion. I came from England 15 months ago with the King's commission to take Pirates in these waters and from Karwar about one month gone. All I come for is wood and water which if you will please to enorder I shall honestlie satisfie for, as for all else that may be brought off. Which is all at present from one who is willing to serve you in all that lieth within his power,

"Signed WILLIAM KIDD."

Receiving no answer to this missive and the natives still shunning him Kidd went up the coast to the small port of Bhatkal where he forcibly procured all that he required by plunder and violence. He then returned to Calicut, off which he continued to cruise, without however anything suitable turning up, much to the discontent of the Company who, being on shares, were earning nothing, and so urged him to seize the first European ship that came along. This happened in the *Loyal Merchant*, the very ship which he had waited for at Johanna, but being still fearful of the final plunge. Kidd let her pass unharmed. A few days later he did actually stop a Dutch vessel which he held for two days and then let her go.

The discontent of the crew now culminated in a violent quarrel between Kidd and the gunner, William Moore, which ended in the latter being felled by Kidd with an ironbound bucket, causing a fractured skull from which Moore died a few days later. Not long after this Kidd ran from the *East India Merchant*, which he took to be the *Sceptre* out in search of him. He next appeared off Tellicherry and attempted a small ship lying under the Fort though clearing off when the guns opened fire on him and returning to the vicinity of Calicut where on the 12th November he took the *Thankful*, Captain Perrink, which he held prisoner until the Company's factors procured her ransom by giving him provisions and water.

His next appearance was at Karwar where on the 27th November he took a country ship commanded by a Dutchman named Michael Dekkher with whom was a Dutch mate and a French passenger. The possession by the latter of a pass signed by the President of the French East India Company was seized upon by Kidd as sufficient authority by which to condemn the ship as under enemy protection. The Frenchman was sent adrift and the Dutchman and the native crew having joined Kidd he re-named the prize the *November* and kept her in company. They now went to the Laccadives, being in need of careening and provisioning.

The crew having behaved in the usual disorderly manner, the natives, in revenge, cut off and murdered the cooper whilst he was ashore having the water casks filled, and in revenge Kidd tied the supposed murderer to a tree and had him shot to death. A letter in the Bombay Records dated the 27th December 1697 mentions that "At the Laccadives the Pyratt Kidd and his men committed the greatest atrocities, ravishing women, murdering men, women and children, burning houses and villages and, in short, behaving in the most villainous manner." On his return to the Indian coast, Kidd took, plundered and burnt a native-owned vessel though he spared the crew, who were sent adrift in their boats.

On the 20th January 1698 he held up and had partly plundered a Portuguese ship, from which he was driven off by the sudden appearance of two large Dutch ships who chased him for some distance. But this was his last bit of bad fortune, for the tide now turned, and on the 31st January he fell in with the *Quedah Merchant*, a large and rich Indian-owned ship from Surat, commanded by an Englishman named Wright. By hoisting French colours he deceived Wright into permitting his close approach and boarding peaceably, after which he suddenly seized the ship and for a time put Wright in confinement.

There were three other Europeans, two Dutchmen and a Frenchman, aboard, and the Armenian owners of the ship to whom Kidd offered an opportunity of ransoming the ship.

But to again quote Johnson: "They only offered Rs 20,000, which being less than £3,000 sterling he refused and then setting the passengers and crew ashore he commenced to traffic with the natives for the cargo. He soon sold goods to the value of £10,000 taking in exchange cash, provisions and such other goods as he required. By degrees he disposed of as much as yielded them a dividend of £200 a man of which his own share amounted to £8,000, he reserving 40 shares for himself.

"The Indians along the coast came on board and trafficked with perfect freedom, and Kidd carried his agreements with them out most faithfully until he was ready to sail. Then, thinking he would have no further occasion for them, he made no scruple of taking their goods and then setting them ashore without any payment either in money or goods, a treatment they little expected, for, having always been used to deal with European Pirates, they had found them men of honour in the way of trade, enemies to such deceit and a people who scorned to rob any save in their own way."

In this manner Kidd gradually made his way down the coast to Quilon, near which he fell in with three European ships, two of them Dutch and the third the *Dorill* still commanded by Captain Hyde. The latter proposed a combined attack, but much to his disgust the Dutchman declined to take any risks and Kidd was permitted to sail by unmolested. Considering that the *Dorrill* was quite as large and as well armed as Kidd one would think that Hyde, who had shewn his bravery and ability, might have risked an action on his own account. Commenting on the action of the Dutchmen, the Governor of Bombay wrote, "We believe the Dutchmen refused aid, for they do seem to to be very glad of the scandal we do lie upon for piracy, on all occasions casting the blame upon us, so hoping to ruin our trade."

A few days later Kidd chased the *Sedgwick* which, however, only escaped his clutches to fall into those of Chivers. This was his last exploit in Indian waters, for he was then on his way to Madagascar. According to Johnson, "As soon

as he cast anchor at St. Mary's there came to him a canoe in which there were several Englishmen formerly well acquainted with Kidd. As soon as they came aboard they saluted him and told him that they had heard he was come to have them taken and hanged, which was a little unkind in such an old acquaintance. But Kidd soon dissipated their apprehensions by swearing he had no such design, being now just as bad as they and in every respect their brother, and drank their health.

"These men belonged to a Pirate ship called the *Resolution*, whereof one Captain Culliford was the commander, which lay at anchor some little distance from Kidd. Kidd next went aboard their ship and promised them his friendship, and then, in his turn, Culliford came aboard Kidd, who, in order to testify his sincerity in iniquity, made Culliford a present of some necessaries, an anchor and some guns to once more fit him out for the sea. The *Adventure Galley* was now so foul and leaky that they were forced to keep the pumps continually going, wherefore he shifted the guns and tackle out of her into the *Quedah Merchant* making her his own vessel.

"He now made a final division of most of the remainder of the cargo, after which the greater part of his Company left him, some going over to Culliford and others remaining in the country so that he had not above forty men left with him." There could not have been many left in the country, for 97 joined Culliford, leaving Kidd very short-handed, in consequence of which, and the difficulty of picking up hands for the homeward journey, most being out pirating, Kidd was compelled to hang on at St. Mary's until the 15th of November. During this period he emptied and burnt the *Adventure Galley* and the *November* sloop and repaired the *Quedah Merchant* though she sprung a leak soon after sailing which compelled him to put in at St. Augustine's to repair the ship. After doing this and taking aboard a few stragglers desirous of return to America he shaped his course for the West Indies.

Though he had long since been proclaimed a pirate outside any Act of Grace, he was not aware of the fact until

he arrived at the West Indian Island of Anquilla, his first port of call since leaving St. Augustine's. During the voyage a violent quarrel had broken out amongst the Company in which several had been killed and wounded and in consequence of this disagreement and the fear of being arrested as pirates a number more of the Company melted away at Anquilla and the various West Indian Islands where Kidd touched in order to obtain necessaries and dispose of the cargo still on hand.

His first call was at the Danish Island of St. Thomas from which he was warned off by the guns of the fort, his reputation having preceded him. He then went on to Hispaniola to the harbour of which he was refused entry, on which he passed round to the western side of the Island at which he was supposed to land some treasure and sell a quantity of goods. Where the treasure came from is difficult to understand in view of what we shall state later, and, indeed, if he did have any, it would have been impossible to land any quantity without the knowledge of the Company, who would all be on the alert.

None of these men mentioned any such matters at the trial nor did Kidd himself, who was tempted to buy his life by full confessions and incriminations. After some time Kidd arrived at Curaçao with the *Quedah* and a very scanty crew, and there tried to dispose of the vessel, failing in which she was burnt, one may surmise intentionally. He next purchased a small sloop from a person named Button, or in some accounts, Bolton, and with the few men remaining, left Curaçao for New York on the 29th of June 1699. It is said that whilst at Curaçao he corresponded with Lord Bellamont and from him obtained a promise that all endeavours would be used to obtain a pardon, relying on which he came to New York.

If he trusted in that he was foredoomed to disappointment, for the matter had gone long beyond the efforts of any of his noble backers, all of whom were more concerned in saving their own skins than that of their employé, and the East India Company who had, as usual, been compelled

to pay a considerable amount of damages and incurred considerable odium with the native merchants, were determined that some one should pay the supreme penalty. Though Kidd arrived at New York on the 1st of July, he was not arrested until the 14th on charges of piracy and the murder of the gunner, William Moore.

Owing to opinion being in favour of piracy in America where so many had profited by it, and the feeling against Kidd's noble backers, it was in the end decided that he should be brought to England for trial. The proceedings were so long drawn out that it was not until March 1700, that Kidd with Bradish, Gilliam and Weatherly, was brought to England in a man-of-war sent for that purpose. Still greater was the delay in England, and only on the 8th May 1701 were Kidd and the others indicted with him, put up for trial before the Court of the Admiralty.

Feeling in England on the matter was very strong, especially as Kidd's backers were politically obnoxious, and it was felt that Kidd was no more guilty than they were. Consequently the wire-pulling on all sides was very great, which accounts for the delay in bringing the prisoners to England and after that in placing them before the final court. Kidd was offered a free pardon if he would confess that the noble members of the syndicate had guilty knowledge of his intentions, which he refused on those conditions, probably relying on them.

With him were put up: Nicholas Churchill, James How, Robert Lamley, William Jenkins, Gabriel Loff, Hugh Parrott, Richard Barlicorn, Abel Owens, and Darby Mullins, all of whom had surrendered under the Act of Grace either at Madagascar or at New York. In the first case they were excluded from benefit by the ruling that Warren had no authority to extend the dates, and in the second by reason that they had not surrendered to one of the four persons named in the Act as Commissioners. As neither Warren nor the Commissioners had arrived at the stipulated place until long after the date of expiry, it seems that there was never any intention of keeping faith with the Pirates.

Such being the presumption, it was no wonder that even twenty years later these gentry were very sceptical about all Acts of Grace, and that Captain Carey, whose ship was taken by Roberts in April 1720 wrote, "Whilst I was in the hands of the Pirates nothing was heard from these rascals the whole time but swearing, damning and blaspheming to the last degree imaginable saying they would have no dealings with Acts of Grace, by which to be sent to hang a sundrying at Hope Point as were the companies of Kidd and Bradish trepanned under lying promises. If they were attacked by too strong a force they would blow up their ships and all go merrily to hell."

At last, on the 8th of May 1701 William Kidd and the nine others, together with Culliford, were brought to trial. All were formally charged with piracy, Culliford being included by reason of his dealings with Kidd at St. Mary's, and Kidd was arraigned on a separate indictment for the murder of William Moore on the high seas. This charge being taken first Kidd pleaded not guilty of attempted murder alleging that he only struck Moore after grave provocation, and that his death was really due to disease. The Court held that wordy provocation could not excuse violence, and Robert Bradinham, the surgeon, testifying that Moore died from a fractured skull due to the blow he received from Kidd, the latter was found guilty of Wilful Murder and sentenced to death.

In answer to the six detailed charges of piracy put forward in which all were concerned, Kidd was first called upon for his defence. He alleged that all the vessels which he seized were in possession of French passes and therefore liable to seizure as being under enemy, or at least hostile protection. But on being asked to produce those passes he could only reply that they had been taken over by Lord Bellamont who, on being questioned, denied all knowledge of them. On this the Court ruled, and correctly so as we have seen, that these passes, with the exception of one individual one, were non-existent.

Even had they existed Kidd stood condemned by his omission to bring the prizes to a proper prize court at Bombay or Madras, and besides this had kept no account as directed by his commission and had shared out the proceeds, thus becoming a pirate, and as such the Court sentenced him to the extreme penalty. The others put up various pleas though none denied their complicity in the proved piracies. Some argued that they were only obeying the orders of a King's commissioned officer legally placed in authority over them, and that had they not done so they were liable to death for mutiny. This plea was nullified by the fact that they had taken a share of the booty, and by surrendering under the Act of Grace, had acknowledged themselves to be pirates.

Therefore, William Kidd, Nicholas Churchill, James How, Hugh Parrott, Gabriel Loff, Abel Owens, and Darby Mullins were all sentenced to death by hanging at Execution Dock, their bodies to be afterwards hung in chains along the lower reaches of the Thames. Three others, Robert Lamley, William Jenkins, and Richard Barlicorn pleaded that they were not members of the crew in a sense but apprentices or servants to various members of the crew and Kidd himself. Barlicorn was servant to Kidd, Jenkins apprentice to Abel Owens, and Lamley servant of the Quartermaster Bullen (not brought to trial). Their plea was accepted (even though they had taken a share of the plunder) and they were released.

On hearing the sentence, Kidd protested that he was innocent of piracy but had been convicted under lying testimony, and the others that they had been induced to surrender by lying promises, which latter was but natural. However, on the 23rd of May the condemned men were hanged at Execution Dock, Kidd under barbarous circumstances, for the rope broke twice under his weight. He was then 56 years of age, the others ranging from 25 to 35. Culliford, who had turned King's evidence, was acquitted on this trial, but re-arrested and tried for his own offences, with the result given in his memoir.

.

Our last task will be to go into the facts of the booty taken by Kidd. Though he took a number of prizes, all with the exception of the *Quedah Merchant* were merely local trading vessels of small value whether in cargo or trading cash, and at the utmost would not have yielded £10,000. The *Quedah Merchant* was valued by its owners at £45,000, and by the East India Company at £22,500. As the latter would be undervalued with a view to possible claims for compensation we may take it with reserve and place the full value of the *Quedah Merchant* at about £40,000, making a grand total of £45,000 supposing no expenses had been met from the plunder.

Though the crew numbered only 155 when leaving New York, more had been added at Madagascar. Thomas Pattle mentions the number of *well men* on the ship at Karwar as 140, and if we take another 20 as being down sick this would give us the 160 mentioned by Johnson. The latter states that each man received £200, and Kidd took 160 shares making a total of £8,000. This accounts for £40,000 and the balance of £5,000 was probably paid for ship's expenses at places where supplies could not be stolen. If we assume that Kidd appropriated all the proceeds of the cargo sold at St. Mary's or in the West Indian Islands his total might come up to £10,000.

The sloop he bought at Curaçao would cost him about £500, and nearly £6,500 was found on her after Kidd was arrested. This would leave only about £3,000 unaccounted for, and this he probably gave to his wife and family during the 14 days that elapsed between his arrival and arrest at New York. Where, then, are the vast treasures he is credited with. The balance of his estate, amounting to £6,473 11s. od. was made over to Greenwich Hospital in the year 1725 for the benefit of what was called the Chatham Chest which was truly an "Iron Bound Chest."

CHAPTER XI

Joseph Bradish and his Company in the *Adventure Pink*—Captain Thomas White and his Cruises and Adventures on Madagascar—Captain George Booth—His Taking of the French ship at Antanavoula—The Taking of the *Speaker* at New Methelge—Booth cut off and killed at Zanzibar.

EARLY in the year 1698, the *Adventure Pink*, an interloping ship of about 300 tons, left England on a private trading venture to India and the Far East. Her master, Thomas Gulloch, was one of those brutal shipmasters common enough in the 17th and 18th centuries on English ships, and on American vessels till within a very recent period. By methods of continually driving and ill-treating, added to semi-starvation, Gulloch so exasperated the crew, that, after several deputations to him had been turned away with blows and abuse, they mutinied at the Island of Mais, near Singapore, and marooned him with three merchants and about 15 of the crew on the island on the 15th November, 1698.

On the 20th the *Adventure Pink* left the Island taking with her the principal ship's officers and some others whom they were in hopes of persuading to join them when once at sea. This hope proving futile, they elected Joseph Bradish, the gunner, who had headed the mutiny, their Captain, and sent all not willing to join adrift in the long boat with the following certificate:

“The undersigned and the ship's Company, not being willing to adventure ourselves near to any factory, nor to keep any who will breed faction amongst us, we have turned to sea in the Longboat all such as are not willing to stay, except John Westby, Chirurgeon, and Robert Ambsden,

Carpenter, whom perforce we keep, also William Saunders. The others, viz., Abraham Parrott, Chief Mate, William Whitesides, boatswain, and Richard Heat are turned away.

"Given under our hands at Sea

"Joseph Bradish Andrew Martin
"John Peirce John Lloyd."

Though no other seizures were made and the men sent adrift reached shore safely enough, the seizure of the ship and disposal of the cargo for the benefit of the crew were sufficient to cause the crew on the *Adventure Pink*, to be proclaimed as pirates. They arrived at Mauritius on the 21st of March, 1699 and having refitted and sold part of the cargo there sailed for America, where they arrived at Long Island in July. Having disposed of the remainder of the cargo, they ran the ship ashore and sank her at a place called Block Island after which they dispersed with their individual shares of about 1,500 dollars a man.

When the Act of Grace was proclaimed Bradish and seventeen others surrendered, but, as with the others, to the wrong person. They were later all arrested and sent to England in the same ship as Kidd, tried by the same court at the same time and the whole sentenced to death and to be hanged in chains on the Essex marshes. They might as well have gone the whole hog.

CAPTAIN THOMAS WHITE, PIRATE AND SOLDIER

(Johnson) "Thomas White was born at Plymouth where his mother kept a public-house. She gave him a good education and when he was grown up procured him a King's letter (Midshipman). After he had served some years in the Navy he went to Barbados, where he settled down and married and then got into the Merchant service, trading to the Island. He had the command of the *Marigold* Brigantine, given him, and made two successful voyages to Guinea. On the third voyage he had the misfortune to be taken by a French Pirate

aboard of which were the masters and officers of several other captured ships retained by the French Pirates as being good artists (pilots and navigators).

"The Pirates kept White's brigantine for their own use and then sank their own. But presently meeting with another ship even more suitable to their purpose they went aboard her and burnt the brigantine. These French Pirates were most barbarous to their English prisoners for they would set them up as targets to shoot at, so murdering several in cold blood. One of these villains for some reason took a hatred to White and swore to have his life. But one of the crew who had a liking for White, finding this fellow's design to kill him at night changed places with him by lying nearer the ship's side.

"This cost him his life, for the murderous Rogue shot his comrade in mistake for White. After cruising down the Coast the Pirates doubled the Cape of Good Hope and shaped their course for Madagascar, but being always mad drunk, they knocked their ship on the head near to St. Augustine's Bay. When the ship struck Captains White, Boreman, and Bowen with other prisoners got into the Longboat and with some broken oars and barrel staves they found therein paddled their way to St. Augustine's Bay though about 15 leagues away.

"They were very kindly received by the King who knew the English and their language very well and stayed with him for about a year and a half, at his expense. During this time the French Pirates, who made themselves greatly disliked by the natives, were all killed by them. It was the King's custom never to keep men longer than the first ship, and a Pirate ship came in aboard which he compelled them to go or travel to some other place, this being also his custom. Of the two evils they chose the least and went aboard the Pirate brigantine commanded by one William Reed. This commander went along the coast picking up what Europeans he could find. However, his crew did not exceed more than 60 men with whom he now steered his course for the Gulf of

Persia and there met with a Grab of 200 tons which they took. They found nothing but bale goods which they rummaged for gold though finding little, for there was a considerable quantity concealed in one of the bales they threw overboard.

"In this cruise Captain Reed fell ill and died, and was succeeded by one James. The brigantine being small, crazy and wormeaten they shaped their course for the Island of Mayotta where they took the masts of the brigantine and put them into the Grab, making a ship of her. They took in their fresh provision and found also a 12-oared boat formerly belonging to the *Ruby*, East Indiaman, lost there on the 14th September 1699. After the monsoon, they resolved for Madagascar and, as they came in with the land they espied a sail coming round from the east side of the Island.

"Both gave chase so that they soon met, and, on hailing each other and receiving the same answer 'From the Seas' they resolved to join company. This vessel was a small French ship with liquors from Martinique first commanded by one Fourgette which had come to trade for slaves at Antanavoula and been taken by the Pirates led by Captain Booth." As from this point, until White was accidentally left ashore by North at Port Dauphin, his career is bound up with that of Booth, Bowen, and North, we will take up the narrative from that point.

"When White and the men who were left ashore with him, saw that their ship was blown out of sight, they had hopes of seeing her return before long. But when she did not appear, they at length resolved to go round to St. Augustine's in their boat, hoping there to find her. They waited there for three months, during which time they were most hospitably entertained by the King until at the end of that time, he being weary of their company and they of waiting, they resolved to go up to New Methelege in the hope of finding their own ship or some other in which they might obtain passage to St. Mary's. But not finding any when they arrived at New Methelege, they thought of going there in

their boat, and for the voyage raised the sides and half decked her.

“But, when they came to the north they found the current setting very strongly against them and being unable to make any headway they decided to go into a convenient cove and there await the coming of a more favourable season. After they had been there a month, they fell out about the matter and divided their councils, some being for burning the boat and going overland to a chief living about 15 north latitude, whom some of them knew by reason of their having assisted him in his wars. It was only with much persuasion that Captain White and some others of his party persuaded the others to leave the boat and content themselves with taking their share of arms and provision.

“Captain White and his party saw the others well on their way and then returning, speedily got into the boat and went back to New Methelge for fear the others might change their mind and come back to burn the boat. They stayed at New Methelge for some months in which time there came in three old Pirates in a boat, who were also old friends of theirs. These men (Arthur Gardiner, David Wallin and John Pro) had been trepanned by a boat from the Scarborough man-of-war out seeking for Pirates in November 1703. They had managed to escape from the ship to Mayotta where the King built them a small boat in which they went to Johanna and then came to New Methelge and joined White’s Company.

“When the time of the current setting violently to the North-West was over, they all went aboard White’s boat, burning that from Mayotta, and coming to the North found the current still too strong to venture, so they went into another cove and stayed there a month sustaining themselves with fish and wild hogs, of which there was a plenty. At last, having a slatch of fine weather, and the current abating they got round to a harbour where they found a piece of a jacket belonging to one of the men who had left them to go overland. This man had been a forced man, being a ship’s carpenter.

“They supposed he had torn his jacket to wrap round his bare feet, the country there being very rocky and barren. As they sailed along this coast they stayed in convenient coves every night until they came to Manangaroma Sign, where King Reberimbo resided, and put in there to enquire about their comrades and recruit provisions. They got the provisions but no news of their comrades until they got to St. Mary’s where a canoe came off with a letter addressed to ‘Any White Man’. This was in the hand of one of their former shipmates and advised them not to trust the natives of that place, who had formerly been treacherous.” (See Baldrige.)

This letter told them that North had given their ship to the Moors, who had gone away in her, and that the remainder of the Company were settled at Antanavoula where they lived amongst the natives as so many foreign princes. One of the blacks which brought the letter came aboard their boat and took them to a place called Olumbah made by a river on one side and the sea on the other, where twelve of them lived together in a large house they had built and fortified with twelve pieces of cannon. The remainder were all settled in small companies of like size, more or less along the said river and the Coast, every nation being by itself. They made enquiry about their share of the prize money and found all very justly laid aside to be given to them if they ever returned, as had been done to those who came overland.

“Captain White, hankering after his home (America) proposed again going out in the boat, being averse to settling with them, and many others agreed to go under his command, and, if they could not meet a ship to take them to Europe to follow their old trade. But the others would not give the boat free, saying it must be sold for the benefit of the Company. So Captain White bought it for 400 pieces of eight (dollars) and with some of his old consorts and others who joined them, went back to New Methelge. There they found a French ship of about 80 tons, and six guns which had been taken by

some Pirates who lived at Maritan on the East side of the Island and some of the crew of the *Degrave* East Indiaman. The captain of the ship, one named Herault, had formerly been Quartermaster to Bowen, and fearing they might take away his ship refused them all passage."

The *Degrave* here mentioned was the ship to which Robert Drury belonged, the subject of "Madagascar, or Fifteen Years' Captivity amongst the Natives of that Place." The ship had been cast away on the S.W. extremity of the Island in 1700. Most of the crew got to shore and according to Drury were eventually murdered with their captain by the natives, Drury alone and another man whom he calls Nick, escaping, only to be kept in slavery by the natives for fifteen years. Actually both captain and crew engaged, or were compelled to engage, in the native wars, in which Young and the men supposed to have been drowned were killed. The remainder became pirates, as here shown. Amongst them was the Nick of Dover mentioned on page 61 who may be identified with Drury's friend Nick. Another of her crew was Tom Collins who, as already described, became king of Port Dauphin. In this book the fates of Drummond of the *Speedy Return* and Stewart of the *Content*, are muddled up with that of Drury's own mates.

(Johnson) "The Pirates who had been concerned in taking Herault's ship had gone up the country leaving her to the crew of the *Degrave*, who fitted her up with the design of going to the East Indies that they might find a ship in which to return to their own country. But Captain White proposing to them to join him and make up a company they agreed, and unanimously chose him their commander. They then stood round the southern end of the Island to Mascarenhas and took in a surgeon after which they stretched over again to Antanavoula and made their complement up to 60 men.

"They now went to Mayotta where they cleaned their ship while waiting for the proper time to go into the Red Sea when they steered for Bab-el-Mandeb and running into an harbour lay hidden waiting for the *Mocha* ships. They first took two grabs laden with provisions and drugs with a small

matter of money, which were duly plundered and let go after about a fortnight. Soon after they saw a tall ship on which they put to sea, but finding her a Dutchman too strong to attempt, and being chased in their turn, they were glad to shake him off and return to their station.

“No more coming their way by reason that the grabs had betrayed them, they stood over to the African Coast. On the way they met with a Malabar ship of about 300 tons which they chased all night and took in the early morning with the loss of only their boatswain killed and three or four men wounded. In the taking of this ship they lost their bowsprit and sprung their foremast besides having her upper works so beaten in that she would be of no further use to them. So they filled her up with prisoners and giving them provisions and water, sent them about their business. After this they chased a Portuguese ship but carrying away their maintopmast, were unable to come up with her.

“Four days after this chase they fell in with another Portuguese merchantman which they came up with by shewing English colours. She took them for an English man-of-war, and on seeing their colours hove to, and sent a boat aboard with a present of sweetmeats for the English captain. The Pirates kept the boats crew and then getting into their boat with their arms went aboard the Portuguese, and firing on them by surprise took the ship prisoner. When the captain asked them if war had broken out between England and Portugal they told him ‘Yes.’ Though he did not believe them he was compelled to let them take what they wanted, after which they kept him with them.

“Some small time after this they met with the *Dorothy*, Captain Penruddock, an English ship coming from Mocha which they took on the 12th August 1706. They exchanged several broadsides with her, but when they clapped her aboard they met with no resistance, the only Englishman aboard being the Captain and his two mates. They took from this ship a considerable sum of money, but afterwards on a vote being taken they gave him the Portuguese ship and as

many bales of his own cargo as he chose and sent him off keeping the *Dorothy* for their own use.

"The day after, they rummaged the Malabar ship, taking what came to about £200 a man in money though they missed 50,000 sequins (about £22,000) which were hid under the stall of a cow kept by the supercargo, an aged Moor. The day after they had sent her away they took a ketch (the *Forgiveness*) of six guns, commanded by one Benjamin Stacey, from whom they took all his money and what goods and provisions they wanted. Amongst the money they took was 500 dollars which with some silver spoons and a mug belonged to the orphan children of the late Factor at Mocha who were under the care of Captain Stacey. The children took on greatly for their loss and on Captain White asking the reason for their prayers he was told that the money and plate was all that was left for the children to be brought up with.

"Hearing this, White told his men that it was very cruel to rob innocent children on which, by general consent, all was restored to them, and besides this, the Pirates made a general gathering which yielded 155 dollars to each child, and a present to each of Stacey's inferior officers. They then discharged Stacey and made the best of their way from the Red Sea. They then came into the Bay of Dafarr where they found a ketch at anchor being prize to the natives who had seized her when the master and company were ashore, leaving her with only a French gentleman name M. Berger from whom they took 2,000 dollars, and then sold the ship to the natives for provisions after they had rummaged her and taken what else they wanted.

"They next went to Mascarenhas where several men took their booty, amounting to about £1,200 a man and went ashore. From here they steered for Hopeful Point (Long Point) where they shared out the goods and took up settlement ashore. White built a house bought cattle and then set about fitting up the *Dorothy* for a cruise in the Red Sea. She was almost ready when Captain Halsey, who had made a broken voyage,

came in with his brigantine, which ship being better fitted for their purpose they left their own and went aboard Halsey, Captain White entering as a private man." (The cruise will be found in "Halsey.")

On his return to Madagascar, White was taken ill of a flux which, though he lingered for five or six months ended his days. But he was alive on the 29th December 1707 for on that day he and a number of his men came aboard the *Greyhound* at Long Point to arrange for the ransom of the plunder taken by Halsey, and to hand in a petition for pardon for past piracies for transmission to England by the President of the East India Company at Surat. But he was dead on the 10th March according to the following letter from the captain of the *Greyhound*:

"10th March 1708. This day we left Madagascar. During our stay the Pirates by their excessive drinking and other irregularities, brought upon themselves fevers and fluxes from which about twenty died whilst we were there. Amongst these was Captain White who with the Quartermaster, North, would have done us much service had the former lived or the latter been there." Of the last days of White, Johnson thus writes:

"Finding his time drawing nigh he made his will leaving several legacies and named three men of different nations to be guardians to his son by a woman of the country requiring him to be sent to England by the first ship there to be brought up in the Christian religion in the hope that he might live to be a better man than his father. He was buried with the same ceremony as they used at the death of all their companions which is given in our account of Halsey. Some years after the child was given to an English Captain who brought him up in England with all befitting a man of probity and honour."

CAPTAIN GEORGE BOOTH AND HIS COMPANY

George Booth was originally Gunner of the *Pelican* on her arrival in Indian waters and then of her successor the *Dolphin*. The latter ship arrived at St. Mary's late in May 1699 to refit for a new cruise, and was still there in September when intimation of the near approach of a squadron of four naval ships under Commodore Warren was received. These ships had left England early in January 1699 on an expedition to break up the pirate settlements at Madagascar by force if necessary, though first trying the effects of an Act of Grace.

Having been so long on the voyage the pirates were well aware of the despatch of the squadron, and its intention and also knew that the provisions of the Act of Grace expired on the 8th of June 1699. These vessels comprised the *Anglesea*, the *Hastings*, the *Harwich* and the *Lizard*, all being of considerable size. Apparently the vultures' nest was taken by surprise, being too careless to keep a look-out, for the squadron was off the harbour before they had time to clear off out to sea. However, they made the best of the matter and prepared for defence by blocking the bottle neck of the harbour by sunken ships, amongst which were the *Mocha* and the *Soldado*, and running up earthwork batteries.

They also bilged and burnt all the other ships in order to prevent the enemy from obtaining any profit, and destroyed most of the stores and merchandise, plunder or not. But Commodore Warren countered by offering to extend the Act of Grace to include all who would surrender to him or to his brother, Captain Warren. Quite a number accepted, but others, amongst whom were Booth and most of the Company of the *Dolphin*, were too wary to be so caught and therefore crossed to the mainland and there dispersed themselves amongst the various pirate settlements.

Practically the whole of the Company of the *Dolphin* who had burnt their ships went to Antanavoula, possibly with the hope of eventually securing a ship in which they might continue their nefarious vocation. Luck, and opportunity favoured

them in this matter, for before long there came in a French ship from Martinique, commanded by Captain Fourgette and laden with liquor and goods with which the barter for the slaves given to the pirates for their assistance in the tribal wars. Incidentally, it seems curious to find so many vessels willing to take the risk of trading with the pirates, the more so as several had already been seized by them.

Certainly Captain Fourgette seems to have taken certain precautions, but as certainly they were insufficient to cope with such wily and desperate rascals as he had now to deal with. The narrative which follows seems to bear the stamp of a personal communication.

(Johnson.) "The Pirates, who were headed by one George Booth, went aboard the ship on several occasions to the number of ten at a time under pretence of purchasing or bartering for what they wanted. . . . Captain Fourgette, however, was pretty much on the alert, searching every man as he came over the side and taking away a pair of pistols from a Dutchman who was the first that entered. The Captain rated him for a Rogue having a design on the ship, and the Pirates pretended to be so angry at this fellow coming on board with arms that they threatened to knock him on the head, and then roughly tossed him into their boat though they had already taken an oath to have the ship or die in the attempt.

"Though they were all searched they contrived to get aboard four pistols which were all the arms they had for the enterprise, though Fourgette had 30 hands aboard and all his small arms on the awning in readiness. (The awning was a slight extension of the poop deck over the waist outside the quarter deck rails.) The captain invited all the Pirates into the cabin for dinner, though one Johnson and two other men were all that went, Booth preferring to dine with the crew. When ready Booth was to give the signal word, which was *Hurrah*. He, pretending to make water over the side of the gunwale laid his hand on the awning.

"Then being a nimble fellow at one spring he threw himself over it, drew the arms to him, fired his own pistol forward

amongst the men, one of whom he wounded (who jumping overboard was lost), and gave the signal. Three of the Pirates were in the cabin and seven on deck, the latter of whom with the arms secured and handspikes, secured all the ships crew above. On hearing the Pistol the captain, who with his two mates was at dinner with Johnson and Isaacs, fell upon Johnson and stabbed him in two places with his forks though being of silver they did him no harm.

“He then snatched up his musket which he snapped at Isaac’s breast several times but it would not go off, so, at last, finding his resistance vain, he submitted and then the Pirates set him and such of his men as would not join them ashore. They allowed him to take his books, papers, and whatever else he claimed as his personal property. Besides these they gave him several casks of liquor with arms and powder to purchase provisions in the country. But he soon after died of mortification at his loss and being so easily surprised by the Pirates.

“After they had taken in all the company of the *Dolphin*, which now made their number up to 80 hands, they sailed to St. Mary’s, where they found lying a ship at anchor whose crew had all been cut off by Ort Van Tyle, a Dutchman, from New York. Out of this ship they took her water casks and whatever other necessaries they found, after which they designed to go to New Methelge to salt up provisions and then go to the East Indies and cruise off the Highlands of St. John for the annual Moors fleet from Mocha. But on the way they fell in with Captain White and his Company with whom they joined company and went to New Methelge together.

“They cleaned in the said river took in all their provisions and water and were ready to go to sea, when a large ship came into sight and stood into the river. They knew not, at first, whether she was a merchant ship or a man-of-war, for she had once been a French man-of-war of 50 guns which, being taken by the English was bought by some London merchants and fitted out to slave at Madagascar. Her captain

was a young and inexperienced man sent to sea with a nurse (an experienced mate), and when the Pirates went off in their boat he fired upon them.

"On this they concluded that he was a man-of-war and hastily returning to their ships they slipped their cables and put out to sea. The grab ran ashore amongst a parcel of mangroves, one of which pierced her bottom so she filled and sank. The French-built ship also ran ashore but letting go her anchor came to no damage, and in the end the tide fetched her off safely. The Captain of the *Speaker* which was the name of the large ship was very vain of having forced these ships ashore, expressing himself in these words, 'How my name will ring on change when it is known that I ran two Pirate ships ashore!'

"Which gave handle to a satirical return from one of his men who afterwards said, 'How our captain's name will ring on change when it becomes known that we frightened two Pirate ships ashore but was taken by their boats afterwards.' When the *Speaker* came within shot she fired several shots at the two ships, for the grab did not sink until high water, and then several more into the country which so alarmed their king that he would not allow the *Speaker* to trade, until the Pirates living ashore interceded for him, having a design on the ship, by telling him that it was a salute, though owing to the negligence of the Gunner, the shot had been put in the guns.

"The captain of the *Speaker* sent his purser to the king who lived about 24 miles from the coast with a present of small arms inlaid with gold, a couple of brass blunderbusses, and a pair of pistols. As soon as the purser came ashore he was taken prisoner by one Tom Collins, a Welshman, born at Pembroke, formerly belonging to the *Degrave*. He told the purser that he was a prisoner and must answer for the damage done two poor merchants trading peacefully in the harbour. The purser answered that he was not commander and that the captain was a hot headed youth put into a business he did not understand, but that satisfaction should be given.

“The next morning the purser was carried by Collins aboard Booth’s ship where he was first rated in strong terms though afterwards treated very civilly and peace made for him with the king. The king allowed them trade and sent two oxen, about 30 men loaded with rice, and as many more with the country liquor called Toke. The captain then settled his factory and began to buy slaves and provisions. In the meantime the Pirates went amongst them to sound the men and find out in what posture of defence the ship lay. From one Hugh Man they found out that there were not above 40 men aboard, they having lost the longboat with 30 hands and the second mate just before they came into the river, but that they kept a sharp look-out keeping their guns loaded and primed.

“However, for £100 down he undertook to wet all the priming and to assist the Pirates. After some days the captain of the *Speaker* came ashore and was received with much civility by the Pirates and a few days after invited to a barbecue, which he accepted. After dinner Captain Bowen who had been a prisoner on the French privateer with White, but was now one of the fraternity, and master of the grab, went out and returned with a case of pistols in his hand telling the captain of the *Speaker* that he was his prisoner. He asked ‘On what account?’ to which Bowen replied that they wanted his ship and were determined to have her, she being a good ship for their purpose.

“In the meantime his boat’s crew and the rest of his men ashore who were drinking with the Pirates were told that they were prisoners to them. Some of them answered, ‘Zounds, we shan’t trouble about that. Let’s have t’other bowl of punch!’ The watchword for the night, which was Coventry, being made known to the Pirates, at eight o’clock they manned the 12-oared boat they had found at Mayotta with 24 men and set out for the ship. As they were putting off the Captain of the *Speaker* told them he wished to speak to them. Captain Booth asked him what he desired to say, whereupon he was told that they would never take the

ship. 'Then,' said Booth, 'we'll either die in or alongside her.'

"Then," said the captain, 'don't board on the larboard side for there is a gun out of the steerage loaded with partridge which will clear the decks of every one of you (sic).' When they were near the ship they were hailed by the watch, and gave the answer, 'Coventry.' 'All's well,' said the mate, 'get the lights over the side.' Then, spying the second boat he asked, 'What boat is that?' One answered that it was a raft of water, another that it was loaded with sides of beef. This disagreement in answering made the mate suspicious, and he cried out, 'Pirates! Take to your arms, my lads,' immediately clapping his match to the gun, which, as the priming had been wetted by Hugh Man, gave no fire.

"The Pirates boarded on the instant and made themselves master of the ship without the loss of a man on either side. The next day they put provisions on board of the French-built ship and gave her to the captain of the *Speaker*, and those men who kept to him, amongst whom was Hugh Man, for the Pirates both kept his secret and gave him the £100 agreed upon. The captain who had thus lost his ship sailed in that which the Pirates gave him to Johanna where he fell sick and died. This account is corroborated by the following official documents still preserved in the India Office at London.

"Deposition of John Oneley, late of the Crew of the *Speaker*, taken by Pirates at Madagascar. The English ship, *Speaker*, 450 tons, Captain Eastlake, commander, then on a slaving voyage to Madagascar, was taken by Pirates in April 1700 at Masselege, in Madagascar. The Pirates came aboard in the boat which the *Speaker* had sent ashore. They gave the Captain a certificate of what they had done."

This certificate follows.

"These presents are to certify to all Governors, Captains or whom else it may concern, that the ship *Speaker*, was taken by us, and considering their misfortune we have given her

Captain and Company, a vessel to transport them to any place they think fit.

“Given under our hands at Masselege, in Madagascar, this 18th day of April 1700.

“Signed, George Booth, John Ap Owen (Bowen) Cornelius George, X, His mark.”

(Johnson.) “Having victualled their ship the Pirates sailed to the Bay of St. Augustine, where they took in 70 or 80 men that had belonged to the ship *Alexander*, a Pirate ship commanded by one James. They also took her guns and mounted them on the *Speaker*, which made her up to 54 guns and 240 men, besides 20 slaves.”

This is a bit muddled. The *Alexander* had been first commanded by Read, on his death by James who had exchanged her for the grab mentioned as in company with the French ship when the *Speaker* was taken, and then commanded by Bowen, under whom she ran ashore and was wrecked. Therefore the addition of her guns and crew must have been made at New Methelege.

(Johnson.) “The Pirates now sailed for the East Indies by way of Zanzibar where they stopped to take in provisions. Some of them went ashore to buy provisions and the Captain being sent for by the Arab Governor went with about 14 in company. They passed through the guard, but when they were well inside the Governor’s house, all were cut off, and at the same time others in different houses of the town were set upon which made them fly to the shore. The long boat which lay a grappling off shore (at a kedge) was immediately put in by those aboard her.

“Though not above half a dozen of the Pirates brought their arms ashore, yet they plied them so well that most of the men got aboard the boat. The Quartermaster ran down to the shore sword in hand, and though he was attacked by many, he behaved himself so sturdily that he managed to get into a canoe in which he put off and gained the longboat. In the interim the Arab fort played on the Pirate ship which

returned their salutes very warmly. Thus in the end they all got on board with only the loss of Captain Booth and about 20 men and then shaped their course for the Red Sea. When they had gotten well out to sea they set to voting for a new captain, and chose the Quartermaster, who had behaved so well in the affair with the Arabs. But he declining the command the Company made choice of Bowen for Captain, Samuel Herault, a Frenchman, for ship's Quartermaster, John Pickering as sailing master, and Nathaniel North for Captain's quartermaster."

This last appointment would seem to correspond to first mate. Oneley, the informer, described Booth as a very notable, stout, stirring person, who pretended to be a near relative of Admiral Sir William Booth.

CHAPTER XII

Captain John Bowen and his Company—The Taking of the Great Moors ship and the *Borneo*—The *Speaker* wrecked at Mauritius—The Taking of the *Prosperous*—The Cruise of the *Prosperous* and the *Speedy Return*—The Taking of two Moors Ships—The Death of Captain Bowen at Mauritius and the Lamentable Episode of Captain Green of the *Worcester*.

JOHN AP-OWEN, commonly called Bowen, an easy corruption of his name, is thus described by Johnson: "We have learned from one who knew and frequently conversed with Bowen that he was born of creditable parents in the Island of Bermuda who gave him a good education befitting him for the sea. The first voyage he made was to Carolina where some merchants finding him capable, sober, and intelligent gave him command of a ship trading to the West Indies.

"He continued in this employ for several years, until he had the misfortune to be taken by a French Pirate, who having no artist (sailing master) detained Captain Bowen for that purpose. After cruising some time in the West Indies, the French Pirate shaped a course for the Guinea Coast, where he took several other prizes from which, though they took several good artists, they would not let Captain Bowen go, and notwithstanding his great services to them, treated him as roughly as they did their other English prisoners, as mentioned in our account of Captain White." As, up to the time of his succession to Booth, the piratical career of Bowen is mixed up with that of White and others, we will continue from the death of Captain Booth.

(Johnson.) "Having settled their officers, the Pirates came on to the mouth of the Red Sea where they fell in with 13 sail of Moors ships with which they kept company for the greater part of the day, afraid to venture lest they should

be Portuguese men of war. At length part advised boarding, which though the Captain said little, he did not seem inclined for, being a young Pirate though an old merchantman commander. Seeing this, those who pushed for boarding desired Captain Boreman to take the command. But he said that he would not usurp on any man; that he who held the command was best fitted for it, and that for his part he would stand by his fusil. And so, going forward to the fore-castle with those who would have him take the command, he stood ready for boarding.

“On which Nathaniel North said that if they were resolved to board the Captain whose representative he was, did not lack resolution. Therefore he ordered them to get their tacks aboard, they having already made a clean ship, and get ready for boarding which they accordingly did. Then coming up with the sternmost ship, they fired a broadside into her which killed three Moors, after which they clapped her aboard and carried her. But night coming on prevented them from any more prizes save this which, however, yielded them over £600 a man.”

From here they went down the Malabar Coast where, on the 28th October 1701, they came up with the *Borneo*, Captain Conaway, of 300 tons bound from Bengal to Surat, which they took without any resistance. Captain Conaway describes the *Speaker* as of “500 tons with 40 guns and two patereroes, her crew being in number 200, all brisk young men. She has also 30 or 40 lascars (negroes) aboard. Her Captain is Samuel Rower (sic) and the Quartermaster, *John North*.”

The *Borneo* was taken into Quilon and there sold to a syndicate of Indian merchants for Rs 40,000. Off Quilon Conaway and most of his men were sent adrift in the long boat, and Charles Delafosse, the Boatswain, with two other men were compelled to join the Pirates.

After leaving Quilon the next heard of the *Speaker* was on the 8th October 1701, when she chased but failed to overhaul the French ship *Porthchartrain*. On the 11th November they chased and hove to the English ship *Nathaniel*, Captain Hill,

whom they ordered to come on board the *Speaker* with his papers. Though Hill did not go himself, he sent a boat's crew of ten men under the mate to see what the pirates required, and on a breeze springing up, sailed off, leaving his men aboard the *Speaker*. However, they sustained no harm and were released when off Calicut and sent ashore with their own boat.

Whilst the prisoners were aboard they were told that "the Company was resolved to go on spoiling the East India Company's trade until they should receive a free pardon for all the Piracies and murders, misdemeanours and any other offences of which they might have been guilty in England or elsewhere, the last pardon of December 1698 having been a sham to entrap *honest* Pirates." The *Speaker* was also reported to have openly traded with the Dutch giving booty in exchange for money or provisions sometimes to the extent of £500, at one time. Having accumulated sufficient plunder, the *Speaker* left the Malabar Coast for St. Mary's in December 1701.

But, in their voyage, meeting with adverse winds and being also negligent in their navigation, they wrecked their ship on the St. Thomas Reef at the north of the Island. Though the ship was a total wreck, Bowen and most of the crew got ashore and were there treated with the greatest civility and consideration by the Governor; Bowen was complimented by being entertained in the house of the Governor himself and his sick men were taken into the Fort to be treated by his doctors until they were all perfectly recovered, nothing being spared for their welfare.

"After three months' stay they being still resolved to go on to Madagascar, they bought a sloop which they converted into a brigantine and then departed about the middle of April 1701 first taking formal leave of the Governor, whom they presented with 2,500 dollars and all that had been saved from their ship in the way of guns, stores and what else. On his part the Governor gave them all the necessaries for their short voyage and dismissed them with a kind invitation to

make the Island a place of refreshment in the course of their future adventures.

"When they arrived at Madagascar, they settled themselves at Mattatana in a fruitful plain on the side of a river. They built themselves a fort at the river's mouth and another on the side towards the country, to prevent being surprised by shipping or being cut off by the natives, many of whom they employed in their building. They also built a small town for their habitation which took up the remainder of the year 1701. This being done they soon became dissatisfied with their present situation, having still a hankering after their old employment. Accordingly they resolved to fit up the brigantine which was laid away in a cove near their settlement."

But, an accident, which they improved upon, provided for them in a better manner, so saving them a deal of trouble. It happened that about the beginning of the year 1702, there came into the river of Maritan a ship called the *Speedy Return*, with a brigantine called the *Content*, both belonging to the Scotch African and East Indian Company. These ships had bought negroes at St. Mary's and having sold them to some profit at Mascarenhas had now come to Maritan on the same trade. The *Speedy Return* was commanded by Captain Drummond, and the *Content* by Captain Stewart, and both ships had left Scotland in March 1701.

"On the ships casting anchor, Captain Drummond, with Andrew Wilkie, his surgeon, and several others of the crew went ashore to bargain with the pirates and the native chiefs for slaves. In the meantime John Bowen with four of his consorts went off in a small boat on pretence of buying some of their merchandise, and got on board. Presently, finding a fair opportunity, the chief mate, the boatswain and two hands only being on deck, and all the others in the hold, they whipped out their pistols and hangers and told those on deck they were all dead men if they did not instantly retire to the cabin, which being so suddenly surprised, they thought fit to obey at once.

“One of the Pirates then placed himself sentry at the door with his arms in his hands while the others laid on the hatches, and then made the agreed sign to their fellows ashore. Upon this 40 or 50 came on board and took possession first of the ship and then of the brigantine without any bloodshed whatever. Bowen made himself captain, and then burned the old brigantine as being of no use to them now, cleaned and fitted the ship, took on water, and detaining most of the crews of the Scotch ships, made ready for new adventures. Captain Bowen was informed by the crew of the Scotch ships that when they left Mascarenhas there was a ship called the *Rock Galley* lying in the Bay which would be an easy prize.

“He resolved to sail thither, but did not arrive at the Island until after the departure of the said galley which fortunately escaped the villainous designs of their unprovoked enemy. The night after they left Maritan the *Content* ran ashore on a reef at the mouth of the river unperceived by her consort which came into Mascarenhas without knowing what had become of her. After staying eight or ten days Captain Bowen sailed to Mauritius in search of the *Rock Galley*, but finding there were three or four ships in that harbour he judged it best not to attempt anything, so sailed back to Port Dolphin, and then to St. Augustine’s Bay. . . . A few days after they came there, the *Content* Brigantine which they thought lost or deserted from their honourable trade came in and informed their brethren of the misfortune that had detained them.

“The Rogues were very glad to again come together and called a Council to survey the *Content*. Finding her in no condition for business, being very rotten and leaky, she was condemned and forthwith hauled ashore where she was rummaged and then burnt. The Rogues now all united aboard the *Speedy Return*. Whilst at this place they were made acquainted by the negroes of the adventures of another gang that had for some time been settled near that harbour with one Howard for their Captain. It had been the mis-

fortune of an India ship called the *Prosperous* to come into that Bay whilst the Rogues were in want of a ship, so they, under pretence of trading made themselves master of her and sailed in her to New Methelge.

“Bowen and his gang, consulting together on this matter, concluded that it was more for their interest to combine with this new company than to act single, they being too weak to undertake any considerable enterprise, remembering the *Rock Galley* which they might have taken had they a consort. So they went to New Methelge, but finding no ship there went first to Mayotta and thence to Johanna, where they found her laying at anchor on Christmas Day 1702.

“The two powers soon struck up an alliance, for Howard, liking the proposals came readily into a compact and the treaty was ratified by the two companies in general council. They stayed there about two months thinking it as likely to there meet with prey, as if they went out to cruise for it. And indeed, so it happened, for about the beginning of March the ship *Pembroke*, belonging to the East India Company, coming in for water and provisions was boarded by the Rogues in their boats and taken with the loss of their chief mate and another man killed in the skirmish.”

Here we may quote the narrative of Captain Edward Fenwick, supercargo of the *Pembroke*.

“1st May 1703. On the 9th March last we made the Island of Johanna and as we were standing into the land about three leagues distant we discovered two ships under sail close into the land. They had sent off their boats before we could see them in order to make out what we were. These boats were full of men and kept a rowing about half a mile to windward of us. After we had fired a gun and hung out our colours we fired a gun to windward on which they each put out a flag which we thought to be the King's not clearly distinguishing it. But they would not come near enough to us to shew us the way in which we were thus obliged to discover for ourselves, being in extremity, and

with this concerning the ship that, even if they proved to be Pirates, our cargo would be of no use to them, so we might expect as good treatment as they had accorded to others.

“We steered west by south till we came into about five fathom of water about a league from the shore and there anchored. Which we had no sooner done and vered out a little cable than the most frightful of dangers presented themselves both to the ship and to our lives, finding breakers on all sides within half a ship length which by reason of it being dark and just high water, we did not perceive until we were so near them. Whilst we were in this consternation and hurry what to do the two boats hailed us, they lying a grappling right ahead within hail, but would not come to our assistance except we should first send a boat to them. So we immediately sent our yawl with four hands, two of which they took into their boat, putting two of their men into ours.

“When they came on board they thought we had been fast ashore and then said they were sorry to find us in so bad a situation, for we were lying on a reef of rocks which run out two leagues on either side of us and would be dry in about half an hour’s time, though now all around us were breakers. . . . They advised us to let the ship lie until morning when they would all come off and see what possibly could be done, though giving us little hopes of ever getting off again. And indeed we soon perceived they spoke truth for by this time the tide had ebbed very much and at every hollow (retiring wave) the ship began to strike.

“Therefore, Captain Weoley, considering that delaying was but running into greater dangers and there was no remedy but to cut and stand out as we had come in, desired the two men aboard us to go and send our own people aboard from their boat, which they presently did. Then all hands turned to, and immediately hove a peck, and cut away, having a spring on the cable to cast her. By these endeavours it pleased God to answer our expectations and before we cast

the lead six times we were out of danger with no other loss than the loss of our best bower anchor and about ten fathoms of cable.

"Now after our ship was out of danger we began to consider the answers made by the two men that came aboard to the few questions we asked them. They said their great ship was a permission ship bound for Muscat with guns, anchors cables and other things, Captain Hilliard, Commander. The little ship belonged to the Scotch Company and was bound for Madagascar to trade for slaves in exchange for small arms, powder and other goods. They had lain there three months to repair and clean their ships and were standing out on their voyage when they made us coming in.

"We acquainted them with the great necessity we were in for provisions and water and that several of our men were down sick. They answered they had no doubt that their captain would assist us with everything and send his boats betimes in the morning. We did not give much credit to what they said, but got rid of them by fair words, and entreaties. At 12 noon the next day being the 10th, we came to anchor about a mile from the shore, it being then low water, at which time we could see their boats lying high on the sands. About an hour after when the tide floated them, they got aboard and rowed towards us until coming under our stern within pistol shot they hailed us and asked if they might come aboard, they being friends who had brought us fresh provisions.

"Captain Weoley answered one of them might come only. Yet they both came rowing on and when they came under our quarter all their men at once started up with their arms guarded (presented) swearing if any of us fired a shot they would give no quarter, but if we did not fire they would do us no harm nor take anything from us. Captain Weoley ordered everyone to fire, which we did, and they at us. Captain Weoley jumping down the after skuttel (hatchway) at the same time bid every one go to their closed quarters some in the after cabin and some in the between decks.

“But we were not able to keep up with them, they firing six shot to our one. So perceiving that it was not possible for us to do more, and they having two ships very near to us, we called for quarters which they gave, disarming every man and turning them into the head. Then they began to rummage the ship until their heat was done going all over it. In this scuffle we had two men killed, they being Mr. Gold our chief mate, and Cornelius Brown, a foremast man. On their side they had two killed and two wounded, one mortally the other shot through both his arms.

“The rest of the day they spent searching about the ship swearing to avenge themselves on Captain Weoley for first bidding them come and then firing on them as they came along our side. Likewise they threatened to burn the ship. But they did not and the next day carried Captain Weoley aboard one of their ships and put him prisoner there. About 40 of them stayed aboard us until Friday the 12th when they put it to the vote, whether to burn her or not. If this voting had been done the day after they took us, it would certainly have been done. But in the meantime we made friends who carried the matter in our favour by seventeen votes majority.

“After taking several things out of her they delivered the ship to us again that night about seven o'clock and we parted, they going to Madagascar, and we staying at Johanna. They gave us six old small arms in lieu of what they took from us. But they would not release Captain Weoley detaining him to go as a pilot with them to the Streights of Mallacca swearing to shoot him if he refused their orders. They likewise detained by force our carpenter Francisco de Cruse, though Martin Hogendirik, one of our men, entered voluntarily.

“These Pirate ships are very strong and full of men, the biggest carrying 40 guns and near upon 200 men. She is called the *Prosperous* and was, they told us, formerly a permission ship on a trading voyage but surprised and taken by them at Madagascar about six months before the then captain

of her died from the wounds he received in the taking of his ship. The new Pirate captain of her is called Howard. The little ship is called the *Speedy Return*, formerly commanded by one Captain Drummond but now by the Pirate Bowen. She carries 12 guns, about 70 men, and is about 100 tons burden. She, with another about the same size, was sent out by the Scotch Company."

Thus far the supercargo. Johnson continues the narrative.

(Johnson.) "The next day the Pirate ships plundered the best part of the cargo (sic) provisions and stores, and then, taking the captain and the carpenter aboard them, they let the *Pembroke* go where she pleased and came with their own ships to New Methelge. Here they consulted and laid their plans for a cruise to India, for which purpose they had detained Captain Weoley, of the *Pembroke*. But a very hot dispute arose as to which ship he should go in insomuch as they had gone together by the ears if an expedient had not been found, which was to knock the poor man on the head. But at last by the authority of Bowen the poor captain was saved and permitted to remain aboard the *Prosperous*."

The *Speedy Return* being foul, and wanting a little repair, it was judged fitting to send her to St. Augustine's Bay to clean and sheath. In the meantime the *Prosperous* was to be boot topped where she lay and after taking in water and provisions to make her way to Mayotta, the place appointed for the rendezvous. She went there as arranged but after waiting for some time, considered an accident had happened to her consort, so sailed alone on the expedition.

"As for the *Speedy Return* she arrived safely at St. Augustine's but tarrying too long cleaning and victualling, the winds hung contrary and she could not get up to Mayotta, so went to Johanna, arriving there a few days after the departure of the *Prosperous*. When she came in she found a Dutchman, and anchoring within small shot, saluted him with 11 shotted guns which the Dutchman returned with 15 in like manner. At this salute the Dutchman was surprised and being under some apprehension he hailed the

Pirate who returned answer, 'From the Seas.' He then sent his boat and brought aboard their Quartermaster who assured the Dutch captain they had no design against him, but were going against the Moors and only came in for provision.

"However the Quartermaster went ashore to where the Dutchman had made his factory (trading station) and shot down four of his oxen which he ordered the natives to cut into pieces. On this the Dutchman perceiving a friendship between the natives and the Pirates and hearing that two more Pirates were expected, tarried no longer but went off in the night leaving all his goods ashore rather than lose everything. The *Speedy Return* now steered for the highlands of St. John expecting there to meet the *Prosperous* laying wait for the Mocha fleet. But in their passage they met with a violent storm wherein they were near to foundering. It beat in their stern and obliged them to cast all their guns overboard save two in the hold, forcing them into the Gulf of Persia before the wind.

"There they met with several small vessels which they plundered and ripped up to repair their ship withal. They now cruised in the Gulf of Persia in the hope of meeting their consort, until the period of their agreement having expired, they steered for the Highlands of St. Johns. As they came in with the land they spied a tall ship and immediately making all clear for an engagement they gave chase. (As they had only two guns and a tiny ship, they must have been very daring indeed.) However, much to their mutual joy, the *Speedy Return* discovered the other to be her long lost consort, which had been only ten days on this station. On giving an account of their misfortunes Captain Howard spared them some fresh provisions and water, and renewed the consortship for two months longer, all prizes to be divided amongst the crews of both vessels proportionate to their numbers.

"After they had cruised in company for about 14 days they espied seven tall ships which proved to be the Moors

from Mocha. They both gave chase, but the *Speedy Return* being the faster sailer, first came up with one, laid her aboard and carried her with no other loss than her bowsprit. The *Speedy Return* sailed with her prize to the Malabar Coast where they had agreed to rendezvous should they accidentally part company. Six days later the *Prosperous* joined her consort but without any prize, though she had taken one which she robbed of 84,000 sequins (about £40,000) and then turned her adrift off Daman. (See Howard.)

"Whilst they were lying at Rajapore they held survey on both their ships, and finding them less serviceable than Bowen's Prize they transferred both crews aboard the Moors ship, which they mounted with 56 guns and re-named the *Defiance*. They now mustered 164 Europeans of which only 43 were English, about 50 French, the remainder being Danes, Dutchmen and Swedes." According to a letter in the Madras Records dated September 1703, the cash taken by Bowen amounted to 88,000 dollars or rials, the current value of which was about seven shillings at this date and that—by Howard, 1,680,000 rupees then valued at 2s. 3d. each. Captain Weoley who was still aboard thus relates their proceedings.

"17th October 1703. Here in Rajapore were both the Pirate ships burnt both Companies going aboard the Surat ship, from which they detained about 70 Lascars. From hence they sailed to the Coast of Malabar and, when about three leagues to the north of Cochin, they anchored off shore and fired several guns. But no boat coming off, the Quartermaster, John North, went ashore and had conference from his boat (wary?) with the people, who next day brought off hogs and other refreshments. Also there came a message from the Dutch (Indian) broker that the ship *Rhimae* lay in Mud Bay and if the Pirates would take her he would buy her from them, which I heard myself.

"I took an opportunity to ask the messenger who sent the tar, stores, and other necessaries that came aboard, and thinking me to be one of the Pirates he told me they came

from the Dutch. There came several Dutchmen aboard and I saw no difference between their treatment of the Pirates and any other ship. Here I got clear of the Pirates being set ashore without any harm."

(Johnson.) "The people from the Dutch Factory flocked aboard the Pirates and dealt with them as in open market for all sorts of merchandise, refreshments, jewels and plate, returning with coffers of money to a very great value. Presently when the ship came to Cochin, Dutchmen with goldsmiths and merchants, came aboard bringing sequins to exchange for Spanish dollars (rials). As many of the Pirates now designed to knock off and go home, they gave 500 dollars for 200 sequins for the greater convenience of storage about themselves. The goldsmiths set up their forges and were fully occupied in making gold buckles, buttons and other articles in which they put what alloy they thought proper.

"From Cochin the Pirates set their course for Madagascar but when about 30 leagues from Cochin, met the *Pembroke* once more, though this time they treated her very lightly taking only cash to the value of 450 pagodas and some necessaries and sails, after which she was sent on her way. On the voyage they put in at the Island of Mauritius to wood and water, coming to anchor in the North West Harbour. This port affords abundance of a fish called the Red Snapper, which is poisonous. Which, being well known to Captain Bowen, he begged of his men not to eat them. But, being now in harbour where all men are commanders, they heeded him not, whereupon he ate with them, choosing rather to suffer the same fate than to be left alone to the mercy of the Dutch, being well conscious of what he merited from them.

"After they had supped on these fish they drank very heartily of liquor, and, soon after began to be very sick, swelling up in a frightful manner. The next morning some planters came aboard, and seeing the Pirates lying about in a miserable condition with some of these fish near by asked if they had ate of them. Being told that they had done so they advised the plentiful drinking of strong waters, this being the only



HANGING A PIRATE
From Johnson's *History of the Pirates*.

[Face page 240



way to expel the poison which had already done so, had they not drunk heartily after their meal the evening before.

"Though they very readily followed this agreeable proposition four of them died during the day. After having recovered, Captain Bowen, with forty of his men who desired to leave off Piracy, managed by liberal presents to the Governor to obtain permission to settle ashore or await an opportunity of returning home. But, six months afterwards Captain Bowen was taken ill of the dry belly ache and died. He was buried in the highway by reason of his being a heretic whom the priests would not allow their holy ground wherein to rest his bones."

THE LAMENTABLE EPISODE OF CAPTAIN GREEN AND THE SCOTS

The feeling called race pride is commendable, provided it does not become a megalomania denying merit and in the case of similar races inhabiting the same island, a separate identity to the less vociferous. This is particularly the case with the natives of North Britain, for while they invariably insist on being called Scots they wax very wroth when the Englishman calls himself one. Their nationality must be respected, while that of the Englishman must be submerged in the ridiculous appellation of Britisher.

Truly the average Scot irresistibly reminds the reader of Dickens of those super-Americans Hannibal Chollop and Colonel Diver whose brag is no more blatant. The Scot collectively, or in print, wraps himself in an aura of self-conferred superiority to his fellow Islander, sustaining himself by a drum roulade of self-assertion and the bagpipe screech of "Wha's like us." The queer part of it is that, individually, the Scot is usually as decent and modest a man as one could wish. But collectively, or when playing to the gallery?

These remarks are prompted by the lamentable fate of Captain Green and some other Englishmen who in the year 1704, fell sacrifice to the disappointed and mortified

megalomania of the Scots caused by the failure of that Darien project on which the nation had staked most of their money and not a few men, losing all the former, and many of the latter by their fundamental ignorance of even the rudiments of colonial settlement and trading. Now, though they assert it vehemently, and by such re-iteration have caused it to be believed by the majority, the Scots have never been pioneers in the British trading enterprises or colonial settlements.

They have never preceded, or even marched with the Flag but followed as officers, officials, and traders when the pioneer work had been done. Though in the year 1615, Sir James Cunningham obtained a Charter from James I for a Scotch Company, the scheme never got any further, for he was content to surrender the Charter for a substantial sum to the English East India Company, against whose interests and in spite of his signed and sealed Charter, James I had given the Deed. Perhaps they shared the compensation, for the Stuart Kings were capable of anything underhand when their English subjects were concerned.

J. J. Cotton, the Antiquarian, aptly puts the facts in his preface to a monumental (in both senses) work on "Madras Tombs."

"Like the Pilgrim Fathers, who colonised America, our stout-hearted forefathers in the land of Regrets, were all of them true Englishmen of Credit and Renown. Indeed, pioneering seems to have been the peculiar province of the Englishmen all the world over. The original Cape Merchants (trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope) were all typical sons of John Bull, men from London, Devon, the Eastern, Southern, Midland, and Western Counties. The Scotsman came much later in the race."

This is quite correct. The Scots seem only to have discovered India in any numbers after 1750. Their names are scarce indeed before that period and as the nationalities are given not only on tombstones, but in official records, the facts are readily ascertained. For instance of 529 officers and men who came out to Madras and Bengal in 1747-8, 4 officers were

English, 3 Irish and 2 Scots. As for the soldiers, 454 were English, 42 Irish and only 10 Scots, the balance being Continentals.

However, by the end of the 17th century, the Scots awoke to the fact that the English were firmly established in the most lucrative trade in the world, that of the Far East and India, and had very flourishing Colonies, the one enterprise enriching the home staying citizen, and finding lucrative occupations for many Englishmen in India; and the other absorbing the adventurous surplus in new countries where they could found permanent homes. Though so late in the race, they still thought to find their place in the sun, by a Scots Colony on the Isthmus of Darien, whereat was to be collected the merchandise of the East which would be forwarded overland to be transhipped on the other side, for distribution in Europe and America.

The initial history of the project does not concern us here, and those who desire it will find a full account from the Scots point of view, in the "Encyclopedia Britannica." Suffice it here, that the scheme was taken up with the greatest enthusiasm in Scotland and in a very short time no less than £400,000, estimated to be fully a third of the whole cash in Scotland at the time, was subscribed to found a commercial and agricultural settlement on the Isthmus. At first the Dutch and English East India Companies thought of, or promised to take some shares, until realising that the enterprise was to be purely Scots managed and for the benefit primarily of that nation, they thought better, and withdrew their support.

However, the Scots made the best of matters and proceeded with the enterprise, their enthusiasm being only equalled by their ignorance. Therefore on the 26th June 1698, several ships conveying 1,200 colonists sailed from Leith amidst scenes of the wildest enthusiasm. Two months later they arrived at Darien, and there on land belonging to another nation and amidst the most malarious climate in the world proceeded to found their colony. Hastily conceived, badly found, and composed of townsmen from a cold country,

headed by men ignorant of colonial enterprise, even had the climate been better, the project was foredoomed to failure. Within eight months nearly all of the first arrivals were dead, or had left for more congenial climates in North America.

Ignorant of the fate of the first batch, 1,300 more colonists were sent out. One of the transports sank on the voyage with all souls, and the mortality in the others was terrible. Meanwhile the Spaniards, to whom the Isthmus belonged, had made their preparations to drive out the interlopers, and though the Scots put up a good fight, they were ultimately compelled to capitulate on good terms, these being permission to retain everything they possessed individually, and what belonged to the Company to be taken aboard with the survivors. In the end, not more than 30 returned direct to Scotland, most of the others preferring to settle in the English Colonies of North America or the West Indies.

The whole of the nation attributed the failure, not to the futility of the project, but to the hostility of the English generally, for they had expected the American colonists to assist them with provisions and other supplies until their own colonies were firmly established, and on a gift, or credit basis. They accused the English, especially the East India Company, of instigating hostility against the project and of stirring up the Spaniards to attack them and break up what might have been a successful rivalry. Badly hurt in their natural pride and exasperated by the loss of so much money and so many men, they became very rancorous towards the English. As Johnson writes,

“This blow to Scots cupidity caused intense resentment against the English whose Eastern schemes were so successful and, in the end deafened the ears of justice and caused the death of a honest English gentleman who suffered wrongfully. An English Indiaman named the *Worcester*, commanded by Captain Thomas Green, whilst on her voyage home from India to England, was by contrary winds driven in to Leith Roads in July 1704. Her captain and several of the crew, going ashore for refreshments, was asked by the people of the

town, who knew that he had come from the East Indies, if he knew anything of the *Speedy Return*.

"Being told they had never heard of such a ship the enquirers pretended to be so surprised that in a short time there grew up a suspicion that the *Worcester* had met and dealt unfairly with the said Scotch ship, which had not been heard of since she left Leith. It soon grew into very grave suspicion, for the magistrates were informed that some of the crew had dropped words indicating the robbery and murder of the crew of the Scots ship. Some of the crew were privately taken apart and examined. Sometimes they were threatened with hanging and then again, large promises were made to encourage them to discover the pretended fact, till at length an Indian boy was prevailed upon to say what was required.

"Then the Captain, the Chief mate and the crew were all seized and put in prison. The ship was unloaded and almost ripped to pieces in the search for something to support the deposition of the Indian, but nothing was found. Therefore they were obliged to try them on the Indian's evidence and some small matters sworn to by Charles May, the Physician, all of which carried great improbabilities with it. The Indian (Goanese), Antonio Ferdinando, swore that on the coast of Malabar he came across the sloop that attended the *Worcester*, and, thereafter saw an engagement between the sloop, the *Worcester*, and another ship wearing English colours and sailed by white men. That they engaged the said ship for *three* days and on the third day the ship was taken by the *Worcester* who killed all the crew of the other ship with *hatchets*.

"Charles May only deposed that being ashore at Quilon he heard some guns firing out at sea, and on asking what this meant was told the *Worcester* had gone out and was fighting with another ship. The next day he saw the *Worcester* riding at her berth and another ship riding at her stern. That the *Worcester's* long boat then came ashore and he asking the men what brought them ashore they answered they came for water, their having all been staved and spilt on account of having been busking about all night. Then going aboard

after five or six days he saw the ship lumbered up with goods and was informed that the ship riding astern had been sold to Khwaja Comodo of Quilon.

"He found that Antonio Ferdinando was wounded with others, and when he asked them how they came by their hurts he was told they were forbidden to tell by Mr. Madder, Chief mate. All this fell out between the months of January and February 1703. Antonio's statement was all lies, and that of May sly insinuation, save for one known fact which was that the *Worcester* departing from Quilon for Carnipole, was driven by stress of weather to Anjengo where finding the *Aurungzebe* East Indiaman, she saluted her with five guns which were those heard by May. By busking (beating to windward) all night she had been trying to reach Quilon despite contrary winds.

"The *Aurungzebe* came in with the *Worcester*, and was the ship riding at her stern. The *Worcester* had spared her water at Anjengo which occasioned having to send the boat for more. As for the wounded, they were only four hurt during the whole voyage, two by Dutchmen amongst the crew fighting with knives, and another hurt by a hatchet when he was chopping of wood. The evidence given by May contradicted that of Antonio, for Antonio swore the fighting between Calicut and Tellicherry where the ship never went, and May heard the guns at Quilon 200 miles from where they were fired.

"However, Captain Green and the rest of the crew were convicted and received sentence for the supposed piracy and murders. Green, Mather, Sympson, Keigle, and Haynes, were to be hanged on April 4th, Glenn, Taylor, Kitchen, and Robertson on April 11th, and Brown, Buckley, Willocks, Linsey and Ballantine, on April 18th. The condemnation of these unhappy men caused a universal joy in and about the city. Some could not forbear their hatred and to express their brutal joy. 'Now,' said they, 'we'll Darien them. By these executions we will do ourselves justice.'

"Though after sentence the poor prisoners desired not to be disturbed in their last days, they were not only insulted

with the most opprobrious language, by all and sundry who could get to them, but continually worried by the teachers of the Scotch Kirk. These denounced the most dismal threatenings against the poor men, threatening them with God terrors if they died obdurate, as they called it, meaning without making a false confession of guilt, and all this with that bitterness of passion peculiar to that set of men. They singled out some who were most terrified by their cant and assured them of life if they would acknowledge the crimes they were condemned for.

“At last they so worked on Haines and Linsey that they confessed all that was wanted, giving a most frightful account of the piracy and adding many bloody circumstances to colour the tale, alleging that all who took part swore themselves to secrecy by drinking part of the mingled blood of the victims, and abundance of such similar stuff as desired. As soon as these confessions were made public both gentry and common people were transported with rage and reviled and blackened the poor wretches in a most shameful manner even extending their rage to the defence counsel who were forced to quit the town for safety.

“In the midst of all this turmoil two men of Drummonds crew, *Peter Freeland and Israel Phippeny*, who had escaped from the Pirates at Mauritius came home in the *Raper Galley* and made affidavit of the facts to the Mayor of Portsmouth, upon which Her Majesty and the Council first reprieved all for eight days, and then desired execution to be deferred until they heard further. But the people began to grow very impatient, bitterly inveighing against reprieve, and so the Council met on the morning of April 11th to consider the matter. Perceiving this the mob imagined that this meeting was to order a further reprieve, and immediately all the shops were shut and the streets filled with an incredible number of people demanding *justice* on the English murderers.

“The Lord Chamberlain’s Coach happening then to pass by they hauled him out and obliged him to promise that execution should be done immediately. Therefore, soon after

Captain Green, Mr. Madder, and Sympson were brought out and conveyed to execution, being huzzaed all the way and insulted with the bitterest and sharpest invectives. Captain Green protested his innocence in a moving speech on the scaffold but without avail, for these wicked people were determined to have his life. Thus fell these unhappy men a well pleasing sacrifice to the malice of disappointed men."

Eventually the remainder of the poor wretches were released by the direct interposition of the Queen, though no compensation was ever paid to the families of the murdered men, nor for the sufferings of the remainder. The only other unfavourable evidence besides that extracted by torture or the threats of the Scotch *Divines*, is the following extract from Captain Hamilton. But Hamilton must be taken with reserve, for he has never a good word to say for any of the English with whom he was associated or whom he met during his twenty-five years or so of trading in and with India. What he narrates seem to be merely the drunken babblings of men on the verge of the D.T.'s, if not across the border of them.

"When at Calicut in February 1703, Hamilton met the Captain of the *Worcester* who with several others, came aboard his ship all very drunk. Green told him that they had disposed of a large quantity of arms and ammunition to the Pirates at Madagascar and on being warned that such candour might get him into trouble said he cared not. At Night his Chief mate Mather came in a maudlin mood to Hamilton wishing to exchange with one of his mates. On meeting with a direct refusal, he burst into tears saying he was undone for Green and his crew had done things which, if known, would end in their shame and punishment, and, what was worse the crew was such a drunken lot that they could keep never a secret."

Hamilton then drew from him an admission that they had plundered some Malay ships and sank a sloop with ten or twelve Europeans aboard her. The next day Hamilton met Green and his super-cargo both drunk, though it was

before dinner, and the super-cargo boasted that they had made the best voyage ever known from England though on a very small stock. Hamilton wished him joy and said, "We Indians understand nothing of such profitable voyages being content with a mere thirty or forty per centum profit. Whether Captain Green and Mr. Mather had justice done on them I know not, but I have heard of as great innocents as they being condemned to death."

Having regard to the number of Europeans said to have been sunk with this sloop it is curious to find no mention of any such loss in any of the Records of the European Companies then existing. More curious is it to find none of the approvers mentioning such a terrible crime. Therefore it is more than probable that she only existed in the maudlin imagination of Mather himself. As to Hamilton, the following extract from the Bombay Records speaks:

"*Bombay, 27th May 1705.* A complaint laid against Captain Alexander Hamilton of the *Vinta Surra* states that by force he seized certain goods belonging to some Canton merchants trading with him at Johore. I reply, he states, that he only did this in reprisal for false dealing and that the Sultan wondered at his moderation in not having taken both goods and vessel and sold the crew for slaves."

On Page 268 of Trevelyan's "England under Queen Anne" the author writes: "This Green case was complicated by the fact that the negotiations for the Union of England and Scotland were then in progress and to this political exigency were these poor men sacrificed. After all the Scots were amply compensated by a sum of £389,085 10s. awarded them for taking a share of the National debt out of which the whole of the Darien shareholders were compensated in full with 5% interest. The accounts of the Company were then closed, its servants paid off in full and the books closed."

None of the Scots writers on the Darien case have seen fit to mention this last item.

CHAPTER XIII

Captain Thomas Howard, the Idle Apprentice—From Canoe to 36-gun ship—The *Alexander* Wrecked at Madagascar—Howard Absconds with the Treasure—Marooned by His Comrades—His Cruise in the *Speaker*—The Taking of the *Prosperous*—Capture of a rich Moors Ship—Goes Ashore and is Murdered—Captain Nathaniel North—From Sea Cook to Pirate—Cruises in the *Pelican*, the *Speaker* and *Speedy Return*—His Wars on Madagascar—Quartermaster to Halsey—Wrecked as Captain of the *Charles*—More Wars on Madagascar—Treacherously Killed.

“THE youthful career of this utter rascal may well have served Hogarth for his sketch of the Idle Apprentice. After the death of his father, a Thames lighterman, young Howard not only squandered his own share of the estate in vice and drunkenness, but sold the house of his widowed mother over her head, leaving her destitute to the charity of their relations. Fearing further villainy, that might end at the gallows and in disgrace to themselves, the relations, or friends of his parents, procured him a berth on a Jamaican bound ship and persuaded him to depart to the West Indies.

“It was not long before he found congenial companions there and, with some other desperate rascals, stole a large canoe, and went to the Grand Cayman to join the villains always lurking there with intent to steal a ship and go ‘On the Account.’ They soon made up a Company of 20 and took a turtling sloop with which they set out in search of booty. They plundered a number of other turtling sloops from which they increased their Company, marooning all who would not join them. After some time they fell in with an Irish Brigantine with which they exchanged giving the owner only five hands to take him to Jamaica. The rest of the crew, save indentured servants (white slaves) who joined willingly, were all forced to join the Pirates.

“They next surprised a sloop of six guns coming from the Spanish main, exchanging it for the Brigantine. In the new ship they went to the coast of Virginia in the way meeting with a large New England Brigantine which they made prize of, and shifting their own guns aboard her sent the master of the brigantine away in their sloop. They now had a vessel of ten guns and a crew of 80 men of whom they made one James Captain, with Howard as his quartermaster. When they lay off the coast of Virginia they made several prizes of ships from England from which they took whatever they required and such men as would join them.

“As all of these ships had felons, or transported men aboard them, they soon had a great number of volunteers, making them a large complement. Amongst others which fell into their hands was a fine galley mounted with 24 guns which ship having a great number of malefactors and indentured servants aboard, afforded them many fine recruits. They changed their ship for this galley and not long after the man of war on the station heaving in sight they thought fit to take their departure.”

Thus far Johnson. In the above narrative we have the true pirate or buccaneer evolution of the 17th century, for, like their predecessors, Howard and his companions commenced with a native canoe and climbed up by successive captures to a full sized and well armed ship with a numerous company. Whatever else they may have been none can deny them the credit of being brave, persistent, and enterprising. But what Johnson omits to state is that the pirates fought the man-of-war for three full hours before they ran. Another interesting item that emerges from the official account is that James fought under a green flag with crossed scimitars in gold said to have been taken from the *Gang-i-Sawai* and given to James by Every, to whom he had been quartermaster.

“From the coast of Virginia they shaped a course for Guinea where they took a number of ships of various nations which they rifled of what they required, and forced a number of men in exchange for those *formerly* forced, who entreated

to be discharged. After some months on this coast they spied a large three-decked Portuguese ship from Brazil mounted with 36 guns. Her captain not offering to make any resistance, his mate, an Englishman named Rutland, thinking it a shame to so give up so fine a ship resolved to defend her. Rutland who had been master of an English brigantine taken on the same coast by another gang of Pirates, defended her the whole forenoon, though only about 30 men, Dutch, English, and French, stood by him.

“At last he was obliged to ask for quarter which was readily given. When the Pirates came aboard, and found that Rutland was not the master, they hauled the latter out of the Powder Room where he was hidden, and whipped him round the deck for his cowardice. They then forced Rutland and all those who had fought the ship aboard them making their complement up to 180 men, and exchanged their ship for the Portuguese which they carried in shore, and there made her deep waisted and snugger by cutting down some of her gunwale. They re-named this ship the *Alexander* and went down the coast in her taking several ships, some of which they discharged, some they sunk, and others they burnt, after taking out all the carpenters, caulkers, armourers, surgeons, and musicians.

“They put in at Cape Lopez to clean and there found a large Bristol ship which they designed to exchange for their own till they found she was too leaky. Therefore they left her after changing some more of their forced men. After they had careened and cleaned at Cape Lopez, they stood out to sea and soon spied an English ship which they came up with and engaged. The merchantman made an obstinate defence and finding the Pirates designed to board made to their closed quarters. Howard and about seven or eight more entered, but the Pirate boatswain not having secured the lashing their ship fell astern and left their comrades aboard the merchantman, who escaped by dropping back into their boat and getting aboard the *Alexander*. The merchantman drawing less water got over a hidden sand bank on which the

Pirate, being a much larger ship, stuck fast, permitting the other to escape.

“They got off by starting their water and lightening the ship, though by reason of her being damaged, they were compelled to go back to Cape Lopez to repair. They again put to sea and fell in with and took two Portuguese brigantines, both of which they burned, marooning the men ashore. They then doubled the Cape of Good Hope and shaped their course for Madagascar where about 40 miles north of the Bay of St. Augustine, they ran the ship on a reef near a small island where she stuck fast. The Captain being sick in his bed, the men went ashore on the adjacent island carrying a great deal of water and provision to lighten the ship aboard of which was left only the Captain, Howard the Quartermaster, and about eleven more.”

Howard and the others with him took all the treasure and putting it in the boats steered for the mainland of Madagascar. Presently, the Captain hearing no one on the deck made shift to crawl out of his cabin and seeing them making off in the boats, fired off two guns, which alarmed, though too late, the remainder of the crew ashore. As the sea ebbed, the ship lay dry and they could walk up to her from the island. She might have been saved had they boats to carry out an anchor, but for want of them they had to resign themselves to losing her, and so carried all they could ashore at flood tide by means of raft.

“As the ship lay in a quiet place they had opportunity to break her up and build a new vessel out of her wreck. As the majority of the Company were English, they forced about 36 Portuguese and French who they thought too many for their present circumstances, to get aboard a raft and take their chance with the sea breeze to get to Madagascar, about three leagues distant. They finished a vessel of 60 tons, but the very day they designed to get aboard her a pirate Brigantine hove in sight and they all went aboard her.

“Meanwhile Howard and his consorts stood along the West side of the Island, designing to go round the north to

St. Mary's but there finding the current too strong for them laid by for a fortnight, in the interim spying three tall ships (the *Anglesea*, *Hastings* and *Lizard*) which were men-of-war carrying a pardon to the Island of St. Mary's which was accepted of by many of the Pirates there. Thinking that these ships might also be Pirates, Howard made a smoke ashore which brought the boats. Seeing what they were the Pirates ran into the woods, upon which, finding nothing, the men-of-war boats went back to their ship which kept on their voyage.

"They found plenty of fish and wild hogs on which they lived, until one day when Howard was out hunting the pigs his comrades went off, and rounding the north end left him to look after himself. About 24 leagues down the Coast they went into a fine harbour hardly known to English ships (Bay of Vohemave), where they were most handsomely received by the chief. When the boats were victualled, and whilst Johnson, who took the command after they had deserted Howard, was ashore, with three others, the rest went off with the boats and the booty and stood away for St. Mary's, going every night into some harbour or coming to an anchor under some point when the winds proved contrary.

"Meanwhile Johnson addressed himself to the King telling him the boat and goods were his property on which the King went along the shore with a number of men, and finding the boat at an anchor and all asleep, except the look out, he fired his gun at him and killed him. The rest being awakened by the report of the piece took the alarm, cut and stood off down the coast. When the King returned with an account of his expedition he gave Johnson and his companions a canoe with provisions, water, and some lances that he might pursue after his people. He kept along the shore till he got to St. Mary's where he was told that the fugitives had gone to, and were settled at Ambanavoula, where in the end he joined them. (The meeting must have been interesting?)

"After he had been there some time Fourgette's ship came in and was taken as described in our account of Booth and

Bowen. With this vessel they sailed to Anquawla where they came to an anchor about 30 leagues from the place where they had left Howard, who being acquainted by the natives of the arrival of the ship, came down and joined them. (Another interesting meeting?) From this ship Howard went aboard the *Speaker* where he continued until she was lost on Mauritius, when he came back to Madagascar and settled at St. Augustine's.

"Here he stayed until the taking of the *Prosperous*, a ship of 36 guns, commanded by Captain Hilliard, which he and his gang took in very much the same manner as Bowen and his men did the *Speedy Return*, with the assistance of the Boatswain and some others of the crew, the captain of her and several of his men being killed in the taking. Several of the Company of the *Prosperous* took on with the Pirates by whom Howard was elected Captain, and they went round to Maritan where they found some of the old Company of the *Speaker* whom they brought aboard making their company up to 80 men. From here they steered to the Island of St. Mary's where they heeled (careened) their ship, watered, wooded, and shipped some more hands.

"While there they had an invitation from Ort Van Tyle, who lived on the mainland of Madagascar, to come to the christening of two of his children. They were kindly treated by him, but it having been reported that he had murdered some Pirates, though there was no certainty, they took him prisoner, plundered his house, and what goods they could not carry off they threw into the river, or burned. They designed to carry Van Tyle aboard their ship and hang him at the yard arm. But one of the Pirates helped him to escape so he took to the woods, where, meeting some of his blacks, he came back and waylaid the canoe and Howard's Pinnace at the river side.

"The Pirates set the women to the paddles and the canoe was overset on the bar. Ort Van Tyle fired on one of the men and shot one of them through the arm and another through the thigh both of whom he took and kept prisoners. The

rest of the Pirates got ashore on the south side of the river and escaped, the women returning home. When the Pinnace came down Van Tyle fired on her and shot Howard through the arm. But they all got aboard and sailed for New Methelge where they victualled with the design to go to the East Indies."

Johnson has here confused *two* Brothers named Van Tyle. Ort Van Tyle went home on the *Nassau* early in 1700, and at New York six months later, he deposed that he had a brother named Jan who lived at Madagascar and traded with the Pirates.

(Johnson.) "Whilst the *Prosperous* lay at New Methelge there came in a large Dutch ship well manned and having 40 guns. The *Prosperous* was not strong enough to attack her and the Dutch captain, fearing that he might spoil trade if attacked, left Howard alone though some hard words passed and the Dutchman threatening to fire on Howard if he did not leave the place, Howard thought fit to do so, and went off to Johanna." This Dutch ship was afterwards frightened away by Bowen as described in that account. We here omit what has already been given in Bowen's life and take up the narrative from the point when the *Speedy Return* sailed off in pursuit of the prize she eventually took.

"Being a heavy sailer the *Prosperous* did not come up with the Moors Fleet until they were at anchor under the Bar of Surat where they waited to lighten before crossing the Bar. The Moors, seeing very few hands on board, for Howard concealed his men, and never thinking a Pirate would venture so close, concluded him to be an English East Indiaman. Suddenly he clapped the largest aboard which stood him a smart engagement and killed him 30 men (of the Moors). At length the Pirates forced Captain Weoley to go aboard the Moor and offer quarter, which they accepted.

"There was aboard this prize a nobleman belonging to the Great Mogul who had been to Jaffa to buy horses for his master. Though the prize yielded them a great booty they found only a part of the money that was aboard (which is correct) so gaining less than they of the *Speedy Return*. They

had intended to take her to Madagascar but her bowsprit being wounded in the boarding she lost all her masts, wherefore they set her adrift and she ran ashore at Daman belonging to the Portuguese—most of her crew and passengers being saved.

“From Surat Howard went down the Malabar Coast to Rajapore where he met Bowen, with the prize he had taken. Here both crews went aboard the Moors ship taken by Bowen, and then sunk the *Prosperous* and burnt the *Speedy Return*. After they sailed from Rajapore down the coast a quarrel arose between the Captains and their Companies, resulting in Howard and about 20 more going ashore to sojourn amongst the natives. Howard married a woman of the country, and being an ill-natured, surly ruffian, so ill-treated her that her relatives murdered him.” The remainder probably joined the native princes as gunners.

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL NORTH AND HIS REMARKABLE ADVENTURES

Nathaniel North, son of a Bermudan sawyer, ran away from home at the age of 18, to ship as cook on a privateer. After a few cruises he was pressed into the Royal Navy, from which he levanted to his old trade at the first opportunity. The cruise resulted in two rich prizes giving high profits to the Company, and, as usual North and his mates spent their share in the questionable delights afforded by the ports where such ships and their men were welcomed. Eventually he shipped on a vessel combining trading with other more doubtful occupations for the Spanish Main but she was driven off from there by a Spanish *Guarda Costa* of 40 Guns, and 350 of a crew.

Returning to Jamaican waters, the vessel was attacked by two French privateers, one of which she took and very badly damaged the other. In this action North's ship lost ten men killed and double the number wounded, the latter of whom were well recompensed by Captain Reesby, their commander. The next venture undertaken by Reesby was a slaving voyage

to the Guinea Coast, for which the crew were to be paid 17 dollars a month each and a share of the profits. The venture was so successful that Reesby decided to sail no more and sold his ship after paying up and dismissing the crew.

It was not long before North, being at a loose end ashore, was seized by the ever-active press gang, and sent aboard the *Mary* man-of-war, which on her return from a cruise in the Islands was ordered to England on relief. Not caring about this forced deportation from their native land to a cold and uncongenial climate, North and some others attempted to swim ashore but were soon caught and flogged for an attempt at desertion. Nothing daunted, North made a second attempt, which this time was successful and then remained in hiding until the *Mary* had sailed. He then shipped on the *Neptune* privateer, a vessel commanded by Captain Lycence, a naval officer who had obtained special sanction for a cruise.

When off Hispaniola, they fell in with a French privateer of 18 guns and 118 men with whom they fought a very sharp action before she surrendered. In the action Captain Lycence and ten men were killed with twenty wounded on the English side, the Frenchman losing her captain and about fifty killed and wounded. Unfortunately for the captors the prize was originally a Bristol-owned ship and her former owners were awarded half her proceeds, thus lessening the shares of the captors. After this North went on another privateering cruise under a Captain Moses, which proved more profitable, and soon after landing was again impressed into the *Assistance* man-of-war.

Having no more liking for England than before, North once again deserted, if such an action on the part of a pressed man could be called so, and continued his privateering career for several voyages all of which, with the exception of the last, were fairly profitable. The vessel being a retaken English prize, the money came short and the press being hot in Jamaica, North resolved to try the Dutch Islands and sailed

from Curaçao with a trading ship to the coast of New Spain. On the third voyage the trader was chased ashore by a couple of French privateers who eventually took and rifled her, giving the crew good quarters, and in the end putting them all aboard another sloop of which they made prize some time later.

“From Curaçao North returned to Jamaica and shipped in a Spanish *Barca Longa* of ten guns commanded by a Jamaican named Lovering. They cruised three months in the West Indies, but making nothing there decided to try their fortunes on the Newfoundland Banks. Here they met a man-of-war which renewed their commission for another six months. The first prize they made there was a French ketch with a Spanish pass which might have passed for a Spaniard if they had not, by strict search and threatening of her men, discovered her true nationality.”

The continuation of North's career will be found in the cruise of the *Pelican* and her successor, the *Dolphin*, up to the time that Samuel Inless burnt the latter at St. Mary's rather than surrender her to the squadron that had arrived with the Act of Grace. Though North accepted this (amongst others), he did not entirely trust the assurance of the Commodore that he would have the date extended to cover all cases, and so putting all he possessed into a canoe, he set out to join his comrades on the mainland of Madagascar. But being overset by a squall, all those in the canoe were lost excepting himself, who swam four leagues, and a *negro woman whom he put on the bottom of the boat.*

“Being now on the mainland and quite naked, he so frightened the negroes he met with that they took him for a devil come out of the sea, and ran away. But one woman that had been used to sell fowls to the white men of St. Mary's did not run away and gave him half her petticoat to cover his nakedness. Then she and some men she called from the woods, helped him to the dwellings of some white men about 14 miles distant. Here he was most kindly received and kept until he had fully regained his strength, being very

weak from the long swim. When he was recovered they gave him clothing and other necessaries and let him go to a black prince of his acquaintance with whom he stayed until the taking of the French ship from Captain Fourgette. With her he went round to New Methelge and was at the taking of the *Speaker* with which he remained until she was cast away."

His next voyage was in the *Speedy Return*, as Company's Quartermaster until Bowen went ashore, when he was chosen to succeed him and installed in the following manner. "The Company having made their choice by the majority of suffrage, they carried their new Captain a sword in a very solemn manner, and after making him some compliments, desire that he will take the command as the most capable amongst them. Of his accepting the office he was led into the great cabin in state and placed at the head of the table in a chair, and the Company's Quartermaster seated at the lower end.

"Both being placed and the sword returned to the Quartermaster, the latter rose and addressing the new Captain told him that the Company having experienced his bravery and conduct on all occasions, do him the honour to select him as their leader, not doubting that he would conduct himself with his usual bravery and discretion in all that might conduce to the mutual profit and welfare. In confidence of which the Quartermaster, in the name of the Company promises that all his lawful commands will be obeyed and solemnly declares him Captain. Then the Quartermaster delivers up the sword to the new made Captain with all ceremony saying to him:

"This is the Commission under which you are to act. May you prove fortunate both to us and to yourself. The whole of the guns are then fired, shot and all, round the ship and the Captain saluted with three cheers. The ceremony ended by an invitation to all to dine with the captain and, a large bowl of punch to each mess.

"After this ceremony was ended in *all* ways, North steered for Madagascar, but being blown out of his course came to

Cape Dauphin at the lower end. But, it blowing hard off shore he was compelled to leave White and some 30 men who had gone ashore for provisions behind and put out to sea. Being unable to return he ran along the Coast until he came to Antanavoula, where they put ashore some of their goods and settled amongst the natives, living as sovereign princes, several in one house. The Moor prisoners they kept aboard though giving them fresh provisions. North privately told the Moors' boatswain to take advantage of the land breeze in the night and go off to sea with the ship.

"Otherwise the Pirates would haul up the ship and take everything out of her and the Moors, being marooned, would never again see their own country. Accordingly the boatswain and his countrymen weighed anchor one night with great secrecy, and stood off out to sea before morning. The next morning some of the Pirates proposed to go aboard but were strangely surprised when they missed the ship. Some of them thought that the cable might have been cut by the rocks and the ship thus blown out to sea until they went up on an eminence, and from thence spied the ship far out to sea with all sails set, convincing proof that the loss was irreparable.

"They now made themselves resigned and taking up their abodes at small distances from each other settled themselves to live in a neighbourly manner for the next five years, clearing the ground, buying cattle and slaves, and making regular plantations. The example they set and the care they took to accommodate grievances amongst themselves, and the neighbouring natives, to whom North acted as judge, soon calmed all the country round, and all, both Black and White lived in peace with each other. After about three years, North and some of his companions had a mind to visit the country southward and trade for more slaves and cattle.

"Therefore he set out with about 50 Whites and 300 Blacks taking with him a number of spare arms and a quantity of powder and shot. About 80 miles southwards they came

to a nation rich in slaves and cattle inhabiting the banks of the great river called Mangora and trafficked with them exchanging guns for slaves and cattle. They being at war when North came, he consented to aid them in return for 100 slaves and 500 cattle with all the slaves they should take in the coming war. On these conditions he marched with them to a large town of the enemy which, being situated on a high and craggy rock approached only by a strongly guarded path, was considered impregnable.

"Having disposed his army and invested the rock on all sides, North sent word that if the enemy did not surrender he would take their town and spare neither age nor sex. They laughed at the message and sent back word that until he had learnt the art of flying they were perfectly safe. Now, out of the white men North chose 30 whom he put at the head of three companies of blacks each of 100 men. He then advanced, and with some grenade shells he had with him dispersed the guard at the foot of the rock and made a lodgement thereon. Though the enemy were acquainted with firearms, shells were so new to them that when they saw their effect they fled in terror, throwing down their arms and did not stop until they had gained the centre of the rock with great loss.

"North now sent 10 whites and 300 blacks to hold the bottom of the rock and then gave orders to the other whites to mount the rock and having beat the guard at the gates to enter the town with them if possible. The road was so narrow that only three could pass abreast, and the enemy could cast down stones and darts upon them from a short distance. Accordingly three unarmed blacks with their great shields marched in front of three white small shot men, thus protecting them from the weapons of the enemy. The remainder of the white men followed with the same precautions, one white man to every two blacks.

"The enemy being resolute to defend the path, held until they had lost some men by the shot and spent all their darts to no purpose, after which they swiftly fled to the top of the

rock where, fresh men coming from the town, they made their stand. But North's men following with resolution and pouring in a volley, gave the others time to come up with more grenades, which bursting among the enemy caused much slaughter. The defenders then thought to shelter themselves within the town, but those within, fearing that North's men would enter with them shut the gates against all.

"Notwithstanding all the whites could do, their blacks made a terrible slaughter before they could save a few prisoners who were sent down to bring up more powder. When this came, the besiegers cut down and hollowed out a tree, which they plugged full up with powder, and under the protection of their shields and muskets got it to a hole they dug beneath the gate, and lit the fuse. Then the tree burst with a terrible crack, tearing the gate to shatters and leaving a passage through which the besiegers entered with 500 more blacks who caused a dreadful slaughter before the white men could stay them. When, at length, the slaughter ceased, the town was burnt to ashes and the conquerors returned with 300 slaves which they took to their own quarters, where they picked out all the old women and children and useless men, whom they sent to North in fulfilment of their bargain, as they alleged.

"When North saw the dishonesty of these people he sent for their prince whom he plainly told that he was not to be dealt with in such a manner, wanting neither strength nor resolution to resent such double dealing. He then enquired after a number of young and handsome women, but was told in a haughty tone that they were related to some of the prince's men. The manner in which this reply was delivered nettled North and his men very considerably, and the latter were for immediately doing themselves justice. However North begged them to be patient and rely on him for redress. He then went to the prince and bid him have a care for he was no longer the friend, but the professed enemy of such faithless people.

“He then separated his own blacks from the Manangorans and, dividing his men into companies, with white men at the head of each, directed them to fire ball over the heads of their late allies. This prodigiously astonished the Manangorans, most of whom ran away. North then fired two more volleys which brought the prince and his principal men crawling to his feet. They were then ordered to separate the slaves into two bands of whom North chose the finest and most able men, and then dividing the remainder into two equal parts he gave one to the prince telling him that though fraud and compulsion would not wring from him a single slave, yet his generous temper would give equal treatment even to such a person.

“The prince entreated North and his companions to forgive all that had passed and to remain with him, But to no purpose, for North and his men, black and white, turned their faces towards their homes and departed taking their slaves and cattle with them. Whilst on their journey they fell in with another tribe called the Timouses, which had been driven from their own country by more powerful enemies. This prince with all his great men and relations swore strict amity with North and settled with him staying full two years in alliance. During that time he made several inroads into the countries of his enemies, being well supplied with men, arms and ammunition, by Captain North, to whom he made all he conquered swear allegiance.

“At the end of this time Captain Halsey came in with his brigantine, of which the Company were very discontented at their barren voyage. They begged North to take the command, which he refused, saying that Halsey was in every way capable and they must not depose a man who was not deficient in courage or capacity, and, for his part, he would never take the command from one who did not deserve to be turned out. The Company then made the same offer to White who declined in the same manner. In the end, however, they were prevailed upon by North to continue their old commander, and, as North and his companions had expended

their money in the settling of their plantations, and required clothes, North went aboard; Halsey as Quartermaster, and the others as private gentlemen adventurers."

The narrative of this cruise will be found in our account of Captain Halsey and his Company, so we will take up the account of North's individual career from the time he and Halsey parted whilst on their return voyage to Madagascar, being blown apart by a great storm. Having lost all his anchors and cables at the Maldives North's vessel, the *Charles*, was unable to anchor at Maritan and in consequence was driven ashore there and totally wrecked on the reefs. However, as she was badly wormeaten the loss was not great, especially as most of the guns, cargo, etc., were saved. On going ashore they were very well received by the King who soon after went on a war against his brother. During his absence North prevailed upon the King's sister to pass her solitary hours with him, which much incensed the King, until North pacified him with a present of 100 sequins.

"Being desirous of going to Antanavoula, the Pirates hired a number of negroes from the King for 1,000 dollars, and under the direction of Captain North a vessel of 15 tons was set up and launched about a year after their arrival. In this boat they went to Manangaro, about thirty leagues to the northward of Maritan. Here some of their comrades came in with a boat from the Scotch ship *Neptune* which had been wrecked in an hurricane, and helped them to transport their goods to Antanavoula where North had formerly settled and left a wife with four children.

"He was not long returned before his neighbouring natives reported that the Timouses, who had formerly followed him from the South, had a design to rebel and murder him and the other whites, which giving too easy credit to, he made war upon these poor people and drove them out of his country. Soon after he built another sloop in which he went to Antongil Bay where he purchased 90 slaves and took aboard Mr. Crookshank, the supercargo of the Scotch ship, with the intent to carry him to Mascarenhas that he might get to

Europe. But, all his companions were against it, saying that when Crookshank got to England he would compass the destruction of the Pirates on Madagascar.

“They put the matter to the vote and 48 out of 64 voted for the discharging of the supercargo. North having gained this point, the Pirates asked him if he designed to take with him one J.B., a young Scotchman who was a good artist, a thorough seaman and capable of taking the command in any voyage. To this North answered that he required J.B.’s assistance in the voyage, himself being no artist, on which his comrades desired to watch that he did not give him the slip, so losing them a good artist, and a hale young fellow. At Mascarenhas North set the supercargo ashore with all his own money amounting to about 1,600 dollars, for, when the Pirates made prize of the *Neptune* they took back none of the money they had before paid for the liquors, counting it a base and dishonest action.

“Though North would not suffer J.B. to go ashore, having no artist to take him back to Antanavoula, he made amends by giving him four negroes which he sold for 300 dollars. North’s principal business at this island was to get leave to carry his children there to be educated in the Christian faith, which, after many rich presents to the Governor he, in the end, obtained. He told J.B. his design was to leave his children at Mascarenhas, placing fortunes for them in the hands of some honest priest, for he thought it better to have them made Papists rather than no religion at all.

“He would then go back to Maritan and endeavour by his penitence to make amends for his former life by never leaving the Island again, and that he would then give the sloop to J.B. with 200 dollars that he might return home, since he had very wisely refused to join the Pirates. When North came to Madagascar he heard that a French ship had marooned some men there on which account he ran 200 leagues out of his way to rescue these people as a matter of humanity. He found only one man alive, whom he took home with him and there clothed and maintained.

“When he arrived at Antanavoula he found the country all in an uproar and the rest of his companions preparing for war with the natives. But his arrival soon restored their former peace and quiet. About four months later he fitted the sloop for a voyage to Antongil and Methelage to purchase slaves and samsams (agate beads). At Methelage they met Samuel Burgess, whom the Company, most of whom were men formerly belonging to the crew of the *Neptune*, proposed to execute, he having, they said, betrayed them and for ever vanished them from their own country by forcing them to become Pirates. But North not consenting to this, they confined him and stripped Burgess of all his money, after which they released North, giving him £300 for his share, though this he afterwards returned to Burgess.

“At the West side of the Island North put in at a place Suarez, where some time before an English ship commanded by one Price had put in to trade. On Price going ashore with a boat’s crew and his doctor all were seized by the natives. Price and the doctor ransomed themselves with 200 barrels of powder and 1,000 small arms, but having no more could not release their comrades, for whom two firearms each was demanded, and so sailed away and left them. In revenge North burnt their large town and did all the damage he could until they released the prisoners.

“On return to his settlement he again found the blacks and his whites at war, and refusing the peace the natives desired, he burnt a number of their towns and took a great number of slaves. After four years he granted a peace taking advantage of which his enemies corrupted his guards and murdered him in his bed. They would have murdered his comrades also, but these being alarmed took to their arms and drove the treacherous multitude before them with great slaughter. Then to revenge North’s death they continued the war for seven years, in which time they became masters of the country all around and drove away all that would not swear allegiance to them.”

North in his will, which lay by him ready prepared, directed J.B. to carry the children in the sloop to Mascarenhas, leaving the said sloop to J.B. who was at the charges to fit her up, laying out the greater part of the money North had bequeathed to him. But the Pirates would not suffer him to stir whilst their wars lasted, fearing he would not return, never having joined them in any of the villainies. And therefore, by one consent they set fire to the sloop, detaining him there several more years.

CHAPTER XIV

Captain John Halsey—The Company of the *Charles* Mutiny and Murder their Captain—John Welch and most of the Company Hung for Piracy and Murder—Halsey given Command of the *Charles*—Turns Pirate with the Company—The abortive Attack on a Dutch ship—Takes the *Buffalo* and the *Calicut* sloop—The *Charles* chased by the *Albemarle*—Returns to Madagascar—Attacks and takes the *Eagle* and the *Essex* in the Red Sea—The Cowardice of Captain Jago—Death and Honourable Burial—Captain Samuel Burgess—Tried and Acquitted of Piracy—Betrays the *Neptune* to the Pirates—Settles at Madagascar—Poisoned by the Natives.

EARLY in the year 1703, the *Charles* brigantine of 200 tons, 10 guns and about 90 men, commanded by Daniel Plowman, was commissioned for a cruise of the Guinea Coast. The brutal treatment of the men by the captain provoked a mutiny headed by the chief mate in which the captain and a few faithful were murdered. Having elected John Welch, the chief mate, Captain, the Company sailed "On the Account" for some months, during which they took and plundered a number of Portuguese ships. Very foolishly, one would assume, the *Charles* and her company returned to Boston, where, though the plundering of the Portuguese ships might have been overlooked, the murder of the captain, combined with this, caused Welch and about 16 more to be hanged.

The vessel having been returned to her owners, they had her re-commissioned for another privateering venture, the command of which was given to John Halsey, of Boston, a brave and able seaman. Halsey sailed for the Newfoundland Banks off which he took a French ship, which, however, was retaken by her own men from the prize crew put aboard. Halsey then went amongst the Canary Islands where he took, plundered, and sank a Spanish sloop. From hence he

went to the Cape Verdes where he obtained the approval of the Company for a piratical cruise in Eastern waters, and after wooding and watering, etc., made for the Bay of St. Augustine's, where he provisioned and took aboard some straggling seamen who had been cast away nearby in the *Degrave*, East Indiaman, Captain Young, Commander.

"He then shaped his course for the Red Sea and there met with a Dutchman of *sixty* guns coming from Mocha with which he kept company for a week without attempting to attack her—which, considering the disparity of force, was but natural. Besides this he had prudently resolved to attack none but the easier and richer Moors' ships which policy caused a dispute, his men insisting that the other ship was a Moor. In the end they broke Halsey and his gunner for refusing to board, confining both, and were about to attack the Dutchman, when one of the Company perceiving that the latter was about to run out his lower tier (heavy guns) knocked down the Quartermaster at the helm, clapped her hard a weather, and wore ship.

"The Dutchman stayed and fired a gun, which taking a swivel gun in its course carried it aft and narrowly missing the man at the helm shattered the taffrail. The Pirates perceiving they had caught a Tartar were running down between decks when the surgeon pricked them up again with his sword. The crew having seen their mistake, the Captain and the gunner were re-instated and the ship steered for the Nicobar Islands where they met with a country ship called the *Buffalo*, from Bengal, commanded by Captain Buckley, with whom were two European mates.

"This ship fell seasonably in their way she being laden with butter (ghee), rice and cloth, for the Pirates were then in great straits both for provision and clothing. They took the two mates to sea with them and left the Captain and his Moors crew at Car Nicobar whilst they went off on a cruise. In this they met with Captain Collins in a country ship also with two Europeans which ship they carried to the place where they had left the *Buffalo*." What then happened is thus des-

cribed by Captain Collins, of the *Calicut*, under date 1st February 1707 at Madras.

“Being bound on a voyage from Bengall to Atchin whilst off Negrais there came up a Pyratt brigantine manned by about 50 Europeans with 16 guns and commanded by one Jones (John Halsey) which had first come from New England, by Madagascar where they made up their crew. They had also taken another small vessel bound for Bengal and commanded by one Buckley. They detained us about four months, in which time they quarrelled amongst themselves, and by consent parted, one half keeping to their own ship, and the other going aboard the Bengal vessel.

“The first (the *Charles*) is gone for the Streights of Mallacca to lie by for the Chinese ships and a ship from Manilla belonging to the Armenians. The other designed to refit at Negrais and from thence to Madagascar, for which purpose they robbed everything from the *Calicut*. The first ship is the same that chased the Dutchman from the mouth of the Red Sea. The party that went aboard the *Buffalo* made one Rowe their Captain, and he being no artist they made a Frenchman from Madagascar his sailing master. Before they let the *Calicut* go they ripped off all her deck planks with which to sheath the bottom of their ship. Captain Buckley died whilst at Car Nicobar and his mates being sent adrift in a canoe eventually gained the Mainland.

“The *Buffalo* cruised about from Negrais to the Coast of Sumatra, for some time during which she took a number of prizes the last being on the 16th February 1707. Having now sufficient for the time the *Buffalo* sailed for Madagascar, and bringing up at Antanavoula beached their ship and went ashore to settle down with Captain White and his companions where we will leave them for the time.

“Meanwhile the *Charles* had gone into the Straits of Mallacca where they met a Europe built ship of 26 guns which they had not the courage to attack being *soured* by the Dutchman. A few days after they gave chase to a China junk, but when they came near, they swore she was a Dutchman and would not

venture near him. They then stood in shore and came to an anchor under the Peninsula.

"They lay there some days when they spied a tall ship which they chased. She proved to be the *Albemarle*, East Indiaman, Captain Bews, direct come from China. They came up with him, but discovering him to be too warm a ship after exchanging a few shots the Pirate made off and the *Albemarle* chased in her turn. However, the Pirate having a better pair of heels got clear and came to an anchor in shoal water where the *Albemarle* dared not enter. They having but about 40 hands left, and their water growing scarce, and they not daring to venture ashore for fear of the Dutch, they held a council and at this resolved to make the best of their way to Madagascar to refit; pick up more hands and set out on fresh adventures.

"In pursuance of this resolution they steered for the Island, but in the way stopped at Mascarenhas where for a small present to the Governor they obtained all they wanted. From here they went to Hopeful Point, on the mainland of Madagascar, near to St. Mary's, in the latitude of 17.40 S., where they met with the *Buffalo* and the *Dorothy*, the latter a prize made by Captain White and his Company being near about 100 men all settled near the same place in petty governments of their own, some having 500 to 1,000 negro subjects who acknowledged their sovereignty.

"Here they repaired the Brigantine, took in all provisions and necessaries, augmented their Company to about 100 men and set out for the Red Sea. They now had with them Captain North as Quartermaster, he having refused to supersede Captain Halsey by reason that the latter lacked not courage nor capacity, but good fortune only. After touching at Johanna where they took in coconuts and goats for fresh provisions and then set sail for the Red Sea which they reached in eleven days. They had not cruised there many days when they spied the Moors Fleet of 25 sail coming up from Mocha and Jeddah which they fell in amongst and would have been taken by, had they not escaped by the aid of their oars.

“Some days later they met a grab coming from Mocha which they surprised in a thick fog. They fired only one shot which cut her halliards, after which they took her with their boats. She yielded them some drugs and 2,000 dollars and having learned from her that four English ships lay at Mocha they let her go. Three days after they spied the four ships whose masts they at first took for the trees on Babel-Mandeb. At night they fell in with them, and kept company till morning the trumpets sounding on both sides all the time for the Pirates had also two aboard. When it was clear day the four ships fell into line and hailed the Pirate who made no ceremony of owning what he was, by answering that he came ‘From the Seas’.”

These *five* ships were the *Bombay Merchant* of 18 guns and 45 Europeans (besides 60 lascars) a vessel specially armed and manned to protect the fleet she sailed with, the *Rising Eagle* of 14 guns and 25 Europeans, the *Essex* of 10 guns and 14 Europeans, the *Mary* 8 guns and 10 Europeans, and the *Unity* of 12 guns and 20 Europeans. The total strength was 122 Europeans, 120 Lascars and 62 guns, as against the pirate ship of 10 guns and about 90 to 100 men. The hardihood of the tiny pirate ship in hazarding an attempt on such apparently overwhelming force is astonishing, and, undoubtedly due to the presence aboard her of North and White, both as able as brave leaders. They deserved their good fortune. As remarkable as the bravery and ability displayed by the pirates was the cowardice of Captain Jago and the panic into which the others fell when he deserted them.

(Johnson.) “The brigantine bore up till she flung her gaff perceiving which one of the ships advised Captain Jago, who was in the van with a ship of 24 guns and 70 men to give chase, for the Pirates were on the run. But a mate who was acquainted with the way of working ship by the Pirates answered he would soon find his mistake and said that though he had seen many warm days, he feared this would be the hottest of all. Then the brigantine turned again and coming up astern clapped aboard the *Rising Eagle* of 16 guns which

was the sternmost. Though they entered their men the *Rising Eagle* held them a warm dispute for three quarters of an hour in which Captain Chamberlayne's chief mate and several others were killed and the purser being wounded, jumped overboard and was drowned.

"In the meantime the other ships called to Captain Jago to board the Pirate, which, bearing away to clap him aboard, received a shot from the Pirate which raked him fore and aft so determining him to depart, for he ran away with all the sail he could set though fitted out to protect the coast against pirates. Then was his example followed by all the rest each one steering a different coast so leaving the Pirates to become masters of the *Rising Eagle*. The second mate of the *Rising Eagle* after quarters had been called for fired out of the forecastle and killed two of the Pirates one of which was the Gunner's consort (Mate).

"The Gunner would have revenged his death by shooting the mate, but that he being an Irishman, was saved by several Irish and Scots amongst the crew, and Captain Thomas White, once a commander amongst the Pirates but then a private man. They examined the crew to know which was the ship that came from Jeddah, for that has the money aboard and learning that it was the *Essex*, they gave chase, came up with her, hoisted the *Bloody Flag*, and fired one gun only when she struck though she was fitted for close quarters. There were not aboard the brigantine more than 20 hands the remainder being aboard the prize and this so far astern that only her topmasts were visible.

"In chasing this ship they passed the other two which were so alarmed that they held the fly of their ensigns in their hands ready to strike at the Pirate's hail. When the ship had struck, her Captain asked who commanded the Brigantine and was told Captain Halsey. Again asking who was her Quartermaster he was told Nathaniel North to whom he called, as he knew him very well. (They had met, when Punt was a prisoner with Bowen and his Company.) Learning that he was Captain Punt, North said 'Captain Thomas

Punt. I am sorry you are fallen into our hands.' He then saw that Punt was civilly treated and nothing belonging to himself, or the English gentlemen who were passengers, touched.

"The Pirates took £40,000 in cash belonging to the *Essex* and another £10,000 from the *Rising Eagle*. After this they discharged the *Essex*, and, with the other prize and the brigantine made their way to Madagascar."

Thus far Johnson. The official account is contained in a letter from Thomas Adams to the Council at Surat which runs:

"17th September 1707. The Mocha Fleet sailed from Mocha at the beginning of August being in all five sail, vizt. The *Bombay Merchant* from Europe, the *Rising Eagle*, the *Essex*, the *Mary* and the *Unity* from the Coast and the Bay of Bengal, and in the way fell in with a Pyratt Brigantine. They all drew up with intention to fight and the *Bombay Merchant* and the *Rising Eagle* gave the Pyratt some broadsides. But as soon as the Pyratt boarded the *Eagle* the *Bombay Merchant* bore away. Though they entered their men the *Eagle* gave them a warm reception for three quarters of an hour in which fight the second mate was killed with a number of men and the Purser being wounded jumped overboard and was drowned.

"Mr. French, the chief mate, who was in the fore-castle not knowing what was being done abaft, where the others had called for quarters fired briskly on the Pyratts and killed six and wounded twenty more of them. Nor would he give up his arms until he was promised good quarters. So soon as the Pyratts got the *Eagle* in their hands they forced her people to tell them which was the Jeddah ship with the money, and immediately both ship and brigantine made after her, passing by the others and came up with her.

"The passengers and the crew were so discouraged that they would not let the captain make any resistance lest they should all be put to the sword the Pyratts coming up with

the Bloody Flag at the masthead. After they had taken her they designed to go to Socotra for refreshments, but the *Essex* having sprung her foremast and so unable to keep company, they let her go. Sir John Bennet (the owner) and several of the people are still on board the *Pyratt*. Mr. French being on the *Essex* which has gone into Calicut.

“The cash taken out of the *Essex* was contained in 40 chests of dollars or pieces of eight, each worth £1,000. After releasing the *Essex*, the *Pyratts* sailed down the Coast where off Calicut they fell in with the *Harriott*, an East India Company’s ship, bound for Bengal, which they attempted to terrify into surrender by shewing the Black and Bloody Flags together. However the Captain of the *Harriott* was made of sterner stuff than the captains of the *Mocha* for he ‘Fired briskly on the *Pyratt* which after giving and receiving a few broadsides made off. Our ship chased him until night, when we lost sight of him, and the next morning he was gone from our sight’.”

As for the despicable Jago whose cowardice set so bad an example to others who were just as bad, he never reported the encounter and must have cautioned his crew to do the same, for though he arrived at Bombay on the 22nd August and stayed there for a fortnight discharging and taking in cargo, the first intimation of the disaster received by the Company’s officials at that place was by the letter we have just quoted sent up from Calicut by the principal merchant of the fleet.

The fate of the *Bombay Merchant* is given in the following letter from Jago dated 30th October 1707:

“On the 27th October I sailed from Karwar in company with the *Union* Frigate. On the 28th about eleven in the morning seeing the Sivajje Pyrats hanging about after me I fired my chase guns at one that came near, soon after which the *Bombay Merchant* blew up and sank. Ten English and as many blacks were killed besides what have since died and as many more in a languishing condition from their burns.”

This explosion was caused by the ports of the gun room having been carelessly left open and the fragments of burning wadding from the rear guns being blown in had ignited the loose powder and then the Magazine. Jago was eventually sent home to be dealt with and then dismissed from the Company's service.

Some of the passengers who had been well treated by the pirates came afterwards from India in a small ship called the *Greyhound* having licence from Governor Pitt, who owned much of the cargo. This ship was laden with necessaries which they hoped to exchange for the dry goods taken by the pirates, these being of no use to them. They were received very kindly, an invoice of their goods being asked for and those agreed on for return, paid for in cash and kind. In the meanwhile there came in a ship from Scotland called the *Neptune* having 16 guns and 54 men, commanded by Captain James Miller having a design to slave and go from thence to Batavia to sell her slaves and then to Malacca to take aboard the cargo of the Scotch Company's ship, *Speedwell*, lost when returning from China.

But finding the *Greyhound* trading with the pirates and having many necessaries, as French brandy, Madeira wine, and English stout aboard, Captain Miller thought it better to trade for money than for slaves. The merchants of the *Greyhound*, nettled to see anyone but themselves make money, for the pirates never haggled about a price, told the latter they could do no better service to the Governor of Madras (Pitt) than to make prize of the *Neptune*, which was also well suited to their purpose. To which some of the Scotch and Irish among the pirates answered that if once such a design was set afoot, they might take both ships. Which in the end they did.

The taking of the *Neptune* being described in our account of Captain Samuel Burgess, the reader is referred to that. We continue from thence, "Two days after the Pirates had taken the *Neptune* they seized the *Greyhound*, took back all the money they had paid, and shifting out of the *Neptune*

ten pipes of Madeira and two hogsheads of brandy, put them into the *Greyhound*, and putting aboard the Captain, second mate, gunner and boatswain of the *Neptune* with about 14 of her hands they ordered the *Greyhound* off to sea. The rest of the *Neptune's* Company being young men fit for their purpose, they detained, though most of them by hard drinking fell into distempers and died." The official account of what befell the *Greyhound* and the *Neptune* is given in a letter from Captain Jones of the former which we quote:

"10th June 1708. We arrived at Antanavoula upon the Island of Madagascar the 29th December 1707. The next day Captain White and two others came aboard us from the Pirate settlement. They seemed overjoyed at our coming, as did all the rest ashore, and with Your Honours Letter and the Petition to the Queen from which they expect a pardon and talked of nought else but their intention to keep the promises they had made of ransoming our goods. A few days after our arrival there came in the Scotch ship *Neptune* from Scotland loaded with liquor and other cargo.

"Before Miller could get his ship into harbour there came on a violent hurricane, and Miller being apprehensive of losing his ship, cut her masts by the board. In the storm there drove ashore and bilged, the *Rising Eagle*, the *Elizabeth* and the *Dorothy*, all ships taken by the Pyratts from the English gentlemen in India. We had the good fortune to ride out the storm though intending to careen, we had put all our guns, water casks, stores, and all anchors save what we rode by into the *Dorothy* on which account we were compelled to stay near ten weeks amongst these faithless people.

"On the 28th February 1708 the Pyratts took the *Neptune* Galley and the next day they also plundered us, taking all our brass rods colours and other goods we would have sold the negroes, besides all else worth the taking. By their excessive drinking they brought upon themselves fevers and fluxes that carried off about 20 of them while we were there among them being Captain White. We had been very secure had

White lived or had the Quartermaster North been there, but the latter having lost all his anchors and cables at the Maldivian Islands had been compelled to run his ship ashore at Maritan about 100 leagues southwards of Bonavoula."

Soon after the departure of the *Greyhound*, whilst the Scotch ship was fitting out for sea Captain Halsey fell ill of a fever and died. He was buried with the greatest solemnity and ceremony. The colours were put at half-mast, the prayers of the Church of England were read over him, and his sword and pistol laid on his coffin which was covered with his ship's Jack. As many guns as he was old were fired which numbered 46, and three English and one French volleys of fire arms were fired over his grave. They made his grave in a garden of water melons and fenced it in to prevent him being rooted up by wild hogs, of which there are a great many in those parts.

Captain Halsey was grave in his manner, brave in his person and courteous to all his prisoners, and died regretted by his own people both black and white. In short "As mild a mannered Pirate as ever cut a throat."

CAPTAIN SAMUEL BURGESS

(Johnson.) "Captain Samuel Burgess was born in New York and there received a good education. After he had chosen the sea he served for some time with a privateer in the West Indies, and very often the gang he was with made no ceremony of prolonging their expired commission by their own authority. Burgess sailed with Kidd and was one of those who ran off with the *Blessed William* at Antigua leaving Kidd ashore." How he escaped indictment for this offence does not transpire, but judging by a remark by Johnson he may have confined the subsequent cruise of the *Blessed William* to privateering only. By his privateering he got together some little money and then returned home where the Government had no notice or, at least took none, of the piratical practice in staying beyond the date of his commission.

“He next went out mate of a ship in the service of Frederick Phillips, round to the Island of Madagascar to trade with the pirates. There they had the misfortune to lose their ship and lived eighteen months at St. Augustine’s when an English pirate coming in the King of the country forced them all to go aboard of her, though much against the inclination of Burgess who was tired of a roving life. But the choice being to go or starve he and the others went aboard the *Jacob*, Captain Coates. He went with this freebooter into the East Indies where they made several rich prizes affording them a booty of 2,800 pieces of eight a full share when they shared out at St. Mary’s.

“There they took in provisions, water, etc., and several of the gang knocked off and went ashore. The remainder went for the West Indies, disposed of their plunder on the Spanish Coast and then returning to New York procured a pardon from Governor Fletcher to whom they made a present of their ship. Johnson says that they knocked her on the head, at Sandy Hook, a statement that does not agree with Culliford’s deposition of the 17th June 1702. He also was in the *Jacob*. Some time afterwards Burgess married a relation of Mr. Phillips, who built a ship called the *Pembroke* (Margaret) and sent him a second time to Madagascar.

“In his way to the Island he went into Delagoa river where he bought a quantity of elephants’ teeth and from thence to St. Augustine’s, where he met with several of his old shipmates with whom he traded for money and slaves. Leaving this place he went to Methelge where he also took some money and negroes and from thence shaped his course for St. Mary’s where he took in more slaves and several of his old comrades passengers to New York who paid him very generously for their passage. This voyage cleared £5,000, ship and all charges paid for.

“Encouraged by this success his owners bade him choose what cargo he chose, and accordingly he loaded up with wine, beer, etc., with which he went to Maritan and there disposed of his cargo at his own rates. This voyage cleared

himself and the owner £10,000 besides the value of 300 slaves he brought to New York. After a short stay he set out again on the same trade and first fell in with New Methelege where he victualled and traded. He made a trading voyage round the Island to St. Mary's where he met another ship belonging to the same owners. After disposing of the cargoes of both ships he shaped his course homewards with about 20 Pirates as passengers who had accepted the Act of Grace. Amongst these was Culliford and the mad captain of the *Pelican*.

"In his way he put in at the Cape Town for water and provision and there met with the *Loyal Merchant* (18th December) who made a prize of Burgess in virtue of his commission to take Pirates and carried him to the East Indies, after transferring gold and negroes to the value of £6,000 to his own ship. He would have delivered the *Margaret* to the Governor of Madras (Bombay) but Sir John Gayer would have no hand in the matter and told the captain he must answer to the East India Company and Burgess's owner for what he had done. Most of the Pirate passengers thought themselves cleared by the Act of Grace, but some of them, not willing to trust it, got off with what gold they could in a Dutch boat. Those who trusted to the pardon were clapped into irons and died in jail.

"One who designed to go away looked for his comrade who had the key of their joint chest to take out his share which counted to £1,700. But his comrade being ashore he would not break open the chest saying it was a pity to spoil a good new lock, so left his money for the captain of the East India-man. The news of the seizure reached the owner before the ship returned and he sued the Company, though at their request waiting for the arrival of the *Loyal Merchant* aboard of which was Burgess. The captain of her finding that what he had done could not be justified absconded and the Company made good the values of ship and cargo to the owners.

"At first Burgess was set at liberty, but was later impeached of piracy on the evidence of Culliford on which he was tried and condemned. However though he pleaded the necessity

of going abroad the *Pirate* it was of no avail and he was only released at the intercession of the Bishops of London and Canterbury and pardoned by the Queen. After this he made a voyage to the South Seas as lieutenant to a privateer and returning to London was out of employment for a whole year. He then shipped aboard the *Neptune* and went to Scotland for a cargo, her owners being of that nation. After 18 months she proceeded on her voyage to Madagascar in which the captain and Burgess quarrelling was the cause of the loss of the ship.

“ Captain Miller being decoyed ashore under pretence of being shewn some trees fit for new masts, Halsey invited him to a sirloin of beef and a bowl of arrack punch. He accepted the invitation and found about 20 of the pirates assembled. One, Emmy, who had been a waterman on the Thames did not come to table, but sat by muffled up in a great coat pretending he was taken by the ague, though the coat was only put on to conceal his pistols. After dinner, when Halsey went out as for something with which to entertain the Scotch captain and his supercargo, on a sudden Emmy clapped a pistol to the captain’s breast and told him he was his prisoner. At the same time two other pirates came in each with a blunderbuss in his hand, and told the prisoners they would come to no harm if they did not provoke it.

“ Whilst all this passed within doors the woods were lined with pirates, and all Miller’s men that he brought ashore were secured, but none hurt. When they got full possession of the ship they chose Burgess, Quartermaster, and shared out the booty they took from the *Neptune* and the *Greyhound*. Soon after happened the death of Halsey who left Burgess executor in trust for his wife and children with a considerable legacy for himself, and the other pirates grumbling at a new comer being preferred to themselves took from Burgess £3,000 of Halsey’s money, and £1,200 of his own, being his share of the two prizes.

“ Though he had been treated in this manner they were idle enough to give him command of the Scot’s ship and ordered

her to be fitted out with all expedition. He set to work with all expedition with full designs to run away with her. But some pirates in the other part of the Island being informed of his intent, he left the ship and getting amongst some old comrades by their interposition had his money returned. Concerning the pirates and the *Neptune*, Captain Jones of the *Greyhound* writes:

“The *Neptune* Galley which is now the only ship the Pirates have is about 200 tons and will carry 26 guns. She looks a long ship from without board, but is very cramped within and sails but indifferently before the wind. I believe they will stay ashore this year and spend what they have got as is usual amongst them. They seem weary of the Red Sea saying the Moors ships are now too strong for them and their next cruise will be in the Straits of Mallacca, where we may hear of them. But let them make themselves as strong as they may they cannot raise above 70 or 80 Europeans, for I cannot believe there are more than 100 on the whole island at this time.

“On the 10th March we left Madagascar to our infinite satisfaction. Just as we were ready to sail the Pirates sent aboard Captain Miller, five of his officers and four of his men with Mr. Forbes second supercargo of the ship. We have buried both our mates, our boatswain and one Christian fellow. Three or four days after we put out to sea Captain Miller and Mr. Forbes died, and all the officers of the *Neptune* are since died at sea.”

After being turned out of the command of the *Neptune*, Burgess lived for five months on the Island of St. Mary's where his house was burned down, though he saved all his money. He then went aboard with David Williams with whom he returned to Methelge and was one of the men amongst whom the King divided the effects of Williams after his death. From Methelge he went to St. Augustine's, where he bought 50 slaves which he sold to the Arabians (at Johanna). On his return to Methelge he met Captain North with some of the men of the *Neptune* which said men proposed taking Burgess,

who they said had ruined them by forcing them to become Pirates, and so banishing them from their own country. Later they released him after stripping him of all his money save £300 which Captain North gave back to Burgess.

Burgess lived at Methelge for two or three years till he was carried off by a number of Dutchmen that had been set ashore by a French ship which had taken their prize, and there busied themselves in building a ship. Burgess having been very useful to them in doing so they took him aboard and steered for Youngoul where there were some other marooned Dutchmen, but in making the harbour were wrecked. Burgess continued at that place for about eighteen months when he asked the King to send him back to Methelge which was done, and he remained there for five years afflicted with a sickness by which he lost the use of one eye.

At the end of this time there came in the *Drake*, Pink, the captain of which designed to carry him home to be tried, but escaping from him Burgess entered with Captain Harvey of the *Henry* which came in to slave. Captain Harvey, carrying it pretty high with the King could not agree with him and lay there for nine months doing no trade. Burgess was sent up to reproach the King with not fulfilling his agreement, but this latter resented being reproached by one whom he had entertained for so many years and only reviled him.

However, he dissembled afterwards and had Burgess carried off to dinner by some of the principal blacks, who must have poisoned him, for he died soon after, leaving all he possessed to his wife and children (in America?).

CHAPTER XV

John Cornelius—Quartermaster to the Pirate Lewis—They promote themselves—From Canoe to 24-gun Galley—They cruise in the West Indies, the Newfoundland Banks, and the Guinea Coast—The Taking of the *Morning Star*—The Frenchmen sent adrift—Return and kill Lewis—Cornelius succeeds—Takes many Prizes on the Guinea Coast—Sails to Madagascar—Adventures Ashore—Cruise in the Gulf of Persia—Dies on Madagascar—David Williams—Left ashore on Madagascar—Goes to War with the Natives—With the Companies of the *Bedford* Galley the *Pelican* and the *Mocha*—Slave to John Pro—Captain of the *Neptune* Killed by the Natives—Captain Condent and his Company—Their Cruise in the *Wright* Galley—Goes to St. Mary's in the *Flying Dragon*—Takes a rich Moors ship—Condent quits Piracy and becomes an Honest Merchant.

JOHN CORNELIUS, said by Johnson to have been an Irishman, was probably one of those exiled to the West Indies by William III or the descendant of an earlier batch transported by Cromwell. We first hear of him as Quartermaster to William Lewis, a pirate whose life affords us such intimate and interesting details concerning our subject that we cannot forbear to quote largely from Johnson, the more readily as Cornelius was with him from the commencement.

(Johnson.) "This worthy gentleman (Lewis) was early a Pirate being a boy in the crew of the Pirate Bannister, who was hanged at the yardarm of a man-of-war within sight of Port Royal, Jamaica. This Lewis and another boy being taken with Bannister, were brought in hanging by the middle at the mizzen peak of the man-of-war. He sailed out of Jamaica until he was a lusty lad, and being taken by the Spaniards at Havana was kept there some time. At last he ran away with six more in a small canoe and surprised a Spanish periagua from which two men joined them. With this they surprised a turtling sloop and forcing some of the hands to take on with them sent the others away in the periagua.

“They played at this small game till what with forced man and volunteers they made up a complement of 40 men. With these they took a large *Pink* built ship bound to the Bay of Campeachy and after that several others bound for the same place, and, having intelligence that there lay in that bay a fine brigantine of 10 guns commanded by Captain Tucker, he sent the captain of the *Pink* to him with a letter that if the captain would part with the brigantine he would give him 10,000 pieces of eight for her. Having read the letter, Captain Tucker called aboard him the masters of the vessels lying in the Bay and told them if they would make his company up to 54 men, he would go out and fight the Pirates.

“They refused to hazard their men, saying they depended on them to sail their ships, and each one must shift for himself. However, they all put to sea together and spied a sail under the land which had a breeze whilst they lay becalmed. Some said it was the Pirate and so it proved, for honest Captain Lewis put out his oars and soon got in amongst them. Some of the sloops had four guns, some two, some none at all. Joseph Dill had two which he brought to one side and fired smartly at the Pirate, but to no use, for one of them burst and killed him two men. Tucker called to all the sloops to send him men but to no purpose on which he trimmed his sails and went off firing a parting broadside at the Pirate as he went.

“One sloop which was a very good sailer was going off when Lewis fired a broadside at him and brought him to. As soon as Lewis came aboard the sloop he asked him why he laid by, thus betraying the trust of his owners, which was being a knave and a coward, ‘for,’ says he, ‘you might have got off being so much better a sailer than myself.’ Upon this he beat him with a rope’s end and then caned him round the decks without mercy. Thinking to pacify him, the master told him that there was aboard a great deal of money which was hidden away but which he would discover to him. This had the contrary effect to what the master hoped, for Lewis told him that he was a rascal, and villain for betraying his owners, and redoubled his strokes. However, he took the money

and 40 negro sailors out of the prizes, the largest of which he fitted with 12 guns.

“He then cruised in the Gulf of Florida for the homeward-bound West India ships, several of which falling into his hands were by him plundered and released. From here he went to the Carolina Coast where he cleaned his ship and lost a great many of his forced men. From Carolina he cruised on the Coast of Virginia where he took and plundered several merchant men and forced several of their men after which he returned to Carolina. As he now had a number of Frenchmen aboard who had entered with him, and Lewis suspected the English had a design to maroon them, he secured the men he suspected and put them and all the other English in a boat 10 leagues from the shore keeping none but French and negroes. All those sent adrift, it is supposed, perished in the sea.

“From the Carolina coast he shaped a course for the Banks of Newfoundland where he rummaged several vessels and then went into a commodious harbour to clean after which he went into Trinity Bay and took a 24 gun Galley called the *Wright*. The commander told Lewis that if he would send his Quartermaster ashore he would be furnished with necessaries. He being sent ashore a council was held amongst the other masters in consequence of which they seized the Quartermaster whom they carried to Captain Woodes Rogers. He chained him to a sheet anchor ashore, and planted guns at the point to prevent the Pirate getting out, but to little purpose, for the people firing too soon Lewis quitted the ship and by the help of oars and the favour of the night got out in his sloop, though with many shot in her hull.

“Swearing he would have his Quartermaster, he lay off the harbour and intercepted two fishing sloops aboard of one of which was the brother of the captain of the galley. By him he sent word that if the Quartermaster was not immediately sent aboard he would put all the prisoners he held to death. On this Cornelius was sent aboard at once. Lewis and the Company enquired how had he been used, and he answering,

very civilly, they said 'Tis well for had you been illtreated I would have put all these rascals to the sword.' The prisoners were then dismissed, and the Captain's brother going over the side, Cornelius stopped him and whispering in his ear told him that if the crew had known of his being chained to an anchor all night, they would have cut him and all the prisoners to pieces.

"After they were gone, the Quartermaster told of the usage he had met with which greatly enraged Lewis and made him reproach Cornelius, whose answer was that he did not think the innocent should suffer for the guilty. The Pirate kept along the shore and made several prizes, one of which was a French ship built for a privateer an excellent sailer mounting 24 guns. The French commander hailed him and was answered that he was from Jamaica with rum and sugar, on which he was bidden to go about his business, and that if he did not immediately sheer off he would fire a broadside into him.

"He went and lay off shore for a fortnight being determined to have the ship. In the meanwhile the Frenchman raised a battery on the shore which commanded the harbour so thinking himself safe. But judging that they would think him gone Lewis returned suddenly and taking two of the shallops belonging to the Frenchman, manned them with Pirates and went in under cover of night. One shallop attacked the battery whilst the other surprised and boarded the ship, taking her just as the *Morning Star* appeared, for which reason the Pirates gave the ship that name after they had taken her. The ship being taken 7 guns were fired and the sloop came in and lay alongside the ship and discharged all her ammunition and provision into her. Several of the Frenchmen took on with the Pirates so that with English and French they made up about 200 men.

"From hence he steered along the coast of Guinea where he took a great many ships, English, Dutch, and Portuguese. Amongst these was one belonging to Captain Smith, of Carolina, and whilst they were in chase of this ship an accident

happened which made the Company believe that Lewis dealt with the Devil: for a shot carried away his foremast and maintopmast, and he, running up the shrouds to the main top, tore out a handful of hair and threw it into the air calling out 'Good Devil, keep this until I come.' After this it was observed that he came up faster with the chase than before the loss of his topmasts.

"Smith being taken, Lewis used him very civilly and gave him back as much, or more as he had taken and then let him go, telling him that when he had made money on the coast and come back to Carolina he would rely on his friendship to procure a pardon. They kept some time on the Coast until they quarrelled amongst themselves, and the French, who were the most numerous, resolved to go away in a large sloop newly taken, thinking that the ship's bottom which was not sheathed, was damaged by the worms. Having made agreement they took on board what ammunition and provision they thought fit and the French made off, choosing one Le Barre their captain.

"As it blew hard and the ship's decks were encumbered, they came to anchor under the coast to stow away their ammunition, water, and provisions. No sooner did he see this than Lewis persuaded his men that the Frenchmen were all a parcel of Rogues who ought to be made to surrender, and he would make them refund. Accordingly he ran alongside them with his guns all shotted and primed and told Le Barre to cut away his mast or he would sink him, which he was obliged to obey. Then he ordered them all ashore allowing them only their small arms and cartridge boxes and no more despite their entreaties.

"Then he brought the sloop alongside, put all her lading into his own ship and then sank her. Le Barre and the other Frenchmen begged to be taken aboard but were at first denied. However, in the end he allowed Le Barre and a few of his men to come aboard with whom he and his own men drank plentifully. The Negroes aboard told Lewis that the French had a plot against him, to which he only answered

that he could not withstand his destiny for the Devil had come into the great Cabin and told him he should be murdered that night. Which was true, for in the dead of the night came the rest of the Frenchmen and, getting into the great cabin, killed Lewis. They then fell on the Company, but after an hour and a half dispute the Frenchmen were all killed, after which the Company elected John Cornelius the Captain.

“Cornelius kept on the Guinea coast and made several prizes both English and Portuguese. The former he always discharged after he had taken out what he wanted but the latter he commonly burned. Whilst thus ravaging the coast, two English ships, one of 36 guns and one of 12, who were slaving at Whydah having notice of his neighbourhood resolved to keep company for mutual defence. When under way 200 slaves leaped overboard from the large ship, obliging her to bring to and get her boats out. The mate of the smaller ship advised her captain to lay by but he, being ill, and anxious to get off the coast bade him keep on his way, for it would be too dangerous to have 400 slaves aboard, she being weakly manned. Accordingly they kept on their way.

“Two days later, about eight in the morning, the look-out at the masthead warned the mate of a sail which made them prepare for an engagement. There was aboard one Joseph Williams, who, having been on the Guinea Coast three years, knew the Negro tongues very well. He picked out 50 slaves and told them that the ship now coming up would, if it got the better of them, most certainly kill and eat them all, therefore it behoved them to fight for their lives, and to that end he gave them small arms and lances. About ten, Cornelius came up and on being hailed answered that he was a man-of-war in search of Pirates and in proof shewed English colours and Pendant.

“But they refusing to trust him, the Pirate fired a broad-side and thus began a running fight which lasted for ten hours, during which the negroes discharged their fire arms so briskly that the Pirate dared not venture to board. About eight in the night the ship blew up abaft in the magazine.

They immediately cut the lashings of the long boat but the ship went down so quickly that they had no time to get the boat afloat, and barely time to launch the yawl that lay on the forecastle. Joseph Williams was carried down by the mizzen truss but having his knife in his hand and great presence of mind, he cut the waistband of the trousers that held him, got clear and swam after the boat in which were gotten sixteen men who either cut off the hands or knocked on the head all that clung to the sides of her.

“However, after much entreaty he was permitted to lay hands on the gunnel. They made to the Pirate which refused to receive any who would not enter with them, which they *all* agreed to do, and were then taken aboard. In all seventeen white men and one negro were all who were saved from this ship. A little time after they took two Portuguese ships which they plundered and kept with them until one foggy morning, hearing the guns of a English ship being fired on account of the death of their command, Cornelius ordered them to quit the prizes which were sent about their business whilst he directed his course on the sounds of the cannon.

“In about two hours he came up with this ship and took her without any resistance. On account of her being English Cornelius gave her to the officers and the married men of the prize that blew up and her own company and was very generous to them out of the plunder of the Portuguese ships before he dismissed them. Joseph Williams and all the bachelors he detained for his Company. After this he took three more Portuguese ships all of which he plundered and burnt after he had hove down by one of them. About this time one Robert Bland drubbed Joseph Williams very severely with the lanyard of the whipstaff, for refusing to help him.

“That he might have liberty to fight Bland, Williams instantly went and entered himself on the Pirate books, and then asked leave to fight his opponent which was granted though with no other weapons than his fists. But Bland was too hard for him, so that he only turned Pirate to be heartily thrashed. Thinking he had been long enough on this coast,

Cornelius went round the Cape to Madagascar, near to which he espied the *Lizard* and two more men-of-war, under Commodore Warren, to which he was for giving chase. But his men being unwilling, and there being about 70 forced men among them, he gave up and they made their way to Methelge, on the west side, where they anchored.

“When the Quartermaster went ashore, the black Governor, who could speak English very well, sent him up to the King with his presents of a blunderbuss, a fine buccaneer gun, and a pair of pistols. The king asked him whither bound. To which he answered, to seek their fortunes, for at present they were very poor. The king said, ‘I will give you provisions for which I require nothing from you. All white men I look upon as my children. They helped me to conquer this country and everything I have I owe to them.’ He sent them down 1,000 oxen, out of which they chose 100 which they killed and salted down.

“This King was called Andian Chimenetto and had been the second son of the old King. On his father’s death he endeavoured to secure the kingdom, but was worsted and forced to fly the country. He eventually settled down on a point of land by the seaside, where the Tyloutes were very vexatious and troublesome to him and kept him in continual alarms. Presently two ships belonging to Frederick Phillips, of New York, came to slave at Youngoul, the country of the elder brother. But hearing that the old King was dead and that the elder brother had cut off the crew of a brigantine on the pretence they had killed his father, who had really died from the great quantity of brandy he drank aboard her, they went farther down the coast to trade.

“Andian Chimenetto spying them made a smoke which brought one of their boats to shore. Being asked if he had slaves he said he had but few, but, if the white men would assist him in a war he would slave both ships free. The white men answered that they had no faith in blacks after his brother had murdered their countrymen. In reply he offered his wives and nearest relations for hostages if they would lend him

20 white men to go to war with him. This was agreed to and they took a town and a great number of slaves in the first expedition, and in a second made the number up to about 6,000 slaves of which the ships took their choice. They were also provided with provisions and all else needful, all of which cost them but a few barrels of powder, and some small arms.

“The same twenty men stayed whilst the ships went to America and discharged their slaves, and on their return laded them with as many more. Some of the whites settled permanently with Andian Chimenetto, and with their aid he eventually became master of the whole country of Methelge. Of such reputation are white men amongst these people that they who have them on their side are certain of victory.

“At this place Cornelius lost 70 men by their excesses, for they having been long without fresh provision, ate immoderately and drank to excess of toke, a liquor made from honey, besides being too free with the women. The Blacks gave Cornelius an account of the *Speaker* having left New Methelge three months before (August 1700), and hoping to join consort with her he steered the same course. But the *Speaker* going into the Red Sea and the *Morning Star* into the Persian Gulf, they never met. On coming into the Gulf the *Morning Star* lay under Antelope Island from where they made their excursions and took a number of prizes.

“After a time they designed to heave down and clean ship, and had got a number of their water casks and other goods ashore when the look-out discovered two tall ships. This put them into a great confusion. So they got what they could aboard and lay by till the ships came abreast of them. Then they furled their sails with rope yarns and getting under sail came up with the larger ship which was a Portuguese of 70 guns (40) the other having 26. They exchanged broadsides with her and then the smaller ship engaged so close that they threw hand grenades into her. But Cornelius designed only to run, and the great ship put astays twice to follow him but missing gave the Pirate a great advantage. The small ship also missed stays and tailed aground for a time,

but then gave chase until she had got a good way ahead of her consort.

“Seeing this the Pirates stayed for her, but she also stayed for her consort not caring to engage alone. When it was quite dark Cornelius ran back to his old station to find that his enemy had been ashore in their boats and staved his water casks. However he cleaned there and then finding there was only bale goods to be got out of prizes, ran for the Island of Johanna where he designed to maroon the blacks which were the greater number. Joseph Williams fearing that the French, who were the greater number, would next maroon the English, gave all the arms to the blacks, and putting all the others under guard ran down to Methelge.

“When they came there they found the ship so eaten with worms that she was no longer fit for service, so they left her and all went ashore to live with the black king. About five months after the Company broke up, Cornelius died and was buried with the usual Ceremony.”

CAPTAIN DAVID WILLIAMS

(Johnson.) “David Williams was a Welshman of very poor parts never esteemed worth anything, even amongst the Pirates. He was of a morose, sour and unsociable temper and very choleric. But he was not cruel by nature nor turned Pirate from avarice, but by not being able to avoid the necessity. After learning his business in a coasting ship he went aboard the *Mary*, Indiaman, at London bound for Madras and Bombay. On her homeward voyage the ship being short of water steered for the Island of Madagascar and fell in with land in the latitude of about 20. The longboat, in which was Williams and some others, was sent ashore but a high surf running they were obliged to anchor at some distance from the beach.

“Williams and another man, who were both good swimmers stripped and swam ashore to look for water. While they were ashore the breeze freshening, the surf ran too high for these

two to swim off the longboat and the latter seeing no possibility of them getting to her, weighed, and stood back the ship, which filled and stood on her way to St. Augustine's where she watered and proceeded on her voyage. Thus heartlessly abandoned, the poor seamen were left without even clothes on a savage island the very fruits of the trees of which were unknown to them. After rambling about for some time, they met with some natives by whom they were humanely treated, though not sufficiently to save the life of the other man.

"Soon after the Prince who entertained Williams, went to war taking Williams. But the enemy being superior in numbers got the victory and took Williams a prisoner. The captor being the owner of an old musket gave it to Williams and told him that if he would assist him in his wars he would make him his chief captain. After some time the enemy came again with a great army and gained a signal victory. The conqueror who had seen Williams kill a number of the assailants with shot and then behave most bravely with the butt of his gun, killing several more, gave Williams the hand of Friendship and told him he would be very glad of his support.

"In this employment he was even more respected and lived several years. But a new war breaking out the prince and Williams were routed in a great set battle. In the rout our poor Welshman shot and killed a great number of the enemy and wounded others, till finding he could go no further he clapped his musket at the foot of a tree and asked quarter which was given. His new master, the King of Maritan, always carried Williams with him in his wars and fortune proved propitious, for the part with which was Williams always came back with great store of cattle and slaves. The fame of his bravery and success soon spread throughout the country, his name becoming so terrible that the very news of his being at the head of an army gave it victory without opposition.

"This fame reaching the ears of a mightier prince living about 200 miles away, he sent an ambassador to demand the white man. Seeing Williams so exceedingly tanned, the

ambassador took him for an half caste Arab, until Williams assured him that he was an Englishman accidentally left in this country five years past. Much against his will, the prince was obliged to part with Williams, though much to the advantage of the latter who was most handsomely clad in the manner of the country and given a number of slaves to wait upon him. In this manner of life he continued until in came the *Bedford* Galley on which he was permitted to ship."

"He went with her to St. Augustine's Bay, where her back was broken when laying her ashore to careen, the crew continued there until the arrival of the *Pelican* on which they shipped for the East Indies. From the *Pelican* Williams shifted to the *Mocha* frigate commanded by Culliford in which he returned to St. Mary's. Some of the Company, being West Indians, having the opportunity returned home but Williams remained until the arrival and taking of Captain Fourgette's ship already mentioned. He was one of those who also took the *Speaker* in which he went the voyage and returned after to Maritan. Here the King seeing him asked what present he intended to give him for former kindnesses. To this Williams answered that he had already been overpaid by his services, which so irritated his majesty that he ordered him out of his country.

"From hence he went aboard the *Prosperous* and was one of the men left behind when they attempted to carry off Ort Van Tyle. This Dutchman kept him at hard labour such as planting potatoes in revenge for the damage done by the crew of the *Prosperous*. In this condition he remained six months when he ran away leaving Tom Collins who was the man that had his arm broken when he was taken by the Dutchman. From here he went to a native prince called Rebaiharang with whom he lived for half a year after which he joined John Pro, another Dutchman, who had a small settlement ashore, until the arrival of the *Severn* man-of-war which took both Pro and his guest and put them in irons till they came to Johanna, where the captain of the *Severn* undertook for 2,000 dollars to go against the Mohillans. In

this expedition several of the man-of-war's men were killed and the two Pirates made their escape."

(In another account these prisoners are given as Arthur Gardiner, David Wallin and John Pro. Wallin may be Williams.) "These Pirates got to Mohilla, and from thence to Johanna and Mayotta from where they came in a boat to Methelge and there joined Captain White with whom they eventually went to Antanavoula. There Williams stayed till Captain White brought the ship *Hopewell* in which he entered as a private pirate, and made a voyage to the Red Sea, at the end of which he became Quartermaster. On their return they touched at Mascarene for provisions, where almost half the Company went ashore and took up their habitations.

"Twelve months after he shipped on the *Charles* brigantine and went a voyage with Captain Halsey, and on his return from this went ashore at Maritan and assisted the king in his wars against his brother ending in the destruction of the latter. Soon after a Pirate living at Manangaro sent his boat, and Williams and all the other Pirates going aboard, they came to Antanavoula, where three months after their arrival they took the Scotch ship, of which in the end Williams was chosen captain. He had got her near ready for the seas when a hurricane forced her ashore and she was wrecked.

"Sometime after this he finished a sloop, and he and ten of his men designed for the Mascarenes. But missing the place he went round Madagascar to Methelge where he laid his vessel ashore and stayed a year. But the King being tired of his morose temper and he disagreeing with everyone, he was ordered to begone and so put to sea. But the wind being contrary he was forced into a port called the Boyne, within ten leagues of Methelge. When he came to an anchor, he and three of his men went ashore in a canoe paddled by negroes. David Eaton and William Dawson, when they came ashore, obtained a guide to shew them the way to the King's town, which was ordered by the governor, who, at the same time laid an ambush and had them murdered.

“When they were gone Williams and Meyeurs, a Frenchman, went to buy some agate beads. Whilst they were looking them over, there came a number of the governor’s men who killed Meyeurs at once. Williams they bound and tortured for a whole day by putting hot ashes on his head and causing small boys to beat him with sticks. He offered the governor 2,000 dollars for his life, but the governor only answered that he would have both his life and the money. However, when he was near dead, they made an end of him with their lances. After this barbarous murder, the governor thought of seizing the ship aboard of which were now only two white men and some six negro men and women, the latter slave wenches.

“Therefore putting a goat, some calabashes of toke and 12 negroes, all of them armed, in a canoe he sent them out to surprise the ship. When the canoe came near she was hailed and asked where was the Captain. They answered that he was drinking toke with the governor and had sent some fresh provisions and toke for them also. But a negro wench advised William Noakes not to let the men come aboard as four white men having gone ashore and none yet returned she suspected treachery. However, William Noakes gave her a kick and cried, ‘D—n ye, are we to have no fresh provisions for your whimsies,’ and then called to the men to come aboard.

“No sooner had they reached the deck than they snatched a pistol from Noakes and shot him through the head. They then took the other man and threw him overboard drowning him. . . . When the King returned from his hunting, the white men about him demanded justice on the governor to which he answered that they should keep quiet and it should be done. He then sent to the governor and told him that he was glad he had cut off Williams and his crew, an example that he was determined to follow with those other whites about him, but that he must come to court to be secretly consulted in the matter. When the governor came, he was seized on the road by men placed for that purpose, and

brought bound to the King who reproached him for his barbarity, and then sent him to the white men to be dealt with as they chose.

“But they sent word they would not themselves kill any of the King’s subjects, upon which the King ordered the governor to be speared through the body. After this execution the King had all that had belonged to Williams and his companions divided amongst the other white men saying that, “*He was sorry the villain had only one life with which to make atonement.*”

CAPTAIN CONDENT

(Johnson) “Captain Condent was a Plymouth man born, and one of those Pirates who thought fit to retire from Providence in the Bahamas, before the arrival of Governor Woodes Rogers to extirpate the Pirates there making their rendezvous, in a sloop of which he was Quartermaster. Soon after they left the island an accident happened which put the whole crew into a consternation. They had with them an Indian man whom some of them beat, and, in revenge he got most of the arms forward into the hold and proposed scuttling the sloop. On this some of them advised throwing hand grenades down, against which Condent advised as too dangerous.

“He, therefore, taking a pistol in one hand and his cutlass in the other jumped down into the hold, and though the Indian shot at him and broke his arm, Condent ran up and shot him. When the Indian was dead the crew hacked him to pieces and the gunner tore out his heart, *broiled and ate it.* After this they took a merchantman called the *Duke of York*, and some disputes arising amongst the Pirates, they separated, one half going aboard the prize of which they made Condent Captain. He then shaped his course for the Cape Verdes in the way taking a ship from the Madeiras laden with wine, which he plundered and let go. At the Cape Verdes he took the whole salt fleet amounting to 20 sail, from one of which he took out the mainmast to make him a boom.

Here he took upon himself the administration of justice, enquiring into the manner of the commander's behaviour to their men, and those against whom complaint was made, he whipped and pickled.

"He took what provisions he required and having augmented his company by volunteers and forced men, he sailed to St. Jago where he took a Dutch ship which had formerly been a privateer. He carried her with only one broadside, for the captain and several men having been killed by his great shot he clapped her aboard without resistance. This ship proving fit for his purpose he called her the *Flying Dragon*, went aboard with all his crew and then made a present of his sloop to the mate of an English prize he had forced with him. From here he went down the coast of Brazil where he took several Portuguese prizes which he plundered and let go.

"After these he fell in with the *Wright Galley*, which ship he detained for a considerable time, and the captain being his townsman was treated very civilly. He next took a Portuguese ship from which he new rigged the *Wright Galley* and after that a Dutch East Indiaman of 26 guns whose captain being killed by the first broadside from the *Wright Galley* over which Condent had hoisted the Pirates' colours. Having now three sail he steered for the Island of Ferdinando where he careened and cleaned. He then put 11 Dutchmen aboard the *Wright Galley* and sent it away with a cargo of the goods taken from the Portuguese ship.

"He next stood for the Coast of Brazil where he met a Portuguese man of war of 70 guns which hailed him and was answered 'From London bound for Buenos Ayres.' The Portuguese manned his yards and cheered Condent who replied with a volley of small arms and a broadside, so commencing an engagement which lasted for the full space of three hour glasses before Condent sheered off. Four days later he took a vessel of the same nation's which told him that he had killed over forty men in the *Guarda Costa*. Then keeping along the coast to the southward he took a French

ship of 18 guns laden with wine and brandy for the South Sea which he carried with him into the river Plate.

“He there sent some of his men ashore to kill wild cattle which said men were taken by the Spanish, though they released them when they told belonged to two Guinea ships which came in to sell slaves. At this place five of his men ran away in the canoe and he plundered the French ship, cut her adrift, and let her be wrecked. He now proceeded along the Brazil coast and hearing that a Pirate ship had been lost and her company hanged, he used all the Portuguese that fell into his hand most barbarously, cutting off their noses and ears. (This ship was the *Flying King*.) When they took a priest they would make him say mass at the mainmast for the master who was a Papist, and then get on his back and ride him about the deck or else load and drive him like a beast.

“He went from hence to the Guinea Coast where he took a ship called the *Indian Queen*, Captain Hill. In Loango Bay he saw a Dutchman of 44 guns and an English ship called the *Fame*, Captain Bowen commander. They both cut and ran ashore. The *Fame* was lost, but the Pirates took the Dutch ship and carried her with them. When he was again at sea the Pirate discharged Captain Hill and stood away for the East Indies. Near the Cape he took an Ostend East Indiaman of which Mr. Hill, a merchant of London, was supercargo and after that a Dutch East India, both of which he plundered and discharged and then made his way to Madagascar where he augmented his crew with some of Halsey's old Company and other stragglers for a cruise in the Red Sea and the East Indies.”

Here we must quit Johnson's graphic pages for the official records and the narrative of Clement Dowson, for he has mixed up Taylor, England and Condent, in the taking of the *Cassandra* and ship with the Portuguese Viceroy. Condent and the other two never met, and the former had come and gone from St. Mary's before the arrival of the other two.

Condent reached the Red Sea about July 1719, but having no luck there came down to the west coast of India arriving there some time in October between which and December he was reported as having taken a few small Indian-owned ships of equal value. What he was doing between then and the 20th of August 1720 there is nothing to show, but on this date he overhauled and took an immensely rich Moors ship bound from Jeddah to Surat, close to Bombay. In fact he was so close to the port that he landed the passengers and crew, who had offered no resistance, at Malabar Hill, after which he took the prize straight to St. Mary's.

The Bombay Abstracts give the value of ship and cargo at 13 lakhs which agrees with the statement made to Matthews at Madagascar that it was about 13 lakhs. Under the date 20th August 1721 Richard Lazenby, who after being released remained at Mascarenhas for some time, writes:

"During the stay of this deponent at Dom Mascarenhas, he saw and conversed with Captain Condent, and about 40 of his men who had been pyrating and taken a rich India ship which they brought to St. Mary's and there plundered and sunk. After that they came to Mascarenhas under the French King's Act of Grace. Fifteen of them came to Europe with me in the French ship Triton in November last and the remainder with Captain Condent were left on the Island. The rest are since dead."

(Downing.) "We arrived at St. Mary's on the 9th April 1722. We found there the wrecks of several ships and the remainder of their cargo, consisting of drugs, spices and China ware lying in heaps on the beach. There were also a number of brass guns which were taken by the Commodore, as his perquisite. I collected and brought away several bags of the most valuable spices and a great China Bowl." This account is corroborated by Captain Reddish, of the *Lyon*.

(Johnson.) "The Pirates shared out their booty at St. Mary's and then broke up the Company. After a time there came a Snow from Bristol the master of which they paid very liberally to convey a petition from them for pardon to

the Governor of Mascarenhas, which he granted on condition they burnt their ship. They agreed to this, burnt the *Flying Dragon* and about 40 of them went to Mascarenhas. Condent married the sister of the Governor, and I have heard he is since come to St. Malo where he drives a considerable trade as a merchant."

The individual shares are given at from £1,500 to £2,000 a full share. The last survivor of Condent's crew, a man named Adam, died at Mascarenhas in the year 1770, a person whose body must have been even more tough than his conscience, if he had ever cherished such a luxury.

CHAPTER XVI

Captain Edward England and his Company—His early Piratical career—The torture by the Company of Captain Skinner—The taking of the *Royal James* and many other ships on the Guinea Coast—The taking of the *Peterborough Galley*—Attacks Dutch ships under the Black Flag—Takes the *Merry Christmas*—Renames her the *Fancy*—Takes a rich Moors ship—Shameful treatment of the women and murder of the men—Goes to St. Mary's and Johanna—The attack on the *Cassandra* and her taking—Captain Macrae and the wooden-legged Pirate—England intercedes for Macrae—Marooned at Johanna—Death on the Mainland of Madagascar.

IN some mentions of this "most notorious Pirate," by Mr. Charles Hill, and Sir William Foster he is set down as an Irishman whose real name was Jasper Seagar. I cannot find any authority for either assertion other than that in the accounts of the taking of the *Cassandra* (by Lazenby and Kirby) the name of the commander of the *Fancy* is given as Jasper Seagar, and that England assisted or rather sympathised with Captain Macrae, of the *Cassandra*, by reason that he was a countryman. Regarding the latter, the fact that Macrae was an Ayrshire Scot, rather puts England out of court as an Irishman, and as to the former, had Seagar been his real name it would certainly have appeared in some of the numerous contemporary accounts and documents concerning him.

England was already notorious enough to be exempted from the Act of Grace under that name in the year 1718, and the fact that Seagar appears as commanding the *Fancy*, seems to be explained by Macrae's mention of England as Chief Captain, which we take to mean that he was a sort of Commodore, or Chief Quartermaster, over the two ships at the time of the taking of the *Cassandra*. This seems further confirmed by his own statement to Macrae that his influence over the Pirates was very small at that time, and by their



CAPTAIN EDWARD ENGLAND
From Johnson's *History of the Pirates*.

[Face page 304

turning him ashore soon after. Therefore Seagar, another person altogether, may be assumed to have been the Captain of the *Fancy*, and England merely a sort of supernumerary of whom few took much notice. The reasons for this supersession appear in the following account which we quote from Johnson:

“Edward England went mate of a sloop that sailed out of Jamaica and was taken by the Pirate Winter just before the Pirates settled at Providence (about 1713) from whence England had the command of a sloop in the same laudable employment. He was one of those men who seemed to have a better share of reason which should have taught him better things. He was not avaricious and always averse to the ill-usage prisoners received; he would have been contented with moderate plunder and less mischievous pranks, could his companions been brought to the same temper. But he was generally overruled, and as he was engaged in that abominable society, he was obliged to be a partner in all their vile actions.

“Being one of those exempted by name from the Act of Grace, England sailed to the Coast of Africa after the Pirates were forced to quit the Island of Providence, and there took several ships and vessels, particularly the *Cadogan Snow* belonging to Bristol, one Skinner Master, who was inhumanly murdered by some of the Pirate Company that had lately been his own men, and served in the said vessel. There some quarrel had happened so that Skinner thought fit to remove these fellows aboard a man-of-war, and also refuse them their wages. Not long afterwards they found means to desert that service, and shipping aboard a sloop in the West Indies, were brought to Providence by a Pirate, and there shipped with Captain England.

“As soon as Skinner had struck to the Pirates, he was ordered to come aboard in his boat, which he did. The first person he cast eyes upon proved to be his old boatswain, who, staring him in the face like an evil genius, thus accosted him, ‘Captain Skinner! Is it you? The very man in the

world I wished most to see. I am much in your debt and you shall be paid in full and in your own coin.' The poor man trembled in every joint as indeed he had reason to do when he found what company he had fallen into, and greatly dreaded the event. In that he was right for the boatswain and his consorts made him fast to the windlass and pelted him with broken bottles, which cut him very sorely.

"After that they whipped him about the deck until they were weary, being deaf to all his prayers and entreaties. At last they said that as he had been such a good master, he deserved an easy death so they shot him through the head. They took some few things out of the *Snow* and then gave her and the rest of her cargo to Howell-Davis and the rest of the crew, all of whom turned Pirates. Soon after Captain England took another ship called the *Pearl*, for which he exchanged the sloop, calling the new Pirate ship, the *Royal James*, and in her they took several ships of all nations at the Azores and elsewhere.

"In the spring of 1719 they came to Africa and pirated all down the coast taking the following vessels: The *Eagle*, Pink of Cork, the *Charlotte* of London, the *Bentsworth* of Bristol, the *Buck* of Gambia, the *Carteret* of London, the *Coward Galley* and the *Elizabeth and Catherine*, both the latter of London. The total number of Europeans on these ships was 113 and their guns numbered 44 in all. Out of them 38 men joined in with the Pirates, who burnt the *Charlotte*, the *Bentsworth*, the *Carteret* and the *Coward Galley*." It was from the last ship that Hans Burgen, the Dane, entered with the Pirates. Adair and Plantain had come from the West India with them.

The *Elizabeth and Catherine* and another ship called the *Mercury* were fitted out for Pirate ships and re-named the *Queen Anne's Revenge* and the *Flying King*, the first commanded by Robert Lane and the other by Richard Semple. These two sailed on their own account to the West Indies where they took some prizes after which they cleaned and went to the coast of Brazil in November 1719, where they took a number of other prizes and did much other mischief. But

at the height of their prosperity a Portuguese man-of-war came an unwelcome guest and gave them chase. The *Queen Anne's Revenge* got clear but was soon after lost with all hands on the coast, and the *Flying King* ran ashore and was taken prisoner. Of her 70 men, 12 were killed and in the end the Portuguese hanged 38 of the remainder, of which 33 were English, three Dutch, one French and one Portuguese.

To return to England, going down the coast he took the *Peterborough* Galley of Bristol and the *Victory* of London. The first they detained, but the latter they plundered and let go free. Returning to Cape Corso they saw two ships at anchor in the bay, but before the Pirates could get to them they cut their cables and ran close in under the castle walls. On this the Pirates made a fireship to destroy the ships, in wantonness, but this failing and the castle firing warmly on them they withdrew from there and went down the coast to Whydah where they found another Pirate named Oliver la Bouche who had forestalled their market.

“After this baulk Captain England went into an harbour where he careened his own ship and fitted up the *Peterborough* Galley for a Pirate re-naming her the *Victory*, and giving the command to one Taylor. They lived there very wantonly for several weeks, making very free with the negro women and committing such outrageous acts that they came to an open rupture with the natives, several of whom they killed and burnt their towns. When they got out to sea they put it to the vote which way they should steer, and the majority carrying it for the East Indies, they shaped their course accordingly and arrived at Madagascar in the beginning of the year 1720.” Here we may supplement Johnson's narrative from the Records of the East India Company.

“On the 11th December 1719 the Pirates took and plundered the *Calabar Merchant*, which they let go without any further harm and in February attempted a Dutch ship near Cape Town. This ship which came in on the 29th February reported that ‘The Pyratt ship could not have had less than 250 men aboard.’ They came up with the Dutch ship with their

Black Flag flying at the Mast head and gave notice that if the Dutchman did not instantly strike, they would give no quarters. They made great use of their small arms, the shot flying so briskly that the Dutch Captain went below leaving his crew on the deck by themselves.

“The fight lasted for seven glasses on the first day and for six on the second. The Pirate was not beaten off until his foremast was within one foot of the Dutchman’s Ensign staff, when her chase guns raked him and made him withdraw.” A few days later another Dutch ship reported that she had been chased by a Pirate shewing the *Black Flag*. These are the first recorded instances of the use of the *Black Flag* below the Line. Again we continue from Johnson:

“The Pirates stayed not long at Madagascar but after taking in water and provisions sailed for the Malabar Coast where they took several Indian ships and one Dutch ship called the *Merry Christmas*, which latter they took in exchange for one of their own and re-named her the *Fancy*, probably hoping she would have the same good fortune that had attended Every’s ship of the same name. To this ship, Jasper Seagar was elected Captain, England from this time becoming a kind of commodore or chief quartermaster though of small account in either capacity.

(Downing.) “Off the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, the Pirates took a richly laden Moors ship coming down to India. With this they made their way to St. Mary’s Island, where none of the fraternity had been for some years, and, in consequence, were received most warmly by the natives. Here they made a sad massacre of the poor Moors men they had brought in the ship and abused the women in a very vile manner. Some of the men say that England kept one or two for himself, these being women of distinction whose fathers held high posts under the Great Mogul.

“They brought the Moors ships’ cargo to a quick market, making sale of what they could and part of the rest they cast on the beach to be spoiled by the wind and the weather.

The ship not being suited to their purpose they hauled her in shore and sunk her with part of her cargo, this not being valued by the inhabitants who know not the use of these rich commodities. Before they sank her they made a hulk of her by which they hove down their other ships, the *Fancy* and the *Snow* which they renamed the *Expedition*. Here they took up their winter quarters and provisioned their ships, spending some months.

"They next went to Johanna where they met with the *Cassandra* and the *Greenwich*, the former commanded by Captain Macrae and the latter by Captain Kirby. Captain Macrae maintained a noble fight for a whole day and had not the ship drove ashore 'tis thought he might have cleared himself of the Pirates, who themselves owned that he galled them bitterly and killed them a great number of men."

Here follows Captain Macrae's own account which is quoted *in extenso* by Johnson, and still exists in the Indian Archives.

"*Bombay, 16th November 1720.* We arrived the 25th July at the Island of Johanna in company with the *Greenwich*. Putting in there to refresh our men we found 14 Pirates that came in their canoe from Mayotta where their ship the *Indian Queen*, 250 tons, 28 guns and 90 men commanded by Captain Oliver de la Bouche had been bilged and lost. They said they had left their captain and 40 of their men building a new ship in which to proceed to the East Indies on their wicked designs. Captain Kirby and I, concluding that it would be of great service to the East India Company to destroy such a nest of rogues, were ready to sail for that purpose on the 17th August at eight in the morning, at which time we discovered two Pirate ships standing into the Bay.

"I immediately went aboard the *Greenwich* where they seemed very diligent in preparing for an engagement and left Captain Kirby with mutual promises of standing by each other. I then unmoored, got under sail and brought two boats ahead to row me to the *Greenwich*. But he, being open to a valley and the breeze made the best of his way

from us, which an Ostender in our company seeing, did the same, though he also had promised heartily to engage with us. After half an hour I called several times to the *Greenwich* to bear down to our assistance and fired guns at him, but to no purpose. For when he had got about half a league from us, he brought his ship to and looked on.

“Then both he and the Ostender basely deserted us and left us engaged with barbarous and inhuman enemies with their *Black* and *Bloody* flags hanging over us and no appearance of escaping being cut to pieces. But God in his good Providence provided otherwise; for notwithstanding their superiority we engaged them between three and four hours, during which the biggest received some shot between wind and water which made her keep off a little to stop her leaks. The other endeavoured all she could to board us by rowing with her oars being within half a ship’s length of us for above an hour. But then by good fortune, we shot her oars to pieces which prevented them coming aboard and so saved our lives.

“About four o’clock most of the officers and men posted on the quarter deck being killed and wounded, and the larger ship making up to us with all diligence, often giving us a broadside, and there being no help from Captain Kirby, I endeavoured to run her ashore. And though we drew about four feet more water than the Pirate it pleased God that he struck on higher ground than we happily fell in with and so was disappointed a second time from boarding us. Here we had an even more violent engagement than before. All my officers and most of my men behaved with unexpected courage, and as we had a considerable advantage by having our broadside to his bow (raking) I believe we should have taken both, for we had this one sure, had Captain Kirby then come in.

“But the other Pirate still firing at us, seeing the *Greenwich* did not offer to assist us, supplied his consort with three boatloads of fresh men. About five in the evening the *Greenwich* stood away leaving us struggling in the very jaws

of death. Which the other Pirate that was now afloat, seeing, got out a warp and was hauling under our stern. By this time many of my men being killed and wounded and no hopes left from all being murdered by enraged, barbarous conquerors, I ordered all that could to get into the long boat under cover of the smoke from the guns. So that, what with some did in boats, and others by swimming, most that were able got ashore by seven o'clock. When the Pirates came aboard they cut three of our wounded men to pieces. I, with a few of my people, made what haste I could to the King's house some twenty miles from us and there arrived next day almost dead with fatigue and loss of blood, having a musket ball wound in the head.

"While at that town I heard that the Pirates had offered 10,000 dollars to the country people to bring me in, which some would have accepted, but that they knew the King and chief men were in my interest. Meanwhile I spread the report that I was dead of my wounds, which much abated their fury. About ten days later, being pretty well recovered and hoping the malice of our enemies was abated, I began to consider the dismal condition I was reduced to, being in a place where we had no hopes of getting a passage home and all of us, in a manner naked, not having had time to get another shirt nor pair of shoes. So I obtained leave to go on board the Pirates on a promise of safety.

"Several of them knew, and some of them had sailed with me which I found to be of great advantage, because notwithstanding their promise, some would have cut me and all that would not enter with them to pieces had it not been for the *chief*, Captain Edward England, and others whom I knew. They talked of burning one of their ships which we had so entirely disabled as to be of no use to them and fitting the *Cassandra* in her stead. But, in the end I managed my tack so well that they made me a present of the said shattered ship, which was Dutch built, called the *Fancy* about 300 tons burden, and 129 bales of the Company's cloth though not a rag of my own clothes.

“They sailed the third of September, and then with jury masts and such old sails as they left me, I made shift to do the like on the eighth, having 43 of my own crew and 12 soldiers aboard and only five tons of water for all. After a passage of 48 days I arrived here almost naked and starved, having been reduced to a pint of water a day and almost in despair of ever seeing land again by reason of calms met with between the coast of Arabia and Malabar. We had in all 13 men killed and 24 wounded, and we were told we had destroyed about 90 or 100 of the Pirates. When they left us there were about 300 whites and 80 blacks in the two ships. I am persuaded that, had the *Greenwich* done her duty, we should have destroyed both ships and got £200,000 for ourselves and our owners. By his deserting us the *Cassandra* was lost.”

(Johnson.) “Captain Macrae certainly ran great hazard in going aboard the Pirate and soon began to repent his credulity, for though they had promised, he found they were not to be trusted. England was inclined to favour Captain Macrae; but he was so free to let him know that his interest was declining amongst them and that the Pirates were so angry at the resistance he made that he was afraid he would not be able to save him. He therefore advised him to conciliate Captain Taylor a fellow of a most barbarous nature who had become the most prominent by reason he was a greater brute than all the rest.

“Macrae did all he could to soften this beast by plying him with hot punch; notwithstanding, they were all in a tumult about making an end of him, when suddenly a fellow with a wooden leg, and a terrible pair of whiskers, stuck all over with pistols like a porcupine with bristles, comes swearing and vapouring on the quarter deck asking in a vapouring manner which was Captain Macrae. The poor captain expecting no less than this fellow would be his executioner was sore alarmed. But, when he came near him the fellow took him by the hand and swearing ‘Damn him!’ He was very glad to see the captain and, says he, ‘Shew me the man

that offers to hurt Captain Macrae, and I'll stand to him, for an honest fellow I never sailed with."

Captain Kirby's report runs:

"August 17th 1720. At seven this morning saw two ships standing into the Bay of Johanna. Unmoored at 11 and at 12 noon the *Cassandra* being under all sail cut bower cable in the hawse and then the *Ostender* also weighed. At which time we discovered the ships to be Pirates, the one a French built ship of 46 guns called the *Victory*, Edward England, commander, and the other Dutch built by name the *Fancy*, Captain Jasper Seagar, commander. Got all things ready for defence.

"Monday, August 18th 1720. At 1 p.m. the *Cassandra* being the leewardmost ship was engaged by the smaller ship which fought under the Black Flag with Death's Head in it at the maintopmast, a Bloody Flag at the foretopmast and St. George's Colours on the Ensign staff. We tacked and stood in to assist him when perceiving the *Cassandra* to be aground, we tacked again and stood out to sea making the best of our way to Bombay. About eight the following day perceived one of the Pirates in chase of us. Having the land breeze she got almost within gunshot before we got the breeze. Then we cut away our long boat and lost our yawl also our maintopmast with two seamen on it. Night approaching we lost sight of the Pirate and then proceeded on our way. We are not certain whether the *Cassandra* was taken or not when we last saw her, she was fully engaged, but we could not go to her assistance."

(Downing.) "When the Captain and crew of the *Cassandra* arrived at Bombay their relation of what had happened was so different from the report made by Captain Kirby to the Governor concerning his part, that he was ashamed of the meanness of it, and took the same so much to heart that in his going a voyage to Persia, he died before he got there." Which is not quite correct for he died ashore at Bandar Abbas on the 29th August 1721.

(Johnson.) "In the end Captain Taylor was so mellowed with punch that he consented that the old Pirate ship, and so many bales of cloth should be given to Captain Macrae, and so fell asleep. England advised Macrae to get off with all expedition lest when the beast awoke he should regret his generosity. Which advice was followed by the captain. Captain England having sided so much with Macrae, made him many enemies amongst the crew they thinking such good usage inconsistent with their polity, because it looked like his procuring favour at the aggravation of their crimes.

"Therefore, he was soon abdicated or pulled out of his government and marooned with three more in the Island of Mauritius. From this place he and his companions having made a little boat of staves and odd pieces of deal left there, went over to Madagascar, where they subsist at present on the charity of some of their brethren." This is incorrect. It would have been quite impossible for such a craft to cross the 300 odd miles of stormy sea to Madagascar. Probably England and his companions, who may have been Plantain, Adair, and Burgen were left, or voluntarily went ashore at Johanna and from thence made their way to the mainland. The patchwork boat is impossible to believe.

It will be noted that in his account of the cruise following the departure of the Pirates from Johanna, Richard Lazenby nowhere mentions England, though he does both *Seagar* and *Taylor*. Therefore he could not have left Johanna with them. For the next two years or so England appears to have drifted all over the Island, for Downing, who must have obtained his information from Plantain, says "Captain England, being now very poor, was obliged to be beholden to some of the white men for his subsistence. For some time he lived at St. Augustine's Bay where there were some of his old ship-mates who supported him for a time, and when Prince William of that place resolved to come to the assistance of Plantain, they all joined Plantain at Massalege.

"After Plantain had become victorious in all his wars he made several great and splendid entertainments, to which

he invited all the Dutch, English, and French in the Island. With the rest came Captain England, who at that time was very weak and did not live above a month. 'Twas said his death was occasioned by the severe stings of his conscience for his wicked course of life and the injuries he had done to many by robbing them of their properties. This is a thing that seldom happened to that sort of men who are so hardened in their impieties that to outward appearance they seldom feel any remorse. Yet he seemed very penitent before his death and hoped that God would forgive him his sins and desired his companions to leave off that course of life."

As to Macrae, his brave defence of the *Cassandra* gave him a footing in the land service of the Company that enabled him to rise to be Governor of Madras before he retired from India with a fortune estimated at £800,000, all accumulated in a little over seven years. He was originally an Ayrshire ploughboy who quitted following the plough to plough the sea, and by the year 1718 had become captain of the private ship *Cassandra* taken up by the Company for a voyage to India in 1719. The Directors of the East India Company were so impressed by his gallant defence of his ship contrasted with the pusillanimity of Kirby, that on his return to England in 1722, they appointed him Supervisor of their establishment at Bencoolen, an appointment he joined in January 1723. In 1724 he became Governor on the Coromandel Coast, and in January 1725, Governor of Madras, from which post he retired in 1730 with a fortune estimated to equal that of Elihu Yale who was known to have gathered in £800,000. As Macrae's salary was only £500 a year he must have been a remarkable financier!

The *Fancy* was appropriated by the Company, who sold her to one William Wake in whose service she was wrecked near Calicut in September 1723.

CHAPTER XVII

Captain John Taylor and his Company in the *Victory*—They Cruise in Company with Seagar in the *Cassandra*—The Narrative of Richard Lazenby, Mate of the *Cassandra*—The Fight with the Bombay Fleet—Outrages at the Island of Amendivi—Driven off from Calicut—Trading with the Dutch at Cochin—Their Christmas Festivities—Take the Viceroy of Goa at Mascarenhas with £1,000,000 Booty—At St. Mary's and the Bay of St. Augustine's—The *Victory* parts Company—Taylor in the *Cassandra* goes to the Spanish Main and enters the Naval service of Spain.

OF the origin and early piratical career of John Taylor we can find absolutely nothing until he appears as the full fledged Captain of the *Victory* at Johanna. When and where he ousted England there is nothing to show, there being only the fact that at this time he was supreme amongst the pirates, Seagar being also, apparently, a nonentity. Whatever else he may have been he was an able leader, as well fitted by ability as by ferocity of character to lead and control the turbulent gangs comprising the companies of the two ships. So far as regards his proceedings on the Indian Coast, we cannot do better than quote Richard Lazenby and Clement Downing.

The narrative of Lazenby, who was detained by the pirates to act as a pilot on the Indian coasts is a first hand document of great importance covering, as it does, the whole of the pirate cruise down to the time of the taking of their most important Prize. The few details he omits are supplied by Downing.

The Narrative of Richard Lazenby, of London, Second mate of the *Cassandra*, Captain James Macrae, Commander, taken by the Pirates Seagar in the *Fancy* and Taylor in the *Victory* at Johanna in the Comoro Islands in July 1720.

“On the morning of the 3rd September 1720 the Pirates unmoored and hove short for sailing. Captain Macrae came aboard and interceded for me to be set free, but to no purpose. Soon after they got under sail designing to proceed to India where they arrived some time in October. The day before they made the land they saw two ships to the eastward which they took to be English. Whereupon the Captain called me to him and told me he would cut me in pieces if I did not immediately tell him the private signals agreed upon between us and our consorts from England. I made him answer that I knew of none whereupon he abused me, calling me scurrilous names shook his broadsword at me, and said he would plague me like the dog I was, unless I told him.

“They came up with the ships which proved to be two small Moors ships from Muscat with horses which they took by firing a gun or two. They brought aboard their captain and merchant and put them to torture to confess their money. They continued all night rifling and tormenting the people and in the morning made the land, and at the same time saw a fleet in shore plying to the north. Instantly they held a council what to do with the beforementioned ships. Some were for sinking them, horses and all and others for only throwing their sails overboard, and all for fear of being discovered on the Coast. After their debates were over, they brought the ships to an anchor in 35 fathoms, throwed all their sails overboard and cut half way through the masts.

“When at anchor one of the beforementioned fleet bore down upon them and hoisted English colours to which the Pirates replied with Red. The rest of the day they employed in taking all the water from the Moors ships, and at night weighed with the sea wind, and left the two Moors ships, they standing to the northward after the fleet with which they came up about four the next morning just as they got under sail with the land wind. They made no stop but ran right through them firing their small arms and both broadsides as fast as they could load and fire until daylight having all the time taken them for Angrias Fleet (Malabar native Pirates).

When they discovered their mistake, they were in great consternation not knowing what to do, whether to run from them or pursue, they being so much inferior in strength, having no more than 300 men in both ships, and 40 of them negroes.

“The *Victory* had four pumps going and must have sunk but for the pumps they got from the *Cassandra*. In the end, observing the indifferency of the fleet they took courage to *chase*, rather than *run* which they accordingly did when the sea breeze came in, but keeping to leeward about a gunshot, some ahead, and some astern of the Company ships, which took them for fireships. About sunset the great ships commenced to gain upon them and kept this same course all night. The smaller ships of the Company’s fleets cut away all their (towing) boats and thus gaining on the Pirates were out of sight saving only some gallivats and a small ketch.

“The Pirates bore down on the ketch, which perceiving their intent embarked all their people on a gallivat, and set fire to the ketch. The gallivat being too nimble for them the Pirates left off the chase. About an hour after, they sighted another gallivat to the northward which they chased and took, finding her to be laden with cotton in bales bound for Calicut. The Pirates questioned the men concerning the fleet they had seen, but they denying they had seen either ship or boat since they left Gogo they threw all the cargo overboard, and squeezed their joints in a vice to extort confession. The next day the Pirates put the poor creatures in a boat with nothing but a trysail and four gallons of water half of it salt and they out of sight of land.”

Downing’s account of this encounter is much more full, being written from personal experience. “The Company’s fleet was one specially fitted out for an expedition to Anjengo where some trouble had occurred, and then to go in quest of the Pirates who were reported to be on the coast.” (The encounter reflects very little to the credit of the Company’s captains, who seem to have been thoroughly scared of Pirates at any time.)

“The *London* with the *Victory* grab, the *Britannia*, the *Revenge*, the *Defiance* and the *Prahm*, a mighty big floating battery which

the *Revenge* had in tow, having been and settled the Company's affairs at Anjengo were returning up the coast about seven leagues to the North of Tellicherry, and plying to windward, early in the morning fell in with the *Cassandra* and the *Victory* Pirates. The night before the fleet had become very scattered and early in the morning when they saw these two ships, they took the large one for the *London*. The *Victory* grab coming under the stern of the *Victory* Pirate she hailed and asked what ship that was; the Pirates answered the *Victory* which the others took to be the word *London*, and huzzaed. Then the Pirate hailed the *Victory* grab and asked who she was and being answered the *Victory*, knew they had gotten into the midst of the Bombay Fleet.

"The Pirates afterwards reported that at this time they could have been taken with all the ease imaginable by all these ships surrounding them. In the meantime up comes the *London* and asks what was the matter, on which the *Victory* Pirate discharged a broadside at the other *Victory* which never even returned her fire, and at the same time the other Pirate called out that she was the *Cassandra*. There was such confusion aboard the *London* that all the ship was in an uproar and Captain Upton frighted very much. By this time it was sun rising with little winds and all heaped together under the shore where they were all obliged to lie until the land breeze came off and separated them. In the meantime the Pirates got all ready to engage. But Captain Upton being resolved not to fight without Mr. Brown's (the civil officer in charge) orders, held his fire.

"He also required security for all such damage as the ship might sustain. The ships company, and Mr. Lyon, the chief mate, were all very eager to fight and half mad to see such ridiculous proceedings. The Captain ordered a man to the mast head to *strike* the flag, but not liking the order the man swore he would send down staff and all. Accordingly he went up and drove the fid out which let the flag staff run down amain. This made the Pirates laugh in their sleeves, though,

not liking the looks of the Bombay men-of-war, they would not engage and so sheered off."

(Lazenby.) "They then cruised to the southwards and the next day between Goa and Karwar hearing guns, they sent out their boat to discover what ships were in the roads of Anjediva near by. About two in the morning the boat returned with word of two grabs lying at anchor in the road on which the Pirates weighed and ran down till daylight giving the grabs sight of them, they ran under the walls of the Castle *wronging* the Pirates. The Pirates held a council to see what they should do whether to make a descent or continue their voyage, and agreeing on the latter they went down to the southwards.

"The next morning they came to Honawar Bay wherin they spied a ship at anchor which they took, it having no one aboard but a Dutchman and two Portuguese, the captain being ashore with his officers. They sent to him to acquaint him that he could have his ship again if he would supply them with fresh provisions and water and the master returned for answer that if they would deliver him possession over the bar, he would comply with their request. This proposal the Pirates thought was but a trap, and the mate who honestly entered with them, being of the same opinion they resolved to go for the Laccadives, first burning the ship.

"The same day of their arrival they took a small Manchew near the Island of Amendivi. They then sent their boat ashore which returned giving a good account of abundance of water and a large village. But, at the sight of the ships, the inhabitants fled off in boats to the neighbouring Islands leaving abundance of women and children hidden in the bushes, which the Pirates found and forced to their barbarous inclinations. Afterwards they destroyed all the coco-nut trees and everything else they met with and then burnt the houses and churches. Whilst there they had a great gale which drove them off the island, after losing several anchors and leaving 70 people and their water casks ashore.

"It was ten days before they again made the Island and took

aboard their men and their water. They then went to Cochin to be supplied with provision by their good friends the Dutch. Three days later they took a small ship belonging to Governor Adam off Tellicherry, John Fawke, Master, who was brought aboard very drunk. He giving them an account of Captain Macrae's fitting out a fleet (incorrect) which put them all into a tempest of passion. 'The villain,' says they, 'that we treated so civilly as to give him a ship and other presents, and now to come armed against us? He ought to be hanged, and since we cannot shew our resentment on him let us hang the dogs who wish him well if clear,' says the Quartermaster, 'Damn England!'

"Then the Quartermaster told me to prepare, for the next day he would hang me like a dog, not doubting that I would take the first opportunity to fight against them as Captain Macrae was doing though they had so civilly used him as to give him a ship to go from Johanna. They next proceeded to Calicut where they endeavoured to take a large ship from out of the roads, but were intercepted by guns fired at them from on shore. At this time I was below, but the Captain and the Quartermaster were so malicious as to order me to the booms in the hope I should be shot. The Quartermaster told me that if ever he knew me off the deck in time of action he would shoot me through the head.

"I told him he had better do it at once than keep me in misery there, at which he begged the Captain to correct me, he being lame of his hands. According to his desire Captain Taylor fetched his cane and began to belabour me so unmercifully that in the end some of the people hindered him and said he should be ashamed to so abuse me, telling him they would have me put ashore at Cochin. The next day they came up with a Dutch Galliot laden with limestone bound for Cochin aboard of which they put Captain Fawke. Some of the people told the Captain he might as well let me go, but he answered that if they had a mind to let a dog go that had heard all their designs for the ensuing year, he would never consent to it.

"This occasioned a strong debate, and so far enraged the Captain that he swore if I went he would first have a limb of me to his own share. The next day they arrived off Cochin and in the afternoon ran into the road with the sea breeze and anchoring saluted the fort with eleven guns each ship, the Fort returning the same, gun for gun. At night there came a great boat laden with fresh provisions and liquor sent them by one John Trumpett, a Dutchman, which boat told them to weigh and run further south where they would be supplied with all they desired. At night there came aboard the said John Trumpett, bringing a large boatload of arrack which they received with abundance of joy, demanding more.

"He said he had procured for them all that the place yielded which was about 90 leaguers (20 gallon barrels). With this came 60 bundles of sugar cane (for punch). The second day they sent ashore a fine table clock from the *Cassandra* and a large gold watch presents to the governor as earnest of what they would pay if all their demands were satisfied. When they had all on board, they paid Mr. Trumpett to his satisfaction, it was computed, £6,000 to £7,000, and gave him three cheers, fired eleven guns from each ship, and threw ducatoons (5s.) into the boats by handful for the boatmen to scramble for.

"That night, being a little wind, they did not weigh, and the next day, John Trumpett returned with more arrack, piece goods and ready made clothes. At noon they saw a sail to the southward, on which they immediately weighed and stood after her. But she, having a good offing, got away, and anchored under the walls of Cochin Fort. In the morning they had sight of her, and came into the roads, being assured by the aforesaid John Trumpett and the Fiscal of Cochin, that they might take her without any molestation, and if they did, they would buy her from the pirates for as good a price as any.

"They stood boldly in to board her, but when within a cable's length, the Fort fired her guns, at which the Pirates instantly bore out of the roads and made sail to their former

berth. At night a great boat with water came from John Trumpett, and intimation that if they would wait a few days longer there would come by a very rich ship belonging to the brother of the Governor of Bombay. They spent the night getting in the water, and in the morning continued their cruise. When at sea, they held a council, at which some were for going forthwith to Madagascar, others to stay and cruise for a rich Moors ship.

“The latter they at last agreed upon, on which they plied to the southward, where they saw a ship lying in shore, but she having the wind of them, they could not get near her. The night coming on, they separated, thinking in the morning to have her between them, but in this they were disappointed, for when day broke they were very near five sail, which made signals to them to bear down. This put them into great confusion, by reason that their consort was three leagues to the southward, so they immediately stood towards her and joined company, the fleet chasing them all the time. At first they were very dejected, thinking this the fleet under Captain Macrae, sent out after them, and made all sail possible.

“After three hours, finding none of the fleet coming up with them, except a grab, which came half way and went back, they began to rejoice, and in the morning, finding the fleet completely out of sight, were very rejoiced, desiring none of Macrae’s company. Thinking themselves now out of danger, they caroused, and kept their Christmas in a most riotous manner, destroying most of the fresh provisions they had aboard, of which quite two-thirds was wasted. After three days of such debauchery and waste, they decided to go to Mauritius to repair the *Victory*, which was now in a very bad way. In their passage thither, they expected her to founder every day, and were several times going to quit her, were it not for scarcity of water and provisions, and that there was still a great quantity of arrack aboard.

“At this time, they were reduced to one bottle of water per man, and two pounds of beef, and a small quantity of rice for each a man for ten days, though the water came every day.

Had it not been for the arrack and the sugar, most of them must have perished of hunger and thirst. In this condition they arrived at Mauritius in the middle of February 1721, finding there good provision of all sorts, and materials with which to repair and re-sheath their leaky ship. Having completed their arrangements they sailed for Mascarenhas, on the 5th April, and arrived there at eight in the morning of the 8th inst. They found lying there a large Portuguese ship of 70 guns, which they took with small resistance, by reason she had lost all her masts and all save 21 of her guns in a great storm in latitude 13.

"She had on board, when they took her, the Viceroy of Goa, and several other gentlemen that were passengers, and had gone ashore, came aboard the Pirate ship in the morning, believing she and her consort were 'English Company' ships. After they had taken the Viceroy and his ship, the Pirates had account of an Ostender that lay to the leeward of the Island, so they made their way thither and took her. There now happened a great cabal amongst the Pirates on the Viceroy's account, some being for carrying him to Mozambique for a great ransom, and others saying 'twere better to take a smaller sum there than to be troubled further.

"At last they compounded for 2,000 dollars for the ransom of the Viceroy. At this place, I, John Lazenby, begged earnestly to be put ashore, which in the end was granted, and on the 10th instant, I went ashore with the Viceroy and all the other prisoners. The Governor of this place interceded with the Pirates to leave a ship to carry away all those landed from the Viceroy's ship, they being more than the Island could properly support. With smooth promises, the Pirates said they would call a council to see what should be done. But instead, they sailed away during the night, carrying with them the best of the sailors taken in the two ships, besides 200 Mozambique slaves taken from the Viceroy's ship.

"They designed to go for Madagascar and there to clean the *Cassandra*, and sell their negroes, and from thence to the Red Sea. If they met with no success in the Red Sea they

would then go to Cochin to sell their Dutch friends the diamonds taken in the Portuguese ship, which the Viceroy since told me were of the value of three or four million dollars." Here Lazenby's deposition ends, and henceforth we continue the narrative from Johnson and the official records.

(Johnson.) "When Taylor came to Madagascar with the *Cassandra* and the Portuguese prize, he found that the *Ostender*, which had been sent before with the news of their success to St. Mary's, had played them a trick."

The nature of this trick is thus given by John Freeman, second mate of the *Ostender*.

"The *Ostend* galley taken by the Pirates at Mascarenhas in April 1221 was sent to Madagascar in advance of the *Cassandra* and the *Victory* and the Portuguese prize. When she arrived we were sent to the mainland in her to cut masts for the Portuguese ship there being no suitable trees on the Island of St. Mary. There were only two Pirates left in charge of us and the ship and these having got drunk, the Dutchman, the Portuguese and myself seized the ship and after setting the two Pirates ashore took her to Mozambique."

The amount shared out at St. Mary's came to over £4,000 a man, which, with the exception of the cruise of Hugo, makes this about the most profitable cruise on record. But Hugo's cruise differed in that it was a privateering enterprise conducted under the auspices of a government which naturally took the lion's share. The *Cassandra* yielded them £41,000. The Dutch and Moorish ship afforded £130,000 of which £120,000 was in plunder and £10,000 the value of the vessels which were sold at Calicut, and from the Portuguese vessel the total was estimated at £875,000 in cash, jewels and plunder. The grand total was therefore about £1,046,000, which was divided amongst 240 men, that being the estimated number of the survivors of the 300 said by Lazenby to be on the two ships.

(Johnson.) "The Pirates divided the plunder at St. Mary's, besides the cash sharing about 42 small diamonds per man or in less number according to their proportion. An ignorant

or a merry fellow who only obtained one great diamond in the division, this being judged equal in value to 42 small ones, muttered very much at his portion and afterwards went and brayed the diamond in a mortar, beating it into portions about which he bragged greatly saying he had obtained more than 42 sparks.

“The *Victory*, which had become unseaworthy, was dismantled and burnt, her guns being put into the Portuguese prize, making her up to a 64 gun ship, which was also called the *Victory*, and the number of the guns on the *Cassandra* was augmented to 40. The vessels remained at St. Mary’s until December 1722, during which time they lost over 80 men, whose shares were probably divided amongst the others in the customary manner. In January they arrived at Tolier Bay, below St. Augustine’s, where they took and burnt a French ship of 200 tons. They then went on to St. Augustine’s, where the following incident, which is narrated by Downing, occurred.

“The repeated insults and the great depredations of the Pirates on the Indian and English ships in the end caused the Court of Directors of the East India Company to make application to the King and Council to send out a squadron to destroy the Pirate settlements at Madagascar, and to take their ships wherever found. Accordingly, a squadron of four ships, consisting of the *Lion*, the *Salisbury*, the *Exeter*, and the *Shoreham*, were sent out under command of Commodore Matthews, to suppress all such Pirates and sea-robbers as should interrupt trade in and to the Indian seas.

“The Commodore and the remainder of the ships were separated in a stormy passage round the Cape, and Matthews being desirous that the separated ships should know where to find him, and what instructions to follow, touched at St. Augustine’s Bay, and left there letters addressed to the Captain of the *Salisbury*. He had not been gone long before the Pirates in the *Victory* and *Cassandra* arrived there and the blacks, not knowing who they were, or not caring, brought the letters for the *Salisbury* aboard the *Victory*, where Captain Taylor opened them and read them to the Company at the

mast foot, thus satisfying them of the strength of the squadron and the number of guns and men. Had these letters not fallen into the hands of the Pirates they might have been taken by the *Salisbury*, but not thinking it proper to stay any longer, they weighed and ran for Port Dauphin."

(Johnson.) "The Pirates again altered their intention of going to the Red Sea, and sailed to Delagoa Bay, believing that this would be a place where the squadron would never hear of them. They came into the Bay in the evening, and were surprised to be saluted by a few shot from the shore, not knowing of any fortifications. So they anchored at a distance that night and in the morning, perceiving a small fort of six guns, they ran up to it and battered it down. This fort had been built and settled by the Dutch East India Company a few months before, and manned by 150 men. Never having received any relief or necessaries, the garrison was now reduced to one-third of the number.

"Sixteen of those who were left by the Dutch being all English or French, were received aboard the Pirate on their humble petition and they said they would have taken all the rest had they been other than Dutchmen, which was an instance of signal ingratitude to a nation to which they had been so often obliged for support. The Pirates stayed in this place about four months, careened their ships, and took their diversions with perfect security, until they had expended all their provisions, on which they put to sea. They left considerable quantities of chintzes and such like goods to the half starved Dutchmen, which these later sold to the next comers at three farthings per yard."

From Delagoa the pirate ships went up to Mozambique, from whence they returned to Masselege and there parted company. The *Victory*, taking aboard all those who desired to remain in Madagascar, went round to St. Mary's, leaving the *Cassandra* with 140 men, all English or American. Those aboard the *Victory* went ashore after burning their ship, which was probably one of the four or five large ships seen by Captain Reddish, of the *Lion*, lying sunk in the harbour

when he arrived there in mid-1722. The end of the *Cassandra* is thus told in a letter from the Governor of Jamaica dated 12th May, 1723:

“We have an account from Portobello that a Pirate ship of 40 guns and 120 men was lying about thirty leagues to the windward. This ship was the *Cassandra*, formerly taken from Captain Macrae in the East Indies. Her present Captain is named Taylor, and he has sent down the Doctor of the ship in a small turtling sloop desiring a pardon by letter. This letter was delivered to the Captain of the *Mermaid*, man-of-war, who was told by the Doctor that the Pirate ship was not above twelve leagues distance, and he believed that if the man-of-war would send down a hostage, the Captain of the Pirate would come aboard her, and the Captain of the man-of-war sent down his brother.

“Two days later, the Captain of the Pirate ship came aboard the man-of-war very solicitous for a pardon. The Captain treated the Pirate very civilly and persuaded him to go to Jamaica with him and his ship, saying he would not molest him. After two days’ stay, the Pirate went back to his comrades to endeavour to prevail with them to surrender the *Cassandra* to the man-of-war. They have got her into so crooked a place that the whole Navy of England could not get at her nor hurt her, having lightened her three feet to get her over the shoals, and taken six days to haul her in between the rocks. They give out that they can still divide in gold and silver £1,200 a man, and to have a great value in diamonds, besides a great many rich goods aboard.” However, nothing seems to have been settled, the Pirates probably remembering the fate of those who had surrendered under the previous acts of grace.

The final act in the pirate drama is thus told by Captain David Greenhill under date July 1723.

“Captain David Greenhill, in one of the South Sea Company’s Snows, arrived from Portobello two days ago at

Jamaica, and brings word that the Pirate ship *Cassandra* was come into Portobello, and that the people have a free pardon for themselves and their goods, and were selling their diamonds and India goods when he came away. They have taken the ship for the King of Spain and christened her with great ceremony. It is said that Captain Taylor has taken a Commission in the Spanish service, and commanded the man-of-war that lately attacked the English Logwood cutter in the Bay of Honduras."

Thus ended the last and most successful cruise of the English Pirates in the Eastern seas.

CHAPTER XVIII

BENITO DE SOTO

The Last of the Most Notorious Pirates

AT dawn on the morning of the 21st February 1832, the look-out of the barque *Morning Star*, then off Ascension, homeward bound with military invalids and passengers, espied a sail low down on the western horizon apparently bound on the same course. An hour later the stranger was seen to alter her course and bear down on the Indiaman, a movement viewed with considerable apprehension by those aboard, for it was known that a notorious Pirate named Benito de Soto, in the *Black Joke*, was cruising in that neighbourhood.

In fact the arrival of an outward bound ship at St. Helena which had been chased by him had caused the homeward bound ships there assembled to sail in company, for their mutual protection, from which convoy the *Morning Star*, a very slow sailer, had lost company two days before. The fears of the passengers and Company were in no way lessened, when the stranger shewed up as one of those long, low, black brigantines, with raking masts favoured by the slavers of the west coast of Africa, few of whom had any scruples about piracy on safe opportunity and as few about leaving any incriminating evidence.

When within gunshot of the *Morning Star*, the stranger fired a blank gun as the signal to heave to, and when this was disregarded sent a round shot skipping across her bows. On this being only answered by more sail being hoisted, the stranger flung out the Skull and Crossbones, and ranging closer sent a few rounds of canister shot across the decks of

the *Morning Star*. Though only a few were slightly injured, this grim hint to a defenceless ship was enough to induce Captain Souley to back his topsails and strike his colours to the stranger, who was indeed the veritable *Black Joke* commanded by one of the worst ruffians in the long annals of piracy.

In February 1827, De Soto who for years had followed the same trade, as mate and seaman, shipped before the mast at Buenos Ayres on a vessel bound to the west coast of Africa, for Black and White ivory. With few exceptions the crew were the usual ruffianly collection of the scum of the Continents, and pre-eminent in this respect were the Mate and De Soto, who soon gathered round them sufficient congenial spirits to ensure the success of their plot to seize the vessel and go "On the Account."

The waters on the coast being shallow for a considerable distance out, it was necessary for vessels to lie out to sea, all business with the shore being conducted by boats. The day after the vessel made the coast and anchored, the captain, with the second mate and his boat's crew, went ashore to arrange for the necessary cargo. During the previous night the conspirators, by aid of the mate, had secured all the arms on the ship save those needed for their own party. Therefore it was very easy for them to seize the ship soon after the departure of the captain and send adrift the dozen or so who refused to join, all of whom, unfortunately, were drowned in attempting to cross the surf without an experienced steersman.

The vessel at once put out to sea, and the crew proceeded to celebrate their entry, or for most of them their re-entry into their congenial profession, all except De Soto, who quietly secured the pistols of the mate and then putting one to his ear blew out his brains and with the other shot another man who drew his knife to avenge the death of the mate. Such an evidence of worthiness to command, and probably the fact that he still had a few loaded pistols in reserve induced the unanimous election of De Soto to the command of the

ship, which in a spirit of grim humour, maybe, he renamed the *Black Joke*.

For the next few years he cruised on the African coast and then in the West Indies with some success, judging by the number of missing vessels reported, for as will be seen by his methods with the *Morning Star*, his methods of suppressing evidence of his nefarious activities were effectively drastic. Here we might remark that the legend current at the present time of vast treasures having been buried in the traditional manner on West Indian Islands by De Soto have no real foundation, for his prey were merchant trading vessels from whom at the most a thousand pounds or so ships' imprest or trading cash could be procured.

He sank the cargoes with the crews, and such a crew as his were not very likely to let him appropriate the cash, for there were still plenty of ports in the Islands other than English, where they would meet with a cordial welcome provided they had cash with which to pay for their amusements and the necessary provisions, etc. Otherwise the men-of-war of the various nations would pay well for information even if the inhabitants dared not take direct action themselves. By the year 1831, De Soto found game becoming very scarce in the West Indies, and the attentions of the men-of-war, to whom his activities had become known, rendering any further operations very risky.

Therefore he transferred his activities to the Cape Verdes and the African coast, where for a time he must have done fairly well judging by the number of local vessels reported as missing. Either the small game procurable was unsatisfactory, or the impunity he had hitherto enjoyed rendered De Soto bold enough to attempt vessels belonging to the East India Company outward or homeward bound, though he only succeeded in the case of the *Morning Star*, the other either having the heels of him or being strong enough to frighten him off with a few broadsides.

Ranging alongside the *Morning Star* with the Black Flag shewing and his decks crowded with armed men, De Soto

hailed her and ordered the Captain to come aboard him with his ship's papers. To be the first to send a boat and still more to accompany it, being considered an acknowledgement of inferiority, Captain Souley, unfortunately for himself, did not even send any of his officers, but instead a volunteer from amongst the passengers with a boat he was urged to send. On coming aboard the Pirate the messenger was most unmercifully beaten, and sent back with a peremptory message for the immediate presence of the captain himself, on pain of sinking the ship with a few broadsides.

Accompanied by the second mate, Captain Souley now went aboard the *Black Joke* and was brought before De Soto, who, with his English mate, a man named Brabazon, stood, armed with swords and pistols, at the foot of the mainmast. After sternly eyeing the unfortunate captain for a moment, De Soto demanded to know why his orders had been disobeyed, and then, without waiting for a reply, struck Souley a terrific blow with his cutlass, killing him instantly. At the same moment the Pirate mate shot Souley's companion through the head, whilst a round shot crashing through the bottom of the *Morning Star's* boat sank her with most of the crew, a few only escaping by swimming to their own ship.

After sending a few more rounds of canister shot along the almost deserted decks of the *Morning Star* which killed the man at the wheel and another seaman, the Pirates lowered their boats and swarmed aboard of the *Morning Star*. They turned everybody up on deck and then separating the women from the men and the children drove the latter into the forecastle where they secured them with an armed guard, and turned the former into the aftermost part of the ship where they also were fastened up. Now beginning with the women, whom they robbed of all their personal jewellery, the pirates ransacked the cabins and the Captain's quarters for cash and valuables, besides whatever men's garments they took a fancy to.

They next brought aft and below some of the crew who were made to point out all the most valuable portions of the cargo, etc., all of which, with the exception of a few cases of

liquor required for immediate use, were sent aboard the pirate ship. The pirates now abandoned themselves to a debauch, until when satiated with liquor the unfortunate women were brought forth and subjected to indignity and outrage to an accompaniment of their own screams and the drunken laughter of the pirates rending the ears of the helpless men shut up in the forecastle. Having satiated themselves with drink and gratified their lust to the utmost, the pirates sawed half way through the masts and bored auger holes in the bottom of the ship before withdrawing to their own with the charts and compasses of the ship.

Fortunately they were too drunk, or too careless, to carry out De Soto's final orders, which were to murder all the men, or thought it wasted effort in view of the scuttling of the ship. As soon as the pirates had sailed off some of the women attempted to release the men, and in the end by their combined efforts they managed to break out. Only just in time, for the ship was making water rapidly. Some started to the pumps and others to plug the holes and strengthen the masts sufficiently to enable them to bear a sail to carry them from this dangerous neighbourhood, for there was no knowing whether the pirates might return to see if their dread work had been completed.

Only one mast stood the strain of a sail, and with this they made their way before dark and by dawn next day were with a favouring wind some forty miles away. Luckily they were, for when De Soto ascertained that the men had been left alive on the ship he returned with dawn to make sure. However, a few spars and hencoops floating about, which the crew of the *Morning Star* had cast overboard for that purpose, convinced him that the ship was safely under water, and away he again sailed on his unlawful occasions. On the morning of the second day, luckily for the *Morning Star*, as the pirates had left only one water butt unstaved, and no food, another Indiaman hove in sight.

Her carpenters were sent aboard and having put the ship into sailing order, she was provisioned sufficiently to reach

Gibraltar where her sick and the women were landed to recover, and the *Morning Star* completed her repairs and went on to London. Though cruisers were at once sent out in search of De Soto he eluded them successfully enough until he was next heard of through an unsuccessful attack on an outward bound Indiaman. He seems to have been more successful in other directions, for three months later he arrived off Corunna with a cargo of plunder he was desirous of disposing of, as he had doubtless done before at other Spanish ports of less note.

Being unacquainted with the harbour, he took and sunk a small ship just off it, retaining the master to act as his pilot. Having been safely piloted in he thanked the poor master courteously enough for his services and, by way of recompense shot him through the head, and cast the body overboard. Having papers from a West Indian ship he had taken he was enabled to dispose of his cargo at Corunna and obtain clearance for Cadiz. However, going down the coast, the vessel was caught by a storm and the crew being all drunk was driven ashore and bilged.

Most of the crew escaped with their money and personal effects, and then set out for Cadiz as shipwrecked mariners. At this place the profusion of cash they displayed and their truculent manners aroused the suspicion of the police, by whom all but De Soto and half a dozen others, who had gone to Gibraltar, were arrested. At Gibraltar De Soto might have escaped detection but for the fact that one of the invalid soldiers there landed recognised him swaggering along the street in the clothes of the murdered captain. He was at once arrested and his lodging being searched the instruments taken from the *Morning Star*, together with the evidence of the soldiers and passengers, was sufficient to ensure his condemnation.

With him were sentenced the others who had come in his company, and, at the request of the Spanish authorities, of whom De Soto was a subject, all were sent to Cadiz to be executed. The long string of eleven double gallows were set

up at low water mark and on the morning of the 10th October 1832 De Soto met his fate. The whole of the pirates were drawn to beneath the gallows in carts wherein they stood whilst the noose was adjusted, after which the carts were drawn from beneath them, leaving the culprit to die of strangulation, the drop being purposely short.

Disdaining the offer of blindfolding, De Soto himself adjusted the noose around his neck and giving a glance round at sea and sky called out, "Adios Todos" (Good-bye, All) and flung himself out of the cart. Thus ended the last of the Most Notorious Pirates in a manner worthy of their best, or worst traditions.



THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
GRADUATE LIBRARY

DATE DUE

FEB 25 1974	NOV 17 1994
MAR 19 1974	OCT 24 1988
MAR 19 1974	
MAR 19 1974	
INTERLIBRARY LOAN	
AUG 10 1977	AUG 10 1977
FEB 13 1979	APR 23 '992
	MAR 26 1995
	APR 15 1995
NOV 10 1979	
NOV 29 1979	

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 01325 2013

