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March 8: 1836

C. W. Nicholson

Sandwich 1836



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A Vessel destroyed by fire.

AN
AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT
OF THE MOST
REMARKABLE EVENTS:
CONTAINING THE LIVES OF THE MOST NOTED
PIRATES AND PIRACIES.
ALSO, THE MOST
REMARKABLE SHIPWRECKS,
FIRES, FAMINES, CALAMITIES, PROVIDENTIAL
DELIVERANCES, AND LAMENTABLE
DISASTERS ON THE SEAS,
IN MOST PARTS OF
THE WORLD.

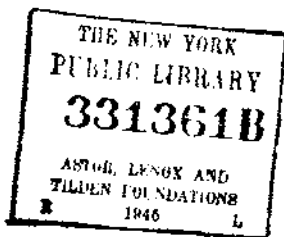
By R. THOMAS, A. M.

Embellished with numerous plates from original designs.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY EZRA STRONG.

1836.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE PIRATES.

CAPTAIN MISSON.

CAPTAIN MISSON was born in Provence, of an ancient family. His father was master of a plentiful fortune ; but having a great number of children, our rover had but little hopes of other fortune than what he could carve out for himself with his sword. His parents took care to give him an education equal to his birth, and upon the completion of it would have put him into the musketeers ; but as he was of a roving temper, and much affected with the accounts he had read in books of travels, he chose the sea as a life which abounds with more variety, and would afford him an opportunity to gratify his curiosity, by the change of countries. Having made this choice, his father, with letters of recommendation, and every thing fitting for him, sent him volunteer on board the *Victoire*, commanded by Monsieur Fourbin, his relation. He was received on board with all possible regard by the Captain, whose ship was at Marseilles, and was ordered to cruise soon after Misson's arrival. Nothing could be more agreeable to the inclinations of our volunteer than this cruise, which made him

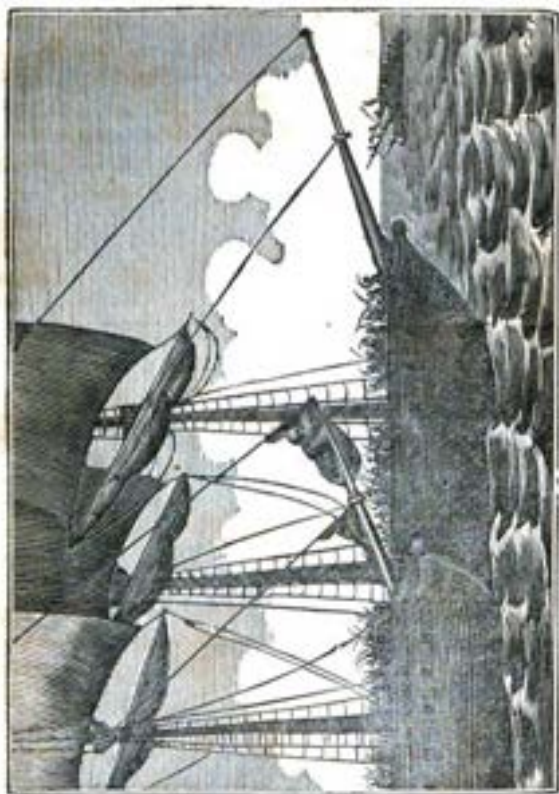
acquainted with the most noted ports in the Mediterranean, and gave him a great insight into the practical part of navigation. He grew fond of this life, and was resolved to be a complete sailor, which made him always one of the first on a yard arm, either to hand or reef, and very inquisitive in the different methods of working a ship: his discourse was turned on no other subject, and he would often get the boatswain and carpenter to teach him in their cabins the constituent parts of a ship's hull, and how to rig her, which he generously paid them for; and though he spent a great part of his time with these two officers, yet he behaved himself with such prudence that they never attempted any familiarity, and always paid the respect due to his family. The ship being at Naples, he obtained leave of his captain to go to Rome, which he had a great desire to visit. Hence we may date his misfortunes; for, remarking the licentious lives of the clergy, (so different from the regularity observed among the French ecclesiastics,) the luxury of the Papal Court, and that nothing but hulls of religion were to be found in the metropolis of the christian church, he began to figure to himself that all religion was no more than a curb upon the minds of the weaker, which the wiser sort yielded to, in appearance only. These sentiments, so disadvantageous to religion and himself, were strongly riveted by accidentally becoming acquainted with a lewd priest, who was at his arrival (by mere chance) his confessor, and after that his procurer and companion, for he kept him company to his death.

Misson at length became so much attached to this man, that he advised him to go with him as volunteer, and offered him money to clothe him: the priest leaped at the proposal, and a letter coming to Mission from his captain, that he was going to Leghorn, and left it to him either to come to Naples, or

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The Victore engages with two Sallee-men, page 7.

go by land ; he chose the latter, and the Dominican, whom he furnished with money, clothing himself very cavalierly, threw off his habit, and preceded him two days, staying at Pisa for Misson ; from whence they went together to Leghorn, where they found the *Victoire*; and signior Caraccioli, recommended by his friend, was received on board. Two days after they weighed from hence, and after a week's cruise fell in with two *Sallee-men*, the one of twenty, the other of twenty-four guns ; the *Victoire* had but thirty mounted, though she had ports for forty. The engagement was long and bloody, for the *Sallee-men* hoped to carry the *Victoire* ; and, on the contrary, Capt. Fourbin, so far from having any thoughts of being taken, he was resolutely bent to make prize of his enemies, or sink his ship. One of the *Sallee-men* was commanded by a Spanish renegade, (though he had only the title of a lieutenant) for the captain was a young man who knew little of marine affairs.

This ship was called the *Lion* ; and he attempted, more than once, to board the *Victoire* ; but by a shot betwixt wind and water, he was obliged to sheer off, and running his guns, &c. on one side, to bring her on the careen to stop his leak ; this being done with too much precipitation, she overset, and every soul was lost. His comrade, seeing this disaster, threw out all his small sails, endeavoured to get off, but the *Victoire* wronged her, and obliged her to renew the fight, which she did with great obstinacy, and made Monsieur Fourbin despair of carrying her if he did not board ; he made preparations accordingly. Signior Caraccioli and Misson were the two first on board when the command was given ; but they and their followers were beat back by the despair of the *Sallee-men* ; the former received a shot in his thigh, and was carried down to the surgeon. The *Victoire* laid her on board the

second time, and the Sallee-men defended their decks with such resolution, that they were covered with their own, and the dead bodies of their enemies. Misson seeing one of them jump down the main hatch with a lighted match, suspecting his design, resolutely leaped after him, and reaching him with his sabre, laid him dead the moment he was going to set fire to the powder. The Victoire pouring in more men, the Mahometans quitted the decks, finding resistance vain, and fled for shelter to the cook-room, steerage, and cabins, and some ran between decks. The French gave them quarters, and put the prisoners on board the Victoire, the prize yielding nothing worth mention, except liberty to about fifteen christian slaves; she was carried into and sold with the prisoners at Leghorn. The Turks lost a great many men; the French not less than 35 in boarding, for they lost very few by the great shot, the Sallee-men firing mostly at the masts and rigging, hoping by disabling to carry her. The limited time of their cruise being out, the Victoire returned to Marseilles, from whence Misson taking his companion, went to visit his parents, to whom the captain sent a very advantageous character, both of his courage and conduct. He was about a month at home when his captain wrote to him, that his ship was ordered to Rochelle, from whence he was to sail for the West Indies with some merchantmen. This was very agreeable to Misson and signior Caraccioli, who immediately set out for Marseilles. This town is well fortified, has four parish churches, and the number of inhabitants is computed to be about 120,000; the harbour is esteemed the safest in the Mediteranean, and is the common station for the French gallies.

Leaving this place, they steered for Rochelle, where the Victoire was docked, the merchant ships not being near ready. Misson, who did not care to

pass so long a time in idleness, proposed to his comrade the taking a cruise on board the *Triumph*, which was going into the English channel; and the Italian readily consented to it.

Between the Isle of Guernsey and the Start Point, they met with the *Mayflower*, Capt. Balladine, commander, a merchant ship of 18 guns, richly laden, and coming from Jamaica. The captain of the English made a gallant resistance, and fought his ship so long, that the French could not carry her into harbour, wherefore they took the money, and what was most valuable, out of her; and finding she made more water than the pumps could free, quitted, and saw her go down in less than four hours after. Monsieur Le Blanc, the French captain, received Capt. Balladine very civilly, and would not suffer either him or his men to be stripped, saying, *None but cowards ought to be treated after that manner; that brave men ought to treat such, though their enemies, as brothers; and that to use a gallant man (who does his duty) ill, speaks a revenge which cannot proceed but from a coward soul.* He ordered that the prisoners should have their chests; and when some of his men seemed to mutter, he bade them remember the grandeur of the monarch they served; that they were neither pirates nor privateers; and as brave men, they ought to show their enemies an example they would willingly have followed, and use their prisoners as they wished to be used.

They then run up the English channel as high as Beachy Head, and, in returning, fell in with three fifty gun ships; which gave chase to the *Triumph*; but as she was an excellent sailor, she run them out of sight in seven glasses, and made the best of her way for the Land's-End. They here cruised eight days, then doubling Cape Cornwall, ran up the Bristol channel, near as far as Nash Point, and

intercepted a small ship from Barbadoes, and stretching away to the northward, gave chase to a ship they saw in the evening, but lost her in the night. The *Triumph* then stood towards Milford, and spying a sail, endeavoured to cut her off the land, but found it impossible; for she got into the haven, though they came up with her very fast, and she had surely been taken had the chase been any thing longer.

Cept. Balladine, who took the glass, said it was the Port Royal, a Bristol ship, which left Jamaica in company with him and the *Charles*. They now returned to their own coast, and sold their prize at Brest, where, at his desire, they left Capt. Balladine, and Monsieur Le Blanc made him a present of a purse with 40 *louis* for his support. His crew were also left here.

At the entrance into this harbour the *Triumph* struck upon a rock, but received no damage. This entrance, called Gonlet, is very dangerous on account of the number of rocks which lie on each side under water, though the harbour is certainly the best in France. The mouth of the harbour is defended by a strong castle; the town is well fortified, and has a citadel for its farther defence, which is of considerable strength. In 1694 the English attempted a descent, but did not find their market, for they were beat off with the loss of their general, and a great many men. From hence the *Triumph* returned to Rochelle, and in a month after, our volunteers, who went on board the *Victoire*, took their departure for Martinico and Guadaloupe. They met with nothing in their voyage thither worth noting. I shall only observe, that signior Caraccioli, who was as ambitious as he was irreligious, had, by this time, made a perfect deist of Misson, and thereby convinced him, that all religion was no other than human policy. But his arguments on this head are too long, and too

dangerous to translate; and as they are worked up with great subtlety, they may be pernicious to weak men, who cannot discover their fallacy; or who, finding them agreeable to their inclinations, would be glad to shake off the yoke of the christian religion, which galls and curbs their passions, and would not give themselves the trouble to examine them to the bottom, but give it to what pleases, glad of finding some excuse to their consciences.

As he had privately held these discourses among the crew, he had gained a number of proselytes, who looked upon him as a new prophet risen up to reform the abuses in religion; and a great number being Rochellers, and, as yet, tainted with Calvinism, his doctrine was the more readily embraced. When he had experienced the affects of his religious arguments, he fell upon government, and showed, that every man was born free, and had as much right to what would support him, as to the air he respired. A contrary way of arguing would be accusing the deity with cruelty and injustice, for he brought into the world no man to pass a life of penury, and to miserably want a necessary support; that the vast difference between man and man, one wallowing in luxury, and the other in the most pinching necessity, was owing only to avarice and ambition on the one hand, and a pussillanimous subjection on the other; that at first no other than a natural was known a paternal government, every father was the head, the prince and monarch of his family, and obedience to such was both just and easy, for a father had compassionate tenderness for his children; but ambition creeping in by degrees, the stronger family set upon and enslaved the weaker; and this additional strength over-ran a third, by every conquest gathering force to make others; and this was the first foundation of monarchy. Pride increasing with power, man usurped the prerogative of God, over

his creatures, that of depriving them of life, which was a privilege no one had over his own; for as he did not come into the world by his own election, he ought to stay the determined time of his creator; that indeed, death given in war, was by the law of nature allowable, because it is for the preservation of our own lives; but no crime ought to be thus punished, nor indeed any war undertaken, but in defence of our natural right, which is such a share of earth as is necessary for our support.

These topics he often declaimed on, and very often advised with Misson about the setting up for themselves; he was as ambitious as the other, and as resolute. Caraccioli and Misson were by this, expert mariners, and very capable of managing a ship; Caraccioli had sounded a great many of the men on this subject, and found them very inclinable to listen to him. An accident happened which gave Caraccioli a fair opportunity to put his designs in execution, and he laid hold of it. They went off Martinico on a cruise, and met with the Winchelsea, an English man of war of 40 guns, commanded by Capt. Jones; they made for each other, and a very smart engagement followed; the first broadside killed the captain, second captain, and the three lieutenants, on board the Victoire, and left only the master, who would have struck, but Misson took up the sword, ordered Caraccioli to act as lieutenant, and encouraging the men fought the ship six glasses, when by some accident the Winchelsea blew up, and not a man was saved but Lieut. Franklin, whom the French boats took up, and he died in two days. None ever knew before this manuscript fell into my hands, how the Winchelsea was lost; for her head being driven ashore at Antigua, and a great storm having happened a few days before it was found, it was concluded, that she foundered in that storm. After this engagement, Caraccioli came to Misson and saluted



*Engagement between the Victory and Winchelsea.—The Winchelsea
blew up, page 19.*

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him captain, and desired to know if he would choose a momentary or a lasting command, that he must now determine, for at his return to Martinico it would be too late; and he might depend upon the ship he fought and saved being given to another, and they would think him well rewarded if made a lieutenant which piece of justice he doubted; that he had his fortune in his hands, which he might either keep or let go; if he made choice of the latter, he must never again expect she would court him to accept her favours; that he ought to set before his eyes his circumstances, as a younger brother of a good family, but nothing to support his character; and the many years he must serve at the expense of his blood before he could make any figure in the world, and consider the wide difference between the commanding and being commanded; that he might with the ship he had under foot, and the brave fellows under command, bid defiance to the power of Europe, enjoy every thing he wished, reign sovereign of the Southern Seas, and lawfully make war on all the world, since it would deprive him of that liberty to which he had a right by the laws of nature, that he might in time, become as great as Alexander was to the Persians: and by increasing his forces by captures, he would every day strengthen the justice of his cause, for who has power is always in the right. That Harry the fourth and Harry the seventh, attempted and succeeded in their enterprises on the crown of England, yet their forces did not equal his. Mahomet with a few camel drivers, founded the Ottoman empire; and Darius, with no more than six or seven companions, got possession of that of Persia.

In a word, he said so much that Misson resolved to follow his advice, and calling up all hands, he told them, "That a great number of them had resolved with him upon a life of liberty, and had done him the honor to create him chief; that he designed

to force no man, and be guilty of that injustice he blamed in others; therefore, if any were averse to the following his fortune, which he promised should be the same to all, he desired they would declare themselves, and he would set them ashore, whence they might return with conveniency." Having made an end, they one and all cried, "*Vive le Capitain Misson et son Lieutenant le scavant Caraccioli*"—*God bless Captain Misson and his learned Lieutenant Caraccioli.* Misson thanked them for the honor they conferred upon him, and promised he would use the power they gave for the public good only, and hoped as they had the bravery to assert their liberty, they would be as unanimous in the preservation of it, and stand by him in what should be found expedient for the good of all; that he was their friend and companion, and should never exert his power, or think himself other than their comrade, but when the necessity of affairs should oblige him.

They shouted a second time, *Vive le Capitain*: he, after this, desired they would choose their subaltern officers, and give them power to consult and conclude upon what might be for the common interest, and bind themselves down by an oath to agree to what such officers and he should determine; this they readily gave in to. The schoolmaster they chose for second lieutenant, Jean Besace they nominated for third, and the boatswain, and a quarter master, named Mathieu le Tondu, with the gunner they desired might be their representatives in council. The choice was approved, and that every thing might pass methodically, and with general approbation, they were called into the great cabin, and the question put, *What course they should steer?* The captain proposed the Spanish coast as the most probable to afford them rich prizes. This was agreed upon by all. The boatswain then asked what colours they should fight under, and

advised black as the most terrifying: but Caraccioli objected, "that they were no pirates, but men who were resolved to assert that liberty which God and nature gave them, and own no subjection to any, farther than was for the common good of all: that indeed obedience to governors was necessary, when they knew and acted up to the duty of their function; were vigilant guardians of the people's rights and liberties; saw that justice was equally distributed; were barriers against the rich and powerful, when they attempted to oppress the weaker; when they suffered none on the one hand to grow immensely rich, either by his own or his ancestor's encroachments: nor on the other, to be wretchedly miserable, either by falling, into the hands of villains, unmerciful creditors, or other misfortunes; while he had eyes impartial, and allowed nothing but merit to distinguish between man and man; and instead of being a burthen to the people by his luxurious life, he was by his care for, and protection of them, a real father, and in every thing acted with the equal and impartial justice of a parent: but when a governor, who is the minister of the people, thinks himself raised to this dignity, that he may spend his days in pomp and luxury, looking upon his subjects as so many slaves, created for his use and pleasure, and therefore leaves them and their affairs to the immeasurable avarice and tyranny of some one whom he has chosen for his favourite; when nothing but oppression, poverty and all the miseries of life flow from such an administration; that he lavishes away the lives and fortunes of the people, either to gratify his ambition, or to support the cause of some neighbouring prince, that he may in return, strengthen his hands should his people exert themselves in defence of their native rights; or should he run into unnecessary wars, by the rash and thoughtless councils of his favourite, and not

able to make head against the enemy he has rashly or wantonly brought upon his hands, and buy a peace (which is the present case of France, as everyone knows, by supporting King James, and afterwards proclaiming his son) and drain the subject; should the people's trade be wilfully neglected, for private interests, and while their ships of war lie idle in their harbours, suffer their vessels to be taken; and the enemy not only intercepts all commerce, but insults their coasts: it speaks a generous and great soul to shake off the yoke; and if we cannot redress our wrongs, withdraw from sharing the miseries which meaner spirits submit to, and scorn to yield to the tyranny. Such men as we, and, if the world, as experience may convince us it will, makes war upon us, the law of nature empowers us not only to be on the defensive, but also on the offensive part. As we then do not proceed upon the same ground with pirates, who are men of dissolute lives and no principles, let us scorn to take their colours; ours is a brave, a just, an innocent, and a noble cause; the cause of liberty. I therefore advise a white ensign, with liberty painted in the fly, and if you like the motto, "*a Deo a libertate,*" for God and liberty, as an emblem of our uprightness and resolution."

The cabin door was left open, and the bulk-head, which was of canvass, rolled up: the steerage being full of men, who lent an attentive ear, they cried, "*Liberty, Liberty; we are free men: Vive the brave Capt. Misson and the noble Lieut. Caraccioli!*" This short council breaking up, every thing belonging to the deceased captain, and the other officers, and men lost in the engagement, was brought upon deck and overhauled; the money ordered to be put into a chest, and the carpenter to clap on a padlock, and give a key to every one of the council; Misson telling them, all should be in common, and the

particular avarice of no one should defraud the public.

When the plate Monsieur Fourbin had, was going to the chest, the men unanimously cried out "avast! keep that out for the captain's use, as a present from his officers and fore-mast men." Misson thanked them, the plate was returned to the great cabin, and the chest secured according to orders: Misson then ordered his lieutenants and other officers to examine who among the men, were in most want of clothes, and to distribute those of the dead men impartially, which was done with the general consent and applause of the whole crew. All but the wounded being upon deck, Misson from the barricade, spoke to the following purpose, "That since they had unanimously resolved to seize upon and defend their liberty, which ambitious men had usurped, and that this could not be esteemed by impartial judges other than a just and brave resolution, he was under an obligation to recommend to them a brotherly love to each other; the banishment of all private piques and grudges, and a strict agreement and harmony among themselves; that in throwing off the yoke of tyranny, of which the action spoke an abhorance, he hoped none would follow the example of tyrants, and turn his back upon justice; for when equity was trodden under foot, misery, confusion, and mutual distrust naturally followed." He also advised them to remember there was a Supreme, the adoration of whom, reason and gratitude prompted us to, and our own interest would engage us (as it is best to be of the sure side, and after-life was allowed possible) to conciliate: that he was satisfied men who were born and bred in slavery, by which their spirits were broke, and were incapable of so generous a way of thinking; who, ignorant of their birth-right, and the sweets of liberty, dance to the music of their chains, which was,

indeed the greater part of the inhabitants of the globe, would brand this generous crew with the invidious name of pirates, and think it meritorious to be instrumental in their destruction. Self-preservation, therefore, and not a cruel disposition, obliged him to declare war against all such as should refuse him the entry of their ports, and against all, who should not immediately surrender and give up what their necessities required; but in a more particular manner against all European ships and vessels, as concluded implacable enemies. *And I do now, said he, declare such war, and, at the same time, recommend to you, my comrades, a humane and generous behaviour, towards your prisoners; which will appear by so much more the effects of a noble soul, as we are satisfied we should not meet the same treatment should our ill fortune, or more properly our disunion, or want of courage, give us up to their mercy.*

After this, he required a muster should be made, and there were able hands two hundred, and thirty-five sick and wounded. As they were mustered, they were sworn. After affairs were thus settled, they shaped their course for the Spanish West Indies, but resolved in the way, to take a week or ten days' cruise in the windward passage from Jamaica, because most merchantmen, which were good sailers, and did not stay for convoy, took this as the shorter cut for England.

Off St. Christopher's they took an English sloop becalmed, with their boats. They took out of her a couple of puncheons of rum, and half a dozen hogsheads of sugar. She was a New-England sloop, bound for Boston, and without offering the least violence to the men, or stripping them, they let her go. The master of the sloop was Thomas Butler, who owned he never met with so candid an enemy as the French man of war, which took him

the day he left St. Christophers. They met with no other booty in their way, till they came upon their station, when after three days, they saw a sloop which had the impudence to give them chase. Capt. Misson asked what could be the meaning of the sloop standing for them? One of the men who was acquainted with the West Indies, told him, it was a Jamaica privateer, and he should not wonder, if he clapped him aboard. "I am," said he, "no stranger to their way of working, and this despicable fellow, as those who don't know a Jamaica privateer may think him, it is ten to one will give you some trouble. It now grows towards evening, and you'll find as soon as he has discovered your force, he'll keep out of the reach of your guns till the 12 o'clock watch is changed at night, and he'll then attempt to clap you aboard, with hopes to carry you in the hurry: wherefore, captain, if you will give me leave to advise you, let every man have his small arms; and at 12, let the bell ring as usual, and rather more noise than ordinary be made, as if the one watch was turning in, and the other out, in a confusion and hurry, and I'll engage he will venture to enter his men." The fellow's advice was approved and resolved upon, and the sloop worked as he said she would; for upon coming near enough to make out distinctly the force of the Victoire, on her throwing out French colours, she, the sloop, clapped upon a wind, and the Victoire gave chase, but without hopes of gaining upon her; she went so well to windward, that she could spare the ship some points in her sheet, and yet wrong her: at dusk of the evening, the French had lost sight of her, but about 11 at night, they saw her hankering up on their weather bow, which confirmed the sailor's opinion, that she would attempt to board them, as she did at the pretended change of the watch; there being little or no wind, she lashed to the bowsprit of the Victoire.

and entered her men, who were very quietly taken, as they entered, and tumbled down the fore-hatch where they were received by others, and bound without noise. Not one of the privateersmen was killed, few hurt, and only one Frenchman wounded. The *Victoire*, seeing the better part of the sloop's men secured, they boarded in their turn, when the privateersmen, suspecting some stratagem, were endeavouring to cut their lashing and get off. Thus the Englishmen caught a Tartar. The prisoners being all secured, the captain charged his men not to discover, through a desire of augmenting their number, the account they were upon.

The next morning Monsieur Misson called for the captain of the privateer, and told him, he could not but allow him a brave fellow, to venture upon a ship of his countenance, and for that reason he should meet treatment which men of his profession seldom afforded the prisoners they made. He asked him how long he had been out, what was his name, and what he had on board? He answered he was but just come out, that he was the first sail he had met with, and should have thought himself altogether as lucky not to have spoke with him; that his name was Harry Ramsey, and what he had on board were rags, powder, ball, and some few half ankers of rum. Ramsey was ordered into the gun-room, and a council was held in the public manner aforesaid, the bulk-head of the great cabin being rolled up. On their conclusion, the captain of the privateer was called in again, when Capt. Misson told him, he would return him his sloop, and restore him and his men to their liberty, without stripping or plundering them of any thing, but what prudence obliged him to, their ammunition and small arms, if he would give him his word and honour, and his men take an oath, not to go out on the privateer account in six months after they left him: that he did not

design to continue on that station above a week longer, at the expiration of which time, he would let them go.

Ramsay, who had a new sloop, did not expect this favour which he thanked him for, and promised punctually to comply with the injunction, which his men as readily swore to, though they had no design to keep the oath. The time being expired, he and his men were put on board their own sloop. At going over the ship's side, Ramsay begged Monsieur Misson would allow him powder for a salute, by way of thanks; but he answered him, the ceremony was needless, and he expected no other return than that of keeping his word, which indeed Ramsay did. Some of his men had found it more to their advantage to have been as religious.

At parting Ramsey gave the ship three cheers, and Misson had the complaisance to return one, which Ramsay answering with three more, made the best of his way for Jamaica, and at the east end of the island met with the Diana, who, upon advice, turned back.

The Victoire steered for Carthagena, off which port they cruised some days, but meeting with nothing in those seas, they made for Porto Bello; in their way they met with two Dutch traders, who had letters-of-marque, and were just come upon the coast, the one had 20, the other 24 guns; Misson engaged them, and they defended themselves with a great deal of resolution and gallantry; and as they were manned apeak, he durst not venture to board either of them, for fear of being at the same time boarded by the other. His weight of metal gave him a great advantage over the Dutch, though they were two to one; besides, their business, as they had cargoes, was to get off, if possible, wherefore they made a running fight, though they took care to stick close to one another.

They maintained the fight for above six hours, when Misson, enraged at this obstinacy, and fearing, if by accident they should bring a mast, or top-mast by the board, they would get from him, he was resolved to sink the larger ship of the two, and accordingly ordered his men to bring all their guns to bear a midship, then running close along side of him, to raise their metal, his orders being punctually obeyed, he poured in a broadside, which opened such a gap in the Dutch ship that she went directly to the bottom, and every man perished.

He then manned his bowsprit, brought his sprit sail yard fore and aft, and resolved to board the other, which the Dutch perceiving, and terrified with the unhappy fate of their comrade, thought a farther resistance vain, and immediately struck. Misson gave them good quarters, though he was enraged at the loss of thirteen men killed outright, beside nine wounded, of which six died. They found on board a great quantity of gold and silver lace, brocade silks, silk stockings, bales of broad-cloth, baizes of all colours, and osnaburghs.

A consultation being held, it was resolved Capt. Misson should take the name of Fourbin, and returning to Carthagena, dispose of his prize, and set his prisoners ashore. Accordingly they plied to the eastward, and came to an anchor between Boca Chicca fort, and the town, for they did not think it expedient to enter the harbour. The barge was manned, and Caraccioli, with the name of D'Aubigny, the first lieutenant, who was killed in the engagement with the Winchelsea, and his commission in his pocket, went ashore with a letter to the governor, signed Fourbin, whose character, for fear of the worst was exactly counterfeited. The purport of his letter was, that having discretionary orders to cruise for three months, and hearing the English infested his coast he was come in search of them,

and had met two Dutchmen, one of which he had sunk, the other he made prize of. That his limited time being near expired, he should be obliged to his excellency, if he would send on board him such merchants as were willing to take the ship and cargo off his hands, of which he had sent the Dutch invoice. Don Joseph de la Zerda, the then governor, received the lieutenant (who sent back the barge at landing) very civilly, and agreed to take the prisoners ashore, and do every thing that was required of him; and ordering fresh provisions and vegetables to be got ready as a present for the captain, he sent for some merchants, who were very ready to go on board, and agree for the ship and goods; which they did, for fifty-two thousand pieces of eight. The next day the prisoners were set ashore; a rich piece of brocade which was reserved, sent to the governor for a present, a quantity of fresh provision bought and brought on board, the money paid by the merchants, the ship and goods delivered, and the *Victoire*, at the dawn of the following day, got under sail. It may be wondered how such despatch could be made, but the reader must take notice, these goods were sold by the Dutch invoice, which the merchant of the prize affirmed was genuine. I shall observe, by the by, that the *Victoire* was the French man of war which Admiral Wager sent the *Kingston* in search of, and being afterwards falsely informed, that she was joined by another of 70 guns, and that they cruised together between the Capes, ordered the *Severn* up to windward, to assist the *Kingston*, which had like to have proved very fatal; for these two English men of war, commanded by Capt. Trevor and Capt. Pudnor, meeting in the night, had prepared to engage, each taking the other for the enemy. The *Kingston's* men not having a good look-out which must be attributed to the negligence of the officer of the watch, did not

see the Severn till she was just upon them; but by good luck, to leeward, and plying up, with all the sail she could crowd, and a clear ship. This put the Kingston in such confusion, that when the Severn hailed, no answer was returned for none heard her. She was got under the Kingston's stern, and Capt. Pudnor ordered to hail for the third and last time, and if no answer was returned, to give her a broad-side. The noise on board the Kingston was now a little ceased, and Capt. Trevor, who was on the poop with a speaking trumpet, to hail the Severn, by good luck heard her hail him, and answering the Kingston, and asking the name of the other ship, prevented the damage.

They cruised together some time, and meeting nothing which answered their information, returned to Jamaica, as I shall to my subject, begging pardon for this, as I thought, necessary digression.

Don Juan de la Zerda told the captain in a letter, that the St. Joseph, a galleon of 70 guns, was then lying at Porto Bello, and should be glad if he could keep her company till she was off the coast. That she would sail in eight or ten days for the Havana; and that, if his time would permit him, he would send an advice-boat. That she had on board the value of 800,000 pieces of eight in silver, and bar gold. Misson returned answer, that he believed he should be excused if he stretched his orders, for a few days; and that he would cruise off the Isle of Pearls, and Cape Gracias a Dios, and give for signal to the galleon, his spreading a white ensign in his fore-top-mast shrouds, the cluing up his fore-sail, and the firing one gun to windward, and two to leeward, which he should answer by hoisting his fore-top-sail three times, and the firing as many guns to leeward. Don Joseph, extremely pleased with this complaisance, sent a boat express to advise the St. Joseph, but she was already sailed two

days, contrary to the governor of Carthage's expectation, and this advice Capt. Misson had from the boat, which returning with an answer, saw the Victoire in the offing, and spoke to her. It was then resolved to follow the St. Joseph, and accordingly they steered for the Havanna, but by what accident they did not overtake her is unknown.

I forgot to tell my reader, that on board the Dutch ship were fourteen French hugonots, whom Misson thought fit to detain. When they were at sea, he called them up, and proposed to them their taking on; telling them at the same time, he left it to their choice, for he would have no forced men; and that if they all, or any of them disapproved the proposal, he would either give them the first vessel he met that was fit for them, or set them ashore on some inhabited coast; and therefore bid them take two days for consideration before they returned an answer; and to encourage them, he called all hands up, and declared, that if any man repented of the course of life he had chosen, his just dividend should be counted to him, and he would set him on shore, either near the Havanna, or some other convenient place; but not one accepted the offer, and the fourteen prisoners unanimously resolved to join in with them; to which resolution, no doubt, the hopes of a good booty from the St. Joseph, and this offer of liberty, greatly contributed.

At the entrance of the Gulf they spied and came up with a large merchant ship bound for London, from Jamaica; she had 20 guns, but no more than thirty-two hands, so that it is not to be wondered at she made no resistance; besides, she was deep laden with sugars. Mons. Misson took out of her what ammunition she had, about four thousand pieces of eight, some puncheons of rum, and ten hogsheads of sugar; and, without doing her any further damage, let her proceed her voyage. What he valued

most in this prize was the men he got, for she was carrying to Europe twelve French prisoners, two of which were necessary hands, being a carpenter and his mate. They were of Bordeaux from whence they came in the Pomechatraine, which was taken by the Mermaid off Petit-Guave, after an obstinate resistance, in which they lost 40 men. These men very willingly came into Capt. Misson's measures. Having been stripped to the skin, they begged leave to make reprisals, but the captain would not suffer them, though he told the master of the prize, as he protected him and his men, he thought it reasonable these French should be clothed; upon this the master contributed of his own, and every man bringing up his chest, thought themselves very well off in sharing with them one half.

Though Misson's ship passed for a French man of war, yet his generosity in letting the prize go, gave the English grounds to suspect the truth, neither the ship nor cargo being of use to such as were upon the grand account.

When they had lost all hopes of the St. Joseph, they coasted along the north side of Cuba, and the Victoire growing now foul, they ran into a landlocked bay on the E. N. E. point, where they hove her down by boats and guns, though they could not pretend to heave her keel out; however, they scraped and tallowed as far as they could go; they, for this reason, many of them, repented they had let the last prize go, by which they might have careened,

When they had righted the ship, and put every thing on board, they consulted upon the course they should steer. Upon this the council divided. The captain and Caraccioli, were for stretching over to the African, and the others for New-England coast, alleging, that the ship had a foul

bottom, and was not fit for the voyage; and that if they met with contrary winds, and bad weather, their stock of provision might fall short; and that as they were not far from the English settlement of Carolina, they might either on that or on the coast of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New-York, or New-England, intercept ships which traded to the islands with provisions and by that means provide themselves with bread, flour, and other necessaries. An account of the provisions was taken, and finding they had provisions for four months, Capt. Misson called all hands upon deck, and told them, as the council differed in the course they should steer, he thought it reasonable to have it put to the vote of the whole company. That for his part, he was for going to the coast of Guinea, where they might reasonably expect to meet with valuable prizes; but should they fail in their expectation one way, they would be sure of having it answered in another; for they could then throw themselves in that of East-India ships; and he need not tell them, that the outward bound drained Europe of what money they drew from America. He then gave the sentiments of those who were against him, and their reasons, and begged that every one would give his opinion and vote according as he thought most conducive to the good of all. That he should be far from taking it ill if they should reject what he had proposed, since he had no private views to serve. The majority of votes fell on the captain's side, and they accordingly shaped their course for the coast of Guinea, in which voyage nothing remarkable happened. On their arrival on the gold coast, they fell in with the *Nieuwstadt*, of Amsterdam, a ship of 18 guns, commanded by Capt. Blaes, who made a running fight of five glasses: this ship they kept with them, putting on board 40 hands, and bringing all the prisoners on board the *Victoire*.

they were forty-three in number; they left Amsterdam with fifty-six: seven were killed in the engagement, and they had lost six by sickness and accidents, one falling overboard, and one being taken by a shark, going overboard in a calm.

The Nieuwstadt had some gold dust on board, to the value of about £2000 sterling and a few slaves to the number of seventeen, for she had but just begun to trade; the slaves were a strengthening of their hands, for the captain ordered them to be clothed out of the Dutch mariners' chests, and told his men "That the trading for those of our own species could never be agreeable to the eyes of divine justice: that no man had power over the liberty of another; and while those who professed a more enlightened knowledge of the Deity, sold men like beasts, they proved that their religion was no more than grimace, and that they differed from the barbarian in name only, since their practice was in nothing more humane: for his part, and he hoped he spoke the sentiments of all his brave companions, he had not exempted his neck from the galling yoke of slavery, and asserted his own liberty to enslave others. That however these men were distinguished from the Europeans by their colour, customs, or religious rites, they were the work of the same omnipotent Being, and indued with equal reason, wherefore he desired they might be treated like freemen, (for he would banish even the name of slavery from among them) and divided into messes among them, to the end they might the sooner learn their language, be sensible of the obligation they had to them, and more capable and zealous to defend that liberty they owed to their justice and humanity."

This speech of Misson's was received with general applause, and the ship rang with "*Vive le Capitaine Misson.*" *Long live Capt. Misson.*—The

negroes were divided among the French, one to a mess, who, by their gesticulations showed they were gratefully sensible of their being delivered from their chains. Their ship growing very foul, and going heavily through the water, they run into the river Lagoa, where they hove her down, taking out such planks as had suffered most by the worms, and substituting new in their room.

After this they careened the prize, and so put out to sea, steering to the southward, and keeping along the coast, but met with nothing. All this while, the greatest decorum and regularity was observed on board the Victoire; but the Dutch prisoners' example began to lead them into swearing and drunkenness, which the captain remarking thought it was best to nip these vices in the bud; and calling both the French and Dutch upon deck, he addressed himself to the latter, desiring their captain, who spoke French excellently well, to interpret what he said to those who did not understand him. He told them, "before he had the misfortune of having them on board, his ears were never grated with hearing the name of the great Creator profaned, though he, to his sorrow, had often since heard his own men guilty of that sin, which administered neither profit nor pleasure, and might draw upon them a severe punishment: that if they had a just idea of that great Being, they would never mention him, but they would immediately reflect on his purity and their own vileness. That we so easily took impressions from our company, that the Spanish proverb says, *Let a hermit and a thief live together, the thief would become hermit, or the hermit thief*: that he saw this verified in his ship, for he could attribute the oaths and curses he had heard among his brave companions, to nothing but the odious example of the Dutch: that this was not the only vice they had introduced, for before they were on board, his men

were men, but he found by their beastly pattern they were degenerated into brutes, by drowning that only faculty which distinguishes between men and beasts, *reason*. That as he had the honour to command them, he could not see them run into these odious vices without a sincere concern, as he had a paternal affection for them; and he should reproach himself as neglectful of the common good, if he did not admonish them; and as by the post with which they had honoured him, he was obliged to have a watchful eye over their general interest; he was obliged to tell them his sentiments were, that the Dutch allured them to a dissolute way of life, that they might take some advantage over them: wherefore, as his brave companions, he was assured, would be guided by reason, he gave the Dutch notice, that the first whom he caught either with an oath in his mouth or liquor in his head, should be brought to the geers, whipped and pickled for an example to the rest of his nation; as to his friends, his companions, his children, those gallant, those generous, noble, and heroic souls he had the honour to command, he entreated them to allow a small time for reflection, and to consider how little pleasure and how much danger, might flow from imitating the vices of their enemies; and that they would among themselves, make a law for the suppression of what would otherwise estrange them from the source of life, and consequently leave them destitute of his protection."

It is not to be imagined what efficacy this speech had on both nations; the Dutch grew continent in fear of punishment, and the French in fear of being reproached by their good captain, for they never mentioned him without this epithet. Upon the coast of Angola, they met with a second Dutch ship, the cargo of which consisted of silk and woollen stuffs, cloth, lace, wine, brandy, oil, spice, and

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Mission boarding the English, page 31.

hardware : the prize gave chase and engaged her, but upon the coming up of the Victoire she struck. This ship opportunely came in their way, and gave full employ to the tailors, who were on board ; for the whole crew began to be out at elbows ; they plundered her of what was of use to their own ship, and then sunk her.

The captain having about ninety prisoners on board, proposed the giving them the prize with what was necessary for their voyage, and sending them away ; which being agreed to, they shifted her ammunition on board the Victoire, and giving them provisions to carry them to the settlements the Dutch have on the coast, Misson called them up, told them what was his design, and asked if any of them was willing to share his fortune : eleven Dutch came in to him, two, of whom were sail-makers, one an armourer, and one a carpenter, necessary hands ; the rest he let go, not a little surprised at the regularity, tranquility, and humanity, which they found among these new fashioned pirates.

They had now run the length of Saldanha bay, about ten leagues to the northward of Table Bay. As here is good water, safe riding, plenty of fish and fresh provision, to be got of the natives for the merchandise they had on board, it was resolved to stay here some little time for refreshments. When they had the bay open, they spied a tall ship, which instantly got under sail, and hove out English colours. The Victoire made clear ship, and hove out her French ensign, and a smart engagement began. The English was a new ship built for 40 guns, though she had but 32 mounted, and 90 hands. Misson gave orders for boarding, and the number of fresh men he constantly poured in, after an obstinate dispute obliged the English to fly the decks, and leave the French masters of their ship, who promised,

and gave them good quarters and stripped not a man.

They found on board the prize some bales of English broadcloth, and about £60,000 in English crown pieces, and Spanish pieces of eight. The English captain was killed in the engagement, and 14 of his men: the French lost 12, which was no small mortification, but did not however provoke them to use their prisoners harshly. Capt. Misson was sorry for the death of the commander, whom he buried on shore, and one of his men being a stone-cutter, he raised a stone over his grave with these words, "*Icy gist un brave Anglois, Here lies a gallant Englishman.*" When he was buried he made a triple discharge of fifty small arms, and fired minute guns.

The English, knowing whose hands they were fallen into, and charmed with Misson's humanity, 30 of them, in three days space, desired to take on with him. He accepted them, but at the same time gave them to understand, that in taking on with him they were not to expect they should be indulged in a dissolute and immoral life. He now divided his company between the two ships, and made Caraccioli captain of the prize, giving him officers chosen by the public suffrage. The 17 negroes began to understand a little French, and to be useful hands, and in less than a month all the English prisoners came over to him, except their officers.

He had two ships well manned with resolute fellows: they now doubled the cape, and made the S. end of Madagascar, and one of the Englishmen telling Capt. Misson, that the European ships bound for Surat, commonly touched at the island of Johanna, he sent for Capt. Caraccioli on board, and it was agreed to cruise off that island. They accordingly sailed on the West side of Madagascar, and off the bay de Diego. About half seas over, between that

bay, and the island of Johanna, they came up with an English East-Indiaman, which made signals of distress as soon as she spied Misson and his prize: they found her sinking by an unexpected leak, and took all her men on board, though they could get little out of her before she went down. The English, who were thus miraculously saved from perishing, desired to be set on shore at Johanna, where they hoped to meet with either a Dutch or English ship in a little time, and the mean while they were sure of relief.

They arrived at Johanna, and were kindly received by the Queen Regent and her brother, on account of the English on the one hand, and of their strength on the other, which the queen's brother, who had the administration of affairs, was not able to make head against, and hoped they might assist him against the king of Mohila, who threatened him with a visit.

This is an island which is contiguous, in a manner, to Johanna, and lies about N. W. by N. from it. Caraccioli told Misson he might take his advantage in widening the breach between these two little monarchies, and, by offering his assistance to that of Johanna, in a manner rule both, for these would court him as their protector, and those come to any terms to buy his friendship, by which means he would hold the balance of power between them. He followed this advice, and offered his friendship and assistance to the queen, who very readily embraced it.

I must advise the reader, that many of this island speak English, and that the Englishmen who were of Misson's crew, and his interpreters, told them, their captain, though not an Englishman, was their friend and ally, and a friend and brother to the Johannamen, for they esteemed the English beyond all other nations.

They were supplied by the queen with all necessaries of life, and Misson married her sister, as Caraccioli did the daughter of her brother, whose armoury, which consisted before of no more than two rusty fire-locks and three pistols, he furnished with 30 fuzils, as many pair of pistols, and gave him two barrels of powder and four of ball.

Several of his men took wives, and some required their share of the prizes, which was justly given them, they designing to settle in this island; but the number of these did not exceed ten, which loss was repaired by thirty of the crew (they had saved from perishing) coming in to him.

While they past their time in all manner of diversions the place would afford them, as hunting, feasting, and visiting the island, the king of Mohila, made a descent, and alarmed the whole country. Misson advised the queen's brother not to give him any impediment but let him get into the heart of the island, and he would take care to intercept their return; but the prince answered, should he follow this advice the enemy would do him and his subjects an irreparable damage, in destroying the cocoa walks, and for that reason he must endeavour to stop his progress. Upon this answer he asked the English who were not under his command, if they were willing to join him in repelling the enemies of their common host, and one and all consenting, he gave them arms, and mixed them with his own men, and about the same number of Johannians, under the command of Caraccioli and the queen's brother, and arming out all his boats, he went himself to the westward of the island, where they made their descent. The party which went by land, fell in with, and beat the Mohilians with great ease, who were in the greatest consternation, to find their retreat cut off by Misson's boats. The Johannians, whom they had often molested, were so enraged, that they

gave quarter to none; and out of 300 who made the descent, if Misson and Caraccioli had not interposed, not a soul had escaped; 113 were taken prisoners, by his men, and carried on board his ships. These he sent safe to Mohila, with a message to the king, to desire he would make peace with his friend and ally the king of Johanna; but that prince, little affected with the service done him in the preservation of his subjects, sent him word he took laws from none, and knew when to make war and peace without his advice, which he neither asked nor wanted. Misson irritated by this rude answer, resolved to transfer the war into his own country, and accordingly set sail for Mohila, with about 100 Johanna men. The shore on sight of the ships, was filled with men to hinder a descent if intended, but the great guns soon dispersed this rabble, and under their cover he landed the Johannians, and an equal number of French and English. They were met by about 700 Mohilians, who pretended to stop their passage, but their darts and arrows were of little avail against Misson's fuzils; the first discharge made a great slaughter, and about 20 shells which were thrown among them, put them to a confused flight. The party of Europeans and Johannians then marched to their metropolis, without resistance, which they reduced to ashes, and the Johannians cut down all the cocoa walks that they could for the time, for towards evening they returned to their ships, and stood off to sea.

At their return to Johanna the queen made a festival, and magnified the bravery and service of her guests, friends, and allies. This feast lasted four days, at the expiration of which time the queen's brother proposed to Capt. Misson the making another descent, in which he would go in person, and did not doubt subjecting the Mohilians; but this was not the design of Misson, who had thoughts of

fixing a retreat on the N. W. side of Madagascar, and looked upon the feuds between these two islands advantageous to his views, and therefore no way his interest to suffer the one to overcome the other; for while the variance was kept up, and their forces pretty much upon a level, it was evident their interest would make both sides caress him; he therefore answered, that they ought to deliberate on the consequences, for they might be deceived in their hopes, and find the conquest less easy than they imagined. That the king of Mohila would be more upon his guard, and not only intrench himself, but gall them with frequent ambuscades, by which they must inevitably lose a number of men; and, if they were forced to retire with loss, raise the courage of the Mohilians, and make them irreconcilable enemies to the Johannians, and entirely deprive him of the advantages with which he might now make a peace, having twice defeated them: that he could not be always with them, and at his leaving Johanna he might expect the king of Mohila would endeavour to take a bloody revenge for the late damages. The queen gave entirely into Misson's sentiments.

While this was in agitation, four Mohilians arrived as ambassadors to propose a peace. Finding the Johannians upon high terms, one of them spoke to this purpose:—*O ye Johannians, do not conclude from you late success, that fortune will be always favourable; she will not always give you the protection of the Europeans, and without their help it is possible you might now sue for a peace, which you seem averse to. Remember the sun rises, comes to its meridian height, and stays not there, but declines in a moment. Let this admonish you to reflect on the constant revolution of all sublunary affairs, and the greater is your glory, the nearer you are to your declension. We are taught by every thing we see,*

that there is no stability in the world, but nature is in continual movement. The sea, which overflows the sands, has its bounds set, which it cannot pass, which the moment it has reached, without abiding, returns back to the bosom of the deep. Every herb, every shrub and tree, and even our own bodies teach us this lesson, that nothing is durable, or can be counted upon. Time passes away insensibly, one sun follows another, and brings its changes with it. To-day's globe of light sees you strengthened by these Europeans elate with victory, and we, who have been used to conquer you, come to ask a peace. To-morrow's sun may see you deprived of your present succours, and the Johannians petitioning us: as therefore we cannot say what to-morrow may bring forth, it would be unwise on uncertain hopes to forego a certain advantage, as surely peace ought to be esteemed by every wise man.

Having said this, the ambassadors withdraw, and were treated by the queen's orders. After the council had concluded, they were again called upon, and the queen told them, that by the advice of her good friends, the Europeans, and those of her council, she agreed to make peace, which she wished might banish all memory of former injuries; that they must own the war was begun by them, and that she was far from being the aggressor; she only defended herself in her own kingdom, which they had often invaded, though, till within a few days, she had never molested their coasts. If then they really desired to live amicably with her, they must resolve to send two of the king's children, and ten of the first nobility, as hostages: that they might, when they pleased, return, for these were the only terms on which she would desist prosecuting the advantages she now had, with the utmost vigour.

The ambassadors returned with this answer, and,

about ten days after, the two ships appearing upon their coasts, they sent off to give notice, that their king complied with the terms proposed, would send the hostages, and desired a cessation of all hostility, and, at the same time, invited the commanders on shore. The Johanna men on board dissuaded their accepting the invitation; but Misson and Caraccioli, fearing nothing, went, but armed their boat's crew. They were received by the king with demonstrations of friendship, and they dined with him under a tamarind tree; but when they parted from him, and were returning to their boats, they were inclosed by at least a hundred of the Mohilians, who set upon them with the utmost fury, and, in the first flight of arrows, wounded both the captains, and killed four of their boat's crew, of eight who were with them. They, in return, discharged their pistols with some execution, and fell in with their cutlasses; but all their bravery would have stood them in little stead, had not the report of their pistols alarmed and brought the rest of their friends to their assistance, who took their fuzils, and coming up while they were engaged, discharged a volley on the back of the assailants, which laid twelve of them dead on the spot. The ships hearing this fire, sent immediately the yawls and long-boats well manned. Though the islanders were a little damped in their courage by this fire of the boat's crew, yet they did not give over the fight, and one of them desperately threw himself upon Caraccioli, and gave him a deep wound in the side with a long knife; but he paid for the rashness of the attempt with his life, one of the crew cleaving his scull. The yawls and long-boats now arrived, and being guided by the noise, reinforced their companions, put the traitors to flight, and brought off their dead and wounded. The Europeans lost by this treachery, seven slain outright, and eight wounded, six of which recovered.

The crew were resolved to revenge the blood of their officers and comrades the next day, and were accordingly on the point of landing, when two canoes came off with two men bound, the pretended authors of this treason, without the king's knowledge, who had sent them that they might receive the punishment due to their villany. The Johanna men on board were called for interpreters, who having given this account, added, that the king only sacrificed these men, but that they should not believe him, for he certainly had given orders for assassinating the Europeans; and the better way was to kill all the Mohillians that came in the canoes, as well as the two prisoners; go back to Johanna, take more of their countrymen, and give no peace to traitors; but Misson was for no such violent measures; he was averse to every thing that bore the face of cruelty, and thought a bloody revenge, if necessity did not enforce it, spoke a grovelling and timid soul: he, therefore, sent those of the canoes back, and bid them tell their king, if before the evening he sent the hostages agreed upon, he should give credit to his excuse; but if he did not, he should believe him the author of the late vile attempt on his life.

The canoes went off, but returned not with an answer; wherefore, he bid the Johanna men tell the two prisoners that they should be set on shore the next morning, and ordered them to acquaint their king, he was no executioner to put those to death whom he had condemned, but that he should find he knew how to revenge himself of his treason. The prisoners being unbound, threw themselves at his feet, and begged that he would not send them ashore, for they should be surely put to death, for the crime they had committed, was, the dissuading the barbarous action of which they were accused as authors.

Next day, the two ships landed 200 men, under the cover of their cannon; but that precaution of bringing their ships close to the shore, they found needless: not a soul appearing, they marched two leagues up the country, when they saw a body of men appear behind some shrubs. Caraccioli's lieutenant, who commanded the right wing, with fifty men, made up to them, but found he had got among pit-falls artificially covered, several of his men falling into them, which made him halt, and not pursue those Mohilians who made a feint retreat to ensnare him, thinking it dangerous to proceed farther; and seeing no enemy would face them, they retired the same way they came, and getting into their boats, went on board the ships, resolving to return with a strong reinforcement, and make descents at one and the same time in different parts of the island. They asked the two prisoners how the country lay, and what the soil was on the north side of the island; and they answered it was morass, and the most dangerous part to attempt, it being a place where they shelter on any imminent danger.

The ships returned to Johanna, where the greatest tenderness and care was shown for the recovery and cure of the two captains and of their men; they lay six weeks before they were able to walk the decks, for neither of them would quit his ship. Their Johanna wives expressed a concern they did not think them capable of; nay, a wife of one of the wounded men who died, stood some time looking upon the corpse as motionless as a statue, then embracing it, without shedding a tear, desired she might take it ashore to wash and bury it; and at the same time by an interpreter, and with a little mixture of European language, begged her late husband's friends would take their leave of him the next day.

Accordingly a number went ashore, and carried

with them the dividend, which fell to his share, which the captain ordered to be given to his widow; when she saw the money, she smiled, and asked if all that was for her?—Being answered in the affirmative, “and what good will all that shining dirt do me? If I could with it purchase the life of my husband, and call him back from the grave, I would accept it with pleasure, but as it is not sufficient to allure him back to this world, I have no use for it; do with it what you please.” Then she desired they would go with her and perform the last ceremonies to her husband’s dead body, after their country fashion, lest he should be displeas’d; that she could not stay with them, to be a witness, because she was in haste to go and be married again. She startled the Europeans who heard this latter part of her speech, so dissonant from the beginning; however they followed her, and she led them into a plantain walk, where they found a great many Johanna men and women, sitting under the shade of plantains, round the corpse, which lay (as they all sat) on the ground, covered with flowers. She embraced them round, and then the Europeans, one by one, and after these ceremonies, she poured out a number of bitter imprecations against the Mohila men, whose treachery had darkened her husband’s eyes, and made him insensible of her caresses, who was her first love, to whom she had given her heart with her virginity. She then proceeded in his praises, calling him the joy of infants, the love of virgins, the delight of the old, and the wonder of the young, adding, he was strong and beautiful as the cedar, brave as the bull, tender as the kid, and loving as the ground turtle. Having finished this oration, not unlike those of the Romans, which the nearest relation of the deceased used to pronounce from the rostrum, she laid down by the side of her hus-

band, embracing him, and sitting up again, gave herself a deep wound under the left breast with a bayonet, and fell dead on her husband's corpse.

The Europeans were astonished at the tenderness and the resolution of the girl, for she was not, by what her mien spoke her, past seventeen; and they now admired, as much as they had secretly detested her, for saying she was in haste to be married again, the meaning of which they did not understand.

After the husband and wife were buried, the crew returned on board, and gave an account of what had passed; the captain's wives (for Misson and his were on board the *Bijoux*, the name they had given their prize from her make and gilding) seemed not in the least surprised, and Caraccioli's lady only said, she must be of noble descent, for none but the families of the nobility had the privilege allowed them of following their husbands, on pain if they transgressed, of being thrown into the sea, to be eat by fish; and they knew that their souls could not rest as long as any of the fish, who fed upon them, lived. Misson asked, if they intended to have done the same thing had they died? "We should not," answered his wife, "have disgraced our families; nor is our tenderness for our husband's inferior to hers whom you seem to admire."

After their recovery, Misson proposed a cruise, on the coast of Zanguebar, which being agreed to, he and Caraccioli, took leave of the queen and her brother, and would have left their wives on the island, but they could by no means be induced to the separation; it was in vain to urge the shortness of the time they were to cruise; they answered it was not farther than Mohila they intended to go, and if they were miserable in that short absence, they could never support a longer; and if they would not allow them to keep them company in the

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Battle Between Bijouz and a Portuguese ship, page 43.

voyage, they must not expect to see them at their return, if they intended one.

In a word, they were obliged to yield to them, but told them, if the views of their men should insist as strongly on following their example, their tenderness would be their ruin, and make them a prey to their enemies ; they answered, the queen should prevent that, by ordering that no woman should go on board, and if any were in the ships, they should return on shore : this order was accordingly made, and they set sail for the river Mozambique. In about ten days' cruise after they had left Johanna, and about 15 leagues to the eastward of this river, they fell in with a stout Portuguese ship of 60 guns, which engaged them from break of day till two in the afternoon, when the captain being killed, and a great number of men lost, she struck ; this proved a very rich prize, for she had the value of £250,000 sterling on board, in gold dust. The two women never quit the decks all the time of the engagement, neither gave they the least mark of fear except for their husbands, This engagement cost them 30 men, and Caraccioli lost his right leg ; the slaughter fell mostly on the English, for of the above number, 20 were of that nation : the Portuguese lost double the number. Caraccioli's wound made them resolve to make the best of their way for Johanna, where the greatest care was taken of their wounded, not one of whom died, though their number amounted to 27.

Caraccioli kept his bed two months ; but Misson seeing him in a fair way of recovery, took what hands could be spared from the *Bijoux*, leaving her sufficient for defence, and went out, having mounted ten of the Portuguese guns ; for he had hitherto carried but thirty, though he had ports for forty. He stretched over to Madagascar, and coasted along this island to the northward, as far as the

most northerly point, when turning back, he entered a bay to the northward of DiegoSuarez. He run ten leagues up this bay, and on the larboard side found it afforded a large, and safe harbour, with plenty of fresh water. He came to an anchor, went on shore and examined the nature of the soil, which he found rich, the air wholesome, and the country level. He told his men this was an excellent place for an asylum, and that he determined here to fortify and raise a small town, and make docks for shipping, that they might have some place to call their own; and a receptacle, when age or wounds had rendered them incapable of hardship, where they might enjoy the fruits of their labour, and go to their graves in peace: that he would not, however, set about this, till he had the approbation of the whole company; and were he sure they would all approve this design, which he hoped, it being evidently for the general good, he should not think it advisable to begin any works, lest the natives should, in his absence, destroy them; but, however, as they had nothing upon their hands, if they were of his opinion, they might begin to fall and square timber, ready for the raising a wooden fort, when they returned with their companions.

The captain's motion was universally applauded, and in ten days they felled and rough hewed a hundred and fifty large trees, without any interruption from or seeing any of the inhabitants. They felled their timber at the waters' edge, so that they had not the trouble of hauling them any way, which would have employed a great deal more time: they returned again, and acquainted their companions with what they had seen and done, and with the captain's resolution, which they one and all came into.

Capt. Misson then told the queen, as he had been serviceable to her in her war with the island of

Mohila, and might continue to be of farther use, he did not question her lending him assistance in the settling himself on the coast of Madagascar, and to that end furnish him with 300 men, to help in his buildings. The queen answered, she could do nothing without consent of council, and that she would assemble her nobility, and did not question their agreeing to any thing he could reasonably desire, for they were sensible of the obligations the Johannians had to him. The council was accordingly called, and Misson's demand being told, one of the eldest said, he did not think it expedient to comply with it, nor safe to refuse; that they should in agreeing to give him that assistance, help to raise a power, which might prove formidable to themselves, by the being so near a neighbour; and these men who had lately protected, might, when they found it for their interest, enslave them. On the other hand, if they did not comply, they had the power to do them great damage: that they were to make choice of the least of two possible evils, for he could prognosticate no good to Johanna, by their settling near it. Another answered, that many of them had Johanna wives: that it was not likely they would make enemies of the Johanna men at the first settling, because their friendship might be of use to them; and from their children there was nothing to be apprehended in the next generation, for they would be half their own blood; that in the mean while, if they complied with the request, they might be sure of an ally and protector against the king of Mohila; wherefore, he was for agreeing to the demand.

After a long debate, in which every inconvenience and advantage was maturely considered, it was agreed to send with him the number of men he required, on condition he should send them back in four moons, make an alliance with them, and war

against Mohila. This being agreed to, they staid till Caraccioli was thoroughly recovered: then putting the Johannians on board the Portuguese ship, with forty French and English, and fifteen Portuguese to work her, and setting sail, they arrived at the place where Misson designed his settlement, which he called *Libertatia*, and gave the name of *Liberi* to his people, desiring in that might be drowned the distinguished names of French, English, Dutch, Africans, &c

The first thing they set about was, the raising a fort on each side the harbour, which they made of an octagon figure, and having finished and mounted them with forty guns taken out of the Portuguese, they raised a battery on an angle, of ten guns, and began to raise houses and magazines under the protection of their forts and ships; the Portuguese was unrigged, and all her sails and cordage carefully laid up. While they were very busily employed in the raising a town, a party which had often hunted and rambled four or five leagues off their settlement, resolved to venture farther into the country. They made themselves some huts, at about four leagues distance from their companions, and travelled E. S. E. about five leagues farther into the country, when they came up with a black, who was armed with a bow, arrows, and a javelin: they with a friendly appearance engaged the fellow to lay by his fear, and go with them. They carried him to their companions, and there entertained him three days with a great deal of humanity, and then returned with him near the place they found him, and made him a present of a piece of scarlet baize, and an axe. He appeared overjoyed with the present, and left them with seeming satisfaction.

The hunters imagined that there might be some village not far off, and observing that he looked at

the sun, and then took his way directly south, they travelled on the same point of the compass, and from the top of a hill they spied a pretty large village, and went down to it: the men came out with their arms, such as before described, bows, arrows, and javelins; but upon two only of the whites advancing, with presents of axes and baize in their hands, they sent only four to meet them. The misfortune was, that they could not understand one another: but by their pointing to the sun, and holding up one finger, and making one of them go forward, and return again with showing their circumcision, and pointing up to heaven with one finger, they apprehended they gave them to understand there was but one God, who had sent one prophet, and concluded from thence, and their circumcision, they were Mahometans. The presents were carried to their chief, and he seemed to receive them kindly, and by signs invited the whites into their village; but they remembering the late treachery of the Mohilians, made signs for victuals to be brought to them where they were.

The remainder of Captain Misson's History will be found incorporated with that of Captain Tew.

CAPTAIN JOHN BOWEN.

THE exact time of this person's setting out I am not certain of. I find him cruising on the Malabar coast in the year 1700, commanding a ship called the *Speaker*, whose crew consisted of men of all nations, and their piracies were committed upon ships of all nations likewise. The pirates here met with no manner of inconveniencies in carrying on their designs, for it was made so much a trade, that the merchants of one town never scrupled the buying commodities taken from another, though but ten miles distant, in a public sale, furnishing the robbers at the same time with all necessaries, even of vessels, when they had occasion to go on any expedition, which they themselves would often advise them of.

Among the rest, an English East-Indiaman, *Capt. Coneway*, from Bengal, fell into the hands of this crew, which they made prize of, near *Callequilon*. They carried her in, and put her up to sale, dividing the ship and cargo into three shares; one third was sold to a merchant, native of *Callequilon* afore-said, another third to a merchant of *Porca*, and the other to one *Malpa*, a Dutch factor.

Loaded with the spoil of this and several country ships they left the coast, and steered for *Madagascar*; but in their voyage thither, meeting with adverse winds, and, being negligent in their steerage, they ran upon *St. Thomas's reef*, at the island of *Mauritius*, where the ship was lost; but *Bowen* and the greatest part of the crew got safe ashore.

They met here with all the civility and good treatment imaginable. *Bowen* was complimented

in a particular manner by the governor, and splendidly entertained in his house; the sick men were got, with great care, into the fort, and cured by their doctor, and no supplies of any sort, wanting for the rest. They spent here three months, but yet resolving to set down at Madagascar, they bought a sloop, which they converted into a brigantine, and about the middle of March, 1701, departed, having first taken formal leave of the governor, by making a present of 2500 pieces of eight; leaving him, besides, the wreck of their ship, with the guns, stores, and every thing else that was saved. The governor, on his part, supplied them with necessaries for their voyage, which was but short, and gave them a kind invitation to make that island a place of refreshment in the course of their future adventures, promising that nothing should be wanting to them that his government afforded.

Upon their arrival at Madagascar, they put in at a place on the east side, called Maritan, quit their vessel, and settled themselves ashore in a fruitful plain on the side of a river. They built themselves a fort on the river's mouth, towards the sea, and another small one on the other side, towards the country; the first to prevent a surprise from shipping, and the other as a security from the natives, many of whom they employed in the building. They built also a little town for their habitation, which took up the remainder of the year 1701.

When this was done, they soon became dissatisfied with their new situation, having a hankering mind after their old employment, and accordingly resolved to fit up the brigantine they had from the Dutch at Mauritius, which was laid in a cove near their settlement; but an accident, that they improved, provided for them in a better manner, and saved them a great deal of trouble.

It happened that about the beginning of the year

1702, a ship called the *Speedy Return*, belonging to the Scotch-African and East-India company, Capt. Drummoud, commander, came into the port of Maritan in Madagascar, with a brigantine that belonged to her; they had before taken in negroes at St. Mary's, a little island adjoining to the main land of Madagascar, and carried them to Don Mascarenhas, from whence they sailed to this port on the same trade.

On the ship's arrival, Capt. Drummond, with Andrew Wilky, his surgeon, and several others of the crew, went on shore; in the mean time John Bowen, with four others of his consorts, went off in a little boat, on pretence of buying some of their merchandise brought from Europe: and finding a fair opportunity, the chiefmate, boatswain, and a hand or two more only upon deck, and the rest at work in the hold they threw off their mask; each drew out a pistol and hanger, and told them they were all dead men if they did not retire that moment to the cabin. The surprise was sudden, and they thought it necessary to obey: one of the pirates placed himself sentry at the door, with his arms in his hands, and the rest immediately laid the hatch-
es, and then made a signal to their fellows on shore as agreed on; upon which, about forty or fifty came on board, and took quiet possession of the ship, and afterwards the brigantine, without bloodshed, or striking a stroke. Bowen was made, or rather made himself, of course, captain; he detained the old crew, or the greatest part thereof, burnt the Dutch brigantine as being of no use to them, cleaned and fitted the ship, took water, provisions, and what necessaries were wanting, and made ready for new adventures.

Having thus piratically possessed himself of Capt. Drummond's ship and brigantine, and being informed by the crew, that when they left Don Mas-

carenhas, a ship called the Rook galley, Capt. Honeycomb, commander, was lying in that bay, Bowen resolved, with the other pirates, to sail thither, but it taking up seven or eight days in watering their vessels, and settling their private affairs, they arrived not at the island till after the departure of the said galley, who thereby happily escaped the villainous snare of their unprovoked enemies.

The night after the pirates left Maritan, the brigantine ran on a ledge of rocks off the west side of the island of Madagascar, which not being perceived by the ship, Bowen came into Mascarenhas without her, not knowing what was become of his consort. Here he stayed eight or ten days, in which time he supplied the ship with provisions, and judging that the Rook galley was gone to some other island, the ship sailed to Mauritius, in search of her; but the pirates seeing four or five ships in the N. W. harbour, they thought themselves too weak to attempt any thing there; so they stood immediately for Madagascar again, and arrived safe, first at Port Dauphin and then at Augustin Bay. In a few days the Content brigantine, which they supposed either to have been lost, or revolted that honourable service, came into the same bay, and informed their brethren of the misfortune that happened to them.

The rogues were glad, no doubt, of seeing one another again, and calling a council together, they found the brigantine in no condition for business, being then very leaky; therefore she was condemned, and forthwith hauled ashore and burnt, and the crew united, and all went on board the Speedy Return.

At this place the pirates were made acquainted, by the negroes, of the adventures of another gang that had settled for some time near that harbour, and had one Howard for their captain. It was the misfortune of an India ship called the Prosperous,

to come into the bay at the time that these rogues were looking out for employment ; who under the pretence of trading (almost in the same manner that Bowen and his gang had seized the *Speedy Return*) made themselves master of her, and sailed with her to New Mathelage. Bowen and his gang consulting together on this intelligence, concluded it was more for their interest to join in alliance with this new company, than to act single, they being too weak of themselves to undertake any considerable enterprise, remembering how they were obliged to bear away from the island of Mauritius, when they were in search of the *Rook* galley, which they might have taken, with several others, had they had, at that time, a consort of equal force to their own ship.

They accordingly set sail from the bay, and came into New Mathelage, but found no ship there, though upon enquiry they understood that the pirate they looked for, had been at the place, but was gone ; so after some stay they proceeded to Johanna, but the *Prosperous* not being there neither, they sailed to Mayotta, where they found her lying at anchor. This was about Christmas, 1702.

Here these two powers struck up an alliance. Howard liking the proposals, came readily into it, and the treaty was ratified by both companies. They stayed about two months at this island, thinking it, perhaps, as likely a place to meet with prey as cruising out for it, and so indeed it happened ; for about the beginning of March, the ship *Pembroke*, belonging to our East-India company, coming in for water, was boarded by their boats, and taken, with the loss of the chief mate and another man that were killed in the skirmish.

The two pirate ships weighed, and went out to sea along with their prize, and that day and the next plundered her of the best part of her cargo, provisions, and stores, and then taking the captain

and carpenter away, they let the *Pembroke* go where the remainder of her crew pleased, and came with their ships into New Mathelage. Here the two captains consulted, and laid a plan for a cruise to India, for which purpose they detained Capt. Wooley, of the *Pembroke*, lately taken, in order to be their pilot in those seas; but a very hot dispute arose between the two companies which ship he should go aboard of, insomuch that they had gone together by the ears, if an expedient had not been found to satisfy each party, that one might not have the advantage of the other by the captain's skill and knowledge of the Indian coast, and this was to knock the poor man on the head, and murder him: but at last, by the authority of Bowen, Capt. Woolley escaped the threatened danger, by bringing his company to consent to his remaining on board the *Prosperous*, where he then was.

The *Speedy Return* being foul, and wanting a little repair was judged proper for her to go back to *Augustin Bay* to clean; in the mean while the *Prosperous* was to have a pair of boot-tops where she lay, and likewise to take in water and provisions, and then to join their consort again at *Mayotta*, the island appointed for the rendezvous.

The *Prosperous* put into *Mayotta* as agreed on, and waiting there some time for Bowen's ship, without seeing or hearing any news of her, went to *Johanna*, but not meeting with her there, they apprehended some accident had befallen her, and therefore left the place, and sailed on the expedition themselves. As to the *Speedy Return*, she arrived safe at *St. Augustin Bay*, at *Madagascar*, and there cleaned and victualled; but tarrying there somewhat too long, the winds hung contrary, and they could not for their lives beat up to *Mayotta*, and therefore went up to *Johanna*, where, hearing that their friends had lately left that Island, they steered

for the Red Sea, but the wind not proving fair for their design, they bore away for the high land of St. John's near Surat, where they once more fell in company with their brethren of the Prosperous.

They cruised together as was first agreed on, and after some time they had sight of four ships, to which they gave chase; but these separating, two standing to the northward, and two to the southward, the pirates separated likewise, Bowen standing after those that steered southerly, and Howard crowding after the others. Bowen came up with the heaviest of the two, which proved to be a Moorish ship of 700 tons, bound from the Gulf of Mocha to Surat. The pirates brought the prize into Rajapora, on the coast of India, where they plundered her; the merchandise they sold to the natives, but a small sum of current gold they found aboard, amounting to £22,000 English money, they put into their pockets. Two days after, the Prosperous came in, but without any prize; however, they soon made their friends acquainted that they had not succeeded worse than themselves, for at Surat river's mouth, where all the four ships were bound, they came up with their chase, and with a broad side, one of them struck, but the other got into the bay. They stood down the coast with the prize till they had plundered her of the best of her cargo, the most valuable of which was 84,000 sequins, a piece of about ten shillings each, and then they left her adrift, without either anchor or cable, off Daman.

While they were lying at Rajapora they passed a survey on their shipping, and judging their own to be less serviceable than their prize, they voted them to the flames, and straightway fitted up the Surat ship. They transported both companies aboard of her, and then set fire to the Prosperous and Speedy Return. They mustered at this place 164 fighting

men; 43 only were English, the greater number French, the rest Danes, Swedes, and Dutch. They took on board 70 Indians to do the drudgery of the ship, and mounted 56 guns, calling her the *Defiance*, and sailed from Rajapora the latter end of October, in the year 1703 to cruise on the coast of Malabar. But not meeting with prey in this first cruise, they came to an anchor about three leagues to the northward of Cochen, expecting some boats to come off with supplies of refreshments, for which purpose they fired several guns, by way of signal, but none appearing, the quarter-master was sent in the pinnace to confer with the people, which he did with some caution, keeping the boat upon their oars at the shore side. In short, they agreed very well, the pirates were promised whatever necessaries they wanted, and the boat returned aboard.

The next day a boat came off from the town with hogs, goats, wine, &c. with a private intimation from Malpa, the Dutch broker, an old friend of the pirates, that a ship of that country called the *Rhimæ*, lay then in Mudbay, not many leagues off, and if they would go out and take her, he would purchase the cargo of them, and likewise promised that they should be further supplied with pitch, tar, and all other necessaries, which was made good to them; for people from the factory flocked aboard every hour, and dealt with them as in open market, for all sorts of merchandise, refreshments, jewels, and plate, returning with coffers of money, &c. to a great value.

The advice of the ship was taken very kindly, but the pirates judging their own ship too large to go close into the bay, consulted their friend upon means for taking the said ship, who readily treated with them for the sale of one of less burthen, that then lay in the harbour; but Malpa speaking to one Punt, of the factory, to carry her out, he not only

refused to be concerned in such a piece of villany, but reproved Malpa for corresponding with the pirates, and told him, if he should be guilty of so base an action, he must never see the face of any of his countrymen more; which made the honest broker change both his countenance and his purpose.

At this place Capt. Woolley, whom they had taken for their pilot on the Indian coast, being in a very sick and weak condition, was, at his earnest entreaty, discharged from his severe confinement among them, and set ashore, and the next day the pirates sailed, and ranged along the Malabar coast, in quest of more booty. In their way they met a second time with the Pembroke, and plundered her of some sugar, and other small things, and let her go again. From the coast they sailed back for the Island of Mauritius, where they lay some time, and lived after their usual extravagant manner.

CAPTAIN ROBERT KIDD.

WE are now going to give an account of one whose name is well known in England. The person we mean is Capt. Kidd, whose public trial and execution here, rendered him the subject of all conversation, so that his actions have been chanted about in ballads. However, it is now a considerable time since these things passed, and though the people knew in general that Capt. Kidd was hanged,

and that his crime was piracy, yet there were scarce any, even at that time, who were acquainted with his life or actions, or could account for his turning pirate.

In the beginning of king William's war, Capt. Kidd commanded a privateer in the West-Indies, and by several adventurous actions acquired the reputation of a brave man, as well as an experienced seaman. About this time the pirates were very troublesome in those parts: wherefore Capt. Kidd was recommended by the Lord Bellamont, then governor of Bardadoes, as well as by several other persons, to the government here, as a person very fit to be entrusted with the command of a government ship, and to be employed in cruising upon the pirates, as knowing those seas perfectly well, and being acquainted with all their lurking places; but what reasons governed the politics of those times I cannot tell, but this proposal met with no encouragement here, though it is certain it would have been of great consequence to the subject, our merchants suffering incredible damages by those robbers.

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

William Rex.

WILLIAM THE THIRD, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our trusty and well

beloved Capt. ROBERT KIDD, commander of the ship the Adventure galley, or to any other the commander of the same for the time being, *Greeting:* Whereas we are informed, that Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt Thomas Wake, and Capt. William Maze, or Mace, and other subjects, natives or inhabitants of New-York, and elsewhere, in our plantations in America, have associated themselves with divers others, wicked and ill-disposed persons, and do against the law of nations commit many and great piracies, robberies, and depredations on the seas upon the parts of America, and in other parts, to the great hindrance and discouragement of trade and navigation, and to the great danger and hurt of our loving subjects, our allies, and all others, navigating the seas upon their lawful occasions. NOW KNOW YE, that we being desirous to prevent the aforesaid mischiefs, and as much as in us lies, to bring the said pirates, free-booters and sea-rovers to justice, have thought fit, and do hereby give and grant to the said Robert Kidd (to whom our commissioners for exercising the office of Lord High Admiral of England, have granted a commission as a private man of war, bearing date the 11th day of December, 1695,) and unto the commander of the said ship for the time being, and unto the officers, mariners, and others, which shall be under your command, full power and authority to apprehend, seize, and take into your custody as well the said Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake, and Capt. William Maze, or Mace, as all such pirates, free-booters, and sea-rovers, being either our subjects, or of other nations associated with them, which you shall meet with upon the seas or coasts of America, or upon any other seas or coasts, with all their ships and vessels, and all such merchandise, money, goods, and wares as shall be found on board, or with them, in case they shall willingly yield themselves;

but if they will not yield without fighting, then you are by force to compel them to yield. And we also require you to bring, or cause to be brought, such pirates, free-booters, or sea-rovers, as you shall seize, to a legal trial, to the end they may be proceeded against according to the law in such cases. And we do hereby command all our officers, ministers, and other our loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting to you in the premises. And we do hereby enjoin you to keep an exact journal of your proceedings in the execution of the premises, and set down the names of such pirates, and of their officers and company, and the names of such ships and vessels as you shall by virtue of these presents take and seize, and the quantities of arms, ammunition, provision, and lading of such ships, and the true value of the same, as near as you judge. And we do hereby strictly charge and command you, as you will answer the contrary at your peril, that you do not, in any manner, offend or molest our friends or allies, their ships or subjects, by colour or pretence of these presents, or the authority thereby granted. *In witness whereof*, we have caused our great seal of England to be affixed to these presents. Given at our court at Kensington, the 26th day of January, 1695, in the 7th year of our reign."

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

With these two commissions he sailed out of Plymouth in May, 1696, in the Adventure galley, of 30 guns, and 80 men; the place he first designed

for was New York ; in his voyage thither he took a French banker, but this was no act of piracy, he having a commission for that purpose, as we have just observed.

When he arrived at New York, he put up articles for engaging more hands, it being necessary to his ship's crew, since he proposed to deal with a desperate enemy. The terms he offered were, that every man should have a share of what was taken, reserving for himself and owners forty shares. Upon which encouragement he soon increased his company to 155 men.

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

It happened that at this time the pirate ships were most of them out in search of prey ; so that according to the best intelligence Capt. Kidd could get, there was not one of them at that time about the island : wherefore, having spent some time in watering his ship and taking in more provisions, he thought of trying his fortune on the coast of Malabar, where he arrived in the month of June following, four months from his reaching Madagascar. Hereabouts he made an unsuccessful cruise, touching sometimes at the island of Mohila, and some-

times at that of Johanna, between Malabar and Madagascar. His provisions were every day wasting, and his ship began to want repair: wherefore, when he was at Johanna, he found means of borrowing a sum of money from some Frenchmen who had lost their ship, but saved their effects, and with this he purchased materials for putting his ship in good repair.

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

We cannot account for this sudden change in his conduct, otherwise than by supposing that he first meant well, while he had hopes of making his for-

tune by taking of pirates; but now weary of ill success, and fearing lest his owners, out of humour at their great expenses, should dismiss him, and he should want employment, and be marked out for an unlucky man; rather, I say, than run the hazard of poverty, he resolved to do his business one way, since he could not do it another.

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

A little time after he touched a Carawar, a place upon the same coast, where, before he arrived, the news of what he had done to the Moorish ship had reached them; for some of the English merchants

there had received an account of it from the owners who corresponded with them; wherefore, as soon as Kidd came in, he was suspected to be the person who committed this piracy; and one Mr. Harvey and Mr. Mason, two of the English factory, came on board and asked for Parker, and Antonio, the Portuguese; but Kidd denied that he knew any such persons, having secured them both in a private place in the hold, where they were kept for seven or eight days, that is, till Kidd sailed from thence.

However, the coast was alarmed, and a Portuguese man of war was sent out to cruise. Kidd met with her, and fought her about six hours, gallantly enough; but finding her too strong to be taken he quitted her; for he was able to run away from her when he would. Then he went to a place called Porca, where he watered the ship, and bought a number of hogs of the natives to victual his company.

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

would think, after what he had already done, that he need not have recourse to a quibble to give his actions a colour.

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

But Kidd's penitential fit did not last long, for coasting along Malabar, he met with a great number of boats, all which he plundered. Upon the same coast he also fell in with a Portuguese ship, which he kept possession of a week, and then having taken out of her some chests of India goods, thirty jars of butter, with some wax, iron, and a hundred bags of rice, he let her go.

Much about the same time he went to one of the Malabar islands for wood and water, and his cooper being ashore, was murdered by the natives; upon which Kidd himself landed, and burnt and pillaged several of their houses, the people running away; but having taken one, he caused him to be tied to a

tree, and commanded one of his men to shoot him ; then putting to sea again he took the greatest prize which fell into his hands while he followed this trade : this was a Moorish ship of 400 tons, richly laden, named the Queda Merchant, the master whereof was an Englishman, by the name of Wright ; for the Indians often make use of English or Dutchmen to command their ships, their own mariners not being so good artists in navigation. Kidd chased her under French colours, and having come up with her, he ordered her to hoist out her boat, and to send on board of him, which being done, he told Wright he was his prisoner ; and informing himself concerning the said ship, he understood there were no Europeans on board, except two Dutch, and one Frenchman, all the rest being Indians or Armenians, and that the Armenians were part owners of the cargo. Kidd gave the Armenians to understand, that if they would offer any thing that was worth his taking for their ransom, he would hearken to it. Upon which, they proposed to pay him 20,000 rupees, not quite £3000 sterling ; but Kidd judged this would be making a bad bargain, wherefore he rejected it, and setting the crew on shore, at different places on the coast, he soon sold as much of the cargo as came to ten thousand pounds. With part of it he also trafficked, receiving in exchange provisions, or such other goods as he wanted ; by degrees he disposed of the whole cargo, and when the division was made, it came to about £200 a man ; and having reserved forty shares to himself, his dividend amounted to about £8000 sterling.

The Indians along the coast came on board and trafficked with all freedom, and he punctually performed his bargains, till about the time he was ready to sail ; and then thinking he should have no further occasion for them, he made no scruple of

taking their goods, and setting them on shore without any payment in money or goods, which they little expected; for as they had been used to deal with pirates, they always found them men of honour in the way of trade; a people, enemies to deceit, and that scorned to rob but in their own way.

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

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

The *Adventure* galley was now so old and leaky, that they were forced to keep two pumps continually going; wherefore Kidd shifted all the guns and tackle out of her into the *Queda Merchant*, intending her for his man of war; and as he had divided the money before, he now made a division of the remainder of the cargo: soon after which, the greatest part of the company left him, some going

on board Capt. Culliford, and others absconding into the country, so that he had not above 40 men left.

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

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

When Kidd left Amboyna he knew nothing of this proclamation, for certainly had he had notice of his being excepted in it, he would not have been so infatuated, as to run himself into the very jaws of danger; but relying upon his interest with the lord Bellamont, and fancying that a French pass or two he found on board some of the ships he took, would serve to countenance the matter, and that part of the booty he got would gain him new friends—I say all these things made him flatter himself that all would be hushed, and that justice would but wink at him.—Wherefore he sailed directly for New-York, where he was no sooner arrived, but by the Lord

Bellamont's orders, he was secured with all his papers and effects. Many of his fellow-adventurers, who had forsook him at Madagascar, came over from thence passengers, some to New-England and some to Jersey; where hearing of the king's proclamation for pardoning of pirates, they surrendered themselves to the governor of those places. At first they were admitted to bail, but soon after laid in strict confinement, where they were kept for some time, till an opportunity happened of sending them with their captain over to England to be tried.

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

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

Now a servant, it is true, if he go voluntarily, and have his proportion, he must be accounted a pirate, for then he acts upon his own account, and not by compulsion; and these persons, according to the evidence, received their part, but whether they ac-

counted to their masters for their shares afterwards, is the matter in question, and what distinguishes them as free agents, or men that did go under the compulsion of their masters, which being left to the consideration of the jury, they found them *not guilty*.

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

Darby Mullins urged in his defence, that he served under the king's commission, and therefore could not disobey his commander without incurring great punishments; that whenever a ship or ships went out upon any expedition under the king's commission, the men were never allowed to call their officers to an account, why they did this, or why they did that, because such a liberty would destroy all discipline: that if any thing was done which was unlawful, the officers were to answer it, for the men did no more than their duty in obeying orders. He was told by the court, that acting under the commission justified in what was lawful, but not in what

was unlawful. He answered he stood in need of nothing to justify him in what was lawful, but the case of seamen must be very hard, if they must be brought into such danger for obeying the commands of their officers, and punished for not obeying them, and if they were allowed to dispute the orders, there could be no such thing as command kept up at sea.

This seemed to be the best defence the thing could bear; but his taking a share of the plunder, the seamen's mutinying on board several times, and taking upon them to control the captain, showed there was no obedience paid to the commission; and that they acted in all things according to the custom of pirates and free-booters, which weighing with the jury, they brought him in guilty with the rest.

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

before the facts mentioned in the indictment were committed, proved of no manner of service to the prisoner on his trial.

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

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

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

CAPTAIN TEW.

BEFORE I enter on the adventures of this pirate, I must take notice to the reader of the reasons which made me not continue the life of Misson.

In reading the notes, which I have by me, relating to Capt. Tew, I found him joined with Misson; and that I must be either guilty of repetition, or give an account of Tew in Misson's life, which is contrary to the method I proposed, that of giving a distinct relation of every pirate who has made any figure: and surely Tew, in point of gallantry, was inferior to none, and may justly claim a particular account of his actions. However, before I enter on the life of this pirate, I shall continue that of Misson to the time that these two commanders met.

The blacks seeing them so much on their guard, brought out boiled rice and fowls, and after they had satisfied their hunger, the chief made signs that they were the same who had carried a negro to their ships, and sent for the axe and piece of baize they had given him. While this passed, the very negro came from hunting, who seemed overjoyed to see them. The chief made signs that they might return, and ten negroes coming to them, laden with fowls and kids, he gave them to understand, they should accompany them to their ships with these presents. They parted very amicably, and in hopes of settling a good correspondence with these natives. All the houses were neatly framed and jointed, not built from any foundation, but so made, that half a dozen men could lift and transport them from place to place. The hunters, returning to their ships, with these presents and negroes, were joyfully received; and the negroes were not only caressed, but laden

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The Victoria engages a Portuguese Ship, page 73.

CAPTAIN TEW.

with baize, iron kettles, and rum, besides the present of a cutlass for the chief.

While the negroes stayed, which was the space of three days, they examined and admired the forts and growing town, in which all hands were busied, and not even the prisoners excused.

As Misson apprehended no danger from the land, his fort, though of wood, being, he thought, a sufficient defence to his infant colony, he took 160 hands, and went a second time on the coast of Zanguebar, and off Quiloa he gave chase to a large ship which lay by for him. She proved an over-match for the Victoire, which engaged her, with great loss of men, near eight glasses; but finding he was more likely to be taken, than to make a prize, by the advice of his officers and men, endeavoured to leave the Portuguese, which was a 50 gun ship, and had 300 men on board; but he found this attempt vain, for the Portuguese sailed as well as the Victoire, and her commander, who was a resolute and brave man, seeing him endeavour to shake him off, clapped him on board, but lost most of the men he entered. Misson's crew, not used to be attacked, and expecting no quarter, fought so desperately, that they not only thoroughly cleared their decks, but some of them followed the Portuguese, who leaped into their own ship; which Misson seeing, hoped to make an advantage of their despair, and crying out, *Elle est a nous, a l'abordage—She's our own, board, board her*—so many of his men followed the few, that hardly were there enough left to work the ship. Misson, observing the resolution of his men, grappled the Portuguese ship, and leaped on board himself, crying out, *la mort, ou la victoire—death or victory*. The Portuguese, who thought themselves in a manner conquerors, seeing the enemy not only drive off those who entered them, but board with such resolution, began to quit the decks in spite of

their officers. The captain and Misson met, as he was endeavouring to hinder the flight of his men. they engaged with equal bravery with their entlasses: but Misson striking him on the neck, he fell down the main hatch, which put an end to the fight, for the Portuguese seeing their captain fall, threw down their arms, and called for quarters, which was granted; and all the prisoners without distinction being ordered between decks, and the powder rooms secured, he put 35 men on board the prize, and made the best of his way to Libertatia. This was the dearest prize he ever made, for he lost 58 men. She was vastly rich in gold, having near £200,000 sterling on board, being her own and the cargo of her companion, which was lost upon the coast, of whose crew she had saved one hundred men out of 120, the rest being lost by endeavouring to swim ashore. This was the reason that the prize was so well manned, and proved so considerable.

Being within sight of Madagascar, they spied a sloop which stood for them, and when in gun shot, threw out black colours, and fired a gun to windward. Misson brought too, fired another to leeward, and hoisted out his boat, which the sloop perceiving, lay by for. Misson's lieutenant went on board, and was received very civilly by Capt. Tew, who was the commander, to whom the lieutenant gave a short account of their adventures and new settlement, inviting him very kindly on board Capt. Misson. Tew told him, he could not consent to go with him till he had the opinion of his men. In the mean while, Misson coming along side, hailed the sloop, and invited the captain on board, desiring his lieutenant would stay as a hostage, if they were in the least jealous of him, which they had no reason to be, since he was of force so much superior, that he need not employ stratagem. This determined the company on board the sloop, who advised their

captain to go with the lieutenant, whom they would not suffer to stay behind, to show the greater confidence in their new friends.

My reader may be surprised that a single sloop should venture to give chase to two ships of such countenance as were the *Victoire* and her prize; but this wonder will cease, when he is acquainted with the sequel.

Capt. Tew, after being handsomely regaled on board the *Victoire*, and thoroughly satisfied, returned on board his sloop, gave an account of what he had learned, and his men consenting, he gave orders to steer the same course with *Misson*, whose settlement it was agreed to visit. I shall here leave them to give an account of Capt. Tew.

Mr. Richier, governor of Bermuda, fitted out two sloops on the privateer account, commanded by Capt. George Drew, and Capt. Thomas Tew, with instructions to make the best of their way to the river Gambia, in Africa, and there, with the advice and assistance of the agent for the royal African company, to attempt the taking the French factory of Goree on that coast.

The above commanders having their commissions and instructions from the governor, took their departure from Bermuda, and kept company some time; but Drew springing his mast, and a violent storm coming upon them, they lost each other.

Tew being separated from his consort, thought of providing for his future ease, by making one bold push; and accordingly, calling all hands on deck, he spoke to them to this purpose.

“That they were not ignorant of the design with which the governor fitted them out: the taking and destroying the French factory; that he, indeed, readily agreed to take a commission to this end, though contrary to his judgment, because it was for the sake of being employed; but that he

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thought it a very injudicious expedition, which, did they succeed in, would be of no use to the public, and only be of advantage to a private company of men, from whom they could expect no reward for their bravery; that he could see nothing but danger in the undertaking, without the least prospect of booty; that he could not suppose any man fond of fighting for fighting's sake; and few ventured their lives, but with some view either of particular interest or public good: but here was not the least appearance of either. Wherefore, he was of opinion, that they should turn their thoughts on what might better their circumstances; and if they were so inclined, he would undertake to shape a course which should lead them to ease and plenty, in which they might pass the rest of their days. "That one bold push would do their business, and they might return home, not only without danger, but even with reputation." The crew finding he expected their resolution, cried one, and all, "*A gold chain or a wooden leg—we'll stand by you.*"

Hearing this, he desired they would choose a quarter-master, who might consult with him for the common good; which was accordingly done.

I must acquaint the reader, that on board the West-India privateers and free-booters, the quarter-master's opinion is like the Mufti's among the Turks: the captain can undertake nothing which the quarter-master does not approve. We may say the quarter-master is a humble imitation of the Roman tribune of the people; he speaks for, and looks after the interest of the crew.

Tew, now, instead of proceeding on his voyage to Gambia, shaped his course for the Cape of Good Hope, which doubling, he steered for the straits of Babelmandel, entering into the Red Sea, where they came up with a lofty ship bound from the Indies to Arabia; she was richly laden, and as she

was to clear the coasts of rovers, five more, extremely rich (one especially in gold) being to follow her, she had 300 soldiers on board, besides her seamen.

Tew, on making this ship, told his men she carried their fortunes, which they would find no difficulty to take possession of; for though he was satisfied she was full of men, and was mounted with a great number of guns, they wanted the two things necessary, skill and courage: and, indeed, so it proved, for he boarded and carried her without loss, every one taking more care to run from danger, than to exert himself in the defence of his goods.

In rummaging this prize, the pirates threw over a great many rich bales, to search for gold, silver and jewels; and having taken what they thought proper, together with the powder, part of which (as being more than they could handsomely stow) they threw into the sea, they left her, sharing £3000 sterling a man.

Encouraged by this success, Capt. Tew proposed going in quest of the other five ships, of which he had intelligence from the prize; but the quarter-master opposing him, he was obliged to drop the design, and steer for Madagascar.

Here the quarter-master finding this island productive of all the necessaries of life; and the air was wholesome, soil fruitful, and the sea abounding with fish, proposed settling; but only three and twenty of the crew came into the proposal: the rest stayed with Captain Tew, who having given the new settlers their share of plunder, designed to return to America, as they afterwards did; but spying the *Victoire* and her prize, he thought he might, by their means, return somewhat richer, and resolved to speak with them, as I have already said.

Tew and his company having taken the above resolution of visiting Monsieur Misson's colony,

arrived with him, and was not a little surprised to see his fortifications.

When they came under the first fort, they saluted it with nine guns, and were answered by an equal number. All the prisoners, at their coming to an anchor, were suffered to come up, a privilege they had never before granted them, on account of the few hands left them, except two or three at a time.

The joy those ashore expressed at the sight of so considerable a prize as they judged her at first sight, was vastly allayed, when they heard how dear a purchase she had proved to them. However, the reinforcement of the sloop made some amends. Capt. Tew was received by Caraccioli and the rest, with great civility and respect, who did not a little admire his courage, both in attacking the prize he made, and afterwards in giving chase to Misson. He was called to the council of officers, which was immediately held, to consider what methods should be taken with the prisoners, who were, by 190 brought in by this new prize, near as numerous as those of his own party, though Tew joined them with 70 men. It was therefore resolved to keep them separate from the Portuguese and English, who were before taken, to make them believe they were in amity with a prince of the natives, who was very powerful, and to propose to them, at their choice, the assisting the new colony in their works, or being sent prisoners up the country, if they rejected entering in with them. Seventy-three took on, and the rest desired they might be any way employed rather than be sent up the country; 117 then were set to work upon a dock, which was laid out about half a mile above the mouth of the harbour, and the other prisoners were forbid to pass such bounds as were prescribed then on pain of death; lest they, knowing their own strength, should re-

volt; for I must acquaint the reader, that on the arrival of the Victoife, both their loss and the number of Portuguese they brought in, was known to none but themselves, and the number of those who came over, magnified; besides, the Johanna men were all armed and disciplined, and the Bijoux lay as a guard-ship, where the last prisoners were set to work; but while they provided for their security, both within and without, they did not neglect providing also for their support, for they dug and sowed a large plat of ground with Indian and European corn, and other seeds which they found or board their prizes. In the mean while, Caraccioli, who had the art of persuasion, wrought on many of the Portuguese, who saw no hopes of returning home to join them. Misson, who could not be easy in an inactive life, would have taken another cruise; but fearing the revolt of the prisoners, durst not weaken the colony by the hands he must necessarily take with him. Wherefore, he proposed giving the last prize to, and sending away the prisoners. Caraccioli and Capt. Tew were against it, saying, that it would discover their retreat, and cause their being attacked by the Europeans, who had settlements along the continent, before they were able to defend themselves. Misson replied, he could not bear to be always diffident of those about him; that it was better to die at once, than live in continual apprehensions of death: that the time was come for sending away the Johanna men, and that they could not go without a ship; neither durst he trust a ship out, not well manned, nor man her while so many prisoners were with him. Wherefore there was a necessity of sending them off, or of putting them all to the sword; a barbarity by which he would not purchase his security. A council was called, and what Capt. Misson had proposed, agreed to. The prisoners were then summoned, and he

told them, in few words, that he knew the consequence of giving them liberty; that he expected to be attacked as soon as the place of his retreat was known, and had it in his hands by putting them to death, to avoid the doubtful fate of war; but his humanity would not suffer him to entertain a thought so cruel, and his alliances with the natives, he hoped, would enable him to repel his assailants; but he required an oath of every one, that he should not serve against him. He then inquired into the circumstances of every particular man, and what they had lost, all which he returned, telling the company it should be reckoned as part of his share; and the prisoners, that he did not make war with the oppressed, but the oppressors. The prisoners were charmed with this mark of generosity, and wished he might never meet a treatment unworthy of that he gave them. The ship victualled for a voyage to the coast of Zanguebar, all her guns and ammunition taken out with the spare sails, and spare rigging, all were ordered to be gone; and 137 departed, highly applauding the behaviour of their enemies. All this while they had heard nothing from the natives, nor had the hunting parties met with any of them, which made Misson suspect they were afraid of his being their neighbour, and had shifted their quarters; but as the Johanna men were upon going away, there came about 50 negroes to them, driving about 100 head of black cattle, 20 negro men bound, and 25 women, for which cattle and prisoners they bartered rum, hatchets, baize, and beads; some hogsheads of which last commodity they had taken on the coast of Angola. Here the negroes belonging to Misson were provided with wives: the natives were caressed, and to the slaves signs made that their liberty was given them; they were immediately clothed and put under the care of as many whites, who, by all possi-

ble demonstrations, endeavoured to make them understand that they were enemies to slavery. The natives stayed ten days, which retarded the departure of the Johanna men ; but, upon their retireing, the Bijoux sailed with 100 of them on board, under the command of Caraccioli's lieutenant, who excused the keeping them longer than was promised, and not bringing them at once, having no more than two ships. The Portuguese ship, which was unrigged, being made a hulk, the ten men of Misson's company who had settled at Johanna, being desirous to return, were brought to Libertatia with their wives (of which they had two or three a piece) and their children. The Bijoux, at two more voyages, carried over the rest of the Johannians.

Misson hove down the Bijoux, and resolving on a cruise on the coast of Guinea, to strengthen his colony by the capture of some slaving ship, he gave the command of her to Capt. Tew, and he and Caraccioli pressed the work of the dock. He gave him also 200 hands, of which 40 were Portuguese, 37 negroes, 17 of them expert sailors, 30 English, and the rest French. Tew met with nothing in his way, till he came to the northward of the Cape of Good Hope, when he fell in with a Dutch East India galley of 18 guns, which he took after a small resistance, and with the loss of one man only. On the coast of Angola he took an English Guinea-man with 240 slaves, men, women, and boys. The negroes who had been before taken on this coast, found among these a great many of their acquaintance, and several of their relations, to whom they reported their unexpected change of fortune, the great captain (for so they now called Misson) having humanely knocked off their chains, and of slaves made them free men, and sharers in his fortunes: that the same good fortune had attended them in their falling into his hands, for he aborred even the

name of slavery. Tew, following the orders and acquainted with the policy of Misson, ordered their fetters and handcuffs to be taken off, upon his negro sailors assuring him they would not revolt, and were sensible of their happiness in falling into his hands. Content with these prizes, he made the best of his way home to Libertatia where he arrived without any sinister accident; but I forgot to tell my reader, that he set his Dutch prisoners (nine excepted, who took on with him) ashore, about 30 miles to the northward of the Cape of Saldanha Bay, where had been buried, by Capt. Misson, the English commander. He found a great quantity of English crowns on board his Dutch prize, which were carried into the common treasury; money being of no use where every thing was in common, and no hedge bounded any particular man's property. The slaves he had released in this last cruise were employed in perfecting the dock, and treated on the footing of free people. They were not ignorant of the change of their condition, and were therefore extremely diligent and faithful. A white man, or one of the old standing negroes, wrought with every four, and made them understand the French words (by often repetition, and the help of their country-mens interpreting) used in their works. Misson ordered a couple of sloops to be built in a creek, of eighty tons each, which he mounted with eight guns a piece, out of a Dutch prize. These were perfected in a little time, and proved not only shapely vessels, but excellent sailers. The officers of these sloops were chosen by ballotting, and as their first design was only to discover and lay down a chart of the coast, sands, shoals, and depth of water round the island of Madagascar, the school-master being sent with the command of one, Tew desired and had the other. They were manned, each sloop with 50 white and 50 black men; which

voyage round the island was of vast advantage in giving the new released Angola negroes a notion of working a vessel;—and they were very industrious both in endeavouring to learn the French language, and to be useful. These sloops, the one of which was called the Childhood, and the other the Liberty, were near four months on this expedition. In the mean while, a few of the natives had come often to the settlement, and began to speak a little French, mixed with the other European languages, which they heard among Misson's people, and six of the native families fixed among them, which was of vast use to the planters of this colony; for they made a very advantageous report to their countrymen of the regularity and harmony they observed in them. The sloops having returned, and an exact chart taken of the coast, Caraccioli had a mind for a cruise. He proposed visiting all the neighbouring islands, and accordingly went out to Mascarenhas, and the other islands near it, taking one half of his crew of negroes, and returned with a Dutch prize, which he took off the above mentioned island, were they were about fixing a colony. This prize, as it had on board all sorts of European goods, and necessaries for settling, was more valuable than if it had been vastly richer. The negroes growing useful hands, Misson resolved on a cruise to the northward, encouraged by Tew's success; and with all the blacks, which he divided between the two ships, one of which Capt. Tew commanded set out with 500 men. Off the coast of Arabia Felix they fell in with a ship belonging to the Great Mogul, bound for Zidon, with pilgrims to Mecca, who, with Moor mariners, made up the number of 1600 souls. This ship carried 110 guns, but made a very poor defence, being encumbered with the goods and number of passengers they carried. The two adventurers did not think it their business to cannonade;

they therefore boarded as soon as they came up with her, and the Moors no sooner saw them entered, but they discharged one volley of small arms at random, we may suppose, because no execution was done, and fled the decks. Being masters of this ship, which did not cost them a single man, they consulted what they should do with her, and the prisoners, and it was resolved to set them ashore between Ain and Aden.

They now made the best of their way for Madagascar, putting 200 hands on board the prize, which proved a very heavy sailer, and retarded them very much. Off the Cape Guardé Fin they were overtaken with a cruel storm, which was near wrecking them on the island called Irmanos; but the wind coming about due north, they had the good luck to escape this danger. Though the fury of the wind abated, yet it blew so hard for twelve days together, that they could only carry their coursers reefed. They spied a sail in their passage, but the weather would not permit their endeavours to speak with her. In a word, they returned to Libertatia with their prize, without any other accident; but the captors could make no estimate of her value, she having on board a vast quantity of diamonds, besides rich silks, raw silks, spices, carpets, wrought and bar gold. The prize was taken to pieces, as she was of no use; her cordage and knee timber preserved, with all the bolts, eyes, chains, and other iron work, and her guns planted on two points of the harbour, where they raised batteries, so that they were now so strongly fortified they apprehended no danger from any number of shipping which could be brought into those seas to attack them. They had, by this time, cleared, sown, and enclosed a good parcel of ground, and taken in a quantity of pasturage, where they had above 300 head of black cattle, bought of the natives. The dock was now

finished, and the Victoire growing old and unfit for a long voyage, and the last storm having shook, and loosened her very much, she was pulled to pieces and rebuilt, keeping the same name. She was rigged, victualled, and fit to go to sea, and was to sail to the coast of Guinea for more negroes, when one of the sloops came in, which had been sent out rather to exercise the negroes, than with any view of making a prize, and brought word that five lofty ships chased her into the bay, and stood for their harbour; that she judged them to be Portuguese by their built, and 50 gun ships, full of men. This proved the real truth. The alarm was given. the forts and batteries manned, and every man stood to his arms. Misson took upon him the command of 100 negroes, who were well disciplined, (for every morning they had been used to perform their exercise, which was taught them by a French serjeant, one of their company, who belonged to the Victoire) to be ready where his assistance should be required, Tew commanded all the English. They had hardly ordered their affairs when these ships hove in sight, and stood directly for the harbour with Portuguese colours. They were warmly received by the two forts, which did not stop them, though it brought one of them on the careen. They entered the harbour, and thought they had done their business, but were saluted so warmly from the forts, batteries, sloops, and ships, that two of them sunk downright, and a great many men were drowned, though some got on board the other ships. The Portuguese, who did not imagine they had been so well fortified, and thought in passing the two forts they should without difficulty land their men, and easily root out this nest of pirates, found now their mistake, for they durst not venture to hoist out a boat. They had wisely, however, contrived to enter just before the turn of the tide. Finding the attempt vain, and that

they had lost a great many men, they clapped upon a wind, and with the help of the tide of ebb, made more haste out than they did to get in, leaving two of their ships sunk in the harbour; but they did not get off so cheaply, for no sooner were they clear of the forts, but Misson, manning with the utmost expedition both the ships and sloops, gave them chase, and engaged them at the mouth of the bay. The Portuguese defended themselves with a great deal of gallantry, and one of them beat off the Libertarians twice, who boarded them from the two sloops; two of them, finding themselves hard pressed made a running fight, and got off, and left the third to shift as well as she could. The Bijoux and Victoire finding the Portuguese endeavoured to clear themselves and knowing there was little to be got by the captures, gave over the chase, and fell upon the third, who defended himself till his decks swam with blood, and the greater number of his men killed; but finding all resistance vain, and that he was left to an unequal fight by his companions, he called for quarter, and good quarter was given, both to himself and men. This prize yielded them a great quantity of powder and shot, and, indeed, they expected nothing of value out of her. None of the prisoners were stripped, and the officers, Misson, Caraccioli, and Tew invited to their tables, treating them very civilly, and extolling the courage they had shown in their defence. Unhappily two prisoners were found on board, who had been released, and had sworn never to serve against them; these were clapped in irons, and publicly tried for their perjury. The Portuguese officers being present, the witnesses proved them the very discharged men, and they were condemned to be hanged at the point of each fort; which execution was performed the next morning after their condemnation, with the assistance of the Portuguese chaplain,

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who attended, confessed, and absolved them. This was the engagement with the pirates, which made so much noise in the Lisbon Gazette, and these the men whom the English ignorantly took for Avery; who, we had a notion here in London, had 32 sail of men of war, and had taken upon himself the state and title of king.

This execution seeming to impugn the maxims of the chiefs, Caraccioli made an harangue, in which he told them, "that there was no rule could be laid down which did not allow exceptions: that they were all sensible how tender the Commodore Monsieur Misson was in shedding blood; and that it was a tenet of his faith, that none had power over the life of another, but God alone who gave it; but notwithstanding, self-preservation sometimes made it absolutely necessary to take away the life of another, especially an avowed and obliged enemy, even in cold blood. As to the blood shed in a lawful war, in defence of that liberty they had generously asserted, it was needless to say any thing, but he thought it proper to lay before them reasons for the execution of the criminals, and the heinousness of their crimes. They had not only received their lives from the bounty of the Libertatians, but their liberty, and had every thing restored them which they laid claim to; consequently their ingratitude rose in proportion to the generous treatment they had met with: that indeed, both he and Capt. Misson would have passed by the perjury and ingratitude which they had been guilty of, with a corporeal punishment, which had not extended to the deprivation of life, but their gallant friend and companion, the English commander, Capt. Tew, used such cogent reasons for an exemplary punishment, to deter others from the like crimes, that they must have been enemies to their own preservation in not following his advice: that the lives of their whole

body ought to be preferred to those of declared and perjured enemies, who would not cease to endeavour their ruin; and, as they were well acquainted with their settlement, might be fatal instruments of it, if they were again restored to that liberty which they had already abused: that he was obliged to do Capt. Tew the justice, to acknowledge he was inclined to the side of mercy, till he was thoroughly informed of the blackness of their ingratitude, and then he thought it would be cruelty to themselves to let those miscreants experience a second time their clemency. Thus an absolute necessity had obliged them to act contrary to their declared principles; though, to state the case rightly, these men, not the Libertatians, were the authors of their own deaths." Here the assembly crying out, "*their blood is on their own heads, they sought their deaths, and hanging is to good for them;*" Caraccioli gave over, and every one returned satisfied to his private or the public affairs.

Some difference arising between Misson's and Tew's men, on a national quarrel, which the latter began, Capt. Tew proposed their deciding the quarrel by the sword; but Caraccioli was entirely against it, alleging, that such decision must necessarily be a damage to the public, since the brave men who fell, would be weakening of their colony. He therefore desired Capt. Tew to interpose the authority he had over his crew, and he and Misson would endeavour to bring their men to an amicable agreement; and for the future, as this accident proved the necessity, wholesome laws should be made, and a form of government entered upon. Both parties were therefore called, and Caraccioli showed them the necessity of their living in unity among themselves, who had the whole world for enemies; and as he had a persuasive and insinuating way of argument with the assistance of Capt. Tew, this

affair was ended to the satisfaction of both parties.

The next day the whole colony was assembled, and the three commanders proposed a form of government, as necessary to their conservation ; for where there was no coercive laws, the weakest would always be the sufferers, and every thing must tend to confusion : that men's passions, blinding them to justice, and making them ever partial to themselves, they ought to submit the differences which might rise to calm and disinterested persons who could examine with temper, and determine according to reason and equity : that they looked upon a democratical form, where the people were themselves the makers and judges of their own laws, the most agreeable ; and therefore, desired they would divide themselves into companies of ten men, and every such company choose one to assist in settling a form of government, and in making wholesome laws for the good of the whole : that the treasure and cattle they were masters of should be equally divided, and such lands as any particular man would enclose, should, for the future, be deemed his property, which no other should lay any claim to, if not alienated by a sale.

This proposal was received with applause, and they decimated themselves that very day, but put off the meeting of the states till a house was built, which they set about very cheerfully, and finished it in about a fortnight ; it being of framed timber, and they having among them a great number who understood the handling of an axe.

When this body of politicians met, Caraccioli opened the sessions with a handsome speech, showing the advantage flowing from order ; and then spoke to the necessity of lodging a supreme power in the hands of one who should have that of rewarding brave and virtuous actions, and of punishing the

vicious, according to the laws which the state should make ; by which he was to be guided : that such a power, however, should not be for life, nor be hereditary, but determine at the end of three years, when a new choice should be made by the state, or the old confirmed for three years longer ; by which means, the ablest men would always be at the head of affairs, and their power being of short duration, none would dare to abuse it : that such a chief should have the title of *Lord Conservator*, and all the ensigns of royalty to attend him.

This was approved *nem. con.* and Misson was chosen conservator, with power to create great officers, &c. and with the title of *Supreme Excellence*.

A law was then made for the meeting of the State once every year at least, but oftener, if the conservator and his council thought it necessary for the common good to convene them ; and that nothing of moment should be undertaken without the approbation of the State.

In a word their first session lasted ten days ; and a great many wholesome laws were enacted, registered in the state book, and dispersed among the crews.

Capt. Tew, the conservator honoured with the title of Admiral, and Caraccioli was made Secretary of State. He chose a council of the ablest among them, without distinction of nation or colour ; and the different languages began to be incorporated, and one made out of the many. An equal division was made of their treasure and cattle, and every one began either to enclose land for himself, or his neighbour who would hire his assistance.

Admiral Tew proposed building an arsenal, and augmenting their naval force. The first was agreed to be proposed to the State at the next convention ; but the latter was thought unnecessary, till the

number of inhabitants was augmented ; for, should they all be employed in the sea service, the husbandry would be neglected, which would be of fatal consequence to the growing colony.

The Admiral then proposed the fetching in those Englishmen who had followed the quarter-master ; but the council rejected this, alleging, that as they deserted their captain, it was a mark of a mutinous temper, and they might infect others with a spirit of disorder ; that, however, they might have notice given them of the settlement, and if they made it their earnest entreaty to be admitted, and would desert the quarter-master, it should be granted as a particular favour done them, at the instance of the Admiral, and upon his engaging his parole of honour for their quiet behaviour.

The Admiral then desired he might take a cruise ; that he hoped to meet with some East-India ships, and bring in some volunteers, for the number of subjects being the riches of a nation, he thought the colony stood more in need of men, than of any thing else ; that he would lie in the way of the Cape, and did not question doing good service ; and as he went to the northward, would call upon his own men.

The *Victoire* was according to the Admiral's desire fitted out, and in a few days he sailed with 300 men on board. He came to an anchor at the settlement his men had made, hoisted an English ensign in his fore shrouds, and fired a gun ; but after he had waited some time, perceiving no signal from the shore, he landed and sent back his boat. Soon after the boat returned towards the ship, two of his men came up to him, to whom he gave an account of Misson's settlement. They invited him into the wood to see that of theirs, and to advise with their companions, about the proposed migration. The governor, alias quarter-master, received

him mighty civilly, but told him, that he could see no advantage to themselves in changing their present situation, though they might prove a great one to the new colony, by adding to their force so many brave fellows: that they there enjoyed all the necessaries of life; were free and independent of all the world; and it would be madness again to subject themselves to any government, which, however mild, still exerted some power. That he was governor for three months, by the choice of his companions; but his power extended no farther than to the judging in matters of small difference which might arise, which he hoped to do impartially while his authority continued; that they had agreed among themselves, and confirmed that agreement by oath to support the decrees of the governor for the time, that their tranquility might not be disturbed by the humour of any one man: and that this power of determining, was to devolve at the expiration of three months, to him on whom the lot should fall by balloting, provided he had not before enjoyed the honour, for such a one was not to draw; by which agreement, every one would be raised, in time, to the supreme command, which prevented all canvassing and making interest for votes, as when determined by suffrage; left no opening for making divisions and parties, and was a means to continue to them that repose inseparable from an unity among themselves. However, continued he, "if you will go to America or Europe, and show the advantage which may accrue to the English, by fixing a colony here, out of that love we bear our country, and to wipe away the odious appellation of pirates, with pleasure we will submit to any who shall come with a commission from a lawful government; but it is ridiculous to think we will become subjects to greater rogues than ourselves."

Capt. Tew finding the quarter-master spoke the sentiments of his companions, took leave, and returned to his ship: but went on shore again in the evening, the wind not serving to weigh, it blowing due west. He asked the governor how he got acquainted with the natives? He answered, by meeting them a hunting, and using them well: that he wheedled one of them down to their huts, the fellow being alone, and they three in company, he supposed, thought it best to go with seeming willingness. After him several came, and they lived very friendly with them. The captain, had brought ashore with him some rum and brandy, and they were drinking a bowl of punch, when on a sudden, a violent storm arose. Capt. Tew ran to the shore, and made a signal for his boat to carry him off, but the sea ran too high to venture out of the ship. The storm all the while increased, and the Victoire, in less than two hours, parting her cables, was driven ashore where it was very steep, and perished, with all her men, in Capt. Tew's sight.

The captain stayed with his old companions, without knowing which way to return to his friends he had left with Misson, not one of whom was (luckily for them,) on board the ship. At the end of three months they saw a large ship, which Tew believed was the Bijoux; but she took no notice of the fires they made. As he expected she would return after a short cruise, he, and his companions, made large fires every night on the shore, and visited the coast very often. About a month after this, as they came early to the sea-side, they were surprised at the sight of two sloops which lay at anchor, about a cannon shot from the shore. They had not been long looking upon them, when a canoe was hoisted out of one, and made to them, with six men who rowed, and one sitter.

Tew soon knew him to be Capt. Misson. He came ashore, and embracing the former, told him, all their proposed happiness was vanished; for without the least provocation given, in the dead of the night, the natives came down upon them in two great bodies, and made a great slaughter, without distinction of age or sex, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence; that Caraccioli (who died in the action) and he, got what men together they could, to make a stand; but finding all resistance vain against such numbers, he made a shift to secure a considerable quantity of rough diamonds and bar gold, and to get on board the two sloops with 45 men: that the Bijoux being gone to cruise, and the number of men he had carried with him in the Victoire, had weakened the colony, and given the natives the boldness to attack them, but for what reason he could not imagine.

Tew gave him an account of the disaster which had happened, and after having mutually condoled their misfortunes, Tew proposed their going to America, where Misson might, with the riches he had, pass his life unknown, and in a comfortable manner. Misson answered he could not yet take any resolution, though he had thoughts of returning to Europe, and privately visiting his family, if any were alive, and then retire from the world. They dined with the quarter-master, who pressed their return to America, to procure a commission for the settling a colony. Misson told Tew, he should have one of the sloops, and what volunteers would keep him company, for his misfortunes had erased all thoughts of future settlements; that what riches they had saved, he would distribute equally, nay, he would be content, if he had only a bare support left him. On this answer, four of the quarter-master's company offered to join Capt. Tew.

In the afternoon they visited both sloops, and

Misson putting the question to the men, 30 went on board of one sloop, though they parted with great reluctance from their old commander; and 15 stayed with Misson. The four men who joined Tew made the number of his crew 34: they stayed about a week, in hopes of the Bijoux's return upon the coast; but she not appearing, they set sail, Captain Misson having first shared the treasure, with Tew and his other friends and companions, hoping to meet the Bijoux on the Guinea coast, for which they shaped their course. Off Cape Infantes, they were overtaken with a storm, in which the unhappy Misson's sloop went down, within musket shot of Capt. Tew, who could give him no assistance.

Tew continued his course for America, and arrived at Rhode-Island without any accident. His men dispersed themselves, as they thought fit, and Tew sent to Bermuda for his owner's account, fourteen times the value of their sloop; and not being questioned by any, lived in great tranquillity. The French belonging to Misson, took different routes, one of whom dying at Rochelle, the French manuscript of Misson's life was found among his papers, and transmitted to me by a friend and correspondent.

Capt. Tew lived unquestioned. He had an easy fortune, and designed to live quietly at home; but those of his men, who lived near him, having squandered their shares, were continually soliciting him to take another trip. He withstood their request a considerable time; but they having got together (by the report they made of the vast riches to be acquired) a number of resolute fellows, they, in a body, begged him to head them but for one voyage. They were so earnest in their desire, that he could not refuse complying. They prepared a small sloop, and made the best of their way to the straits entering the Red Sea, where they met with, and at-

tacked a ship belonging to the Great Mogul in the engagement, a shot carried away the rim of Tew's belly, who held his bowels with his hands some small space. When he dropped, it struck such a terror in his men, that they suffered themselves to be taken, without further resistance.

CAPTAIN JOHN HALSEY.

JOHN HALSEY was a Boston man, of New-England, commanded the Charles, brigantine, and went out with a commission from the governor, to cruise on the banks of Newfoundland, where he took a French banker, which he appointed to meet him at Fayal; but missing his prize here, he went among the Canary Islands, where he took a Spanish barcalonga, which he plundered and sunk: from thence he went to the island of Bravo, one of the Cape-de-Verdes, where he wooded and watered, turned ashore his lieutenant, and several of his men here running away from him, the governor sent them on board again, his commission being as yet in force. From hence he stood away to the southward, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope, made for Madagascar and the bay of Augustin, where he took in wood and water, with some straggling seamen, who were cast away in the Degrave Indiamen, Capt. Young, commander. After this, he shaped his course for the Red Sea, and met with a Dutchman of 60 guns, coming from Mocha, whom he kept company with

a week. Though he was resolved upon turning pirate, he intended to rob only the Moor ships, which occasioned a dispute between him and his men; they insisting on the ship's being a Moor, and he asserting she was Dutch, was positive in his resolve of meddling with no European ships. The men were for boarding, but his obstinacy not being to be conquered, they broke Halsey and his gunner, confined both, and were ready to board the Dutchman, when one of the crew perceiving he was about to run out his lower tier, knocked down the quarter-master (whose business it is to be at the helm, in time of chase or engagement, according to the rules of pirates) clapped the helm hard a-wether, and wore the brigantine. The Dutchman stayed, and fired a shot, which taking a swivel gun, carried it aft, narrowly missed the man at helm, and shattered the taffarel. The men perceiving they had caught a Tartar, made the best of their way to shake her off, and some were running down between decks, whom the surgeon pricked up again with his sword, though he was no way consenting to their designed piracy. The captain and gunner were again reinstated after they had seen their mistake, and then they steered for the Nicobar Islands, where they met with a country ship, called the Buffalo, commanded by Capt. Buckley, an Englishman, coming from Bengal, which they took after a short engagement there being only three Europeans on board, the captain and two mates; the rest were Moors. This ship fell seasonably in their way, she being bound for Achen, with butter, rice, and cloth, and the pirates, at that time, were in great straits both for provision and clothing. They took the two mates to sea with them, but left the captain and the Moors at Cara Nicobar, at an anchor, and then took a cruise. Capt. Buckley, who was sick, died before their return. In the cruise they met

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Captain Collins, in a country sloop, bound also to Achen. He had also two English mates with him, but the rest of his company consisted of Moors. Him they carried to the same harbour where they left the Buffalo.

Here a dispute arose among the pirates. Some were for returning to the West-Indies, others were against it, for they had got no money, and that was what engaged their search. They parted upon this; one part went on board the Buffalo, made one Rowe captain, and Myers, a Frenchman, master, whom they had picked up at Madagascar. The sloop's deck they ripped up, and mended with it the bottom of the brigantine which Halsey still commanded. The ship shaped her course for Madagascar, and the brigantine made for the straits of Malacca, to lie in the track of the Manilla ships. I must observe, that Capt. Buckley's two mates, whom they intended to force with them, were by strength of entreaty, permitted to go away with a canoe. In these straits, they met an European built ship, of 26 guns, which they had not the courage to attack, being soured by the Dutchman. They afterwards stood in shore, and came to an anchor. A few days after they made a vessel, which they supposed a China junk, and gave chase, but when they came pretty nigh, notwithstanding the pilot assured them she was what they supposed, they swore it was a Dutchman, and would not venture upon him; so leaving off their chase they stood in shore, and came again to an anchor under the peninsula. They lay here some days, and then spied a tall vessel, which they chased, and which proved to be the Albemarle East-Indiamen, Capt. Bews, commander, coming from China. They came up with him, but thinking it too warm a ship after exchanging a few shot, the brigantine made off, and the Albemarle chased in her turn. They however got clear, hav-

ing a better share of heels, and came again to an anchor. Having not above 40 hands, the water growing scarce, and not daring to venture ashore for fear of the Dutch, a council was called, and it was resolved to make the best of their way to Madagascar, to pick up more hands, refresh, and set out on new adventures. - Pursuant to this resolution, they steered for that island, but fell in their way on Mascarenhas, where, making a small present to the governor, they were supplied with what they wanted. From hence they went to a place on Madagascar, called by the pirates Hopeful Point; by the natives, Harangby, near the island of St. Mary's in the lat. of 17, 40, S. where they met with the Buffalo, and the Dorothy, a prize, made by Capt. Thomas White and his company, being about 90 or 100 men, settled near the same place, in petty governments of their own, having some of them 5 or 600, some 1000 negro subjects, who acknowledged their sovereignty. Here they again repaired their brigantine, took in provisions and all necessaries, augmented their company to about 100 men, and set out for the Red Sea. They touched at Johanna, and there took in a quantity of goats and cocoa nuts for fresh provisions, and thence in eleven days reached the Straits of Babelmandel. They had not cruised here many days, when they spied the Moorish fleet from Mocha and Jufa, consisting of 25 sail, which they fell in with, and had been taken, if their oars had not helped them off, it falling a dead calm. They had not apprehended the danger so great, if they had not judged these ships convoyed by some Portuguese men of war. Some days after this, they met a one mast vessel, called a grab, coming from Mocha, which they spied within gun-shot in a thick fog: they fired a shot which cut her halliards, and then took possession of her with their boats. She was laden with drugs, but they took only some ne-

cessaries and 2000 dollars; and having learned that four English vessels lay at Mocha, of which one was from Jufa, they let her go.

Three days after they spied the four ships, which they at first took to be the trees of Babelmandel. At night they fell in with, and kept them company till morning, the trumpets sounding on both sides all the time, for the pirate had two on board as well as the English. When it was clear day, the four ships drew into a line, for they had hailed the pirate, who made no ceremony of owning who he was, by an answering according to their manner, *From the seas*. The brigantine bore up till she had slung her gaff. One of the ships perceiving this, advised Capt. Jago, who led the van, in a ship of 24 guns and 70 men, to give chase, for the pirate was on the run; but a mate, who was acquainted with the way of working among pirates, answered he would find his mistake, and said he had seen many a warm day, but feared this would be the hottest. The brigantine turned up again, and coming astern, clapped the *Rising Eagle* aboard, a ship of 16 guns, and the sternmost. Though they entered their men, the *Rising Eagle* held them a warm dispute for three quarters of an hour, in which Capt. Chamberlain's chief mate and several others were killed, the purser was wounded, jumped overboard and drowned. In the mean while the other ships called to Capt. Jago to board the pirate; who bearing away to clap him aboard, the pirate gave him a shot, which raked him fore and aft, and determined Capt. Jago to get out of danger; for he run away with all the sail he could pack, though he was fitted out to protect the coast against pirates. His example was followed by the rest, every one steering a different coast. Thus they became masters of the *Rising Eagle*. I cannot but take notice, that the second mate of the *Rising Eagle*, after quarters were called for, fired from out

the fore-castle, and killed two of the pirates, one of whom was the gunner's consort, who would have revenged his death by shooting the mate, but several Irish and Scots, together with one Captain Thomas White, once a commander among the pirates, but then a private man, interposed and saved him, in regard that he was an Irishman. They examined the prisoners to know which was the ship from Jufa, that had money on board; and having learned it was the Essex, they gave chase, came up with her, hoisted the bloody flag at the main-mast-head, fired one single gun, and she struck, though she was fitted for close quarters, and there was not on board the brigantine above 20 hands, and the prize was astern so far, that her top-mast scarce appeared out of the water. In chasing this ship, they passed the other two, who held the fly of their ensigns in their hands ready to strike. When the ship had struck, the captain of her asked, who commanded the brigantine? He was answered, Capt. Halsey. Asking again, who was quarter-master? He was told Nathaniel North, to whom he called, as he knew him very well. North, learning his name was Punt, said, *Capt. Punt, I am sorry you are fallen into our hands.* He was civilly treated, and nothing belonging to himself or the English gentlemen, who were passengers, touched, though they made bold to lay hands on £40,000 in money, belonging to the ship. They had about £10,000 in money out of the Rising Eagle. They discharged the Essex, and with the other prize and the brigantine, steered for Madagascar, where they arrived and shared their booty. Some of the passengers, who had been so well treated, came afterwards with a small ship from India (with license from the governor of Madras) called the Greyhound, laden with necessaries, in hopes to barter with the pirates for the dry goods they had taken, and recover them at an easy rate. They were

received very kindly, an invoice of their goods was asked, the goods agreed for, shared and paid in money and bale goods. In the mean while came in a ship from Scotland, called the Neptune, 26 guns, 54 men, commanded by Capt. Miller, with a design to slave, and to go thence to Batavia to dispose of her negroes (having a supercargo on board, brought up among the Dutch) and thence to Malacca, to take on board the cargo of a ship, called the Speedwell, lost on her return from China; but finding here another ship trading with the pirates, and having many necessaries, French brandy, Madiera wine, and English stout on board, Capt. Millar thought it better to trade for money than slaves. The merchants of the Greyhound, nettled to see any but themselves take money, for the pirates never hag-gled about a price, told them, *They could not do the governor of Madras a more grateful piece of service than to make prize of the Neptune, which was a ship fit for that purpose.* To which some of the Scotch and Irish answered, *The had not best put such a design on foot, for if the company once got it into their heads to take one, they would go nigh to take both ships.* In a short time after came on a hurricane, which obliged the Neptune to cut away all her masts, and lost the three ships belonging to the pirates, which was their whole fleet. They having now no ship, and several of them no money, having been stripped at play, their thoughts were bent on the Neptune. The chief mate of her, Daniel Burgess, who had a spleen to the captain, joining privately with the pirates (among whom he died) got all the small masts and yards ashore; and the pirates being requested to find him proper trees for masting, told Capt. Miller they had found such as would serve his turn, desiring he would take a number of hands ashore to get them down to the water, which (he suspecting no harm) accordingly

did, and he and his men were seized, and the long boat detained ashore. The captain was forced to send for the second mate, and afterwards for the gunner; the mate, who was the captain's brother, went, but the gunner, suspecting foul play, refused. In the evening, Burgess came on board, and advised the surrender of the ship, which, though but sixteen were left on board, they scrupled, and proposed going under the cover of their own guns to fetch their top-mast and yards, and with them put to sea; but the chief mate, Burgess, whose villainy was not then known, persuaded them to give up a ship they could neither defend nor sail; which was no small satisfaction to the Greyhound, little thinking how soon they would meet with the same treatment; for two days after, the pirates manned the Neptune's pinnace, seized the Greyhound, took away all the money they had paid, and shifting out of the Neptune ten pipes of Madeira, with two hogsheads of brandy, into the Greyhound, and putting on board the captain, second mate, boatswain and gunner of the Neptune, and about fourteen of her hands, ordered her to sea. The rest of the Neptune's company being young men fit for their purpose, they detained, most of whom, by hard drinking, fell into distempers and died. As to Capt. Halsey, while the Scotch ship was fitting, he fell ill of a fever, died and was buried with great solemnity and ceremony; the prayers of the church of England was read over him, colours were flying, and his sword and pistol laid on his coffin, which was covered with a ship's jack; as many minute guns fired as he was years old, viz. 46, and three English vollies, and one French volley of small arms. He was brave in his person, courteous to all his prisoners, lived beloved, and died regretted by his own people. His grave was made in a garden of water-melons, and fenced in with

pallisades to prevent his being rooted up by the wild hogs, of which there are plenty in those parts.

P. S. The Neptune seized as above, was the year after Capt. Halsey's death, ready to go to sea ; but a hurricane happening, she was lost, and proved the last ship that gang of pirates ever got possession of.

CAPTAIN THOMAS WHITE.

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

It is not my business here to give an account of this French pirate, any father than Capt. White's

story obliges me, though I beg leave to take notice of their barbarity to the English prisoners, for they would set them up as a butt or mark to shoot at; several of whom were thus murdered in cool blood, by way of diversion.

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

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

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

They stayed here a year and a half at the king's expense, who gave them a plentiful allowance of provision, as was his custom to all white men, who met with any misfortune on his coast. His humanity not only provided for such, but the first Euro-

pean vessel that came in, he always obliged to take in the unfortunate people, let the vessel be what it would; for he had no notion of any difference between pirates and merchants.

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

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

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

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

and made a ship of her. Here they took in a quantity of fresh provisions, which is in this island very plentiful, and very cheap; and found a twelve oar-ed boat, which formely belonged to the Ruby East-indiamen, which had been lost there.

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

This vessel was a small French ship, laden with liquors from Martinico, first commanded by one Fourgette, to trade with the pirates for slaves, at Ambonawoula, on the East side of the island, in the lat. of 17 degrees 30 minutes and was by them taken after the following manner.

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

They were all searched, but they however con-

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

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

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

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

After they had taken in the Dolphin's company, which were on the island, and increased their crew, by that means, to the number of 80 hands, they sailed to St. Mary's, where Capt. Mosson's ship lay at anchor, between the island and the main. This gentleman and his whole ship's company had been

cut off, at the instigation of Ort-Vantyle, a Dutchman of New-York.

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

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

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

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

The captain of the *Speaker*, for that was the name of the ship which frightened the pirates, was not a little vain of having forced these two vessels ashore, though he did not know whether they were pirates or merchantmen, and could not help expressing himself in these words: "How will my

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name ring on the exchange, when it is known I have run two pirates aground ;" which gave handle to a satirical return from one of his men after he was taken, who said, "Lord! how our captain's name will ring on the exchange, when it is heard, he frightened two pirate ships ashore, and was taken by their two boats afterwards."

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

The captain of the *Speaker* sent his purser ashore, to go up the country to the king, who lived about 24 miles from the coast, to carry a couple of small arms inlaid with gold, a couple of brass blunderbusses, and a pair of pistols, as presents, and to require trade. As soon as the purser was ashore, he was taken prisoner, by one Tom Collins, a Welchman, born in Pembroke, who lived on shore, and had belonged to the *Charming Mary*, of Barbadoes, which went out with a commission but was converted to a pirate. He told the purser he was his prisoner, and must answer the damage done two merchants who were slaving. The purser answered, that he was not commander; that the captain was a hot rash youth, put into business by his friends, which he did not understand; but however, satisfaction should be made. He was carried by Collins on board Booth's ship, where, at first, he was talked to in pretty strong terms; but after a

while very civilly used, and the next morning sent up to the king with a guide, and peace made for him.

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

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

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

In the mean while his boat's crew, and the rest of his men ashore, were told by others of the pirates, who were drinking with them, that they were

also prisoners: some of them answered, *Zound' we don't trouble our heads what we are, let's have 'other bowl of punch.*

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

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

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

pirates gave him, for Johanna, where he fell ill and died with grief.

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

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

In the interim, the little fort the Arabians had, played upon the ship, which returned the salute very warmly. Thus they got on board, with the loss of Capt. Booth and 20 men, and set sail for the East-Indies. When they were under sail, they went to voting for a new captain, and the quarter-master, who had behaved so well in the last affair with the Arabians, was chosen; but he declining all com-

mand, the crew made choice of Bowen for captain Pickering to succeed him as master, Samuel He-rault, a Frenchman, for quarter-master, and Nathaniel North for captain quarter-master.

Things being thus settled, they came to the mouth of the Red Sea, and fell in with 13 sail of Moor ships, which they kept company with the greater part of the day, but afraid to venture on them, as they took them for Portuguese men of war. At length part were for boarding, and advised it. The captain though he said little, did not seem inclined, for he was but a young pirate, though an old commander of a merchantman. Those who pushed for boarding, then desired Capt. Boremen, already mentioned, to take the command; but he said he would not be an usurper; that nobody was more fit for it than he who had it; that for his part he would stand by his fuzil, and went forward to the fore-castle with such as would have him take the command, to be ready to board; on which, the captain's quarter-master said, if they were resolved to engage, their captain, (whose representative he was) did not want resolution; therefore ordered them to get their tacks on board (for they had already made a clear ship) and get ready for boarding; which they accordingly did, and coming up with the sternmost ship, they fired a broadside into her, which killed two Moors, clapped her on board and carried her; but night coming on, they made only this prize, which yielded them £500 per man. From hence they sailed to the coast of Malabar. The adventures of these pirates on this coast are already set down in Captain Bowen's life, to which I refer the reader, and shall only observe, that Capt. White was all this time before the mast, being a forced man from the beginning.

Bowen's crew dispersing, Capt. White went to Methelage, where he lived ashore with the king.

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

Those who were ashore with Capt. White, resolving to enter in this ship, determined him to go also, rather than be left alone with the natives, hoping, by some accident or other, to have an opportunity of returning home. He continued on board this ship, in which he was made quarter-master, till they met with, and all went on board of Bowen, as is set down in his life, in which ship he continued after Bowen left them. At Port Dolphin he went off in the boats to fetch some of the crew left ashore, the ship being blown to sea the night before. The ship not being able to get in, and he supposing her gone to the west side of the island, as they had formerly proposed, he steered that course in his boat with 26 men. They touched at Augustin, expect the ship, but she not appearing in a week, the time they waited, the king ordered them to be gone, telling them they imposed on him with lies; for he did not believe they had any ship: however he gave them fresh provision: they took in water, and made for Methelage. Here as Capt. White was known to the king, they were kindly received, and stayed about a fortnight in expectation of the ship, but she not appearing, they raised their boat a streak, salted the provision the king gave them, put water aboard, and stood for the north end of the island, designing to go round, believing their ship might

be at the island of St. Mary. When they came to the north end, the current, which sets to the N. W. for eight months in the year, was so strong they found it impossible to get round. Wherefore they got into a harbour, of which there are many for small vessels. Here they stayed about three weeks or a month, when part of the crew were for burning the boat, and travelling over land to a black king of their acquaintance, who name was Reberimbo, who lived at a place called Manangaromasigh, in lat. 15 deg. or thereabouts. As this king had been several times assisted by the whites in his wars, he was a great friend to them. Capt. White dissuaded them from this undertaking, and with much ado, saved the boat; but one half of the men being resolved to go by land, they took what provisions they thought necessary, and set out. Capt. White, and those who stayed with him, convoyed them a day's journey, and then returning, he got into the boat with his companions, and went back to Methelage, fearing these men might return, prevail with the rest, and burn the boat.

Here he built a deck on his boat, and lay by three months, in which time there came in three pirates with a boat, who had formerly been trepanned on board the Severn and Scarborough men of war, which had been loking for pirates on the east side; from which ships they made their escape at Mohila, in a small canoe to Johanna, and from Johanna to Mayotta, where the king built them the boat which brought them to Methelge. The time of the current's setting with violence to the N. W. being over, they proceeded together in White's boat (burning that of Mayotta) to the north end, where the current running yet too strong to get round, they went into a harbour and stayed there a month, maintaining themselves with fish and wild hogs, of which there was a great plenty. At length, having fine

weather, and the strength of the current abating, they got round; and after sailing about 40 miles on the east side, they went into a harbour, where they found a piece of a jacket, which they knew belonged to one of those men who had left them to go over land. He had been a forced man, and a ship carpenter. This they supposed he had torn to wrap round his feet: that part of the country being barren and rocky. As they sailed along this coast, they came to an anchor in convenient harbours every night, till they got as far as Manangaromaisigh, where king Reberimbo resided, where they went in to inquire for their men, who left them at the north end, and to recruit with provisions. The latter was given them, but they could get no information of their companions.

From hence they went to the island of St. Mary, where a canoe came off to them with a letter directed to any white man. They knew it to be the hand of one of their former shipmates. The contents of this letter was to advise them to be on their guard, and not trust too much to the blacks of this place, they having been formerly treacherous. They inquired after their ship, and were informed, that the company had given her to the Moors, who were gone away with her, and that they themselves were settled at Amboynavoula, about 20 leagues to the southward of St. Mary, where they lived among the negroes as so many sovereign princes.

One of the blacks, who brought off the letter went on board their boat, carried them to the place called Olumbah, a point of land made by a river on one side, and the sea on the other, where twelve of them lived together in a large house they had built, and fortified with about twenty pieces of cannon.

The rest of them were settled in small companies of about 12 or 14 together, more or less, up the said river, and along the coast, every nation by

itself, as the English, French, Dutch &c. They made inquiry of their consorts after the different prizes which belonged to them, and they found all very justly laid by to be given them, if ever they returned, as were what belonged to the men who went over land. Capt. White, hankering after home, proposed going out again in the boat; for he was averse to settling with them; and many others agreed to go under his command; and if they could meet with a ship to carry them to Europe, to follow their old vocation. But the others did not think it reasonable he should have the boat, but that it should be set to sale for the benefit of the company. Accordingly it was set up, and Capt. White bought it for 400 pieces of eight, and with some of his old consorts, whose number was increased by others of the ship's crew, he went back the way he had come to Methelage. Here he met with a French ship of about 50 tons, and 6 guns, which had been taken by some pirates who lived at Maratan, on the east side of the island, and some of the Degrave East-Indiaman's crew, to whom the master of her refused a passage to Europe; for as he had himself been a pirate, and quarter-master to Bowen, in the Speaker, he apprehended their taking away his ship. War then subsisting between England and France, he thought they might do it without being called in question as pirates. The pirates who had been concerned in taking Herault's ship, for that was his name, had gone up the country, and left her to the men belonging to the Degrave who had fitted her up, cleaned and tallowed her, and got in some provision, with a design to go to the East-Indies, that they might light on some ship to return to their own country.

Capt. White, finding these men proposed joining him, and going round to Ambonavoula, to make up a company, it was agreed upon, and they unani-

monly chose him commander. They accordingly put to sea, and stood away round the south end of the island, and touched at Don Mascarenhas, where he took in a surgeon, and stretching over again to Madagascar, fell in with Ambonavoula, and made up his complement of 60 men. From hence he shaped his course for the island of Mayotta, where he cleaned his ship, and waited for the season to go into the Red Sea. His provisions being taken in, the time proper, and the ship well fitted, he steered for Babelmandel, and running into a harbour, waited for the Mocha ships.

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

Some days after this they spied a Portuguese man of war of 44 guns, which they chased, but gave it over, by carrying away their main-top-mast, so,

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

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

Soon after, they plundered the Malabar ship, out of which they took as much money as came to £200 sterling a man, but missed 50,000 sequins, which were hid in a jar under a cow's stall, kept for the giving milk to the Moor supercargo, an ancient man. They then put the Portuguese and Moor prisoners on board the Malabar, and sent them about their business. The day after they had sent them away, one Capt. Benjamin Stacy, in a ketch of 6 guns fell

into their hands. They took what money he had, and what goods and provisions they wanted. Among the money were 500 dollars, a silver mug and two spoons belonging to a couple of children on board, who were under the care of Stacy. The children took on for their loss, and the captain asking the reason of their tears, was answered by Stacy, that the above sum and plate was all the children had to bring them up. Capt. White made a speech to his men, and told them it was cruel to rob the innocent children; upon which, by unanimous consent, all was restored them again. Besides, they made a gathering among themselves, and made a present to Stacy's mate, and other of his inferior officers, and about 120 dollars to the children. They then discharged Stacy and his crew, and made the best of their way out of the Red Sea.

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

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

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Halsey among whom Capt. White entered before the mast.

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

CAPTAIN CONDENT.

CAPTAIN CONDENT was a Plymouth man born, but we are as yet ignorant of the motives and time of his first turning pirate. He was one of those who thought fit to retire from Providence, on Governor Rogers' arrival at that island, in a sloop belonging to Mr. Simpson, of New-York, a Jew merchant of which sloop he was then quarter-master. Soon af-

ter they left the island, an accident happened on board, which put the whole crew into consternation. They had among them an Indian man, whom some of them had beat: in revenge, he got most of the arms forward into the hold, and designed to blow up the sloop; upon which, some advised scuttling the deck and throwing grenade shells down; but Condent said, that was too tedious and dangerous, since the fellow might fire through the deck and kill several of them. He, therefore, taking a pistol in one hand, and his cutlass in the other, leaped into the hold. The Indian discharged a piece at him, which broke his arm; but, however, he ran up and shot the Indian. When he was dead, the crew hacked him to pieces, and the gunner, ripping up his belly, tore out his heart, broiled and ate it.

After this, they took a merchantman called the Duke of York; and some disputes arising among the pirates, the captain, and one half of the company, went on board the prize; the other half, who continued in the sloop, chose Condent captain. He shaped his course for the Cape-de-Verd Islands, and in his way took a merchant ship from Madeira, laden with wine, bound for the West-Indies, which he plundered and let go; then coming to the Isle of May, one of the said islands, he took the whole salt fleet, consisting of about 20 sail. Wanting a boom, he took out the mainmast of one of these ships to supply the want. Here he took upon himself the administration of justice, inquiring into the manner of the commanders behaviour to their men, and those against whom complaint was made he whipped and pickled. He took what provision and other necessaries he wanted, and having augmented his company by volunteers and forced men, he left the ships and sailed to St. Jago, where he took a Dutch ship, which had formerly been a privateer. This proved also an easy prize, for he fired but one

broadside, and clapping her on board, carried her without resistance, for the captain and several men were killed, and some wounded by his great shot.

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

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

He now, with three sail, steered for the island of Ferdinando, where he hove down and cleaned the Flying Dragon. Having careened, he put 11 Dutchmen on board Capt. Spelt, to make amends for the hands he had forced from him, and sent him away, making him a present of the goods he took from the Portuguese ship. When he sailed himself, he ordered the Dutch to stay at Ferdinando 24 hours after his departure; threatening, if he did not comply, to sink his ship, if he fell a second time into his hands, and to put all the company to the sword. He then stood for the coast of Brazil, where he met a Portuguese man of war of 70 guns, which he came up with. The Portuguese hailed

him, and he answered, *from London, bound to Buenos Ayres*. The Portuguese manned his shrouds and cheered him, when Condent fired a broadside and a volley of small arms, which began a smart engagement for the space of three glasses; but Condent finding himself over-matched, made the best of his way, and being the best sailer, got off.

A few days after, he took a vessel of the same nation, who gave an account, that he had killed above 40 men in the *guarda del Costa*, beside a number wounded. He kept along the coast to the southward, and took a French ship of 18 guns, laden with wine and brandy, bound for the South Sea, which he carried with him into the River of Plate. He sent some of his men ashore to kill some wild cattle, but they were taken by the crew of a Spanish man of war. On their examination before the captain, they said they were two Guinea ships, with slaves belonging to the South Sea company, and on this story were allowed to return to their boats. Here five of his forced men ran away, with his canoe; he plundered the French ship, cut her adrift, and she was stranded. He proceeded along the Brazil coast, and hearing a pirate ship was lost upon it, and the pirates imprisoned, he used all the Portuguese who fell into his hands, who were many, very barbarously, cutting off their ears and noses; and as his master was a papist, when they took a priest, they made him say mass at the main-mast, and would afterwards get on his back and ride him about the decks, or else load and drive him like a beast. He from this went to the Guinea coast, and took Capt. Hill, in the *Indian Queen*.

In Luengo Bay he saw two ships at anchor, one a Dutchman of 44 guns, the other an English ship, called the *Fame*, Capt. Bowen, commander. They both cut and ran ashore; the *Fame* was lost, but the Dutch ship the pirate got off and took with him.

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

CAPTAIN BELLAMY.

As we cannot, with any certainty, deduce this man from his origin, we shall begin where we find him first a declared enemy to mankind. Capt. Bellamy and Paul Williams, in two sloops, had been upon a Spanish wreck, and not finding their expectation answered, they resolved not to lose their labour, and agreed to *go upon the account*, a term among the pirates, which speaks their profession. The first who had the misfortune to fall in their way, was Capt. Prince, bound from Jamaica to London, in a galley built at that port, whose cargo consisted of elephant's teeth, gold dust, and other rich merchandise. This prize not only enriched but strengthened them. They immediately mounted this galley with 28 guns, and put on board 150 hands, of different nations; Bellamy was declared captain, and the vessel had her old name continued, which was Whidaw. This happened about the latter end of February, 1717. They, now thus fitted for continuing their desperate resolution, shaped their course for Virginia, which coast they very much infested, taking several vessels. They were upon shifting this station, when they were very near, as the psalmist expresses it, *going quick down into hell*; for the heavens beginning to lower, pronosticated a storm. At the first appearance of the sky being likely to be overcast, Bellamy took in all his small sails, and Williams doubled-reefed his mainsail, which was hardly done when a thunder shower overtook them with such violence, that the Whidaw was very near oversetting. They immediately put

before the wind, for they had no other way of working, having only the goose wings of the fore-sail to scud with. Happy for them the wind was at W. by N. for had it been easterly, they must have infallibly perished upon the coast. The storm increased towards night, and not only put them by all sail, but obliged the Whidaw to bring her yards a portland, and all they could do with tackles to the goose neck of the tiller, four men in the gun-room, and two at the wheel, was to keep her head to the sea, for had she once broached to, they must infallibly have foundered. The heavens, in the mean while, were covered with sheets of lightning, which the sea, by the agitation of the saline particles, seemed to imitate. The darkness of the night was such, as the scripture says, *as might be felt*; the terrible hollow roaring of the winds, could be only equalled by the repeated, I may say, incessant claps of thunder, sufficient to strike a dread of the Supreme Being, who commands the sea and the winds, one would imagine in every heart; but among these wretches, the effect was different, for they endeavoured by their blasphemies, oaths, and horrid imprecations, to drown the uproar of jarring elements. Bellamy swore he was sorry he could not run out his guns to return the salute, meaning the thunder, that he fancied the gods had got drunk over their tippie, and were gone together by the ears. They continued scudding all that night under their bare poles: the next morning the mainmast being sprung in the step, they were forced to cut it away, and at the same time, the mizen came by the board. These misfortunes made the ship ring with blasphemy, which was increased, when, by trying the pumps, they found the ship made a great deal of water; though by continually plying them, they kept it from gaining. The sloop, as well as the ship, was left to the mercy of the winds,

though the former, not having a tant mast, did not lose it. The wind shifting round the compass, made so outrageous and short a sea, that they had little hopes of safety; it broke upon the poop, drove in the taffarel, and washed the two men away from the wheel, who were saved in the netting. The wind after four days and three nights, abated its fury, and fixed in the N. N. E. point, hourly decreasing, and the weather clearing up they spoke to the sloop, and resolved for the coast of Carolina. They continued this course but a day and a night, when the wind coming about to the southward, they changed their resolution to that of going to Rhode Island. All this while the Whidaw's leak continued, and it was as much as the lee pump could do to keep the water from gaining, though it was kept continually going. Jury-masts were set up, and the carpenter finding the leak to be in the bows, occasioned by the oakum working out of a seam, the crew became very jovial again. The sloop received no other damage than the loss of the mainsail, which the first flurry tore away from the boom. In their cruise off Rhode-Island, the beginning of April, they took a sloop commanded by Capt. Beer, belonging to Boston, in the lat. of South Carolina, 40 leagues from land. They put the said captain on board the Whidaw, while they rifled and plundered his vessel, which Williams and Bellamy proposed returning to him, but the crews being averse to it, they sunk her, and put the captain ashore upon Block Island.

I cannot pass by in silence, Capt. Bellamy's speech to Capt. Beer. *I am sorry they won't let you have your sloop again, for I scorn to do any one a mischief, when it is not for my advantage; — the sloop, we must sink her, and she might be of use to you. Though you are a sneaking puppy, and so are all those who will submit to be governed by laws*

which rich men have made for their own security ; for the cowardly whelps have not the courage otherwise to defend what they get by their knavery ; but — ye altogether : — them for a pack of crafty rascals, and you, who serve them, for a parcel of hen-hearted numskulls. They vilify us, the scoundrels do, when there is only this difference, they rob the poor under the cover of law, forsooth, and we plunder the rich under the protection of our own courage. Had you not better make one of us, than sneak after these villains for employment ? Captain Beer told him, that his conscience would not allow him to break through the laws of God and man. You are a devilish conscience rascal, replied Bellamy ; I am a free prince, and I have as much authority to make war on the whole world, as he who has a hundred sail of ships at sea, and an army of 100,000 men in the field ; and this my conscience tells me : but there is no arguing with such snivelling puppies, who allow superiors to kick them about deck at pleasure.

The pirates, wanting neither provisions nor water, and the Widaw's damage being repaired, passed the time very jovially.

A fortnight after setting Capt. Beer ashore, Williams boarded and took a vessel off Cape Cod, laden with wine ; the crew of which increased the number of their prisoners. They put seven men on board the prize, with orders to keep company with the ship and sloop, and left on board her the master.

As they had been long off the careen, they stood away to the northward, and made the best of their way to Penobscot river. When they were at the mouth of it, it was thought more eligible to careen in the river Mechisses. They entered it as agreed, and run up about two miles and a half, where they came to an anchor with their prizes. The next morning all the prisoners were set ashore with

drivers, and orders to assist in building huts; the guns were also set ashore, and a breast work raised, with embrasures for the cannon on each side of the river. This took up four days. A magazine was dug deep in the earth, and a roof raised over it by the poor slaves, the prisoners, whom they treated after the same manner as the negroes are used by the West-India planters. The powder being secured, and every thing out, they hove down the sloop, cleaned her, and when she had all in again, they careened the Whidaw by the largest prize.

They now thought of cruising again, and accordingly steered for Fortune's Bay in Newfoundland. They made some prizes on the Banks, forced all the men, and sunk the vessels.

They had not been long on this coast before they were separated by a storm, which held some days. Off the island of St. Paul the Whidaw spied a sail, which she immediately gave chase to. The ship brought to and lay by for her, and proved a Frenchman of 36 guns, carrying soldiers to Quebec. The Whidaw engaged with great resolution, and the French did not show less, for he boarded the Whidaw and was twice put off, with the loss of men on both sides. Bellamy, after two hour's engagement, thought the Frenchman too hard a match, and was for shaking him off; but his enemy was not as willing to part with him, for he gave chase, and as he sailed altogether as well as Bellamy, the latter had certainly been taken, and had received the due punishment of his crimes, had not the night coming on favoured his escape. He lost in this engagement 36 hands, besides several wounded.

The Whidaw returned to the coast of Newfoundland, and off Placentia Bay met with his consort and the prize. They resolved to visit again the coast of New-England, the Whidaw being much shattered in the late engagement, having received a great

many shot in her hull. They ran down this coast, and between St. George's Banks and Nantucket Shoals, took the *Mary Anne*.

The master of the vessel, taken formerly off Cape Cod, was left on board her, and as he was very well acquainted with the coast, they ordered him to carry the light and go ahead; and the pirates commonly kept him at the helm. He upon a night of public rejoicing, seeing all the pirates drunk, laid hold of the opportunity, and ran his vessel ashore about midnight, near the land of Eastham, out of which he alone escaped with life. The *Whidaw*, steering after the light, met with the same fate. The small vessel ran into a sandy bay, and the men got ashore without difficulty.

When the *Whidaw* struck, the pirates murdered all their prisoners, that is, all their forced men; as it is concluded, from the mangled carcasses which were washed ashore; but not a soul escaped out of her or Williams, who was also lost.

The pirates, to the number of seven, who escaped, were seized by the inhabitants, and on the information of the master who escaped, and on their own confession were imprisoned, condemned, and executed. They were all foreigners, very ignorant and obstinate; but by the indefatigable pains of a pious and learned divine, who constantly attended them; they were at length, by the special grace of God, made sensible of, and truly penitent, for the enormous crimes they had been guilty of.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM FLY.

As to the birth of this pirate, we can discover nothing by the inquiries we have hitherto made; and indeed had we succeeded in our search, it would have been of no great consequence; for it is certain by the behaviour of the man, he must have been of very obscure parents; and by his education, (as he was no artist) very unfit in all respects, except that of cruelty, for the villaneous business he was in. We have been informed, that he had been in a pirate in a private capacity, and having escaped justice, had an opportunity of repenting his former crimes, and as a foremast man, or petty officer, of getting his bread in a warrantable way. But no—ignorant as he was of letters, he was ambitious of power, and capable of the most barbarous actions to acquire it.

Capt. Green, of Bristol, in April, 1726, shipped this Fly as boatswain, at Jamaica, being bound, in the Elizabeth snow, of Bristol, for the coast of Guinea. Fly, who had insinuated himself with some of the men, whom he found ripe for any villany, resolved to seize the said snow, and murder the captain and mate, and taking the command on himself, turn pirate. He proposed this design to his brothers in iniquity, who approving it, he, having the watch at one o'clock in the morning, on the 27th day of May, went up to one Morrice Cundon, then at the helm, accompanied by Alexander Mitchel, Henry Hill, Samuel Cole, Thomas Winthrop, and other conspirators, and swore if he spoke one word, or stirred either hand or foot, he would blows his brains out; and tucking up his shirt above the elbows

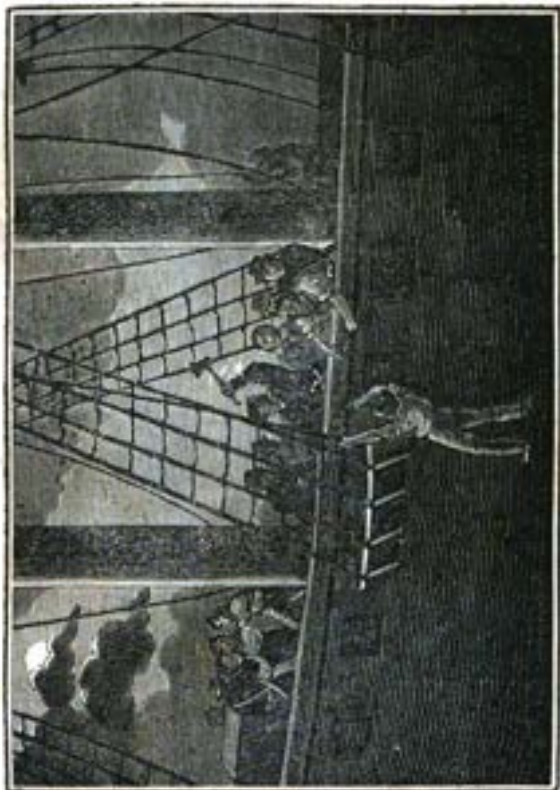
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with a cutlass in his hand, he, with Mitchel, went into the captain's cabin, and told him he must turn out. The captain, asking what was the matter, was answered by Mitchel, they had no time to answer impertinent questions; that if he would turn out and go upon deck quietly, it would save them the trouble of scraping the cabin; if he would not, a few buckets of water and a scraper would take his blood out of the deck: that they had chosen Capt. Fly for commander, and would allow of no other, and would not waste their provisions to feed useless men.

The Captain replied, that since they had so resolved, he should make no resistance; but begged they would not murder him, since his living could be no obstacle to their designs; that he had never been harsh to either of them, and therefore they could not kill him out of revenge; and if it was only for their security, he desired, if they would not take his word to do nothing to obstruct the measures they had resolved on, they would secure him in irons, till he might be put somewhere on shore, *Ah, says Fly, to live and hang us, if we are ever taken: no, no, walk up, that bite won't take; it has hanged many an honest fellow already.* Mitchel and Fly then laying hold of him, pulled him out of his bed. The poor captain entreating them to spare his life for his soul's sake, told them he would bind himself down by the most solemn oaths, never to appear against them; that he was unfit to appear before the judgment seat of a just and pure God; that he was loaded with sins, and to take him off before he had washed those stains, which sullied his soul, by the tears of repentance, would be a cruelty beyond comparison greater than that of depriving him of life, were he prepared for death, since it would be, without any offence committed against them, dooming him to eternal misery. However, if they would not be persuaded that his

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The Pirates chopping off Capt. Green's hand and dragging the Mate from the cabin, page 135.

life was consistent with their safety, he begged they would allow some time to prepare himself for the great change: that he begged no other mercy than what the justice and compassion of the laws would allow them, should they hereafter be taken. ——— *your blood, said Mitchel, no preaching. Be ——— a' you will, what's that to us? Let him look out who has the watch. Upon deck you dog, for we shall lose no more time about you.*

They hauled him into the steerage, and forced him upon deck, where one of the hell-hounds asked if he had rather take a leap like a brave fellow, or be tossed over like a sneaking rascal? The captain addressing himself to Fly, said, *Boatswain, for God's sake don't throw me overboard; if you do I am for ever lost; Hell's the portion of my crimes.* ——— *him, answered Fly, since he's so Godly, we'll give him time to say his prayers, and I'll be parson. Say after me. Lord have mercy on me. Short prayers are best, so no more words and over with him, my lads.* The captain still cried for mercy, and begged an hour's respite only, but all in vain; he was seized by the villains and thrown overboard. He caught, however, and hung by the main sheet, which Winthrop seeing, fetched the cooper's broad axe, and chopping off the unhappy master's hand, he was swallowed up by the sea.

The captain being thus dispatched, Thomas Jenkins, the mate, was secured and brought upon deck, to share the same cruel fate. His entreaties were as useless as the captain's; the sentence they had passed upon him was not to be reversed; they were deaf to his prayers and remonstrances, strangers to humanity and compassion. He was of the captain's mess, they said, and they should e'en drink together; it was a pity to part good company.

Thus they jested with his agonies. He, however, made some struggle, which irritating his murderers,

one of them snatched up the axe, with which Withthrop had lopped off the captain's hand, and gave him a great cut on the shoulder, by missing his head, where the blow was aimed, and he was thrown into the sea. He swam notwithstanding, and called out to the doctor to throw him a rope, who, poor man, could not hear him, being secured, and laid in irons in his own cabin; and had he heard, and been able to have thrown the rope required, could it be expected that these hardened wretches would have relented, and shown him mercy? But the sinking man will catch at a straw, and hope, they say, is the last that deserts us. While we have life we are apt to flatter ourselves some lucky accident may favour us.

It was next debated what should be done with the doctor. Some were for sending him to look after the captain and mate; but the majority, as he was a useful man, thought it better to keep him. All obstacles being removed, Mitchel saluted Fly captain, and with the rest of the crew who had been in the conspiracy, with some ceremony, gave him possession of the great cabin.

Here a bowl of punch being made, Morice Cundon was called down, and one John Fitzherbert, set to the helm in his place. At the same time the carpenter and Thomas Streaton were brought before the captain, who told them they were three rascals, and richly deserved to be sent after the captain and mate, but that they were willing to show them mercy, and not put them to death in cold blood and he would therefore only put them in irons, for the security of the ship's crew. They were accordingly ordered out, and ironed. Fly then told his comrades it was convenient to resolve on some course, when word was brought them, that a ship was very near them. The council broke up, and made a clear ship, when in a very little while after, they

found it was the Pompey, which had left Jamaica in company with the snow. The Pompey, standing for the snow which did not make from her, soon hailed and asked how Capt. Green did, and was answered by Fly, that he was very well. They did not think fit to attack this ship, but returned to hold their consultation, it was resolved to steer for North-Carolina.

Upon their arrival on that coast they spied a sloop at anchor within the bar. She was called the John and Hannah, and commanded by Capt. Fulker who thinking the snow might want a pilot, stepped into his boat with his mate, Mr. Atkinson, and Mr. Roan, two passengers, and a young lad, in order to bring her in. When they came on board, they were told, that the snow was from Jamaica, with a cargo. Capt. Fulker and Mr Roan were desired to walk down to the captain, who was in the cabin. Fly received them very civilly, ordered a bowl of punch, and hearing Capt. Fulker had brought another passenger on board Mr Atkinson was also invited down.

The punch being brought in, Capt. Fly told his guest, *that he was no man to mince matters; that he and his comrades were gentlemen of fortune, and should make bold to try if Capt. Fulker's sloop was a better sailer than the snow. If she was, she would prove much fitter for their business, and they must have her.* The snow came to an anchor about a league off the sloop, and Fly ordered Fulker, with six of his own hands, into the boat to bring her along side of the snow; but the wind proving contrary, their endeavours proved also vain, and they returned again in the boat, bringing Capt. Fulker back with them. As soon as they got on board the snow, Fly fell into a violent passion, cursing and abusing Fulker for not bringing off the sloop. He gave him his reason, and said it was impossible. *You lie you dog,* replied the pirate, *but your hide shall pay for your*

rogue, and if I can't bring her off, I'll burn her where she lies. He then ordered Cupt. Fulker to the geers; no reason, no arguments could prevail; he was stripped and lashed after a very inhuman manner; and the boat's crew being sent again, with much ado carried her off as far as the bar, where she bilged and sunk. The pirates then endeavoured to set what remained of her out of water on fire, but they could not burn her.

The snow getting under sail to look out for some booty, Fulker and the others desired they might be set at liberty, but it was denied them for the present, though not without a promise that they should be released the first vessel they took. On the 5th of June they left Carolina, and the next day spied a sail, which proved the John and Betty, commanded by Capt. Gale, bound from Barbadoes to Guinea. Fly gave chase, but finding the ship wronged him, he made a signal of distress, hoisting his jack at the main-top-mast head; but this decoy did not hinder the ship making the best of her way. Fly continued the chase all night, and the wind slackening, he came within shot of the ship, and fired several guns at her under his black ensign. The ship being of no force, and the pirates ready to board, the captain struck; and Fly, manning his long-boat, the crew being well armed with pistols and cutlasses, went on board the prize, and sent Capt. Gale, after having secured his men, prisoner on board the snow. This prize was of little value to the pirates, who took nothing but some sail-cloth and small arms, and after two days let her go, but took away six of his men, setting on board Capt. Fulker, a passenger, and Capt. Green's surgeon. They kept Mr. Atkinson, knowing he was a good artist, and lately master of the Boneta brigantine, as a pilot for the coast of New-England, which they were satisfied he was well acquainted with.

Upon Mr. Atkinson's desiring to have his liberty with the others, Capt. Fly refused it with the most horrid oaths and imprecations, and insisted upon it that he should act as their pilot; assuring him at the same time, if he piloted them wrong, his life should be the forfeit.

Mr. Atkinson answered, it was very hard he should be forced to take upon himself the pilotage, when he did not pretend to know the coast, and that his life should answer for any mistake his ignorance of it might make him guilty of, and therefore begged he might be set on board Capt. Gale; and that they would trust their own knowledge, since he did not doubt there being better artist on board. *No no* replied Fly, *that won't do—your palavering won't save your bacon; so either discharge your trust like an honest man, (for go you shan't) or I'll send you with my service to the d—l: so no more words about the matter.*

There was no reply made, and they stood for the coast of New-England. Off Delaware Bay they made a sloop, commanded by one Harris, bound from New-York to Pennsylvania. She had on board about fifty passengers. Fly gave chase, and coming up with her, hoisted his black ensign, and ordered her to strike, which she immediately did; and Fly sent Capt. Atkinson on board, to sail her, though he would not allow him (Atkinson) any arms. The pirates ransacked this prize, but not finding her of any use to them, after a detention of 24 hours, they let her go, with her men, excepting only a well made young fellow, whose name was James Benbrooke, whom they kept.

Fly, after having released the prize, ordered Capt. Atkinson to carry the snow into Martha's Vineyard, but he wilfully missed this place. Fly, finding himself beyond Nantucket, and that his design was balked, called to Atkinson, and told him *he was a*

rascally scoundrel, and that it was a piece of cruelty to let such a villain live, who designed the death of so many honest fellows. Atkinson, in his defence, said, he never pretended to know the coast, and that it was very hard he should die for being thought an abler man than he really was. Had he pretended to be their pilot, and did not know his business, he deserved punishment; but when he was forced upon a business which he before declared he did not understand, it would be certainly cruel to make him suffer for their mistake. *You are an obstinate villain* replied Fly, *and your design is to hang us; but blood and wounds, you dog, you shan't live to see it*—and saying this, he ran into his cabin and brought a pistol, with design to shoot Atkinson; but by the interposition of Mitchel, who thought him innocent of any design, he escaped.

Atkinson, who perceived his life every minute in danger, began to ingratiate himself with the pirates and gave them hopes, that with good and gentle usage, he might be brought to join them. This he did not say in express terms, but by words he now and then let drop, as by accident. They were not a little rejoiced at the idea of having so good an artist to join them; nay some of them hinted to him, that if he would take upon him the command, they were ready to dispossess Capt. Fly, who carried his command too high, and was known to all the crew to be no artist, and to understand nothing beyond the business of a boatswain. Atkinson thought it his interest to keep them in the opinion that he would join; but always declined hearing any thing as to the command.

This made him less severely used, and protected him from the insults of Fly, who imagined he would betray them the first opportunity, therefore, more than once proposed his being thrown overboard, which was never approved by the snow's company

From Nantucket they stood to the eastward, and off Brown's Bank made a fishing schooner. Fly, coming up with her, fired a gun, and hoisting his black ensign, swore, *if they did not instantly bring to, and send their boat on board, he would sink her.* The schooner obeyed, and sent away her boat on board the snow. He examined the captain as to what vessels were to be met with, and promised, if he could put him in the way of meeting with a good sailer, to let him go, and give him his vessel, or he should otherwise keep her. The poor man told him he had a companion which would soon be in sight, and was a much better vessel. Accordingly about 12 at noon, the same day, which was the 23d of June, the other schooner hove in sight; upon which Fly manned this prize with six pirates and a prisoner named George Tasker, and sent her in chase, having himself on board the snow, no more than three pirates, Capt. Atkinson, (who had worked himself into some favour with him) and fifteen forced men; but he took care to have his arms upon deck by him.

The men who had not taken on with Fly, were, Atkinson, Capt. Fulker's mate, and two youths belonging to him; the carpenter and gunner belonging to Capt. Green; six of Capt. Gale's men, and the aforesaid Benbrooke, who belonged to Capt. Harris, with three of the men out of the schooner. Atkinson, seeing the prisoners and forced men were five to one of the pirates, thought of delivering himself from the bondage he was in: and as by good luck several other fishing vessels hove in sight, right ahead of the snow, he called to Capt. Fly, and told him he spied several other vessels ahead, desiring he would come forward and bring his glass. Fly did so, and leaving his arms on the quarter deck, set on the windlass to see if he could make out what they were. Atkinson, who had concerted his mea-

tures with one Walker and the above mentioned Benbrooke, secured the arms on the quarter deck, and gave them a signal to seize Fly; which they did, with very little trouble, and afterwards made themselves masters of the other three pirates and the snow, the rest of the prisoners, not knowing any thing of, or what the design might be, remaining altogether inactive, and brought the snow and pirates to Great Brewster, where a guard was put on board, June 28, 1726.

Soon after, the said pirates were brought to their trial, that is, on the 4th of July following, before the Honourable William Dummer, Esq. Lieutenant Governor and commander in chief of the province of Massachusetts Bay, President of the Special Court of Admiralty, at the court-house of Boston, assisted by 18 gentlemen of the council; before whom they were found guilty of murder and piracy condemned to be executed, and accordingly were executed the 12th of July. Fly was ordered to be hanged in chains at the entrance of the harbour of Boston. Thus ended the short reign of an obdurate wretch, who only wanted skill and power to be as infamous as any who scoured the seas. The names of the three pirates, executed with him, were, Samuel Cole, George Condick, and Henry Greenvil.

CAPTAIN THOMAS HOWARD.

WE have said, in another life, viz. White's that he was a lighterman on the river Thames. His father was of that business, and had the character of a very honest man. After his father's decease, he grew very extravagant, and squandered away not only what he had left his son, but what he had allotted for his widow, whose indulgence, putting every thing into her son's hands, was followed by being herself turned out of doors, for he sold the house over her head. After having ruined himself and mother, his friends fearing the wickedness of his inclination would bring scandal upon them, persuaded him to go to sea, and procured him a voyage to Jamaica, on board a merchant ship. At this island he ran away from his ship, and associating himself with some desperate fellows, they stole a canoe, and went away to the Grand Camanas, to join some others of their own stamp, who lurked thereabouts, with design to go on the account, the term for pirating. They met those they looked for, made up a company of 20 men, surprised and made themselves masters of a turtling sloop, and set out in search of booty.

The first prizes they made were only turtlers, which, however, increased the number of their crew, some being willing to join them, others being forced, with threats of being set on shore, on some desolate key. After some time cruising, they met with an Irish brigantine, which had provisions and servants on board. They made an exchange with the master, gave him provision to carry him to Ja-

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maica, and allowed five hands to go with him. The rest (except the servants, who readily took on with the pirates) were all forced. Not long after, they surprised a sloop which had been trading on the Spanish coast. As she had 6 guns, and was a fit vessel for their turn, they changed her against the brigantine. Several hands belonging to this sloop entered volunteers, and several more were obliged to join them by compulsion. After this capture, they steered for the coast of Virginia, and in their way, met with a large New-England brigantine, laden with provisions bound for Barbadoes. This they made prize of, and shifting their own guns on board her, sent the master away with the sloop, after forcing some of his men with them. They had now a vessel of ten guns, and a crew of 80 men, of whom one James was captain, and Howard quarter-master.

While they lay on the coast of Virginia, they made prize of several ships from England, out of which they took men, liquors, provisions, clothes and whatever else they liked or thought necessary. As these ships had several felons on board, who were transports, they had out of them a number of volunteers, besides forced men; so that they had a large complement. Among other Virginia ships which fell into their hands, they made prize, with little trouble, of a fine galley, mounted with 24 guns, which afforded them a great many volunteers, as she had a number of transported malefactors and servants on board. They changed their brigantine for this ship, and soon after, the man of war, which waited on this coast, heaving in sight, they thought proper to take their departure.

From the coast of Virginia, they shaped their course for that of Guinea, where they took a great many ships of different nations, all which they rifled of what they thought fit. Out of these ships they

forced on board a number of men, equal to the number of those formerly compelled, who desired, and whom they permitted, to be discharged, after much entreaty.

After they had been some months on the coast, they spied a large three decked Portuguese ship, from Brazil, mounted with 36 guns. They gave chase and came up with her. The captain would make no resistance; but his mate, who was an Englishman, named Rutland, thinking it a shame to give up such a ship, resolved to defend her; which the Portuguese captain consented to, but went himself out of harm's way. Rutland, who had been master of an English brigantine, taken from him on the same coast by another gang of pirates, fought them the better part of a forenoon; but the Portuguese flying the decks, and only 30 men, who were English, Dutch, and French, standing by him, he was obliged to ask quarters, which were given. When the pirates came on board, they asked Rutland if he was commander? He answered, no. They inquired after him, and being told he was some where in the hold, they searched, and found him hid in the powder room; whence they hauled him up, and whipped him round the deck for his cowardice. Rutland, and those who fought the ship, were forced on board, and their complement being now 180 men, they exchanged their galley for the Portuguese ship, carried her in shore, and ripping off her upper deck, made her deep waisted, by cutting down some of her gunnel. This prize they named the Alexander.

They went down the coast in this ship, and made several prizes, some of which they discharged, and put on board such of their forced men as begged their discharge; others they sunk, and burnt others; but forced on board carpenters, caulkers, armourers, surgeons, and musicians. In their way to Cape

Lopez, where they designed, and afterwards did clean, they found a large Bristol ship at an anchor, which had lost a great many men by sickness, and had then but few healthy on board, who got into the boat, and endeavoured to get on shore, but were prevented by the pirates. Here they changed some more of their forced men, and did intend to change their ship; but on a survey, found the Bristol ship too old for their purpose, and therefore left her at an anchor, after they had taken what they thought of use to them. This ship belonged to one Mr. Godly, of Bristol.

They met with nothing else in their way to Cape Lopez, where they cleaned their ship, took in wood and water, and then stood away to sea again. At their leaving Cape Lopez, they spied an English ship, which they came up with and engaged. The merchantman made an obstinate defence, and finding the design to board, made to close quarters. Howard, and seven or eight more, entered; but the pirate's boatswain not having secured his lashing, they fell astern, and left these men on board the merchant ship, who seeing themselves in danger, hauled up the boat, which the chase had astern, and cutting the rope, got on board the *Alexander*, which being considerably the larger ship, and drawing a great deal more water, struck on an unknown bank, which the merchantman went over, and by this lucky accident escaped.

This obliged the pirates to start their water, and throw over the wood to get the ship off, which put them under a necessity of going back to Cape Lopez to take in those necessaries. Aftey having a second time wooded and watered, they put again to sea, fell in with and took two Portuguese brigantines, which they burnt, and setting the men on shore, they made for, and doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and shaped their course for Madagas-

oar, where to the northward of, and near a small island, they run the ship on a reef, where she stuck fast. The captain being then sick in his bed, the men went ashore on the small adjacent island, and carried off a great deal of provisions and water to lighten the ship, on board of which none but the captain, the quarter-master, and about eleven more were left.

The quarter-master, who was Howard, with the others, took all the treasure, put it on board the boats, and made off for the main of Madagascar. The captain, hearing nobody stir upon deck, made shift to crawl out of his cabin, and seeing them put off, fired the two fore chase guns at them, which alarmed (to no purpose) the men ashore. As the sea ebbed, the ship lay dry, and they could walk to her from the island. She might have been saved had they the boats to carry out an anchor; but for want of them they brought every thing ashore, at tide of flood, upon rafts. As the ship lay in a quiet place, they had opportunity to rip her up, and build a vessel out of her wreck. The major part of the crew being English and Dutch who sided together, they forced about 36 Portuguese and French (thinking their crew too numerous for their provisions in the present circumstances) to get upon a raft, and take their chance with the sea-breeze to get to the island of Madagascar, about three leagues from them. They finished a vessel of 60 tons, but the day they designed to have launched her, a pirate brigantine hove in sight, who took them on board.

Howard and his consorts stood along the W. side of the island, with design to round the N. end, and to go to St. Mary's but finding the current too strong to stem, they lay there about a fortnight. In the interim they spied three sail of tall ships, which were men of war under Commodore Little-

ton, viz. the Anglesa, Hastings, and Lizard, who had carried a pardon to the island of St. Mary's, accepted of by many of the pirates. Thinking these might be also pirates, they made a smoke, which brought the boats ashore; but finding they were men of war's boats, the pirates thought fit to abscond; wherefore, finding nothing nor any body, the said men of war's boats returned, and the ships kept their cruise.

They had here plenty of fish and wild hogs which they found in the woods. One day, when Howard was hunting, his comrades took the opportunity, went off, rounded the north end, and left Mr. Howard to provide for himself.

About four or five-and-twenty leagues from the Cape, they went into a fine harbour on the east side, not frequented, nay, hardly known to the European ships. They were here received handsomely, treated and provided with fresh meat, and what necessaries they wanted, by the king of this district, whose name was Mushmango, who had formerly been driven from Augustin by war, and travelling through the heart of the country, had here fixed his settlement. When the boats were victualled, and while Johnson, who took on him the command after they had deserted Howard, was ashore with three more, the rest went off with the boats and booty, and stood away to the southward, along the coast, designing for St. Mary's, going every night into some harbour, or coming to an anchor under some point when the winds proved contrary.

Johnson addressed himself to the king, and told him the boat and goods were his property; upon which he went along shore with a number of men, and found the boat at an anchor, and all asleep, except one to look out, at whom the king fired his blunderbuss, and killed him. The report of the piece awakened the others, who cut and stood off

the coast. The king returned, gave Johnson an account of his expedition, and furnished him a canoe, some calabashes of fresh water, provisions, and lances, that he might pursue after his people, Johnson kept the shore on board till he came to the island of St. Mary's, where he heard his comrade fugitives were gone to, and settled at Ambonavoula, in a village belonging to the natives on the river of Manansallang. Leaving his canoe, he went into one belonging to an inhabitant, who carried him to his companions.

After he had been here some few months, Fourgette, already mentioned in White's life, came in with his ship from Martinico. With this vessel they sailed to the west side, and came to an anchor at an island called Anquawla, 30 leagues from the place where they left Howard.

Some of the subjects of the king of Anquawla had before met with, and brought hither, Capt. Howard, who seeing the ship at anchor near shore, hailed her, and desired the boat might be sent to fetch him off, which was accordingly done, and he joined the rest of the crew. Here two boys ran away from them, whom they demanded of the king; but he not delivering them, they went ashore by day-break, surprised his town, and brought off twelve of his concubines, whom they detained on board, till their boys, who were blacks, were returned, and then delivered them back. From this ship he went on board the *Speaker*, where he continued till she was lost on Mauritius, when he came back to Madagascar, and settled at Augustin. Here he tarried till the *Prosperous*, a ship of 36 guns, commanded by Capt. Hilliard, came in, which Howard and some other pirates (with the assistance of the boatswain and some of the crew belonging to the ship,) seized. In taking this ship, the captain and his chief mate were killed, and several others wounded. Howard

was by the company declared captain. Several of the ships crew took on with them, and they went round the south end to the east side, till they came the length of Maritan, where they found some of the Speaker's company, whom they took on board, and made up their complement about 70 men.

From hence they steered for the island of St. Mary's, where they heeled their ship, watered, wood-ed, and shipped some more hands. Here they had an invitation from one Ort Van Tyle, who lived on the main of Madagascar, to come to the ceremony of christening two of his children. They were kindly received and treated by him, but it having been reported that this Ort Van Tyle had murdered some pirates, they in revenge, though they had no certainty of the fact, took him prisoner, plundered his house, and what goods they could not take off in a great canoe belonging to him, they threw into the river or burnt. Ort Van Tyle they designed to carry on board, and hang at the yard-arm; but one of the pirates helped him to escape, and he took into the woods, where meeting some of his blacks, he way-laid his canoe and Howard's pinnace by the river side. Besides what goods they had on board of this Dutchman's they had several women and children belonging to him and some white men, who had left them under his care. The pirates set the women to the paddles, and the canoe was overset on the bar; Ort Van Tyle fired on the men, and shot one through the arm and through the thigh, whom with his comrade, he took prisoner, and kept with him. The rest of the men got ashore on the south side of the river and escaped him; the women on the north side, and returned home. When the pinnace came down, he fired and shot the captain through the arm, but he got on board, where his arm was set. After this, the Prosperous sailed for Methelage, where they victualled, with a design to go to

the East-Indies. While they lay here, came in a large Dutch ship, well manned, and of 40 guns. The Prosperous was not strong enough to attack her, and the Dutch, fearing he should spoil his trade, would not meddle with Howard, though hard words passed, and the Dutchman threatened to fall foul on him if he did not leave the place, which Howard thought fit to do, and sailed to Mayotta.

A few days after the departure of the Prosperous, Capt. Bowen, in the Scotch ship, came in, anchored within small arm shot, and right a head of the Dutchman, whom he saluted with 11 guns, shot and all, which the other returned with 15, after the same manner; drums beating and trumpets sounding on both sides. The Dutchman, however, was surprised, and under apprehensions. He hailed the pirate, and answer was returned, *From the seas*. He then bid them send their boat on board, which accordingly went with the quarter-master, who told the captain, that they had no design on him, but were going against the Moors, and came in for provision. He replied, they could get none there, and the best way was to be gone; however, the quarter-master went ashore, (where the Dutch had made his factory, and had some goods) and shot down three oxen, which he ordered the natives to help to cut in pieces. The Dutchman, perceiving a friendship between the natives and pirates, seeing Bowen full of men, and hearing two more pirates were expected, thought fit to go off in the night, and leave the goods he had put on shore.

A few days after, Bowen, seizing the goods left, went for Mayotta, where he joined the Prosperous, and lay for the season to go to the East-Indies. After some stay here, their salt provision perishing, they returned to Madagascar to revictual, Bowen to St. Augustin, and Howard (on board of whose ship

was Capt. Whaley, taken as related in Bowen's life) to Methelage, agreeing to meet at the island of St. Johns, to lie for the Moors fleet; where after some disappointments, they met, and got sight of the Moors fleet, one of which fell a prize to Bowen; but the Prosperous being a heavy sailer, did not come up with them till they were at an anchor at the bar of Surat, where they waited to lighten. The Moors seeing few hands on board, for Howard concealed his men, and not imagining a pirate would venture up, concluded him an English East Indiaman. Howard clapped the largest on board, which stood him a smart engagement, and killed him about 30 men. At length the pirates forced Capt. Whaley who spoke the Moors language to go on board and offer quarter, which they excepted. There was on board this prize a nobleman belonging to the Great Mogul, who had been at Jaffa to buy horses for his master. The prize yielded them a great booty, though they found but part of the money which was on board. They intended to carry her to Madagascar, but her bowsprit being wounded in the boarding, she lost all her masts; wherefore they sent her adrift, and she ran ashore at Deman, belonging to the Portuguese.

From hence he steered to the Malabar coast, where he met Bowen and his prize, which mounted 56 guns. Both crews went on board Bowen, sunk the Prosperous, and burnt the Scotch ship, called the Speedy Return. Hence they stood along the coast of India; and Howard, with about 20 more, landed with what they had, and retired among the natives, where Howard married a women of the country, and being a morose, ill-natured fellow and using her ill, he was murdered by her relations.

CAPTAIN LEWIS.

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

He played at this small game, surprising and taking coasters and turtlers, till with forced men and volunteers he made up a company of 40 men. With these he took a large pink built ship, bound from Jamaica to the bay of Campeachy, and after her, several others bound to the same place; and having intelligence that there lay in the bay a fine Bermuda built brigantine of 10 guns, commanded by Capt. Tucker, he sent the captain of the pink to him with a letter, the purport of which was, that he wanted such a brigantine, and if he would part

with her, he would pay him 10,000 pieces of eight; if he refused this, he would take care to lie in his way, for he was resolved, either by fair or foul means to have the vessel. Capt. Tucker, having read the letter, sent for the masters of vessels then lying in the bay, and told them, after he had shown the letter, that if they would make him up 54 men, (for there were about 10 Bermuda sloops) he would go out and fight the pirates. They said no, they would not hazard their men, they depended on their sailing, and every one must take care of himself as well as he could.

However, they all put to sea together, and spied a sail under the land, which had a breeze while they lay becalmed. Some said he was a turtler; others, the pirate, and so it proved; for it was honest Capt. Lewis, who putting out his oars, got in among them. Some of the sloops had four guns, some two, some none. Joseph Dill had two, which he brought on one side, and fired smartly at the pirate, but unfortunately one of them split, and killed three men. Tucker called to all the sloops to send him men, and he would fight Lewis, but to no purpose; nobody came on board him. In the mean while a breeze sprung up, and Tucker, trimming his sails, left them, who all fell a prey to the pirate; into whom, however, he fired a broadside at going off. One sloop, whose master I will not name, was a very good sailer, and was going off; but Lewis firing a shot, brought her to, and he lay by till all the sloops were visited and secured. Then Lewis sent on board him, and ordered the master into his sloop. As soon as he was on board, he asked the reason of his lying by, and betraying the trust his owners had reposed in him, which was doing like a knave and coward, and he would punish him accordingly; for, said he, *you might have got off, being so much a better sailer than my vessel.* After this

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The Pirates flogging the Capt. of a Sloop, page 155.

speech, he fell upon him with a rope's end, and then snatching up his cane, drove him about the decks without mercy. The master, thinking to pacify him, told him he had been out trading in that sloop several months, and had on board a good quantity of money, which was hid, and which, if he would send on board a black belonging to the owners, he would discover to him. This had not the desired effect, but one quite contrary; for Lewis told him he was a rascal and villain for this discovery, and he would pay him for betraying his owners, and redoubled his strokes. However, he sent and took the money and negro, who was an able sailor. He took out of his prizes what he had occasion for, 40 able negro sailors, and a white carpenter. The largest sloop, which was about 90 tons, he took for his own use, and mounted her with 12 guns. His crew was now about 80 men, whites and blacks.

After these captures, he cruised in the Gulf of Florida, laying in wait for the West-India homeward bound ships that took the leeward passage, several of which, falling into his hands, were plundered by him, and released. From hence he went to the coast of Carolina, where he cleaned his sloop, and a great many men whom he had forced, ran away from him. However, the natives traded with him for rum and sugar, and brought him all he wanted, without the government's having any knowledge of him, for he had got into a very private creek; though he was very much on his guard, that he might not be surprised from the shore.

From Carolina he cruised on the coast of Virginia, where he took and plundered several merchantmen, and forced several men, and then returned to the coast of Carolina, where he did abundance of mischief. As he had now an abundance of French on board, who had entered with him, and Lewis, hearing the English had a design to maroon

them, he secured the men he suspected, and put them in a boat, with all the other English, ten leagues from shore, with only ten pieces of beef, and sent them away, keeping none but French and negroes. These men, it is supposed all perished in the sea.

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

He lay off and on the harbour, swearing he would have his quarter-master, and intercepted two fishing shallops, on board of one of which was the captain of the galley's brother. He detained them, and sent word, if his quarter-master did not immediately come off, he would put all his prisoners to death. He was sent on board without hesitation. Lewis and the crew inquired how he had been used, and he answered, very civilly. "It's well," said the pirate, "for had you been ill treated, I would have put all these rascals to the sword." They were dismissed, and the captain's brother going over the

side, the quarter-master stopped him, saying, he must drink the gentlemen's health ashore, particularly Capt. Rogers', and, whispering him in the ear, told him, if the crew had known of his being chained all night, he would have been cut in pieces, with all his men. After this poor man and his shallop's company were gone, the quarter-master told the usage he had met with, which enraged Lewis, and made him reproach his quarter-master, whose answer was, that he did not think it just the innocent should suffer for the guilty.

The masters of the merchantmen sent to Capt. Tudor Trevor, who lay at St. John's in the Sheerness man of war. He immediately got under sail, and missed the pirate but four hours. She kept along the coast and made several prizes, French and English, and put into a harbour where a French ship lay making fish. She was built at the latter end of the war, for a privateer, was an excellent sailer, and mounted 24 guns. The commander hailed him: the pirate answered, *from Jamaica with rum and sugar*. The Frenchman bid him go about his business; that a pirate sloop was on the coast, and he might be the rogue: if he did not immediately sheer off, he would fire a broadside into him. He went off and lay a fortnight out at sea, so far as not to be descried from shore, with resolution to have the ship. The Frenchman being on his guard, in the mean while raised a battery on the shore, which commanded the harbour. After a fortnight, when he was thought to be gone off, he returned, and took two of the fishing shallops belonging to the Frenchman, and manning them with pirates, they went in. One shallop attacked the battery; the other surprised, boarded, and carried the ship, just as the morning star appeared, for which reason he gave her that name. In the engagement the owner's son was killed, who made the voyage out

of curiosity only. The ship being taken, seven guns were fired, which was the signal, and the sloop came down and lay along side the ship. The captain told him he supposed he only wanted his liquor; but Lewis made answer, he wanted his ship, and accordingly hoisted all his ammunition and provision into her. When the Frenchman saw they would have his ship, he told her trim, and Lewis gave him the sloop; and excepting what he took for provision, all the fish he had made. Several of the French took on with him, who, with others, English and French, had by force or voluntarily, made him up 200 men.

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

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

They kept some time on the coast, when they quarrelled among themselves, the French and English, of which the former was more numerous, and they resolved to part. The French therefore chose a large sloop newly taken, thinking the ship's bottom, which was not sheathed, damaged by the worms. According to this agreement they took on

board what ammunition and provision they thought fit out of the ship, and put off, choosing one Le Barre captain. As it blew hard, and the decks were encumbered, they came to an anchor under the coast, to stow away their ammunition, goods, &c. Lewis told his men they were a parcel of rogues, and he would make them refund; accordingly run along side, his guns being all loaded and new primed, and ordered him to cut away his mast, or he would sink him. Le Barre was obliged to obey. Then he ordered them all ashore. They begged the liberty of carrying their arms, goods, &c. with them, but he allowed them only their small arms and cartridge-boxes. Then he brought the sloop along side, put every thing on board the ship, and sunk the sloop.

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

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

CAPTAIN JOHN CORNELIUS.

HAVING now the command of the *Morning Star*, Cornelius kept on the coast, and made several prizes, both English and Portuguese. The former he always discharged, after he had taken what he thought fit, but the latter he commonly burnt.

While he was thus ravaging the coast, two English ships, which had slaved at Whidaw, one of 56 guns, and the other 12, which fought close, were ready to sail; and having notice of a pirate, who had done great mischief, resolved to keep company together for their defence. The captain of the small ship lay sick in his cabin, and she was left to the care of the mates. When they had got under sail, 200 negroes jumped overboard from the larger ship, which obliged her to bring to and get out her boats. The mate of the other went into the cabin, told the accident, and advised lying by, and sending their boats to assist their consort; but the captain being ill, and willing to get off the coast, bid him keep on his way, for it would be dangerous; having 400 slaves on board; and being but weakly manned, when the boats were gone they might rise upon him. The mate urged the danger of the pirates, should they leave their consort. The captain answered, the seas were wide, and he would not bring to; accordingly they kept on their way with a fresh gale.

Two days after, the mate, about 8 in the morning, ordered a man to the mast-head, who spied a sail, which made them prepare for an engagement. There was on board one Robert Williams, who had

erved the African company three years on the Guinea coast, who spoke the negro tongue very well. He told the slaves he had picked out, to the number of 50, that the ship in sight he believed would fight them, and if they got the better, would certainly, as they were cannibals, kill and eat them all; and therefore it behoved them to fight for their lives. They had lances and small arms given them.

About 10, Cornelius came up with them, and being hailed, answered he was a man of war, in search of pirates, and bid them send their boat on board; but they refusig to trust him, though he had English colours and pendant flying, the pirate fired a broadside, and they began a running fight of about 10 hours, in which time the negroes discharged their arms so smartly, that Cornelius never durst attempt to board. About 8 at night the ship blew up abaft. They immediately cut the lashings of the long-boat, but the ship going down, they had not time to get her out, and barely enough to launch the yawl, which lay on the forecastle. The ship went down on one side, and Robert Williams running on the other, was hooked by the mizen-truss, and was carried down with her; but having his knife in his hand, and a great presence of mind, he cut the waistband of his trowsers, where he was caught, got clear, and swam after the boat, into which about 16 had gotten, and either knocked those on the head, or cut off their hands, who laid hold on it; however, with much entreaty, he was permitted to lay one hand on to ease him. They made to the pirate, who refused to receive them, without they would enter with him: which, to save their lives, they all agreed to, and were then civilly received, and dry clothes given them. These and one negro were all the souls saved.

In a little time after this he took two Portuguese ships, which he plundered and kept with him; and

one foggy morning, hearing the firing of guns, which by the distance of time, he judged to be minute guns, as they really were, for the death of an English commander, he called his men on board from the prizes, sent them about their business, and directed his course by the report of the cannon he had heard. In about two hours he spied the ship that had fired, came up with her very soon, and took her without resistance. The officers of the ship which blew up, finding this prize English, and that the pirate did not intend to detain her begged to be discharged, as they had all large families, which must perish without their support. Cornelius, taking them into considerations, discharged Mr. Powis of Limehouse, who has since been a commander, and raised a fortune. The then chief mate, Mr. George Forelong, the boatswain, carpenter, and other married men, he set on board the prize, and was very generous to them out of the plunder of the Portuguese ships, because they had made a broken voyage; but Robert Williams and the other bachelors he detained, and forced some out of the prize, which he let go.

After this he took three Portuguese ships at an anchor, which he plundered and burnt, after he had hove down by one of them. He continued some time longer on the coast, did a great deal of mischief to the trade, and forced a great many men: these he put to do all the slavery of the ship, and they were beat about the decks, without daring to resent it. I shall take notice of an instance of this kind, to show how far revenge will carry a man. One Robert Bland was at the helm, and called Robert Williams to take whipstaff, till he went to play. Williams refused it; upon which Bland drubbed him with the lanyard of the whipstaff very severely. Williams, that he might revenge himself, and have liberty to fight Bland, went that instant and entered

himself a volunteer in the ship's books, and asked leave to fight Bland, which was allowed him, but with no other weapons than his fists. He, however, challenged his antagonist, who was too hard for him; so he turned pirate to be heartily thrashed.

Cornelius, thinking they had been long enough on the Guinea coast, doubled the Cape, off which he spied the Lizard, and two more men of war, under the command of Commodore Littleton. Cornelius was for giving chase, but finding his men unwilling there being, as they gave for reason, 70 forced men on board, and these ships being, as they suspected, men of war, he made the best of his way for Madagascar, went up the river Methelage, or the west side, and anchored against Pombotoque, a small village of blacks.

The quarter-master went ashore, and the black governor examined him, for several of these blacks speak English. He told the governor they were come for provision and to trade; upon which he sent a couple of oxen on board, and then ordered some of the inhabitants to go up with the quarter-master to the king. The boat's crew seeing a number of blacks come down to the strand without the quarter-master, apprehended some mischief had befallen him; but were eased of their fears, when they saw two oxen given them, and were told the white man, who was gone to the king, would be back next day, it not being above 20 miles from the shore.

When the quarter-master, who carried up a blunderbuss, a fine gun, and a pair of pistols; for a present to the king, told him they wanted provisions, he asked where they were bound? To which he answered, to seek their fortunes, for at present they were very poor. *Look ye,* replied the king, *I require nothing of you; all white men I look upon as my children; they helped me to conquer this country, and all the cattle in it are at their service. I*

will send down provisions enough, and when that is spent, you shall have more. He accordingly sent 1000 head of cattle, out of which he bid them choose what they would, and they salted 100 fat oxen.

Besides the present of oxen, the king sent 100 blacks laden with rice. Cornelius sent him a present of two barrels of powder, and would have given him more, with small arms in return, but he sent them word he would have no more, nor any of their arms, not being in want of either. On the contrary, if they wanted, he would send them ten barrels of powder, as they were his children; bade them proceed on their voyage, and if they were richer when they came back, and would send him any present, he would accept it, but not now, they were so poor.

Here Cornelius lost 70 men by their excesses. Having been long without fresh provisions, the eating immoderately, and drinking *toke* (a liquor made of honey) to excess, threw them into violent fevers, which carried them off.

The blacks having given Cornelius an account of the *Speaker's* having sailed from *Methelago* about three months before for the *East-Indies*, he, having taken in his provisions, steered the same course, in hopes to join in consort with her; but the *Speaker* lying off the *Red Sea*, and the *Morning Star* going into the *Gulf of Persia*, they never met. They run up a pretty way in the gulf, and lay under *Antelope Island*, where they kept a look out, and whence they made their excursions, and took a number of prizes.

Here they designed to heave down and clean, and they had got a good part of their goods and water casks ashore, when the look-out discovered two lofty ships, one of them wearing a flag at the fore-top-mast head. This put them into great confusion: they got what casks and necessaries they could on board, and lay till the ships came abreast of them

Then they got under sail at once, their sails being furled with rope yarns, and came close alongside the larger ship, which was a Portuguese of 70 guns, as the other was of 26. They exchanged a broadside with her, and the smaller ship engaged so close, that they threw hand grenades into each other; but Cornelius' business was to run, and the great ship put in stays twice to follow him, but missing, was obliged to ware, which gave the pirate a great advantage. The small ship, in staying, tailed aground: she, however, gave chase till she had run a good way ahead of her consort, which the pirate seeing, brought to, and stayed for her, as did the Portuguese for her consort, not caring to engage him singly. When it was quite dark, Cornelius ran up the other shore, passed the Portuguese ships (which kept down the gulf) and came again to anchor at his old station, where he found his enemies had been ashore in their boats and staved his casks. He here cleaned, and finding no money to be got out of any prizes made, and bale goods being of little value to them, they from hence went away to the island of Johanna, where it was designed to maroon the blacks, who were the greater number and all bred among the English. Robert Williams, fearing they would next maroon the English, who were not above a third of the whites, gave the negroes notice of the design, who secured all the arms of the ship, and gave Williams the command till they should get to Madagascar, keeping a good guard on the French and Dutch. When they came to Methelage they gave the ship to the king, her bottom being eaten so much with the worms that she was no longer fit for service; and they all went and lived with the king. About five months after they broke up, Cornelius died, and was buried with the usual ceremony.

CAPTAIN DAVID WILLIAMS.

THIS man was born in Wales, of very poor parents, who bred him up to the plough and the following of sheep, the only things he had any notion of till he went to sea. He was never esteemed among the pirates as a man of good natural parts, perhaps on account of his ignorance of letters; for as he had no education, he knew as little of the sailing a ship, set aside the business of a foremast man, as he did of history, in which, and natural philosophy, he was equally versed. He was of a morose, sour, unsociable temper, very choleric, and easily resented as an affront; what as brave and a more knowing man would not think worth notice; but he was not cruel, neither did he turn pirate from a wicked or avaricious inclination, but by necessity; and we may say, though he was no forced man, he could not well avoid the life he fell into.

When he was grown a lusty lad he would see the world, and go seek his fortune, as the term is among the country youths, who think fit to withdraw themselves from the subjection of their parents. With this whim in his head, he got to Chester, where he was received, and sailed on board a coaster, till he had made himself acquainted with the rigging, learned to knot, splice, and do the other parts of a common sailor's duty; then coming to London, he shipped himself on board the *Mary Indiaman*, bound for Bengal and Madras, which voyage he performed outward, and it was not his fault that he did not come home in the same ship; for, in her return, falling short of water, they steered for the island of

Madagascar, and fell in with the east side, in lat. 20 deg. or thereabouts. The captain manned and sent ashore the long-boat to seek for water, but a large surf running, she came to an anchor, at some little distance from shore, and David Williams, with another, being good swimmers, stripped and swam off in search of water. While they were ashore, the wind, which blew full upon the island, and freshening, caused the surf to run too high for them to get off; and the long-boat, after waiting some time, seeing no possibility of getting these men on board, weighed and stood for the ship, which filled her sails and stood for St. Augustin's Bay, where she watered, and proceeded on her voyage.

Thus our poor Welchman and his companion were left destitute on an island altogether unknown to them, without clothes or subsistence but what the fruits of the trees offered. They rambled some little time along the coast, and were met by the natives, and by them carried up into the country, where they were humanely treated, and provided with all the necessaries of life, though this was not sufficient to expel his consort's melancholy, who took his being left behind so much to heart, that he sickened and died in a very little time.

Some time after, the prince of the country, who entertained Williams, had a quarrel with a neighbouring king, which broke into a war. Williams took the field with his patron, but the enemy being superior in number, got the victory, and took a great many prisoners, among whom was the unfortunate Welchman. The king whose prisoner he was, treated him very kindly; and being master of an old musket, gave it him, saying *such arms were better in the hands of a white man than those of any of his subjects, who were not so much used to them; that he should be his friend and companion, and should fare as well as himself, if he would assist him in his wars.*

It will not be amiss here to take notice, that this island, on the east side is divided into a great number of principalities or kingdoms, which are almost in continual war one with another; the grounds of which are very trivial, for they will pick a quarrel with a neighbour, especially if he has a number of cattle, (in which, and slaves, consist their riches) on the slightest occasion, that they may have an opportunity of plunder; and when a battle or two is lost, the conquered makes his peace, by delivering up such a certain number of bullocks and slaves as shall be demanded by the victorious prince. On the west side the island, the principalities are mostly reduced under one prince, who resides near Methelage, and who is, as we have said in the lives of other pirates, a great friend to white men; for his father, who founded his empire by the assistance of the Europeans, left it in charge with his son, to assist them with what necessaries they should require, and do them all friendly offices; but if he disobeyed this command, and should ever fall out with the white men, or spill any of their blood, he threatened to come again, turn him out of his kingdom, and give it to his younger brother. These menaces had a very great effect on him, for he firmly believed his father would, on his disobedience, put them in execution; for there is not on earth, a race of men equally superstitious.

But to return to Williams, he lived with this prince in great tranquility, and was very much esteemed by him, (for necessity taught him complaisance.) After some time, his new patron was informed that his vanquished enemy had formed a grand alliance, in order to make war upon him; wherefore, he resolved to begin, and march into the countries of the allies, and ravage the nearest before they could join forces. He raised an army, and accordingly marched southward. At the news of his approach,

The inhabitants abandoned all the small towns, and sending messengers to their friends, raised a considerable body to oppose him, suffering him to overrun a great deal of ground without molestation. At length being reinforced, they took their opportunity, and setting upon him when his men were fatigued, and his army encumbered with booty, they gained a signal victory. The king had the good luck to get off, but Williams was a second time taken prisoner.

He was carried before the conqueror, who, (having been an eye witness of his bravery, for Williams killed a number of his enemies with his shot, and behaved very well, defending himself with the butt end of his musket for some time, when he was surrounded) reached him his hand, and told him, he made war with his enemies only, that he did not esteem the white men such, but should be glad of their friendship. Here Williams was used with more respect than he had been even by his last patron, and lived with this prince some years; but a war breaking out, he was routed in a set battle, in which Williams was his companion. In the pursuit, the poor Welchman, finding he could not get off, clapped his musket at the foot of a tree, and climbing up, he capitulated. He was now terribly afraid of being cut to pieces, for he had shot and wounded a great number of the enemy. They, however, promised him good quarter, and kept their word.

The king of Maratan, who took him, used him as well as any of the former had done, and carried him always with him to the wars, in which fortune was more propitious, for the parties Williams commanded had constantly the better of their enemies, and never returned without great booties of cattle and slaves, for all the prisoners they take are so, until redeemed; though these prisoners are, for the most

part, women and children, they seldom giving quarter to any other. The fame of his bravery and success, spread itself round the country; and his name alone was so terrible, that the giving out he was at the head of any party, was giving the enemy an overthrow without a battle.

This reaching the ears of Dempaino, a mighty prince who lived 200 miles from him, and who had several petty princes tributaries, he sent an ambassador to demand the white man; but his patron, who had no mind to part with him, denied that he had any white man with him; that he who was called so was a native of the country. For the reader's better understanding this passage, I must inform him, that there is a race of what they call white men, who have been settled on Madagascar, time out of mind, and are descended from the Arabs; but mixing with the negroes, have propagated a race of mulattoes, who differ in nothing from the manner of living of the black natives.

To proceed, the ambassador desired to see this man, and Williams coming to him, being extremely tanned, he had passed for what he was reported, had he been before apprized of what had been said, to have answered accordingly, for he spoke the language perfectly; or had the ambassador not examined him; who, after he had some time viewed him, asked him of what country he was, and whether it was true that he was one of Madagascar? Williams answered, he was an Englishman, and was left in the country, relating the particulars, as I have already set them down, adding, he had been five years in the island.

The ambassador then told the king, that he must send the white man with him, for such were the orders of his master, the great Dempaino, who was lord over most of the kings on the side of the country where he resided; and that it would be danger-

own for him to disobey the commands of so great a monarch.

The king answered, those who were subject to Dempaino ought to obey his commands; but for him, he knew no man greater than himself, therefore should receive laws from none; and with this answer dismissed the ambassador; who, at his return, reported to his master the very words, adding, they were delivered in a very haughty strain. Dempaino, who was not used to have his commands disputed, ordered one of his generals to march with 6000 men, and demand the white man, and in case of refusal, to denounce war; that he should send him back an express of it, and he would follow in person with an army to enforce a compliance.

These orders were put in execution with the greatest despatch and secrecy; so that the town was invested, before any advice was given of the approach of an enemy. The general told the king, it was in his choice to have peace or war with his master, since it depended on the delivery of the white man. The king, thus surprised, was obliged, however contrary to his inclinations, to give Williams up to the general, who returned with him to Dempaino, without committing any hostilities; though he threatened to besiege the town, and put all but the women and children to the sword, if the king of Maratan did not pay the expense of sending for the white man, which he rated at 100 slaves, and 500 head of cattle. The king objected to this as a hard condition, and an unjust imposition, but was obliged to acquiesce in it.

He was received by Dempaino with a great many caresses, was handsomely clothed according to the country manner, had slaves allotted to wait on him, and every thing that was necessary and convenient; so that king Dempaino was at the trouble of sending 6000 men, one would think, for no other end

than to show the great value and esteem he had for the Europeans. He continued with this prince till the arrival of a ship, which was some years after his leaving Maratan, when the Bedford galley, a pirate, commanded by Achen Jones, a Welchman, came on the coast, on board of which ship Williams was permitted to enter. They went to Augustin, where, laying the ship on shore, they broke her back by carelessness, and lost her. The crew lived here till the arrival of the Pelican, another pirate, mentioned in North's life; some of them went on board this ship, and steered for the East-Indies. Williams shifted out of this on board the Mocha frigate, a pirate, commanded by Capt. Culliford, and made a voyage; then, returning to St. Mary's they shared the booty they had got in the Red Sea.

Some of the crew, being West-Indians, having an opportunity, returned home; but Williams remained here till the arrival and taking of Captain Fourgette, which has been already mentioned. He was one of those who took the Speaker, went a voyage in her, and returned to Maratan. Here the king seeing him, asked him, what present he intended to make him for former kindness? Williams answered, he had been overpaid by the prince whom he took him from, and by his services; which answer so irritated his Maratanian Majesty, that he ordered him to quit his country; and he could hardly after that see him with patience.

From hence he went on board the Prosperous, Capt. Howard, commander, who went to St. Mary's, and thence to the main, as is said in that pirate's life, and was one of the men left behind when they had a design to carry off Ort Van Tyle. This Dutchman kept him to hard labour, as planting potatoes, &c. in revenge for the destruction and havoc made in his plantations by the crew of the Prosperous. He was here in the condition of a slave six months.

at the expiration of which time, he had an opportunity to run away, leaving his consort, Thomas Collins, behind him, who had his arm broke when he was taken by the Dutchman.

Having made his escape from a rigid, revengeful master, he got to a black prince, named Rebaiharang, with whom he lived half a year. He from hence went and kept company with one John Pro, another Dutchman, who had a small settlement on shore, till the arrival of the men of war, commanded by Commodore Richards, who took both Pro and his guest Williams, put them in irons on board the *Severn*, till they came to Johanna, where the captain of the *Severn* undertook for \$2000 to go against the Mohilians, in which expedition several of the man of war's crew were killed, and the two pirates made their escape in a small canoe to Mohila, where they sheltered themselves awhile in the woods, out of which they got provisions, and made over for Johanna. Here they recruited themselves and went away for Mayotta. The king of this island built them a boat, and giving them provisions and what necessaries they required, they made for and arrived at Madagascar, where, at Methelage, in lat. 16 deg. 40 m. or thereabouts, they joined Captain White.

Here they lay about three months; then setting fire to their boat, they went into White's, and rounding the north end, came to Ambonavoula. Here Williams remained till Capt. White bought the ship *Hopewell*, on board of which he entered before the mast, and made a voyage to the Red Sea, towards the end of which he was chosen quarter-master. At their return they touched at Mascarenhas for provisions, where almost half the company went ashore and took up their habitations.

From Mascarenhas they steered for *Hopewell* (by some called *Hopeful*) Point, on Madagascar, where, dividing their plunder, they settled themselves.

Twelve months after, the Charles brigantine, Capt. Halsey, came in, as is mentioned in his life. Williams went on board him and made a voyage. At their return they came to Maratan, lived ashore, and assisted the king in his war against his brother, which being ended in the destruction of the latter, and a pirate lying at Ambonavoula, sending his long-boat to Manangcaro, within ten leagues of Maratan, Williams and the rest went on board, and in three months after he had been at Ambonavoula, he was chosen captain of the Scotch ship, mentioned in Halsey's life. This ship he worked upon with great earnestness, and made the Scotch prisoners labour hard at the fitting her up for a voyage; and she was nearly ready for sea, when a hurricane forced her ashore, and she was wrecked.

Some time after this he set up and finished a sloop, in which he and ten of his men designed for Mascarenhas; but missing the island, they went round Madagascar, to Methelage, where he laid his vessel ashore and tarried a year; but the king being tired with his morose temper, and he disagreeing with every body, was ordered to be gone, and accordingly fitting up his vessel, he put to sea, intending to go round the north end of the island; but the wind being at E. S. E. and the current setting to N. W. he put back to a port called the Boyn, within ten leagues of Methelage, in the same king's dominions whom he had left. The governor of this place was descended from the Arabs, and it was here that the Arabians traded.

When he came to an anchor, he and three of his men (he had but five with him) went on shore, paddled by two negroes. David Eaton and William Dawson, two of the men, required a guide, to show them the way to the king's town; the governor ordered them one, and at the same time laid an ambush for them in the road, and caused them to

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be murdered. When they had left the Boyn, Williams and Meyeurs, a Frenchman, who also came ashore in the canoe, went to buy some samsams, which are agate beads. As they were looking over these goods, a number of the governor's men came about them, seized them both, and immediately despatched Meyeurs. Williams they bound, and tortured almost a whole day, by throwing hot ashes on his head and in his face, and putting little boys to beat him with sticks. He offered the governor 2000 dollars for his life, but he answered, he would have that and the money too; and accordingly, when he was near expiring, they made an end of him with their lances.

After this barbarous murder, the governor thought of seizing the sloop, on board of which were no more than two white men, six negro boys, and some women slaves of the same colour. However, he thought it best to proceed by stratagem, and therefore putting a goat and some calabashes of toke on board Williams' canoe, with twelve negroes armed, and the sloop negroes to paddle, he sent to surprise her. When the canoe came pretty near the vessel, they hailed, and asked if they would let them come on board? One of the men asked Williams' negroes where the captain was? He answered, drinking toke with the governor, and sent them provision and toke. A negro wench advised the white man, whose name was William Noakes, not to let them come on board, for as four white men went ashore, and none of them appeared, she suspected some treachery. However, on the answer made him from the canoe, he resolved to admit them, and called them on board. No sooner were they come on deck, than one of them, snatching Noakes' pistol, shot him through the head, and seizing the other white man, threw him overboard.

and drowned him ; after which, being masters of the vessel, they carried her in and rifled her.

The king was at this time hunting, as is his custom to hunt boars three months in the year ; but an account of these murders soon reached him. However, he continued the accustomed time of his diversion ; but when he returned home, and the whites who were about him demanded justice, he bade them be quiet, they might depend upon his doing it. He sent to the governor of Boyn, and told him, he was glad that he had cut off Williams and his crew, an example he was resolved to follow, and clear the country of them all ; that he had some affairs to communicate to him, and desired he would come to court as soon as possible, but take care he was not seen by any of the whites, for fear they should revenge the death of their companions.

The governor, on these orders, came away immediately, and stopped at a little town, two miles distant from the king's, and sent word he there waited his commands.

The king ordered him to be with him early next morning, before the white men were out of their beds. He set forward accordingly the next day betimes, but was seized on the road by negroes placed for that purpose, and brought bound to the king, who, after having reproached him with the barbarity of the action he had been guilty of, sent him to the white men, bidding them put him to what death they pleased ; but they sent word back, he might dispose of the lives of his subjects as he thought fit, but for their part, they would never draw a drop of blood of any who belonged to him. Upon which answer the king's uncle ordered him to be speared, and he was accordingly thrust through the body with lances. The king, after this execution, sent to Boyn, and had every thing brought which

had belonged to Williams and his men, and divided it among the whites, saying, *he was sorry the villain had but one life, to make atonement for the barbarity he had been guilty of.*

CAPTAIN SAMUEL BURGESS.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL BURGESS was born in New-York, and had a good education. He sailed some time in a privateer in the West-Indies, and very often, the gang he was with, when the time of their cruising was expired, would make no ceremony of prolonging the commission by their own authority.

By his privateering he got together some little money, and returned home, where the government having no notice, or at least taking none, of his piratical practice, in staying beyond the date of his commission, he went out mate of a ship, in the service of Frederick Phillips, bound to the island of Madagascar, to trade with the pirates, where they had the misfortune to lose their ship, and lived 18 months at Augustin, when an English pirate coming in, the king of the country obliged him to go on board her, though much against his inclination, for he was tired of a roving life : but their choice was to go or starve, for the king would keep them no longer.

He went with this free-booter to the East-Indies, where they made several rich prizes, and returned

to St. Mary's, where they took in provisions, wood, and water. Several of their gang knocked off here ; but the captain, Burgess, and the remainder, went away for the West-Indies, disposed of their plunder on the Spanish coast, and then returning to New-York, purposely knocked the ship on the head at Sandy Hook, after they had secured their money ashore.

The government not being informed of their piracy, they lived here without molestation, and, in a short time, Burgess married a relation of Mr. Phillips, who built a ship, called the Pembroke, and sent him a second time to Madagascar. In his way to this island, he went into the river of Dilagou on the African coast, where he took in a quantity of elephant's teeth ; and thence to Augustin, where he met with several of his old ship-mates, with whom he traded for money and slaves. Leaving this place, he went to Methelage, where he also took some money and negroes ; and from thence he shaped his course for St. Mary's, on the east side, where he also drove a considerable trade with his old comrades, took several of them passengers, who paid very generously for their passage ; and taking with him an account of what was proper to bring in another trip, he returned to New-York, without any sinister accident. This voyage cleared £5000, ship and charges paid.

His owner, encouraged by this success, bade him choose what cargo he pleased, and set out again. Accordingly he laded with wine, beer, &c. and returning to Madagascar, arrived at Maratan, on the east side, where he disposed of a great part of his cargo at his own rates. At Methelage he disposed of the rest, and returned, clearing for himself and owner, £10,000, besides 300 slaves he brought to New-York.

After a short stay at home, he set out again on

the old voyage, fell in first with Methelage, where he victualled and traded, and from thence went round the south end, and sold part of his cargo at a large profit, to his old acquaintance. He made a trading voyage round the island, and at St. Mary's met another ship belonging to his owner, which had orders to follow his directions. He remained at this port till he had disposed of the cargoes of both ships. He then shaped his course homewards, with about twenty pirate passengers, who had accepted the pardon brought by Commodore Littleton.

In his way he touched at the Cape of Good Hope, for wood, water, and fresh provision. While he was here, the *Loyal Cook*, an East-Indiaman, came in, who made prize of Burgess, and carried him to the East-Indies. He there would have delivered Burgess' ship to the governor of Madras, but the governor would have no hand in the affair, and told the captain, he must answer to the East India company and Burgess' owner for what he had done.

Most of the pirate passengers thought themselves cleared by the act of grace; but some, not willing to trust to it, got off with what gold they could, in a Dutch boat. They who trusted to the pardon, were clapped in gaol, and died in their irons. I cannot omit the simplicity of one of them, who had, however, the wit to get off. When he designed to go away, he looked for his comrade for the key of his chest, to take his gold with him, which amounted to seventeen hundred pounds; but this comrade being ashore, he would not break open the chest, for it was a pity, he said, to spoil a good new lock; so left his money for the captain of the East-Indiaman.

The news of this capture came to the owner before the ship returned, and he sued the Company; but at their request, waited for the arrival of the *Loyal Cook*, which brought Burgess prisoner to England soon after. The Captain finding himself

In an error, and that what he had done could not be justified, absconded ; and the Company made good the ship and cargo to the owner. Burgess was set at liberty, continued some time in London, was impeached, and piracy sworn against him by Culliford, who, notwithstanding he came home on the act of grace, was committed to Newgate, tried, and acquitted, though he was beggared.

Burgess' owner laboured very hard, and expended great sums of money to save him. However, though he pleaded the necessity of his going on board the pirate, he was tried and condemned ; but by the intercession of the bishops of London and Canterbury, was pardoned by the queen.

After this, he made a broken voyage to the South Sea, lieutenant of a privateer, and returning to London, was out of business a whole year. He then shipped himself as mate on board the Hannah, afterwards called the Neptune, and went to Scotland to take in her cargo, the owner being of that country ; but before she got thither, he broke, the ship was stopped, and lay eighteen months before she was disposed of. At length, being set to sale, six Scotch gentlemen bought her, the old officers were continued, and she proceeded on her first designed voyage to Madagascar, in which the captain and Burgess quarrelling, caused the loss of the ship ; for the latter, who was acquainted with the pirates, when they arrived at Madagascar, instigated them to surprise her. The manner how, being already set down in Halsey's life, I need not repeat.

I shall only take notice, that Capt. Miller being decoyed ashore, under pretence of being shown some trees, fit for masting, Halsey invited him to a surloin of beef, and a bowl of arrack punch ; he accepted the invitation, with about twenty pirates. 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 attacked by the ague, though he had put it on to conceal his pistols only. After dinner, when Halsey went out, as for something to entertain his guests, (Miller and his supercargo,) Emmy clapped a pistol to the captain's breast, and told him he was his prisoner. At the same instant, two other pirates entered the room, with each a blunderbuss in his hand, and told the captain and his supercargo, that no harm should come to either, if they did not bring it upon themselves by an useless resistance. While this passed within doors, the wood being lined with pirates, all Miller's men, whom he had brought ashore to fall timber, were secured, but none hurt, and all civilly treated. When they had afterwards got possession of the ship, in the manner mentioned before, they set all their prisoners at liberty.

Miller with eleven of his men, was sent off, as is said in Halsey's life. The company chose Burgess quarter-master, and shared the booty they had made out of the Scotch ship, and the Greyhound.

Soon after happened Halsey's death, who left Burgess executor in trust for his widow and children, with a considerable legacy for himself; and the other pirates grumbling at a new comer's being preferred to all of them, took from Burgess £3000 of Halsey's money, and £1200 of his own, which was his share of the two prizes. Though he had been treated in this manner, they were idle enough to give him the command of the Scotch ship, and ordered him to fit her out with all expedition, and to take on board some men and goods left in the brigantine. He set to work on the ship, with full design to run away with her; but some pirates, who were in another part of the island, being informed of these proceedings, thought it not prudent to trust him, so he left the ship, and getting among his old

comrades, by their interposition had all his money returned.

After this he lived five months on the island of St. Mary's, where his house was, by accident, burnt down, out of which he saved nothing but his money. He then went on board David Williams, when he missed the island of Mascarenhas, and returned to Methelage, where he tarried with the king, and was one of the men among whom he divided Williams' effects.

From Methelage he went with a parcel of samsams to Augustin, with which he bought fifty slaves, whom he sold to the Arabians. In his return to Methelage, he met Capt. North, in a sloop, with 30 of Miller's men on board. These men proposed taking Burgess, who had, as they said, betrayed, ruined, and banished them their country, by forcing them to turn pirates; but North would not consent: upon which they confined him, took Burgess and stripped him of all the money, and then releasing their captain, gave him £300 as his share, which he returned to Burgess on his arrival at Methelage.

Burgess lived here two or three years, till he was carried off by some Dutchmen. They belonged to an East-Indiaman, and were taken by two French ships, which being bound for Mocha, and short of provisions, came into Methelage to victual, where they set 80 of their prisoners ashore. When they parted from this port, they sailed for Johanna, where they left the Dutch officers, who built a ship, and came back for their men. Burgess being of great use to them, they took him on board, and steered for a port, where some Dutch, taken in another ship, were marooned; but they were wrecked at Youngoul, where Burgess continued 18 months. After this time was expired, he was desirous of leaving the place, and addressed himself to the king,

who was uncle to the king of Methelage, he requested his black majesty to send him back to that port, which he readily complied with, where Burgess continued almost five years, afflicted with sickness, in which he lost one eye. While he was here, the Drake pink, of London, came in for slaves. He took Burgess, with design to carry him home ; but Capt. Harvey, in the Henry, which belonged to the same owners, arriving, and being a stranger to the trade, at the request of Capt. Maggot, commander of the Drake, and on promise of a ship when in the West-Indies, he entered as third mate, and continued with him. Captain Harvey carrying it pretty high, and disagreeing with the king, lay here nine months before he could slave. Burgess was sent up to tell the king he had not fulfilled his agreement with Capt. Harvey. The king resented being reproached by a man whom he had entertained so many years, and reviled him. He was, however, carried to dinner with some of the principal blacks, and drank very plentifully with them of toke, in which it is supposed he was poisoned, for he fell ill and died soon after, leaving what he had to the care of the chief mate, for the use of his wife and children

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL NORTH.

CAPTAIN NORTH was born at Bermuda, and was the son of a sawyer, which business he himself was bred up to, but took at last to the seas, at the age of 17 or 18, shipping himself cook on board a sloop, built at Bermuda, for some gentlemen of Barbadoes, with design to fit her out for a privateer. She was bound to her owners, but the master took Santa Udas in the way, and loaded with salt. When they came to Barbadoes, all the crew was pressed, and North with his companions were put on board the Reserve.

The master applied himself to the governor, and got all his men cleared, North excepted, who, as he was a lad, was neglected, and left on board the man of war, which soon after sailed for Jamaica. Some time before the Reserve was relieved from this station, he laid hold of an opportunity to run away, and shipped himself on board a sugar drover, in which way of life he continued about two years, and being an able sailor, though no artist, he was offered to go master of one of these coasters, which he refused, and went on board a privateer.

The first cruise he made, they took a couple of good prizes, which made every man's share very considerable; but North, as he got his money lightly, so he spent it, making the companions of his dangers the companions of his diversions, or rather joining himself with them, and following their example; which all (who are acquainted with the way of life of a successful Jamaica privateer) know is not an example of the greatest sobriety and econo

my. His money being all spent, he took the same method for a recruit, that is, he went a second time privateering, and met with such success, that he engaged very heartily in this course of life, and made several lucky cruises. Some time after, he grew tired, thought of trading, and shipped himself on board a brigantine, bound for the Spanish coast, commanded by one Capt. Reesby. This vessel went both on the trading and privateering account, so that the men shipped for half wages, and equal shares of what prizes they should make, in the same manner as to the shares, as on board a privateer. Their trading answered very poorly, and their privateering business still worse, for they returned without making any prize. They were forced to leave the Spanish coast on account of a Spanish guarda-costa, of 40 guns and 350 Frenchmen, commanded by a captain of the same nation. When they made the island of Jamaica, they fell in with Bluefields, off which place two French privateer sloops were cruising, one of which was formerly a privateer of Jamaica, called the Paradox. They immediately clapped Captain Reesby on board, taking him for a trader from the Spanish coast, and weakly manned. However, they were soon sensible of the mistake, for Reesby took one of them, and the other was obliged to a good pair of heels for his safety. Reesby lost 10 men killed outright in the engagement, and had 7 wounded. The latter, though he had made but a broken voyage, he put ashore at Bluefields, and ordered great care to be taken of them, at the owners' expense. Here he took in fresh provision, and then beat up to Port Royal, where Reesby paid his men very honourably, gave them a handsome entertainment, and begged they would not leave him, as he had a very great value for them all; but for North particularly, who

was a good swimmer, managed a canoe with great dexterity, and feared nothing.

Upon this desire of the captain's, North and the greater part tarried ashore till Capt. Reesby was refitted, and went a second voyage with him to the coast, at seventeen dollars a month, and no share. They carried 300 negroes, besides bale goods, and disposed of all the slaves and goods to great advantage. Upon their return to Jamaica, after some stay on the island, Capt. Reesby not going out again, North went once more a privateering, and made considerable booty. While North was ashore after a cruise, he was pressed on board the *Mary* man of war, made a cruise in her to the Spanish coast, and returned to Jamaica; but hearing the *Mary* was soon to go to England, he, and three more, resolved to swim ashore from the keys, where the men of war lie, but he was taken as he was going off the head, and whipped. He, however, found means to make his escape, before the ship left the island, and went on board the *Neptune* sloop, a privateer, commanded by Capt. Lycence, then lieutenant of the *Reserve*, who, while the ship was in the carpenter's hands, got a commission of the governor to take a cruise. Capt. Moses, who commanded the *Reserve*, went on board their sloop, under the command of his lieutenant, for diversion only. They cruised off *Hispaniola*, where they met with a French letter-of-marque, of 18 guns, and 118 men, who had the day before engaged the *Swan* man of war, and shook her off. The *Neptune* attacked her, and Capt. Moses was one of the first wounded, and carried down. Lycence ordered to board, but the quartermaster, who steered, mistook the helm, the sloop fell off, and the French pouring in a volley of small shot, Capt. Lycence was killed, which being told to Moses, as the surgeon dressed him, he ordered

North to the helm, bid them not to be discouraged, and he would be upon deck immediately. Accordingly, he came up as soon as dressed, laid the ship on board, where they made a very obstinate resistance; but the French captain being killed, who received eleven shot before he dropped, they, at length, became masters.

The privateer lost 10 men, and 20 were wounded. The French had 50 killed and wounded, among whom was the captain, who had received two shot, as he was going down to the surgeon to get his blood stanch'd, and came upon deck just as he was boarded, where, encouraging his men, he was distinguished and aimed at. When they had brought the prize into Jamaica, as she was an English bottom, built at Bristol, and called the Crown, the former owners sued to have half the ship and cargo, and recovered one third.

Capt. Moses' ship not being fitted, he would take a second cruise in a privateer, and North went with him. Some time after their return, Capt. Moses being cruising in the Reserve, North, who was ashore, was pressed on board the Assistance man of war; and on the Reserve's coming in, being recommended by Capt. Moses to his own captain, he was handsomely treated, and made one of the barge's crew. He was very easy till the Assistance was ordered to England, and then, as he was apprehensive of going into a cold climate, he took his leave and said nothing. He then went on board a privateer again, and made several prizes, two of which were English bottoms, and sued for by former owners. North thinking it hard to venture his life, and have part of his prize money taken away, and the press being hot in Jamaica, he resolved to sail no more with the English; but went to Curacoa into the Dutch service, and sailed with a Spanish trader to the coast of New Spain several voyages. In the last he made,

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they were chased ashore by a couple of French sloops, one of which was commanded by a Dutchman, named Lawrence, who, with his comrade, took possession of their vessel and rifled her. The crew of the prize called to them, and asked if they would give them good quarters? which they promised; took them all on board, and used them very handsomely.

The French gave the prisoners a small sloop they took a while after, and they returned to Curacoa.

He having now forgot his resentment, returned to Jamaica, and went on board and cruised in a Spanish barcalonga, of 10 guns, commanded by Capt. Lovering, born at Jamaica. They cruised three months in the West-Indies, and making but a small hand of it, they steered for Newfoundland, to try their fortune on the banks. Here they met a man of war, who renewed their commission for six months longer. The first prize they made was a French ketch, with a Spanish pass, and would have passed for a Spaniard, but by strict search, and threatening the men, they discovered her to be what she really was, though she had, as a Spaniard, slipped through the fingers of a man of war before.

They carried their prize into harbour, went again upon a cruise, met with a French letter-of-marque, a Bristol built ship, called the Pelican, of 18 guns, and 75 men, half laden with fish. This ship stood them a long argument; they clapped her on board, and two of their men entered, but missing lashing, the barcalonga fell astern, and the two men were made prisoners. However, they came up with her again, clapped her on board a second time, and carried her into the same port where they had left the ketch.

They after this put to sea again, and being discovered by the French settlement ashore, they went into St. Mary's Bay, where they fell in with a large French fly-boat, of 800 tons, 80 men, and 18 guns,

laden with fish. They chased and came up with her, under French colours. When they were pretty near, the Frenchman hailed, and asked whence they came? A Guernsey-man, at the bowsprit end, answered, *from Petit Guave*, that they had been cruising on the Banks, and were going into the bay for refreshment. The Frenchman bade them come no nearer, but send their boat on board. They keeping on the chase, he fired at them. They did not mind this, but run up along side and boarded him. The French ran to their close quarters, and disputed the ship three quarters of an hour, when they all called for quarters except one man, who would take none, but ran like a madman into the midst of the English, and wounded several, though he was soon despatched by their pistols. They carried this prize to join the others, and turning all the prisoners ashore, except what were necessary to condemn their prizes, they stood, with a fleet of four sail, for Rhode-Island.

Here they condemned the fly-boat and ketch, but found great difficulty in getting the Pelican condemned, the English owners putting in their claim; but, at length, a Scotch lawyer did their business, upon leaving £300 in his hands to bear the charge of any future suit. Capt. Lovering dying here, the ship's company bought the Pelican, broke up the barcalonga, sent her owners their shares, and got a commission for the master to cruise southward as far as the line, and to be valid for 18 months certain, two years allowing for accidents.

They fitted this ship for a long voyage, out of the joint stock of the company; but iron hoops being scarce in New-England, they were obliged to take casks hooped with wood, which I mention, because it proved the ruin of their voyage to the East-Indies for a whole year.

Being fitted for sea, they set sail and steered for

the Cape of Good Hope, which they doubled in the month of June, made the best of their way to Madagascar, and went into Augustin Bay, where they victualled and watered; but before this was done it was August, which was too late to go to the East-Indies; which they proposed to do with design to cruise on the Moors, not intending to pirate among the Europeans, but honestly and quietly to rob what Moors fell in their way, and return home with clean consciences, and clean, but full hands, within the limited time of their commission.

From Augustin they went to Johanna, and the provision they had salted at Madagascar not being well done, it began to spoil. This, and their clothes wanting repair, made them desperately resolve to take the king of Johanna and make him ransom himself; but the master would not take charge of the ship, being unacquainted with the coast. They cruised among the islands, landed at Comaro, and took the town, but found no booty, excepting some silver chains, and checked linen. From hence they went to Mayotta, where they took in a Frenchman who had been marooned there, and maintained by the king. They consulted with him about surprising and taking the town; but he was averse to it, as he owed him the obligation of being preserved. However, he was in their hands, and must do as they would have him. They surrounded the king's house after they had been three days in his town, and took him and all the inhabitants; but the king's son made his way through the thickest of them with his cutlass, though he was shot afterwards. The pretence they made use of for this unjustifiable violence, was, that the king had poisoned the crew of a ship, which was their consort. He denied it, as well he might, for they themselves never heard of a ship of the name they gave this fictitious one. The king they carried on board, the other prisoners they

put into a sort of temple, with a guard over them of 36 men.

The alarm being given in the country, the natives came down in a body, of some thousands, and attacked the guard; but the ship hearing the fire, and seeing the hills covered with blacks, discharged several great guns, loaded with partridge, which made a very great slaughter, and obliged them to retire.

The king ransomed himself for some silver chains to the value of a thousand dollars, and for what provision they demanded; and at setting him ashore, swore allegiance to them as masters of the country, and took an oath besides, never to poison any more white men.

After this notable expedition, they stayed here a fortnight, though always on their guard, and then went back for Augustin with about twenty slaves, which they carried away with them for servants. Here a sickness coming among them, they built huts ashore. They lost, notwithstanding all their care and precaution, their captain and thirty men, by the distemper which they contracted; but it abating, they thought of going to sea again, but on examining their water casks, they found the hoops all worm eaten and rotten, so that there was no proceeding; but this defect was repaired by their cooper, who was an ingenious fellow. He went into the woods with the Mayotta slaves, and with withes and other stuff he gathered, fitted them up, and made them tight; in acknowledgment of which service they chose him captain, and North was made quarter-master.

At Augustin they picked up some stragglers, among whom was David Williams, and on a muster, they found they had 105 men. They then made their vessel a free ship; that is, they agreed every man should have an equal share in all prizes; and proceeded for the mouth of the Red Sea.

In the night, after they had reached their station, they made two ships; one was the Mocha frigate, of 40 guns, commanded by Culliford: she had been an East-Indiaman, under the command of one Capt. Stout; the other ship was called the Soldada, of 16 guns, the captain's name Shivers; they hailed one another, and on both sides gave the same answers, *from the seas*, and upon agreement, they all lay by that night. In the morning they consorted, and agreed to make an equal division of all prizes, which any of the three should take from that time for two months to come.

The Pelican spared wood, water, and some of her hands to Capt. Culliford, and here Williams shifted on board him. About ten days after these three had joined company, a large Moor's ship, on which they afterwards mounted 70 guns, hove in sight.

They all gave chase, but the small ship came first up with the Moor, who exchanged several shot with the Soldada and Pelican; but the Soldada clapped her on board, and before the Pelican could enter a man, the Moors called for quarters. In boarding the Moor, she fired a broadside upon the Soldada, but only two shot hulled her, and killed two men, which was the only loss they had in taking a thousand prisoners, passengers and sailors.

All the money was carried on board the Mocha frigate, and divided between her crew and the Soldada, excluding without other reason than *sic volumus*, the Pelican from any share. The crew of the Pelican expostulated with them, and bid them remember they had spared both wood and water, or the Mocha could not have kept the station. Instead of any answer, they received a command to be gone, or they would sink them. They answered, they could not go by themselves, wanting the water and wood they had spared. The two consorts gave them a

thousand dollars, and some water out of the Moor, telling them to buy wood, where they could purchase it, and so left the Pelican to herself, going away for the coast of Malabar, where they put the prisoners and horses they had taken, ashore, sunk the Soldada, and thence went to the Isle of St. Mary's on Madagascar. They shared out of this prize a thousand pounds a man in silver and gold, besides other goods; and the two pirates amounted to the number of 350 men.

The Pelican kept the same station for some days, when a large Moor ship hove in sight. They gave chase, and the Moor not suspecting her for an enemy, did not endeavour to get away. When the Pelican came up, she fired for the Moor to bring to, which made him set his small sails, though with the loss of several men; for the Pelican being close up, brought them down with small arms. When the Moor had, at length, hove out his small sails, the Pelican could not gain upon him enough to board, though she was not a pistol shot astern. Whenever she came upon his lee quarter, the Moor being a tall ship, took away the wind from the Pelican, and she could never get to windward of him. She plied her fore chase all this while, and drove the Moor's from their stern chase, but could not, as they endeavoured to do, strike the Moor's rudder, or any other way disable him. At length by the fear and bad steerage of the Moor, the Pelican run up alongside of them, but as she missed lashing, she was obliged to shoot ahead. In the mean while the Moor wore round, the Pelican put in stays after him, but not staying, and being all in confusion, wore also; but in this time the Moor had got the start, and setting all the canvass he could pack on his ship's back, wronged the Pelican and got off.

The loss of this ship made the crew almost distracted, and caused for some time, a great division

among them ; some cursing the ship for a heavy sailer, and proposing to return home ; others cursing themselves, and the ill-management by which they missed lashing, and proposed going to Madagascar, and breaking her up, since as she was a single bottom, she must be worm eaten ; but time, which molifies the greatest rage, abated these contentions, and put an end to the animosities which sprung from their disappointment.

They now resolved for the Malabar coast, on which they took three Moor ships in a little time. The first they discharged, after taking out 6000 dollars ; the second they took for their own use, mounted her with 26 guns, and called her the Dolphin : the third they sold on the same coast for 18,000 dollars. Their own ship they set adrift. From this coast they made for Madagascar, and near the island of Mascarenhas lost all their masts in a hurricane. They put up jury masts, came to St. Mary's and new masted. Here they found Captain Culliford, Capt. Shivers, and their prize, with three merchantmen from America, which had come to trade with them, one of which was the Pembroke, commanded by Samuel Burgess, and belonging to Frederick Phillips, merchant, at New-York. The captain of the Dolphin, and some of the men being weary of this life, went home in these merchants ships, and the crew chose one Samuel Inless, who lived on the island, for their captain. They fitted out for the Straits of Malacca, where they made several prizes of Moor ships, but of little value to them. North, on board one of the prizes, was separated from the rest by bad weather, and drove to great distress for water. The Moor merchant, who was on board with him, and whom he had treated very humanely, showed him a draught, by which he came to a small island not far from the Dutch settlement, and watered. The Moor told

him, that he ran the risk of his life should it be known that he had given him a sight of this draught. In return for this service, when he met with his companions, he got the Moor's ship discharged. After this they steered for Nicobar, near Achen, and, in the way, met a large Danish ship, which they plundered, and hove down by, cleaned, and returned to Madagascar, where they shared their booty, which was, besides goods, between 3 and £400 a man. A month after their arrival, Commodore Littleton's squadron appeared in sight, which occasioned their hauling up the Dolphin; and, as they could not get her so high as they designed, they set fire to her.

Commodore Littleton brought a pardon for such of the pirates as would accept it, and many of them did, among whom were Culliford and Shivers, who went home with merchantmen. North accepted it also, but would not trust to it, finding the time fixed for their surrender had elapsed before the men of war arrived.

Most of the pirates having left the island of St. Mary's, where the king's ship lay, North thought it not safe for him to stay, and therefore putting all he had into the Dolphin's boat, he designed to join his comrades on the main of Madagascar; but being overset by a squall, all the people were lost except himself, who swam ashore, and a negro woman whom he put on the bottom of the boat.

Being now on the main, and quite naked, he frightened the negroes he met with, as he got out of the water, for they took him for a sea-devil; but one woman, who had been used to sell fowls at the white men's houses, had the courage not to run away, and, when he came near, knew him. She gave him some of her own clothing, and calling a negro man who carried her things, and had run into the woods, they helped him to perform his journey to the dwelling of some white men, which was sixteen miles from the place where he came on shore.

Being quite exhausted, he was kindly received and clothed by his comrades, whom he remained with till he had recovered his strength, and then went to a black prince of his acquaintance, with whom he tarried till the arrival of Capt. Fourgette, which was full a year.

In this vessel, which I have already said in White's life was taken, he went round the north end to the west side, and came into Methelage, where they surprised the *Speaker*; the manner of which is also mentioned in the same life; and, after the death of Capt. Booth, was chosen captain's quarter-master, by Bowen, who succeeded in the voyage, and the consequence of it are already set down, for he was in the *Speaker* till she was lost.

The next voyage he made was in the *Speedy Return* (taken from Capt. Drummond) in the capacity of company's quarter-master, with design to cruise in the Red Sea; but touching at the island of Mayotta, they consorted with Capt. Howard, whom they met with at the island, as is already said. From thence they went and victualled at Augustin, having promised Capt. Bowen to meet him in two months; accordingly returning thither, and missing him, they went to Mayotta to inquire after him; but hearing that he was gone a voyage, and as the place of rendezvous was off the highlands of St. John's, they steered their course thither, to join him, and lie for the Moor fleet for Mocha.

In their passage they met with a violent storm, in which they were near foundering. It beat in their stern, and obliged them to throw over all their guns (two excepted, which lay in the hold) and forced them into the gulf of Persia, where they took several small vessels, which they ripped up to repair their ship. Being very much in want of water, having staved all their casks, to save themselves in the storm, and meeting with little in the vessels taken, they hoisted out the canoe to chase a fish-

ing vessel, that they might be informed where they should find water. This boat made from them with all their force, but the ship firing, the people all leaped into the water, some of whom were drowned, and the rest got ashore, except one man, whom they came up with; but as soon as they thought to lay hold of him, he dived, and kept them in play near an hour and a half. They would not shoot him, because it did not answer their ends; but at length North, who was in the boat, took the sprit, and struck him as he rose, and broke his jaw. They took him by these means, brought him on board, sent him to the surgeon, and when they despaired of his being able to speak, he asked for a pipe of tobacco, which he smoked, and drank a dram; after which he seemed very hearty. As the pirates had on board several black slaves, who spoke the East-India tongue, one of them was ordered to inquire of him where they might find water, promising him his liberty if he would direct them. On this promise he carried them to a convenient landing place, where he showed a well, full of dirt, out of which, after a great deal of trouble to come at it, they drew but three buckets of water, which sufficed those only who went on shore, to the number of thirty. Enraged with this disappointment after so much labour, they threatened their prisoner with death, who told them, if they would have patience till the sun was set, they would have plenty, for the spring would rise, and flow all night; which they found to be the fact, and filled twenty tons of water, and returned on board, carrying the man with them, for whom they made a gathering of some goods, and about 30 dollars. These they gave him, and exacted a promise, that whenever he saw any ship on that coast, which made the same signals they had made, he would go on board and render them what service he could, assuring

him he would always meet with civil treatment, and be well rewarded.

After this they cruised in the gulf of Persia some days, in hopes of meeting their consort, not doubting but she had some share in the storm; but the time of their partnership having at length expired, and she not appearing, they steered for the highlands of St. John, near Surat, the place of rendezvous. When they made the land they spied a ship, and immediately making all clear for an engagement, they gave chase. The other ship doing the like, they soon met, and to the great joy of both parties, she proved their consort. Upon inquiry they found the Prosperous had been ten days on this station, and had not met with the storm which had so roughly handled the Speedy Return. On giving an account of their misfortune, viz. their being obliged to throw over their guns, and a quantity of provisions, Capt. Howard spared them some fresh provisions, and expressing great concern for the accident, renewed his consortship for two months longer; that is, they agreed whatever prizes were taken should be equally divided between the crews of both ships. After they had cruised here fourteen days, they spied seven sail of lofty ships, which proved to be the Moors from Mocha. They both gave chase, but the Speedy Return being the better sailor, first came up with one of them, laid her on board and carried her in very little time, with little more damage than the loss of her bowsprit. The Prosperous continued the chase, and having Capt. Whaley on board as a pilot, took another at an anchor, as is related in Capt. Howard's life.

The Speedy Return steered with her prize for the coast of Malabar, where, by agreement, she was to wait ten days for her consort. In six days the Prosperous joined them, but without any prize, having rifled and dismissed her.

Here they made an equal dividend of their prizes burnt the *Speedy Return*, sunk the *Prosperous*, went all on board the *Moor's ship*, put to sea, and cruised on this coast, where they made several prizes. When they came over against *Cachine*, some black merchants, goldsmiths, and several Dutchmen, came on board to trade with them, bringing a great many sequins, and other gold coin, to change for Spanish dollars. As many of the pirates designed to knock off and return home, they gave 500 dollars for 200 sequins, for the conveniency of close stowage about them. The goldsmiths set up their forges on board the ship, and were fully employed in making them buttons, buckles, and what else they fancied, so that they had a fair opportunity of putting in what alloy they thought proper. They here also furnished themselves with a good quantity of arrack, provisions and stores, and then leaving the coast, shaped their course for *Madagascar*, but, in the way, fell in with the island of *Mauritius*, and put into a port called the *North West Harbour*. Here they wooded and watered. This port affords great abundance of a poisonous fish called the *Red-Snapper*, the nature of which was well known to *Capt. Bowen*, who persuaded his men not to eat of them, but they were in port, and then are all commanders, so that this wholesome advice was thrown away upon them. The captain seeing their obstinacy, and that they could not be dissuaded, eat with them, chosing rather to share the same fate, than be left alone to the mercy of the Dutch, as he was conscious of what he merited. They supped plentifully on the fish, and drank very heartily after it. Soon after they began to swell in a frightful manner. The next morning some planters came on board with fowls, goats, &c. and seeing the pirates in a miserable condition, and some of these fish lying on the decks, asked if they had not eaten of them? Being an-

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answered in the affirmative, they advised their drinking plentifully of strong liquors, which was the only way to expel the poison, which had dispatched them all in less time, had they not done it after their unfortunate meal. They readily followed this advice, as the prescription was agreeable, and by this means, with the care of the surgeons, of whom they had several expert in their business, and stocked with good medicines, they all recovered, four excepted, who paid their obstinacy with their lives.

They here heeled their ship, scrubbed, tallowed, and took in what they wanted. When they had been three months in this port, the governor sent and desired them to put to sea, for he expected the arrival of the Dutch East-Indiamen. They accordingly got every thing ready, and went out, but left several of their men behind them, as we have related in Bowen's life.

From hence they steered to Madagascar, and in their passage stopped at Don Mascarenhas, where they took in a quantity of hogs, goats, sheep, fowls of all sorts, and green turtle. Captain Bowen here went ashore with 40 of his men, having obtained the governor's protection by the force of presents. These men designed to give over their piracy, and return home the first opportunities offered them. In six months after they landed here, Capt. Bowen was taken ill of the dry belly-ache, a distemper as common here as in the West-India Islands, died, and was buried in the highway, for the priests would not allow him holy ground, as he was a heretic.

But to return. When Bowen went ashore, North was chosen captain. The ceremony of this installation is as follows:—The crew having made choice of a person to command, either by an unanimous consent, or by a majority of suffrages, they carry him a sword in a very solemn manner, make him some compliments, and desire he will take upon

him the command, as he is the most capable among them; that he will take possession of the great cabin: and, on his accepting the office, he is led into the cabin in state, and placed at a table, where only one chair is set at the upper end, and one at the lower end of the table for the company's quartermaster. The captain and he being placed, the latter succinctly tells him, that the company having experience of his conduct and courage, do him the honor to elect him for their head, not doubting his behaving himself with his usual bravery, and doing every thing which may conduce to the public good; in confidence of which, he, in the name of the company, promises to obey all his lawful commands, and declares him captain. Then the quartermaster takes up the sword, which he had before presented him, and he had returned, puts it into his hand, and says, *This is the commission under which you are to act; may you prove fortunate to yourself and us.* The guns are then fired round shot and all; he is saluted with three cheers; and the ceremony ends with an invitation from the captain to such as he thinks fit to have dine with him, and a large bowl of punch is ordered to every mess.

Capt. North, leaving this island, steered for Madagascar, and came to Cape Dolphin at the south end, where he anchored, and took on board some refreshments, but it blowing hard, he was obliged to put to sea, and leave his boat with 30 men behind him. He ran along the east side of the island, and came to Ambonavoula, in lat. 17 deg. 38 m. where they put on shore some of their goods, and settled themselves among the negroes, several living in a house. Here they lived as sovereign princes among the inhabitants.

The Moor prisoners they kept on board, and allowed them sufficient fresh provisions. North privately told the boatswain of the Moors to take ad-

vantage of the land breeze in the night time, and go off with the ship, and what goods were left on board, or the pirates would soon haul her up, take every thing on shore, and they never see their own country again. Accordingly the boatswain, following this advice, laid hold of the opportunity of a dark night, and communicating his design to the other Moors, whom he did not acquaint with this advice, as North charged him not, till he was on the point of executing his design, they weighed with great silence and stood to sea.

The next morning some of the pirates proposed to go on board and bring off some iron and other things to trade with in the country; but they were strangely surprised when they missed the ship. They alarmed the rest of their comrades, and went in a body to Capt. North, to tell him what had happened. He answered, if the Moors were gone off with the ship, it was their own fault; they ought to have left a sufficient number of hands on board to have secured her; and there was now no remedy but patience, for they had no vessel to pursue with, except they thought the canoe proper.

Some of the pirates thought, as she lay in foul ground, the cable might be cut by some rock, and the ship blown off to sea by that accident. On starting this, some of them ran up to an eminence, and from thence spied the ship as far as they could well see, with all sail set, which was a cruel and convincing proof that their loss was irreparable.

They endeavoured to make themselves easy, since there was no help; and transporting their goods to different abodes, at small distances, they settled themselves, buying cattle and slaves, and lived in a neighbourly manner, one among another, five years, cleared a great deal of ground, and planted provisions, such as yams, potatoes, &c. The natives among whom they fixed, had frequent

The Moors going to sea with the Pirates ship and leaving them on an Island,
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broils and wars among themselves, but the pirates interposed, and endeavoured to reconcile all differences, North deciding their disputes with that impartiality and strict regard to distributive justice, (for he was allowed, by all, a man of admirable good natural parts) that he ever sent away, even the party who was cast, satisfied with the reason, and content with the equity of his decisions.

These inclinations which the pirates showed to peace, and the example they set of an amicable way of life, (for they carefully avoided all jars, and agreed to refer all cause of complaint among themselves which might arise, to a cool hearing before North, and twelve of their companions,) gave them a great character among the natives, who were before very much prejudiced against the white men. Nay, in this point of keeping up a harmony among themselves, they were so exact, that whosoever spoke but in an angry or peevish tone, was rebuked by all the company, especially if before any of the country people, though even but a slave of their own; for they thought, and very justly, that unity and concord were the only means to warrent their safety; for the people being ready to make war on one another upon the slightest occasion, they did not doubt but they would take the advantage of any division which they might observe among the whites, and cut them off whenever a fair opportunity offered.

The example they set, and the care they took to accomodate differences among their neighbours, had calmed all the country round them. After they had lived here near three years, Capt. North, and some of his companions, had a mind to visit the country southward, and trade for more slaves and cattle; to which end, taking a considerable quantity of powder and arms, beside what they might use, with 50 whites and 300 natives, he set forward on his journey. When they had traveled about 80

miles southward, they came to a nation rich in slaves and cattle, who inhabited the banks of the largest river on the east side of the island, called Mangora. With these people he trafficked for a great number of slaves and cattle, which he purchased for guns and powder. They being at war when Capt. North came among them, with a neighbouring prince, he was entreated to give his assistance, for which they, the Mangorians, promised him 100 slaves with 500 head of cattle, and all the prisoners they should take. On these conditions he joined them, and marched to a very large town of the enemy's, which was naturally very strong, and esteemed by the natives impregnable, being situated on a high and craggy rock, which could be ascended by the way only leading to the gate, were was kept a strong guard. The blacks in North's army were for leaving this town unattempted, and marching farther into the country, in search of booty; but North told them it was not safe to leave a garrison of enemies at their backs, which would continually infest them by falling on their rear, and which would be an obstacle to their carrying off what plunder they might get together; beside, it would be an asylum for all the country, which would fly thither till they had gathered a body considerable enough to come down and face them in the open field, which the enemy might do with reasonable hopes of success, as their men would be all fresh, while those of his party would be fatigued with marches, perhaps encumbered by plunder, and worn down with the inconveniences of lying exposed in the fields.

The chief of his allies allowed his reasons good, were an attempt on the town practicable, which experience told him was not; for, though several times besieged, it never could be taken, and it would be the loss of a great deal of time, and many men's

lives to attempt it. North desired he would leave the management of this siege to him. The chief answered, he should do as he pleased, but it was against his judgment to attack a town which nature herself had fortified, which God Almighty would never suffer to be taken, and which had, to no purpose, cost the lives of a number scarce to be told, of his countrymen, in the several attempts they had made to be masters of it.

North disposed his army, and invested the rock on every side; then sent word to the town, if they did not surrender, he would give no quarter to either sex or age. The inhabitants laughed at his message, and told him, that they did not believe he had learnt the art of flying, and till he had, they thought themselves very secure from his putting such menaces in execution.

Out of the white men, North chose 30, whom he set at the head of three companies, consisting of 100 blacks each; and as they had some grenade-shells with them, soon dispersed the guard at the foot of the rock, and made a lodgement. Though the blacks were acquainted with fire-arms, the shells were entirely new to them, and as they saw their terrible effect, threw down their arms, and gained the middle of the rock, where they had another *corps de garde*, though not without some loss. Those who were at the bottom of the rock being put to flight, North sent 10 whites and 500 blacks to take that post, and orders to the other whites to mount the rock, and having beat that guard, if possible, to enter the town with them. They accordingly ascended in this order, as the road was so narrow, only three could pass abreast; and as the enemy, when within cast of a dart, threw down a shower upon them, three unarmed blacks with their shields marched before three small shot men, and sheltered them from the enemy's weapons. These

were followed by others, with the same precaution, the white men being mixed with those who thus went up, that is to say, one white musketeer to two blacks.

The enemy seemed resolute to defend the pass, but when they had, to no purpose, spent a number of darts, and had lost some men by the shot, they swiftly took to the top of the rock, where, joined with fresh men from the town, they made a stand and show of resistance. North's men followed, and pouring in a volley, put them into confusion, which gave the assailants an opportunity to come near enough to throw in their shells, half a dozen of which bursting with considerable damage, and the slaughter of several men, they thought to shelter themselves in the town, but the inhabitants, fearing the enemy's entering with them, shut the gates against both, so that the blacks of North's army, notwithstanding all the whites could do to the contrary, made a great slaughter; however, they saved some, whom they sent prisoners to the camp, desiring at the same time, a supply of powder to make a petard.

In the mean while the enemy from the town threw a prodigious quantity of darts, which the besiegers received upon their shields, at least, the greater part.

The town was again summoned, but they refused to surrender; wherefore they were obliged to shelter themselves as well as they could, and expect the powder from the camp; though in the mean while the small shot from without being warmly plied, the throwing of darts from the town became less frequent, for no one could show his head but with the greatest danger.

When the powder came, they cut down and hollowed a tree, which they filled with powder, and plugged up very tight, and under the protection of



Capt. North and the Mangorians attacking the gate of their enemy, page 206.

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their shields and muskets, got into the gate, under which they dug a hole large enough to receive it, then setting fire to the fuse, it burst with a terrible crack, tore their gate to atoms, and left an open passage, which the besiegers, who had been joined with 500 more blacks, who came up with the powder entered, and began a very great slaughter. The whites protected all they could who submitted, but notwithstanding their diligence, the town was strewed with dead and dying men. At length, what with being tired, and what with persuasion, the slaughter ceased, the town was reduced to ashes, and the conquerors returned to camp with 3000 prisoners, whom his allies led to their own quarters, where culling out the old women, children, and useless slaves, they sent them to North, as if by these they thought themselves released from the promise made to induce his assistance.

When North saw the dishonesty of these people, he sent for their prince, and told him, "According to agreement all the slaves belonged to him; nay, according to justice, he alone had a right to them, since he despaired of taking the town, so far as to dissuade his besieging it; and that he not only owed to him their success, but even the safety of his army, and all the plunder they should make in the prosecution of the war, for reasons already given, and by himself allowed to be good. That he thought he had allied himself to a people of integrity, but he was sorry to say, he found himself quite mistaken in his opinion, since they were so far from making good their treaty, that they sent him out of the slaves taken, instead of all, those only whom they knew not what to do with; that they must not imagine him so blind as not to perceive how disingenuously he was dealt with; or that he wanted either strength or resolution to resent the usage."

He then asked what was become of a number of

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young and handsome women he had seen among the captives? The prince answered, "that those he inquired after, were his and his countrymen's relations, and as such, they could not consent to, nor could he require, their being made slaves."

This answer made, the chief left him. As it was delivered in a pretty haughty tone, it did not a little nettle both North and his comrades. The latter were for immediately doing themselves justice; but the former begged they would have patience, and rely on him. They followed his advice, and he sent an interpreter, who inquired privately among the women what relation they bore to the people of the river? The prisoners answered, that some of their forefathers had intermarried with that nation.

I must here take notice, that notwithstanding the inhabitants of Madagascar have but one language, which is common to the whole island, the difference of the dialect, in different nations, makes it very difficult for any but the natives, or those who have been a great many years (more than North and his companions had been) among them, to understand them perfectly, which is the reason he made use of an interpreter, as well between him and the chief, as between the slaves and him.

When he had received this answer from the prisoners, he went to the prince, and told him, "It was very odd he should make war on his relations; however, he should keep them, since he declared them such, till he could prove his right better than the prince could his nearness of blood; that as he had once taken them, he would try if he could not support the justice of his claim, and told him therefore to be upon his guard, for he openly declared, he was no longer the ally, but the professed enemy of faithless people."

Saying this, he and his blacks separated themselves from the Mangorians, and North divided them

into companies, with his white men at the head of each, and ordered them to fire ball over the heads of their late allies. The first volley was a prodigious astonishment to the Mangorians, several of whom ran away, but North firing two more immediately, and marching up to them, brought the prince and the head officers of his army to him, crawling on all fours. They (as the custom of showing the greatest submission is among them) kissed the feet of the whites and begged they would continue their friendship and dispose of every thing as they thought proper.

North told him, "Deceit was the sign of a mean and coward soul; that had he, the prince, thought too considerable, what, however, was justly his due, because not only promised to, but taken by him, he ought to have expostulated with him, North, and told him his sentiments, which might have, it was possible, made no division, for neither he nor his men were unreasonable; but as the prince had not the courage publicly to claim the slaves, he would have basely stolen them by false pretences of kindred, it was a sign he did not think such claim justifiable, as certainly it was not, for all his captains could witness their prince had agreed the prisoners taken should be given to the whites, and his companions, a sufficient title, to mention no other. That he had resolved to show them, by a severe chastisement, the abhorrence those of his colour have to ingratitude and deceit, and what difference there was in fighting on the ground of justice, and the supporting wrong and injury; but as they acknowledged their error, he should not only forgive but forget what was past, provided no new treachery, in his return, which he resolved upon, refreshed his memory." He then ordered them to bring all the slaves, and they punctually complied without reply.

North chose out the finest and ablest among them, and dividing the whole number of prisoners

into two equal bands, he kept that in which he had placed the chosen slaves, and sent the other to the prince, telling him, "though neither fraud nor compulsion could wring a slave from him, yet justice, as some of his troops had shared the danger, and a generous temper, had sent him that present, which was half the spoil, though he could not think of going any farther on with the war; that he ought to content himself with the taking a town hitherto thought impregnable, and blame his own conduct, if he should continue in the field, and hereafter find the want of his assistance."

The prince and his people admired the penetration, bravery, and generosity of the whites, and sent them word, "he was more obliged to them for the lesson they had taught him by their practice, than for the slaves they had presented him, though he esteemed the present as he ought. That for the future he should have an abhorrence for every mean action, since he had learned from them the beauty of a candid, open, sincere procedure. At the same time, he thanked him for the present, and not suffering his resentment to go farther than the frightening him into his duty; for he was sensible his balls were not fired over their heads, but by orders proceeding from the humanity of the whites, who, he observed, were tender over the lives of their enemies, contrary to the custom of his countrymen, who give quarter to none, the females and infants excepted, that there may hereafter be none to take revenge; and therefore begged he would suffer their submission to get the better of his design to depart." This could not prevail. The whites and their friends, who came with them, turned their faces towards home, taking their slaves and cattle with them; and though the Mangorians were sensibly touched at the obstinacy of North's resolution, yet they parted very amicably.

As the whites were returning home with their company, they fell in with another nation, the Timouses, whose prince joined North, with 500 men, and swore a strict amity with him and his crew.

The ceremony used among the natives, as it is uncommon, so an account of it may, perhaps, be agreeable. The parties who swear to each other, interweave their toes and fingers, so that they must necessarily sit very close to each other. When they have thus knit their hands and feet, they reciprocally swear to do each other all friendly offices, to be a friend or enemy to the friend or enemy of the party to whom they swear; and if they falsify the oath they make, they imprecate several curses on themselves, as may they fall by the lance, be devoured by the alligator, or struck dead by the hand of God. Then an assistant scarifies each of the contracting parties on the chest, and wiping up the blood with a piece of bread, gives this bloody bread to each of them to eat, that is, each eats the blood of the other; and this oath, whether it be with equal parties, or with a prince and his subject, where the one promises protection and the other obedience, (which was the nature of that taken between North and this prince) is looked upon inviolable, and they have few examples of its being broken; but where any has been wicked enough to violate this solemn oath, they say, they have been ever punished according to their imprecations.

As this prince had war with powerful neighbours, he left his country, taking with him all his great men, wives, and relations, with a company of about 500 fighting men, followed North, and settled by him, where he remained two years. During this space, being supplied with arms and powder by Capt. North, he made several inroads into the countries of his enemies, and made all he conquered swear allegiance to Capt. North.

At the expiration of two years, Captain Halsey came in with a brigantine, as is related in the life of Capt. White. This crew, having made a broken voyage, were discontented with their captain, and desired North to take the command upon him; but he declined it, saying, Halsey was every way as capable, and that they ought not to depose a man, whom they could not tax with either want of courage or conduct; and for his part, he would never take the command from any one who did not justly merit dismissal, which was not Halsey's case.

The crew were not, however, satisfied, and they made the same offer to White, but by North's industry, they were, at last, prevailed on to continue their old commander; and as North and his companions had expended their money in settling their plantations, and wanted clothes, the former, therefore, accepted the quarter-master's post under Halsey, and the others went in the capacity of private gentlemen adventurers, I mean plain foremast men, as may be gathered in the life of that pirate, to which I refer for an account of the expedition they made in the Red Sea. Capt. Halsey on board a prize, left North to command the brigantine they set out in. The two commanders were separated by a storm, but both made for Madagascar. Halsey got to Ambonavoula, but North fell in with Maratan, where finding the brigantine was very much worm eaten, and made a great deal of water, with one consent, they took ashore all their goods, and laid up their vessel.

The pirates continued here a whole year, when being desirous of going to Ambonavoula, they asked the king's assistance to build a boat, and he, for 1000 dollars, set negroes to work, under the directions of Capt. North, and a vessel of 15 tons was set up and launched with great dispatch. In this boat they went to a river, called Manangaro, thirty

leagues to the northward of Maratan. Here some of their comrades came to them in a boat belonging to the Scotch ship Neptune, and helped to transport their goods to Ambonavoula, where he had before settled, and had a woman and three children.

He had not been long returned before his neighbouring natives reported, that the Timouses, who had followed him from the southward, had a design to rebel against, and murder him and the other whites, which giving too easy credit to, he made war upon, and drove these poor people out of the country.

Some time after he built a sloop, and went to Antonguil, where he purchased 90 slaves, and took in the Scotch supercargo, Mr. George Cruikeshank, with a design to carry him to Mascarenhas; but all his comrades were against it, saying, when he got to Europe, he would prove their destruction. North answered, that nothing could be more cruel, after they had taken the greater part of what the poor gentleman had, than to keep him from his country, family, and friends. For his part, were he his prisoner he should not ask their consent in doing an act of humanity, and the only one they were able, towards making him some reparation, since they could not return his goods, which were parcelled out into so many shares.

On North's saying thus much, they put the affair in question to vote, and there being many who were under obligations to North, and whom he influenced in favour of the supercargo, 48 out of 54 voted for discharging him. North having gained this point, the pirates asked if he also designed to take with him one John Barnard, a young Scotchman, a great favourite of his, who had been midshipman on board the Neptune, a thorough seaman, and very capable of taking the command in any voyage. He answered, there was a necessity for

taking him, since he should want his assistance, as he depended on his knowledge. His companions said Barnard would certainly give him the slip, which would be a loss to them all, as he was an excellent navigator, and therefore his detention was necessary to the common good. To this North answered, that his own security would oblige his taking care that he should not get from him, since no other on board was capable of finding the way back to Ambonavoula.

He went to Mascarenhas, where the supercargo and his negro were put on shore with all the money he had, which amounted to about 1600 dollars; for when the pirates made prize of the Neptune, in the manner already stated, they took none of the money they themselves had before paid for liquors, &c. either from the captain, supercargo, or any other on board; for that they looked upon a base, as well as dishonest action; but to the ship and remaining part of the cargo, they had a fair title, viz. they wanted both.

North would not suffer Barnard to go ashore. However, to make him amends for his confinement, he gave him four negroes, whom he sold for 300 dollars, and took care that he should live plentifully and well on board. North's business at this island, was to get leave to carry his children there to be educated in the christian faith, which, after some rich presents made the governor, he obtained, and returned to Madagascar. In the voyage, as Barnard was very greatly in his favour, and his confidant, he told him, his design was to leave his children at Mascarenhas, and place fortunes for them in the hands of some honest priest, who would give them a christian education (for he thought it better to have them papists, than not christians) and would then go back to Maratan, and endeavour, by his penitence, to make atonement for his former life and

never more go off the island on any account; that he would give his sloop to Barnard, with 200 dollars, that he might find some means to return home, since he very wisely refused to join with the pirates.

When he came on the Madagascar coast, he heard a French ship had touched there, and left some men behind; upon which account North ran to the southward 100 leagues out of his way, to inquire after and assist these people.

He found but one man, whom he took home with him, clothed and maintained him. When he came back to Ambonavoula, he found the country all in an uproar, and the rest of his companions preparing for a war with the natives; but his arrival restored their former quiet. After four months stay at home, he fitted his sloop to go out and purchase slaves at Antonguil; but finding few there to his mind, for in two months he bought but 40, he returned to his settlement. He designed now to carry his children to Mascarenhas, but being dissuaded by Barnard on account of the season, he went to Methelage on the west side of the island to trade for samsams. Having purchased a considerable quantity of them, he went to Johanna, thence to Mayotta, and returned again to Madagascar; but not being able to get round the north end, on account of the current, he put for Mayotta again. On the west side of this island he put into a port, called Sorez, where some time before, came a ship from England to trade, commanded by one Price, who going ashore with his doctor was detained (as was also his boat's crew) till he redeemed himself and surgeon, with 200 barrels of powder and 1000 small arms; but was forced to leave his boat's crew, not having wherewithal to ransom them, though the demand was only two small arms for each man. These poor creatures were afterwards sold to the Arabians. In revenge, North and his crew landed, burnt a large town, and

did all the damage they could. From Mayotta he went again to Madagascar, where a king of his acquaintance told him the whites and natives were at war at Ambonavoula. He bought 30 slaves, refreshed his crew, and went home. On the news of his arrival, the natives sent to conclude a peace, but he would not listen to them; on the contrary, raised an army, burnt a number of towns, and took a great many prisoners.

This success brought the natives to sue in a very humble manner for a cessation of arms, that a general peace might follow. This he agreed to about four months after his arrival.

His enemies, having now the opportunity, corrupted some of the neighbouring natives, and in the night surprised and murdered him in his bed. His comrades, however, being alarmed, took to their arms, drove the treacherous multitude before them with great slaughter, and to revenge North's death, continued the war seven years, in which time they became masters of all the country round, and drove out all who did not swear allegiance to them.

North had his will lying by him, which directed Barnard to carry his children to Mascarenhas, in his sloop, which he left to him. He was at the charge of fitting her up, and laid out the greater part of the money North bequeathed him; but the pirates would not suffer him to stir while the wars lasted, fearing he would not return, having never joined them in any piracies; and therefore, by one consent, setting fire to the sloop, they detained him several years

AN ACCOUNT

Of the piracies and cruelties of John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis MackCarthy, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, and William Ling, who were tried, condemned, and executed at Nassau, (N. P.) on Friday, the 10th of December, 1718. Also, some account of the pirates, Vane, Rackham, and others.

ABOUT the 20th of July, 1718, Mr. Woodes Rogers, Governor and Vice-Admiral of the Bahama Islands, being sent from England with the king's proclamation and pardon for all pirates who had surrendered by a time specified in the said proclamation, arrived at Providence. It was evening when the fleet came off the town of Nassau in the said island, when Richard Turnley, the pilot, did not judge it safe to venture over the bar that night, wherefore it was resolved to lay by till morning.

In the mean time, there came some men on board the fleet from off a little island, called Harbour-Island, adjacent to Providence. The advice they brought was, that there were near a thousand pirates on shore upon the island of Providence, waiting for the king's pardon, which had been long expected. The principal part of their commanders were Benjamin Hornygold, Arthur Davis, Joseph Burgess, Thomas Carter, and they were all in or about the town of Nassau; that the fort was extremely out of repair, there being only one gun mounted, a nine pounder, and no accommodation

for men, but one little hut or house, which was inhabited by an old fellow, whom the pirates, in derision, called Governor Sawney.

The fleet was seen from the harbour, as well as the town, so that Capt. Charles Vane, who had no design of surrendering, but, on the contrary, had fitted out his ship with a resolution of attempting new adventures, took the advantage of the night to contrive his escape; and though the harbour was blocked up, and his ship drew too much water to get out by the east passage, he shifted his hands, and things of most value, into a lighter vessel, and charging all the guns of the ship he quitted, with double, round and partridge, he set her on fire, imagining that some of the ships, or their boats, might be sent near him, and he might do some mischief when it should burn down to them.

Those in the fleet saw the light, and heard the guns, and fancied the pirates on shore were making bonfires, and firing guns for joy that the king's free pardon had arrived; and Capt. Whitney, commander of the *Rose* man of war, sent his boat with a lieutenant on shore, which was intercepted by Vane, who carried the crew on board and stripped them of some stores they had in the boat. He kept them till he got under sail, which was till day-break, when there was light enough for him to see how to steer his way through the east passage; which was no sooner done but he hoisted a black flag, and fired a gun, and then let the lieutenant and boat's crew depart and join the fleet.

The fleet got safe into the harbour, and as soon as the lieutenant arrived on board, and related what had passed, the *Buck* sloop was ordered to chase Vane. She made what sail she could through the east passage after him, having a recruit of men well armed sent to her from the other ships; but being heavily laden with rich goods, Vane had the heels

Capt. Vane Destroying his Ship and making his escape, page 218.



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of her, which the commodore observing, made a signal for her to give up the chase and return, which she did accordingly.

They immediately fell to mooring and securing their ships, which took up the time till night. Next morning the governor went on shore, being received at his landing by the principal people in the government of the place, viz. Thomas Walker, Esq. Chief Justice, and Thomas Taylor, Esq. President of the Council. The pirate captains, Hornygold, Davis, Carter, Burgess, Currant, and Clark, with some others, drew up their crews in two lines, reaching from the water side to the fort, the governor and other officers marching between them. In the mean time, being under arms, they made a running fire over his head.

Having arrived at the fort, his commission was opened and read, and he was sworn in governor of the island, according to form.

The next day the governor made out a commission to Richard Turnley, the chief pilot, to Mr. Salter, a factor, and some others, to go on board and examine all suspected ships and vessels in the harbour, to take an inventory of their several ladings, and to secure both ships and cargoes for the use of the king and company, till such time as a Court of Admiralty could be called, that they might be lawfully cleared or condemned by proving which belonged to pirates, and which to fair traders.

The day following a court-martial was held, in which a military discipline was settled, in order to prevent surprises, both from Spaniards and pirates, till such time as the fort could be repaired, and put into a condition of defence. For this purpose the governor was obliged to make use of some of the pardoned pirates, such as Hornygold, Davis, and Burgess, to whom he gave some commands: and George Fetherston, James Bonney, and Dennis

Mackarthy, with some other pirates of a lower rank, acted under them as inferior officers.

Soon after, the civil government was also settled, some of the principal officers being appointed justices of the peace; others of inferior degree, constables and overseers of the ways and roads, which were overgrown with bushes and underwood, all about the town of Nassau; so that if an enemy had landed in the night, they might lie in ambuscade in those covers, and surprise the town; wherefore, several of the common pirates were employed in clearing them away.

The governor, with some soldiers, guarded the fort, and the inhabitants, who were formed into trained bands, took care of the town; but as there was no sort of accommodation to lodge such a number of people, they were forced to unbend the sails, and bring them on shore, in order to make tents, till they had time to build houses, which was done with all possible expedition, by a kind of architecture altogether new.

Those that were built in the fort were done by making six little holes in the rock, at convenient distances, in each of which was stuck a forked pole; on these, from one to the other, were placed cross poles or rafters, which being lathed at top, and on the sides, with small sticks, were afterwards covered with Palmata leaves, and then the house was finished; for they did not much trouble themselves about the ornaments of doors and windows.

In the mean time the repairs of the fort were carried on, and the streets were ordered to be kept clean, both for health and convenience, so that it began to have the appearance of a civilized place. A proclamation was published for the encouragement of all such persons as should be willing to settle upon the island of Providence, by which every person was to have a lot of ground of a hundred

and twenty feet square, any where in or about the town of Nassau, that was not before in the possession of others, provided they should clear said ground, and build a house tenantable, by a certain time therein limited, which might be easily done, as they might have timber for nothing. This had the effect proposed, and a great many immediately fell to work, to comply with the conditions, in order to settle themselves there.

Many of the pirates were employed in the woods in cutting down sticks to make palisadoes; and all the people belonging to the ships, officers excepted, were obliged to work four days in the week on the fortifications, so that in a short time a strong entrenchment was cast round the fort, and being well palisadoed, it was rendered tolerably strong.

But it did not much suit the inclinations of the pirates to be set to work; and though they had provision sufficient, and had also a good allowance of wine and brandy to each man, yet they began to have such a hankering after their old trade, that many of them took opportunities of seizing periaguas, and other boats, in the night, and making their escape, so that in a few months, there was not many of them left.

However, when the Spanish war was proclaimed, several of them returned back again of their own accord, tempted with the hopes of being employed upon the privateering account, for that place lying near the coast of Spanish America, and also not far from the Gulf of Florida, seemed to be a good station for intercepting the Spanish vessels going to old Spain.

They were not mistaken in this supposition; for the governor according to the power vested in him, did grant commissions for privateering, and made choice of some of the principal pirates who had continued upon the island, in obedience to the pardon,

for commanders, as being persons well qualified for such employments, who made up their crews chiefly of their scattered companions, who were newly returned upon the hopes of preferment.

About this time a fishing vessel, belonging to the island of Providence, brought in the master of a ship and a few sailors, whom she had picked up at sea in a canoe. The said master was called Captain King, who sailed in a ship called the Neptune, belonging to South-Carolina, laden with rice, pitch, tar, and other merchandise, bound for London.

The account he gave of himself was, that he was met with by Charles Vane, the pirate, who carried him into Green Turtle Bay, one of the Bahama islands, by whom he was plundered of a great part of his cargo, which, consisting chiefly of stores, was of great use to them; that afterwards they cut away part of one of the masts of the ship, and fired a gun down her hold, with intent to sink her; that they took some of his men into their service, and when they were sailing off, gave him and the rest a canoe to save themselves; that with this canoe they made shift to sail from one little island to another, till they had the good luck to meet the fishing boat which took them up; and that he believed Charles Vane might still be cruising thereabouts.

Upon this intelligence, the governor fitted out a ship which was named the Willing Mind, manned with 50 stout hands, well armed, and also a sloop with 30 hands, which he sent to cruise among those islands, in search of Vane, the pirate, giving them orders also to endeavour to recover the ship Neptune, which Capt. King told them had still goods of considerable value left in her.

They went out accordingly, but never saw Vane. However, they found the Neptune, which was not sunk as the pirates intended; for the ball they fired into her stuck in the ballast, without passing

through. They returned with her about the 10th of November; but an unlucky accident happened to the *Willing Mind*, occasioned either by the ignorance or carelessness of the pilot, which bilged in going over the bar.

In the mean time Vane made towards the coast of Hispaniola, living riotously on board, having an abundance of liquor, and plenty of fresh provisions, such as hogs, goats, sheep, and fowl, which he got upon easy terms; for touching at a place called *Isleathera*, he plundered the inhabitants of as much of their provision as they could carry away. Here they cruised to about February, when, near the windward passage of Cape Mase, they met with a large rich ship of London, called the *Kingston*, laden with bale goods, and other rich merchandise, and having several passengers on board, some English, and some Jews, besides two women.

Towards the north end of Jamaica, they also met with a turtle sloop, bound in for that island, on board of which (after having first plundered her) they put the captain of the *Kingston*, some of his men, and all the passengers except the two women, whom they detained, contrary to their usual practice.

The *Kingston* they kept for their own use; for now their company being strengthened by a great many recruits, some volunteers and some forced men out of the *Neptune* and *Kingston*, they thought they had hands enough for two ships. Accordingly they shifted several of their hands on board the *Kingston*, and John Rackham, alias *Calico Jack*, (so called, because his jackets and drawers were always made of calico) quarter-master to Vane, was unanimously chosen captain of the *Kingston*.

The empire of these pirates had not been long thus divided before they had like to have fallen into a civil war among themselves, which must have

ended in the destruction of one of them. The fatal occasion of the difference between these two brother adventurers, was this. It happened that Vane's liquor was all out, who sending to his brother captain for a supply, Rackham accordingly spared him what he thought fit; but it falling short of Vane's expectation, as to quantity, he went on board of Rackham's ship to expostulate with him, so that words arising, Rackham threatened to shoot him through the head, if he did not immediately return to his own ship; and told him likewise, that if he did not sheer off, and part company, he would sink him. Vane thought it best to take his advice, for he thought the other was bold enough to be as good as his word, for he had it in his power to be so, his ship being the largest and strongest of the two. Accordingly they parted, and Rackham made for the island of Princes, and having great quantities of rich goods on board, taken in the late prizes, they were divided into lots, and he and his crew shared them by throwing dice, the highest cast being to choose first. When they had done, they packed up their goods in casks, and buried them on shore in the island of Princes, that they might have room for fresh booty. In the mean time it happening that a turtle sloop, belonging to Jamaica, came in there, Rackham sent his boat and brought the master on board of him, and asking him several questions, the master informed him that war with Spain had been proclaimed in Jamaica; and that the time appointed by the general pardon for pirates to surrender, in order to receive the benefit thereof, had not expired.

Upon this intelligence Rackham and his crew suddenly changed their minds, and were resolved to take the benefit of the pardon by a speedy surrender; wherefore, instead of using the master ill, as the poor man expected, they made him several pre-

sents, desiring him to sail back to Jamaica, and acquaint the governor they were willing to surrender, provided he would give his word and honour they should have the benefit of the pardon; which, extensive as it was, they apprehended they were not entitled to, because they had run away in defiance of it at Providence. They desired the master also to return with the governor's answer, assuring him he should be no loser by the voyage.

The master very willingly undertook the commission, and arriving at Jamaica, delivered his message to the governor, according to his instructions; but it happened that the master of the Kingston, with his passengers, having arrived at Jamaica, had acquainted the governor with the piracies of Vane and Rackham, before the turtle got thither, who was actually fitting out two sloops, which were now just ready, in pursuit of them, so that the governor was very glad to discover, by the turtler's message, where Rackham was to be found.

The two sloops, well manned, accordingly sailed out, and found Rackham in the station where the turtler had described him, but altogether in disorder, and quite unprepared, either for sailing or fighting, most of his sails being on shore, erected into tents, and his decks lumbered with goods. He happened to be on board himself, though most of his men were ashore, and seeing the two sloops at a distance, bearing towards him, he observed them with his glass, and fancied he saw on board something like preparations for fighting. This was what he did not expect, for he looked for no enemy, and while he was in doubt and suspense about them, they came so near that they began to fire.

He had neither time nor means to prepare for defence, so that there was nothing to be done but to run into his boat, and escape to the shore, which he did accordingly with the few hands he had with him,

leaving the two women on board to be taken by the enemy.

The sloops seized the Kingston, manned her, and brought her into Jamaica, having still a great part of her cargo left. When she arrived, the master of her fell to examining what part of the cargo was lost and what left; he searched also for his bills of lading and cockets, but they were all destroyed by Rackham; so that the ship being freighted by several owners, the master could not tell whose property was saved, and whose lost, till he had fresh bills of parcels of each owner from England. There was one remarkable piece of good luck which happened in this affair; there were, amongst other goods, sixty gold watches on board, and thirty of silver; the pirates divided the silver watches, but the gold being packed up amongst some bale goods, were never discovered by them, and the master, in searching, found them all safe.

In the mean time, Rackham and his crew lived in the woods, in very great suspense what to do with themselves. They had with them ammunition and small arms, and also some of the goods, such as bales of silk stockings, and laced hats, with which, it is supposed, they intended to make themselves fine. They had also two boats and a canoe.

Being divided in their resolutions, Rackham, with six more, determined to take one of the boats, and make the best of their way for the island of Providence, and there claim the benefit of the king's pardon, which they fancied they might be entitled to, by representing, that they were carried away by Vane, against their wills. Accordingly they put some arms, ammunition, and provision, into the best boat, and also some of the goods, and set sail. They first made the Island of Pines, from thence got over to the north side of Cuba, where they destroyed several Spanish boats and launches; one

they took, which being a stout sea boat, they shifted themselves and their cargo into her, sunk their own, and then stretched over to the island of Providence, where they landed safely about the middle of May, 1719, where demanding the king's pardon, the governor thought fit to allow it them, and certificates were granted to them accordingly.

Here they sold their goods, and spent the money merrily. When all was gone, some engaged themselves in privateers, and others in trading vessels. But Rackham, as captain, having a much larger share than any of the rest, his money held out a little longer; but happening about this time to form a criminal acquaintance with one Ann Bonny, a married woman, he became very extravagant, and found it necessary, to avoid detection and punishment, to abscond with his mistress.

For this purpose they plotted together to seize a sloop which then lay in the harbour, and Rackham drew some brisk young fellows into the conspiracy. They were of the number of the pirates lately pardoned, and who, he knew, were weary of working on shore, and longed to be again at their old trade.

The sloop they made choice of was between 30 and 40 tons, and one of the swiftest sailers that ever was built of that kind. She belonged to one John Haman, who lived upon a little island not far from Providence, which was inhabited by no human creature except himself and his family. His livelihood and constant employment was to plunder and pillage the Spaniards, whose sloops and launches he had often surprised about Cuba and Hispaniola, and sometimes brought off a considerable booty, always escaping by a good pair of heels, insomuch that it became a bye-word to say, *there goes John Haman, catch him if you can*. His business to Providence now, was to bring his family there, in order to live and settle, being weary, perhaps, of living in that

solitude, or else apprehensive, if any of the Spaniards should discover his habitation, they might land, and be revenged on him for all his pranks.

Ann Bonny was observed to go several times on board this sloop. She pretended to have some business with John Haman; but always went when he was on shore, for her true errand was to discover how many hands were on board, and what kind of watch they kept, and to know the passages and ways of the vessel.

She discovered as much as was necessary. She found there were but two hands on board, and that John Haman slept on shore every night. She inquired of them whether they watched; where they lay; and many other questions; to all which they readily answered her, as thinking she had no design but common curiosity.

She acquainted Rackham with every particular, who resolved to lose no time, and therefore, acquainting his associates, who were eight in number, they appointed an hour for meeting at night, which was 12 o'clock. They were all true to the roguery, and Ann Bonny was as punctual as the most resolute, and being all well armed, they took a boat and rowed to the sloop, which was very near the shore.

The night seemed to favour the attempt, for it was both dark and rainy. As soon as they got on board, Ann Bonny, having a drawn sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other, attended by one of the men, went straight to the cabin where the two fellows lay who belonged to the sloop. The noise awaked them, which she observing, declared that if they pretended to resist, or make a noise, she would blow their brains out.

In the mean time, Rackham and the rest were busy heaving in the cables, one of which they soon got up, and for expedition sake, they slipped the other, and so drove down the harbour. They passed

pretty near the fort, which hailed them, as did also the guard-ship, asking them where they were going? They answered, their cable had parted, and that they had nothing but a grappling on board, which would not hold them; immediately after which they set a small sail, just to give them steerage way. When they came to the harbour's mouth, and thought they could not be seen by any of the ships, on account of the darkness of the night, they hoisted all the sail they had, and stood to sea; then calling up the two men, they asked them if they would be of their party; but finding them not inclined, they gave them a boat to row themselves ashore, ordering them to give their service to Haman, and tell him they would send him his sloop again when they had done with her.

Rackham and his paramour both bore a great spleen to Richard Turnley, who was gone from Providence, turtling, before they made their escape, and they knowing what island he was upon, made to the place. They saw the sloop about a league from the shore, and went on board with six hands; but Turnley, with his boy, by good luck, happened to be ashore salting some wild hogs they had killed the day before. They inquired for him, and hearing where he was, rowed ashore in search of him.

Turnley, from the land, saw the sloop boarded, and observed the men afterwards making for the shore, and being apprehensive of pirates, which were very common in those parts, he, with his boy, fled into a neighbouring wood. The surf being very great, so that they could not bring their boat to shore, they waded up to the arm-pits, and Turnley, peeping through the trees, saw them bring arms on shore. Upon the whole, not liking their appearance, he, with his boy, lay snug in the bushes.

When they had looked about and could not see him, they called him aloud by name; but he not

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appearing, they thought it time lost to look for him in such a wilderness, and therefore returned to their boat, but rowed again back to the sloop, and took away the sails, and several other things. They also carried away with them three of the hands, viz. Richard Connor, the mate, John Davis, and John Howel, but rejected David Soward, the fourth hand, though he had been an old and experienced pirate, because he was lame, and disabled by a wound he had formerly received.

When they had done thus much, they cut away the mast, and towing the vessel into deep water, sunk her, having first put David Soward into a boat to shift for himself. He, however, got ashore, and after some time, found Turnley.

From thence, Rackham stretched over to the Bury Islands, plundering all the sloops he met, and strengthening his company with several additional hands, and so went on till he was finally taken and executed at Port Royal, Jamaica.

About this time, the governor, in conjunction with some factors then residing at Providence, thought fit to freight some vessels for a trading voyage. Accordingly the Bachelor's Adventure, a schooner, Capt. Henry White, commander; the Lancaster, sloop, Capt. William Greenway, commander; the May, sloop, Capt. John Augur, commander, of which last David Soward was owner, (she having been given him by some pirates his former associates) in which he also sailed this voyage, were fitted out with a cargo of goods and merchandise, bound for Port Prince, on the island of Cuba.

The governor thought it advisable, for the benefit of the inhabitants of Providence, to settle a correspondence with some merchants of Port Prince, first in order to procure fresh provisions, there being scarce any upon the island at the governor's first

arrival ; and there being at Port Prince great plenty of cows and hogs, he proposed to get a sufficient number of each, to stock the island for breed, that the people for the future might have fresh provision of their own.

They set sail on Sunday, the 5th of October, 1718. The next day they arrived at an island known by the name of Green Key, lying S. S. E. from Providence, in lat. 28 deg. 40 m. being distant about 25 leagues. Here they cast anchor, in order to wait for morning to carry them through some rocks and shoals which lay in their way, and some hands went ashore to try to kill something for supper before it should be dark. They expected to meet some wild hogs, for some time before, one Joseph Bay and one Sims, put two sows and a boar on said island ; for they living at that time at Providence, and being continually visited by pirates, were always plundered of their fresh provisions, wherefore they thought of settling a breed upon Green Key, that they might have recourse to in time of necessity.

This island is about nine miles in circumference, and about three miles broad in the widest place. It is overgrown with wild cabbage and Palmata trees, and has a great variety of other herbs and fruits, so that there is plenty of food for the nourishment of such animals ; but the trees growing so close together, makes it bad hunting, and they killed but one hog, which, however, was of a monstrous size.

The hunters returned on board their ships again before seven, having first divided the hog, and sent part on board each vessel for supper that night. After supper, Capt. Greenway and Capt. White came on board of Capt. Augur's sloop, in order to consult together what time to sail, and being all of opinion that if they weighed anchor between the hours of 10 and 11, it would be day before they would come up with the shoals, they agreed upon

that hour for setting sail, and so returned to their own vessels.

Soon after, Phineas Bunch, and Dennis Mackarthy, with a great many others, came from White's sloop, on board of Augur's. Their pretence was, that they came to see Richard Turnley and Mr. James Carr, who had formerly been a midshipman in the Rose man of war, under Capt. Whitney, and being a great favourite of Governor Rogers, he had appointed him supercargo of this voyage. They desired to be treated with a bottle of beer, for they knew Mr. Carr had some that was very good in his care, which had been put on board, in order to make presents of, and to treat the Spanish merchants with.

As it was not suspected they had any thing else in view, Mr. Carr readily went down, and brought up a couple of bottles of beer. They sat upon the poop with Capt. Augur in their company, and were drinking their beer; before the second bottle was out, Bunch and Mackarthy began to rattle, talk with great pleasure, and much boasting of their former exploits when they had been pirates, crying up a pirate's life to be the only life for a man of any spirit. While they were running on in this manner, Bunch on a sudden started up, and swore he would be captain of that vessel. Augur answered him the vessel did not want a captain, for he was able to command her himself, which seemed to put an end to the discourse for that time.

Soon after Bunch began to tell what bright arms they had on board their sloop; upon which, one of Augur's men handed up some of their cutlasses which had been cleaned that day. Among them was Mr. Carr's silver-hilted sword. Bunch seemed to admire the sword, and asked whose it was? Mr. Carr made answer, it belonged to him. Bunch replied it was a very handsome one, and drawing it

out, marched about the poop, flourishing it over his head, and telling Mr. Carr he would return it to him when he had done with it. At the same time he began to vapour again, and to boast of his former piracies, and coming near Mr. Carr, struck him with the sword. Turnley bid him take care what he did, for Mr. Carr would not take such usage. As they were disputing upon this matter, Dennis Mackarthy stole off, and, with some of his associates, seized upon the great cabin, where all the arms lay. At the same time several of the men began to sing a song with these words. *Did you not promise me, that you would marry me*—which it seems was the signal agreed upon among the conspirators for seizing the ship. Bunch no sooner heard them, but he cried out aloud, *that I will, for I am parson*, and struck Mr. Carr again several blows with his own sword. Mr. Carr and Turnley both seized him, and they began to struggle, when Dennis Mackarthy, with several others, returned from the cabin with each a cutlass in one hand, and a loaded pistol in the other, and running up to them, said, *What! do the governor's dogs offer to resist?* And beating Turnley and Carr with their cutlasses, threatened to shoot them, at the same time firing their pistols close to their cheeks, upon which Turnley and Carr begged their lives.

When they were thus in possession of the vessel, they hailed Capt. Greenway, and desired him to come on board about urgent business. He, knowing nothing of what had passed, jumped into his boat, and with two hands only, rowed on board. Dennis Mackarthy led him into the cabin, and, as soon as he was there, laid hold of him, telling him he was now a prisoner, and must submit. He offered to make some resistance; upon which, they told him all resistance would be vain, for his own men were in the plot; and, indeed, seeing the two hands who

rowed him aboard, now armed, and joining with the conspirators, he thought it was time to submit.

As soon as this was done, they sent some hands on board to seize his sloop, or rather to acquaint his men with what had been done, for they expected to meet with no resistance, many of them being in the plot, and, the rest, they supposed, not very averse to it; after which, they decoyed Captain White on board, by the same stratagem they used with Greenway, and likewise sent on board his sloop, and found his men, one and all, well disposed for the design; and what was most remarkable was, that Captain Augur, seeing how things were going, joined with them, showing himself as well inclined for pirating as the worst of them.

Thus they made themselves masters of the three vessels with very little trouble. The next thing to be done was to resolve how to dispose of those who were not of their party. Some were for killing Richard Turnley, but the majority carried it for marooning, that he might be starved, and die like a dog, as they called it. Their great spleen to him was, because he was the person who had piloted the governor into Providence.

Accordingly, Turnley, with John Carr, Thomas Rich, and some others, were stripped naked, and tumbled over the vessel's side into a boat which lay along side. The oars were all taken out, and they left them nothing to work themselves ashore with but an old paddle, which, at other times, served to steer the boat, and so they commanded them to be gone. However, they made shift to get safe ashore on the island, which, as we observed before, was quite uninhabited.

The next morning Dennis MackCarthy, with several others, went on shore, and told them they must come on board again, and they would give them some clothes to put on. They fancied the pirates

began to repent of the hard usage they had given them, and were willing to return upon such an errand; but when they got on board again, they found their opinion of the pirates' good nature was very ill grounded, for they began with beating them, and did it as if it were in sport, one having a boatswain's pipe, the rest beating them till he piped *belay*.

The true design of bringing them on board again, was to make them discover where some things lay, which they could not readily find, particularly, Mr. Carr's watch and silver snuff-box; but he was soon obliged to inform them in what corner of the cabin they were, and there they were found, with some journals and other books, which they knew how to make no other use of than turning them into cartridges. Then they began to question Thomas Rich about a gold watch which had once been seen in his possession on shore at Providence; but he protested that it belonged to Capt. Gale, who was commander of the guard-ship called the *Delicia*, to which he then belonged; but his protestations would have availed him little, had it not been that some on board, who belonged also to the *Delicia*, knew it to be true, which put an end to his beating; and so they were all discharged from their punishment for the present.

Some time after, fancying the pirates to be in better humour, they begged for something to eat, for they had none of them had any nourishment that day or the night before; but all the answer they received was, that such dogs should not ask such questions. In the mean time, some of the pirates were very busy endeavouring to persuade Captain Greenway to engage with them, for they knew him to be an excellent artist; but he was obstinate and would not. Then it was proposed to maroon him, which was opposed by some, because he was a Bermudian, meaning, that he might perhaps swim away,

or swim on board his vessel again, for the Bermudians are all excellent swimmers; but as he represented, that he could not hurt them by his swimming, he obtained the favour for himself and the other officers, to be set ashore with Turnley, Carr, and Rich. Accordingly, they were put into the same boat without oars, to the number of eight, and were ordered to make the best of their way on shore.

The pirates, the next day, having examined all their vessels, and finding that Greenway's sloop was not fit for their purpose, shifted every thing out of her. Those that were sent on shore could see from thence what they were doing, and when they saw them row off, Greenway swam on board the sloop, it is likely, to see whether they had left any thing behind them. They perceived him, and fancied he repented refusing to join with them, and had come to do it now; wherefore some of them returned back to the sloop, to speak to him, but they found him of the same opinion he was in before. However, he wheedled them into so much good humour, that they told him he might have his sloop again, in which, indeed, they had left nothing except an old main-sail, an old fore-sail, four small pieces of Irish beef, in an old beef barrel, and about twenty biscuits, with a broken bucket which was used to draw water in, telling him that he and the rest must not go on board till they had sailed.

Greenway swam ashore again to give notice to his brothers in distress, of what had passed. The same afternoon Bunch with several others went on shore, carrying with them six bottles of wine and some biscuits. Whether this was done to tempt Greenway again, or no, is hard to say; for though they talked to him a great deal, they drank all the wine themselves to the last bottle, and then gave each of the poor creatures a glass a-piece, with a bit

of biscuit, and immediately after fell to beating them, and so went on board.

While they were on shore, there came in a turtler which belonged to one Thomas Bennet, of Providence, whereof one Benjamin Hutchins was master. They soon laid hold of her, for she sailed excellently well. Hutchins was reputed an extraordinary good pilot among those islands; wherefore they tempted him to engage with them; at first he refused, but rather than be marooned, he afterwards consented.

It was now the 9th of October, and they were just preparing to sail, when they sent on shore, ordering the *condemned malefactors* to come on board Greenway's sloop, the Lancaster. They did so in the little boat they went on shore in, by the help of the same paddle. They found several of the pirates there, who told them that they gave them that sloop to return to Providence, though they let them have no more stores, than what were named before. They bade them take the foresail, and bend it for a jib, and furl it close down to the bowsprit, and to furl the mainsail close up to the boom. They did as they were ordered, for they knew there was no disputing whether it was right or wrong.

Soon after, another detachment came on board, among whom were Bunch and Dennis Mackarthy, who being either mad or drunk, fell upon them, beating them, and cutting the rigging and sails to pieces with their cutlasses, and commanding them not to sail, till they should hear from them again, threatening if they did, they would put them all to death, if ever they met them again; and so they went off, carrying with them the boat, which they sent them first ashore in, and sailed away.

They left them in this miserable condition, without tackle to go their voyage, and without a boat to get on shore, and having nothing in view but to

perish for want ; but as self preservation put them upon exerting themselves, in order to get out of this deplorable state, they began to rummage and search the vessel through every hole and corner, to see if nothing was left which might be of use to them ; and it happened by chance that they found an old hatchet, with which they cut some sticks sharp to serve for marling-spikes. They also cut out several other things, to serve instead of such tools as are absolutely necessary on board a ship.

When they had proceeded thus far, every man began to work as hard as he could ; they cut a piece of cable, which they strung into rope yarns, and fell to mending their sails with all possible expedition ; they also made a kind of fishing lines of rope yarns, and bent some nails crooked to serve for hooks ; but as they were destitute of a boat, as well for the use of fishing as for going on shore, they resolved to make a bark log, that is, to lay two or three logs together, and lash them close, upon which two or three men may sit very safely in smooth water.

As soon as this was done, some hands went on shore, upon one of the logs (for they made two of them) who employed themselves in cutting wild cabbage, gathering berries, and a fruit which the seamen call prickly pears, for food, while some others went a fishing upon another. Those who went ashore also carried the old bucket with them, so that whilst some were busy in gathering things to serve for provision, one hand was constantly employed in bringing fresh water aboard in the bucket, which was tedious work, considering how little could be brought at a time, and that the sloop lay near a mile from the shore.

When they had employed themselves thus, for about four or five days, they brought their sails and tackle into such order, having also a little water, cabbage and other things on board, that they thought

It was time to venture to sail. Accordingly they weighed their anchor, and setting all the sail they had, got out to the harbour's mouth, when to their great terror and surprise, they saw the pirates coming in again.

They were much frightened at this unexpected return, because of the threatenings they had used to them at parting, not to sail without further orders; wherefore, they tacked about, and ran as close in to the shore as they could, then throwing out their bark logs, they all put themselves upon them, and made to land, as fast as they could; but before they quite reached it, the pirates got so near that they fired at them, but were too far to do execution. However, they pursued them ashore; the unhappy exiles immediately took to the woods, and for greater security climbed up some trees, whose branches were very thick, and by that means concealed themselves. The pirates not finding them, soon returned to their boat, and rowed on board the deserted sloop, whose mast and bowsprit they cut away, and towing into deep water, sunk her; after which, they made again for shore, thinking that the fugitives would have been out of their lurking holes, and that they should surprise them; but they continued still on the tops of the trees and saw all that passed, and therefore thought it safest to keep their posts.

The pirates not finding them, returned to their vessels, and weighing their anchors, set sail, steering eastward. In the mean time, the poor fellows were in despair, for seeing their vessel sunk, they had scarce any hopes left of escaping the danger of perishing upon that uninhabited island, where they lived eight days, feeding upon berries, and shell-fish, such as cockles and perriwinkles, sometimes catching a stingrey, a fish resembling mead or thornback, which coming into shoal water, they could wade near them, and by the help of a stick sharpened at

the end, which they did by rubbing it against the rocks, (for they had not a knife left among them) they stuck them as if it had been with a spear.

It must be observed, that they had no means of striking a fire, and therefore their way of dressing this fish was, by dipping it in salt water, then laying it in the sun, till it became both hard and dry, and then they ate it.

After passing eight days in this manner, the pirates returned, and saw the poor fugitives ashore, who according to custom made to the woods; but their hearts began to relent towards them, and sending ashore, they ordered a man to go into the woods single, to call out to them, and promise them upon their honour, if they would appear, that they would give them victuals and drink, and not use them ill any more.

These promises, and the hunger which pinched them, tempted them to come forth, and accordingly they went on board, and they were as good as their word, for they gave them as much beef and biscuit as they could eat, during two or three days they were on board, but would not give them a bit to carry on shore.

There was on board one George Redding, an inhabitant of Providence, who was taken out of the turtle sloop, and who was a forced man. Being an acquaintance of Richard Turnley, and knowing that he was resolved to go shore again, rather than engage with the pirates, and hearing him say, that they could find food to keep them alive, if they had but fire to dress it, privately gave him a tinder box, with materials in it for striking fire, which, in his circumstances, was a greater present than gold or jewels. Soon after, the pirates put the question to them, whether they would engage, or be put ashore? And they all agreed upon the latter: upon which a debate arose among the pirates, whether

they should comply with their request or not; and at length it was agreed, that Greenway and the other two masters should be kept whether they would or no; and the rest, being five in number, should, as the pirates expressed it, have a second refreshment on the varieties of the island.

Accordingly Richard Turnley, James Carr, Thomas Rich, John Cox, and John Taylor, were a second time marooned, and the pirates, as soon as they landed them, sailed off, steering eastward, till they came to an island called Pudden Point, near Long-Island, in lat. 24 degrees, where they cleaned their vessels.

In the mean time, Turnley and his companions made a much better shift than they had done before, his friend Redding's present being of infinite use to them, for they constantly kept a good fire, with which they broiled their fish. There were plenty of land crabs and snakes on the island, which they could eat when they were dressed. Thus they passed fourteen days; at the end of which the pirates made them another visit, and they according to custom made for the woods, thinking that the reason of their return must be, in order to force them to serve amongst them. But here they were mistaken, for the anger of these fellows being over, they began to pity them; but going ashore, and not finding them, they knew they were hid for fear. Nevertheless, they left upon the shore, where they knew they would come, some stores which they intended in this fit of good humour to present them with.

The poor islanders had got to their retreat, the tops of the trees, and saw the pirates go off; upon which they ventured down, and going to the water side, were agreeably surprised to find a small cask of flour, of between twenty and thirty pounds, about a bushel of salt, two bottles of gun powder, several

bullets, besides a quantity of small shot, with a couple of muskets, a very good axe, and also a pot and a pan, and three dogs, which they took in the turtle sloop ; which dogs are bred to hunting, and generally the sloops which go turtling, carry some of them, as they are very useful in tracing out the wild hogs. Besides all these, there were a dozen horn handled knives, of that sort which are usually carried to Guinea.

They carried all things into the woods, to that part where they had their fresh water, and where they usually kept, and immediately went to work with their axe ; some cutting down bows, and making poles, so that four of them were employed in building a hut, while Richard Turnley taking the dogs and a gun, went a hunting, he understanding that sport very well. He had not been gone long before he killed a large boar, which he brought home to his companions, who fell to cutting it up, and some they dressed for their dinner, and the rest they salted, for another time.

Thus they lived, as they thought, very happy in respect to their former condition ; but after a few days, the pirates made them another visit, for they wanted to fill some casks with water. It happened when they came in, that Turnley was gone a hunting, and the rest all busy at work, so that they did not see them, till they came into the wood upon them. Seeing the hut, one of them in wantonness set it on fire, and it was burnt to the ground ; and they appeared inclined to do mischief, when Richard Turnley, knowing nothing of the matter, happened to return from hunting, with a fine hog upon his back, as much as he could carry. He was immediately surrounded by the pirates, who seized upon the fresh meat, which seemed to put them into better humour. They made Richard Cox carry it down to their boat, and when he had done, they gave him

a bottle of rum to carry back to his companions to drink their healths, telling him, that they might get home if they could, or if they stayed there, they would never trouble them any more.

They were, indeed as good as their word, for sailing away immediately, they made for Long-Island, and coming up toward the salt ponds there, they saw at a distance in the harbour, three vessels at an anchor, and supposing them to be either Bermuda or New-York sloops, lying there to take in salt, they bore down upon them with all the sail they could make, expecting a good booty. The turtle sloop taken from Benjamin Hutchins, was by much the best sailer ; however, it was almost dark before she came up with them, and then coming close along side of one of them, she gave a broadside, with a design to board the next minute, but received such a volley of small shot in return, as killed and wounded a great many of the pirates, and the rest, in great surprise and fright, jumped overboard, to save themselves by swimming ashore.

The truth is, these sloops proved to be Spanish privateers, who observing the pirates to bear down upon them, prepared themselves for action. The commander in chief of these three privateers was one who was called by the name of Turn Joe, because he had once privateered on the English side. He had also been a pirate, and now acted by virtue of a commission from a Spanish governor. He was by birth an Irishman, a bold enterprising fellow, and was afterwards killed in an engagement with one John Bonavee captain of a privateer belonging to Jamaica.

But to return to our story. The sloop was taken, and on board her was found, desperately wounded, Phineas Bunch, who was the captain. By and by a second of the pirate sloops came up ; she heard the volley, and supposed it to be fired by Bunch, when he boarded one of the sloops ; she came also along side

of one of the Spaniards, and received the welcome that was given to Bunch, and submitted as soon. A little after, came up the third, which was taken with the same ease, and in the same manner, as many of the pirates as could swim, jumping overboard to save themselves on shore, there not being a man lost on the side of the Spaniards.

The next day Turn Joe asked them many questions, and finding out that several amongst them had been forced men, he with the consent of the other Spanish officers, ordered all the goods to be taken out of a Spanish launch, and putting some of the wounded pirates into the said launch, with some provision, water, and other liquors, gave it to the forced men, to carry them to Providence.

Accordingly George Redding, Thomas Betty, Matthew Betty, and Benjamin Hutchins, with some others, set sail, and in eight-and-forty hours arrived in the harbour of Providence. They went on shore immediately, and acquainted the governor with every thing that had passed, from the time of their setting out; informing him, that Phineas Bunch, who was one of the chief authors of all the mischief, was on board the launch. The governor, with some others, went and examined him, and he confessed all, wherefore there was no occasion for a trial; and as he had been pardoned before, and it was necessary to make some speedy example, it was resolved that he should be executed the next day, but it was prevented by his dying that night of his wounds.

They also informed the governor of the condition of Turnley, Carr, and the rest, who were marooned by the pirates upon Green Key Island; upon which the governor sent for one John Sims, a mulatto man, who had a two-mast boat in the harbour of Providence, very fit for sailing; and putting some provisions into her, ordered him to get five or six hands,

and to sail for Green Key, in order to bring off the five men there marooned.

Sims accordingly made the best of his way, and sailing out in the morning, arrived at Green Key the next day towards evening. The poor people on shore saw them, and supposing them to be some of the pirates returned, thought it best to take to the woods and hide, not knowing what humour they might be in now. Sims and his ship-mates carried some provision on shore, not knowing but they might want, and searched about, calling out to them by their names. After wandering about some time, they came to the place where the fire was constantly kept; on perceiving which, they fancied they must be thereabouts, and that it would be best to wait for them there, and accordingly they sat down, laying the provisions near them. Turnley, who had climbed to the top of a tree just by, saw them, and observed their motions, and fancied they were no enemies who were bringing them provisions, and looking more earnestly, he knew Sims, the mulatto, whom he was very well acquainted with at Providence; upon which he called him, who desired him to come down, telling him the comfortable news, that he was come to the relief of him and his companions. Turnley made what haste he could to the bottom, and as soon as he was down, summoned his comrades, who had climbed to the top of some neighbouring trees, being in haste to communicate the glad tidings to them. Being all together, the mulatto related to them the history of what had happened to the pirates.

That night they supped comfortably together upon the provision brought ashore; but so strange an effect has joy, that scarce one of them slept a wink that night, as they declared. The next day they agreed to go a hunting, in order to get something fresh to carry off with them, and were so

successful, that they killed three fine hogs. When they returned, they made the best of their way on board, carrying with them all their utensils, and set sail for Providence, whither they arrived in three days ; it being now just seven weeks from the time of their being first set on shore by the pirates.

The governor, in the mean time, was fitting out a sloop to send to Long-Island, in order to take those pirates who had saved themselves near the salt ponds there, which sloop was now ready to sail, and put under the command of Benjamin Hornygold. Turnley and his companions embarked on board of her, and care was taken to get as many men as they could, who were entire strangers to the pirates.

When they arrived at the said island, they run in pretty near the shore, keeping but few hands on deck, that it might look like a trading vessel, and those men that were quite unknown to the pirates.

The pirates seeing them, came only two or three of them near the shore, the rest lying in ambush, not without hopes of finding an opportunity to seize the sloop, which sent her boat out towards the shore, with orders to lay off at a little distance, as if she was afraid. Those in ambush seeing the boat so near, had not patience to stay any longer, but flocked to the water side, calling out to them to come on shore, and help them, for they were poor shipwrecked men, perishing for want. Upon which the boat rowed back again to the sloop.

Upon second thoughts they sent her off again with two bottles of wine, a bottle of rum, and some biscuit, and sent another man, who was a stranger to those ashore, with orders to pass for master of the vessel. As soon as they approached them, the pirates called to them as before, begging them, for God's sake to come on shore ; they did so, and gave them the biscuit, wine, and rum, which he said he brought ashore on purpose to comfort them, because

his men told him they were cast away. They were very inquisitive to know where he was bound. He told them, to New-York, and that he came in there to take in salt. They earnestly entreated him to take them on board, and carry them as passengers to New-York; they being about sixteen in number, he answered, he was afraid he had not provision sufficient for so great a number; but that he would go on board and overhaul his provision, and if they pleased, some of them might go with him, and see how his stock stood; that at least he would carry some of them, and leave some refreshment for the rest, till they could be succoured another way, but that he hoped they would make him some recompense when they should arrive at New-York.

They seemed wonderfully pleased with his proposal, and promised to make him ample satisfaction for all the charges he should be at, pretending to have good friends and considerable effects in different parts of America. Accordingly he took several of them with him in the boat, and as soon as they got on board he invited them into the cabin, where, to their surprise, they saw Benjamin Hornygold, formerly a brother pirate; but what astonished them more, was to see Richard Turnley, whom they had lately marooned upon Green Key. They were immediately surrounded by several with pistols in their hands, and clapped in irons.

As soon as this was over, the boat went on shore again, and those in the boat told the pirates, that the captain would venture to carry them with what provision he had; at which they appeared much rejoiced, and so the rest were brought on board, and without much trouble clapped in irons, as well as their companions.

The sloop had nothing more to do, and therefore set sail, and reaching Providence, delivered the pirates all prisoners into the fort. A Court of Admi-

rally was immediately called, and they were all tried, and nine received sentence of death, viz. John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, William Ling, and George Rounsivel, which last was finally reprieved and pardoned. The other seven were acquitted, it appearing that they were forced.

The following is the sentence pronounced upon the prisoners:—

THE COURT having duly considered of the evidence which hath been given both for and against you the said John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, William Ling, and George Rounsivel; and having also debated the several circumstances of the cases, it is adjudged, that you the said John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, William Ling, and George Rounsivel, are guilty of the mutiny, felony, and piracy, wherewith you and every of you stand accused. And the Court doth accordingly pass sentence, that you the said John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, William Ling, and George Rounsivel, be carried to prison from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, where you are to be hanged by the neck till you shall be *dead, dead, dead*; and God have mercy on your souls. Given under our hands this 10th day of December, A. D. 1718. (Signed)

*Woodes Rogers,
William Fairfax,
Robert Beauchamp,
Thomas Walker,*

*Wingate Gale,
Nathaniel Taylor,
Josias Burgiss,
Peter Courant.*

After sentence was passed upon the prisoners, the governor, as president of the court, appointed their execution to be on Friday next, the 12th inst. at 10 o'clock in the morning.

Whereupon the prisoners prayed for longer time to repent and prepare for death; but the governor told them, that from the time of their being apprehended, they ought to have accounted themselves as condemned by the laws of all nations, which was only sealed now; and that the securing them hitherto, and the favour that the Court had allowed them in making as long a defence as they could, wholly took up that time which the affairs of the settlement required in working at the fortifications; besides the fatigue thereby occasioned to the whole garrison in the necessary guards, set over them by the want of a gaol, and the garrison having been very much reduced by sickness and death since his arrival; also, that he was obliged to employ all his people to assist in mounting the great guns, and in finishing the present works, with all possible despatch, on account of the expected war with Spain; and there being many more pirates amongst these islands, and this place left destitute of all relief from any man of war or station ship, joined to other reasons, too long to enumerate in court, he thought himself indispensably obliged, for the welfare of the settlement, to give them no longer time.

The prisoners were then ordered to the place of their imprisonment in the fort, where leave was given them to send for any persons to read and pray with them.

On Friday morning each of the prisoners was called in private, to know if they had any load upon their spirits, for actions committed as yet unknown to the world, the declaring of which was absolutely required to prepare themselves for a fit repentance; but they each refused to declare any thing, as well

as making known to the governor, if they knew of any conspiracy against the government.

Wherefore, about 10 o'clock, the prisoners were released from their irons, and committed to the charge and care of Thomas Robinson, Esq. commissioned Provost Marshal for the day, who, according to custom in such cases, pinioned them, &c. and ordered the guards appointed to assist him, to lead them to the top of the rampart, fronting the sea, which was well guarded by the governor's soldiers and people, to the number of about 100. At the prisoners' request, several select prayers and psalms were read, in which all present joined. When the service was ended, orders were given to the Marshal, and he conducted the prisoners down a ladder, provided on purpose, to the foot of the wall, where a gallows was erected, and a black flag hoisted thereon, and under it a stage, supported by three butts, on which they ascended by another ladder, where the hangman fastened the cords. They had three-quarters of an hour allowed under the gallows, which was spent by them in singing psalms, and some exhortations to their old consorts, and the other spectators, who got as near to the foot of the gallows as the marshal's guard would suffer them. When the marshal was ordered to make ready, and all the prisoners expected the launch, the governor thought fit to order George Rounsivel to be untied, and when brought off the stage, the butts having ropes about them, were hauled away; upon which, the stage fell, and the prisoners were suspended.

A Short Account of the Prisoners Executed.

First, John Augur, being about 40 years of age, had been a noted shipmaster at Jamaica, and since among the pirates; but on his accepting of His Majesty's act of grace, and recommendations to the

governor, he was, notwithstanding, entrusted with a good vessel and cargo, in which, betraying his trust, and knowing himself guilty of the indictment, he all along appeared very penitent, and neither washed, shaved, or shifted his old clothes, when carried to be executed; and when he had a small glass of wine given him on the rampart, drank it with wishes for the good success of the Bahama Islands, and the governor.

The second, William Cunningham, aged 45, had been gunner with Thatch, the pirate, who, being also conscious of his own guilt, was seemingly penitent, and behaved himself as such.

The third, Dennis MackCarthy, aged 28, had also been formerly a pirate, but accepted of the king's act of grace; and the governor had made him an ensign of the militia, being recommended as a sober, discreet person, which commission he had at the time of his joining the pirates, which very much aggravated his other crimes. During his imprisonment, he behaved himself tolerably well; but when he thought he was to die, and the morning came, without his expected reprieve, he shifted his clothes, and wore long blue ribands at his neck, wrists, knees, and cap; and when on the rampart, looked cheerfully round him, saying, *He knew the time when there were many brave fellows on the island, who would not have suffered him to die like a dog;* and at the same time pulled off his shoes, kicking them over the parapet of the fort, saying, *He had promised not to die with his shoes on;* so descended the fort wall, and ascended the stage, with the agility and address of a prize-fighter. When mounted, he exhorted the people, who were at the foot of the walls, to have compassion on him; but, however willing, they saw too much power over their heads to attempt any thing in his favour.

The fourth, William Dowling, about 24 years of age, had been a considerable time among the pirates, of a wicked life, which His Majesty's act of grace did not reform. His behaviour was very loose on the stage, and after his death, some of his acquaintance declared, he had confessed to them, that he had murdered his mother before he left Ireland.

The fifth, William Lewis, aged about 34 years, as he had been a hardy pirate and prize-fighter, affected an unconcern at death; but heartily desired liquors to drink with his fellow-sufferers on the stage, and with the standers by.

The sixth, Thomas Morris, aged about 22, had been a very incorrigible youth and pirate, and seemed to have very little anxiety of mind by his frequent smiles when at the bar. Being dressed with red ribands, as Mackarthy was with blue, he said, going over the ramparts, *We have a new governor, but a harsh one*; and a little before he was turned off, said aloud, *he might have been a greater plague to these islands, and now he wished he had been so.*

The seventh, George Bendall, aged 18, though he said, *he had never been a pirate before, yet he had all the villanous inclinations the most profligate youth could be infected with.* His behaviour was sullen.

The eighth, William Ling, aged about 30, not taken notice of before the last attempt, behaved himself as became a true penitent, and was not heard to say any thing besides replying to Lewis, when he demanded wine to drink, *that water was more suitable to them at that time.*

It was observed that there were but few (besides the governor's adherents) among the spectators, who had not deserved the same fate, but pardoned by His Majesty's act of grace.

A
CORRECT ACCOUNT
OF THE
LATE PIRACIES
COMMITTED IN THE WEST-INDIES;
AND
THE EXPEDITION OF
COMMODORE PORTER.

THE public mind has been much agitated by the depredations of these enemies of all laws, human and divine. It is strange, that in this enlightened age, when the principles of civil liberty are so well understood, and when the doctrines of the rights of man are gaining so many adherents both in this country and in Europe, that there should be found men so lost to every good principle, as to pursue such a predatory warfare against defenceless people; and with the slightest pretext, butcher those unfortunate fellow creatures who may fall in their way. And it is no less astonishing, as piracy does exist, that all civilized governments have not combined to suppress this horrid practice, and teach these refractory and deluded men, that the arm of justice is not shortened, nor the rulers of the earth asleep.

Our government has taken a forward step to arrest these free-booters in their blood-thirsty projects, and no doubt the expedition which was under the command of that gallant officer, Commodore **PORTER**, has done much towards putting down this nefarious practice in the West-India seas.

PIRACIES, &c.

MUTINY ON BOARD THE BRITISH SHIP KATE.

THE crew, 8 in number, of the ship *Kate*, Captain Purdy, landed in the island of Guadaloupe, on the 24th of January, 1821. They slept on the beach that night, and next morning a planter in the neighbourhood came to them, and brought them to his house. Their story was uniform, all said they belonged to the American ship *Retrieve*, Capt. Jacob Hawes, belonging to Messrs. Suydam & Wyckoff, merchants, of New-York; that after 6 weeks boisterous weather, not being able to keep the ship free, she being very leaky, the Captain had given orders to get the boat in readiness, and that they were doing it, and getting into the boat about 10 o'clock at night, when the Captain's son, about 10 years old, fell overboard in trying to get into the boat, and that the Captain threw himself into the sea to save him, but both perished, and the ship went down; that after one night and two days in the boat, they reached the beach near the Mole, with great hazard of their lives.

They were afterwards escorted to Point Petre, where they were examined by the Judge, and persisted in the same story; except one French lad, who privately disclosed the truth to the attorney general.

They had with them all their baggage, and considerable money. Among the baggage was a Bible, with the label, "Presented by the Merchants' Seamen Auxiliary Bible Society, to the ship *Kate*, of London—Gravesend, 11th May, 1818." This, the mate, Thomas Murdock, said was given to him by a fellow lodger in New-York. The Judge, however, availed himself of this circumstance to interrogate them a second time. Calling on Murdock, he said—"There is the Bible belonging to the ship *Kate*, of London, Capt. George Purdy, and upon that very same Bible you swear to tell the truth, and nothing but the truth." Murdock, much embarrassed, said in broken words, that he was not accustomed to swear on the Bible, and resisted some time, when the Judge observed to him, that if he would not answer to the questions, he would pronounce him guilty immediately; for to refuse answering the questions of the Court was declaring himself guilty. Murdock then kissed the Bible. "Since I have taken an oath, (said he,) on the Bible, I will speak the truth," and related the real story, in substance—

"That they belonged to the ship *Kate*, of London, Capt. George Purdy, which ship had been chartered in August last, at Halifax, for a voyage to Berbice and back to Halifax. The ship took a cargo of fish, beef, and some lumber. They reached Berbice, where the cargo was sold for cash. The proceeds were put on board in two boxes iron hooped, containing 5600 dollars. The ship sailed for Halifax in ballast. The mate had been discharged at Berbice, after having some quarrel with the Captain. Six weeks after sailing, finding constant head winds, and in want of provisions, the water nearly consumed, the crew asked the Captain what he intended to do—the Captain told them, he had still some coffee which he would give them for their support, and that he would try to get to Bermuda; but after 24 hours,

the winds against them, they tried for New-York, but without success. On the morning of the 8th of January, three of the crew went and seized the Captain, as he was walking on the deck, and tied him. They said that he and those that lived in the cabin, must either jump overboard, or go into the jolly boat along side. They then embarked the Captain, who wished and asked to go into the cabin for his cloak and boots, but he was not allowed. They begged earnestly for a compass; his lady also went on her knees and begged for a compass, but this was refused also. His lady with their two children, one a boy two years old, the other a girl four years old, Mr. Robert Meredith, a passenger, and a mulatto boy named William, steward in the cabin, were then forced into the boat, with 20 lbs. of bread, two trunks of the Captain's and Mr. Meredith's trunks and two oars, were sent adrift. The crew were ignorant of their then latitude. After ten days sailing for the West-Indies, Deseada was the first land he made. They had rigged the long boat as a sloop, put in their baggage and money, which had been equally divided among them, excepting the two lads, who had a share between them, when two of the crew went below and scuttled the ship."

Afterwards the rest of the crew confessed their crime. About 1400 dollars were found and lodged at the Register's office—Murdock said he buried in the yard of the tavern at the Mole 450 dollars, but the money could not be found. He had an American protection, said he was born in New-Brunswick, (N. J.) and had papers from the grand and private lodges of New-York. The cook was a negro, from Philadelphia, from whence he went in a schooner to Halifax; his name was Philip Fisher; he stuttered. One was a French lad; one a London boy, one Welshman, an Irishman, and two Scotchmen.

LIST OF ATROCIOUS PIRACIES AND BARBARITIES.

BOSTON, NOV. 6, 1821.

THE brig *Cobbessecontee*, Capt. Jackson, arrived yesterday from the Havana, sailed thence on the morning of the 8th ult. and on the evening of the same day, about four miles from the Moro, was brought to by a piratical sloop, containing about 30 men. A boat from her, with ten men, came along side, and soon after they got on board commenced plundering. They took nearly all the clothing from the Captain and mate—all the cooking utensils and spare rigging—unrove part of the running rigging—cut the small cable—broke the compasses—cut the mast's coats to pieces—took from the Captain his watch and four boxes cigars—and from the cargo three bales cochineal and six boxes cigars. They beat the mate unmercifully, and hung him up by the neck under the maintop. They also beat the Captain severely—broke a large broad sword across his back, and ran a long knife through his thigh, so that he almost bled to death. Capt. Jackson saw the sloop at Regla the day before.

Capt. Jackson informs us, and we have also been informed by other persons from the Havana, that this system of Piracy is openly countenanced by some of the inhabitants of that place—who say that it is a retaliation on the Americans for interfering against the Slave Trade, and for allowing Patriot privateers to refit in their ports. The pirates, therefore, receiving such countenance, grow more daring—and increase in number from the success which has attended this new mode of filling their pockets.

Capt. Bugnon, who arrived yesterday from Charleston, spoke on the 2d inst. off the S. Shoal of Nantucket, the brig Three Partners, from Jamaica for St. John—had been robbed, off Cape Antonio, by a piratical vessel, of about 35 tons, and 17 men, of clothing, watches, &c. and the captain was hung up by the neck to the fore-yard arm, till he was almost dead.

Capt. Bourn, who arrived yesterday, from Cape Haytien, spoke on the 26th ult. lat. 33, lon. 78, brig Sea Lion, 36 days from Cape Haytien for Belfast, Ireland, which had been plundered by a pirate in the Gulf.

The brig Harriet, Capt. Dimond, from St. Jago de Cuba for Baltimore, arrived at Havana on the 16th ult. having been robbed of all her cargo of sugar, and \$4000 in specie, off Cape Antonio, by a boat with 15 men, having two schooners in co. Capt. D. was hung up by the neck, and remained senseless for some time after he was taken down.

The Dutch brig Mercury, 77 days from Marseilles, arrived at Havana on the 16th ult. after having been robbed of \$10,000 worth of her cargo, by a piratical schooner and boat, off Cape Antonio.

Fortunately a U. S. vessel has arrived at the scene of these daring robberies, and has already protected two fleets. It is to be hoped some of the villains who have so long preyed with impunity on mercantile property, and been guilty of the most savage acts, will speedily be caught and brought to justice.

U. S. BRIG SPARK.

A letter from a gentleman belonging to this vessel, dated St. Barts, Nov. 3, 1821, says—

“ We arrived here, after a rather rough passage, in eighteen days from Boston, all well. We expect to sail again in two or three days. We found here the piratical ship which robbed the Orleans Packet. She is now in possession of the Swedish government. She came into their possession in the following manner :—The crew landed her cargo on a small island near this, from whence it was taken by a schooner to St. Thomas ;—they then run the ship into Five Island Harbour, where all the crew, except two men, deserted her.—The government hearing of her being there, sent a guard and took possession of her, brought her into this harbour, and confined the two men found in her as pirates.—It is said, Capt. Elton has requested the Governor to allow him to take them to the United States for trial. This piratical ship was originally the U. S. brig Prometheus, which was condemned two years since, and was then sold.”

A letter from on board the Hornet, dated at Cape Maise, 31st. October, says, “ The pirate which we took yesterday mounted two long four pounders, and her crew consisted of twenty gallows-looking scoundrels.”—After the capture of the Hornet, spoke three merchant brigs, which probably would have fallen into the hands of the pirates ;—and were very happy at their escape.

Piratical Forts.—Capt. Sisson, from Havana, reports, that seventy of the Pirates belonging to the vessels captured and destroyed by the *Enterprize*, have erected two forts on Cape Antonio, for their defence.

From the American Monthly Magazine, of Feb. 1824.

PIRACY.

In the early part of June I sailed from Philadelphia in the schooner *Mary*, on a voyage to New-Orleans. My principal object in going round by sea was the restoration of my health, which had been for many months declining. Having some friends in New-Orleans whose commercial operations were conducted on an extensive scale, I was charged with the care of several sums of money in gold and silver, amounting altogether to nearly eighteen thousand dollars. This I communicated to the captain, and we concluded to secure it in the best manner our circumstances would admit. A plank was accordingly taken off the ribs of the schooner in my own cabin, and the money being deposited in the vacancy, the plank was nailed down in its original place, and the seams filled and tarred over. Being thus relieved from any apprehension that the money would be found upon us in case of an attack from pirates, my mind was somewhat easier. What other articles of value I could conveniently carry about with me, I did so. I had also brought a quantity of bank notes to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars. Part of these I caused to be carefully sewed in the left lappel of my coat, supposing that in case of my being lost at sea, my coat, should my body be found,

would still contain the most valuable of my effects. The balance was carefully quilted into my black silk cravat.

Our crew consisted of the Captain and four men, with a supply of live stock for the voyage, and a Newfoundland dog, valuable for his fidelity and sagacity. He had once saved his master from a watery grave, when he had been stunned and knocked overboard by the sudden shifting of the boom. I was the only passenger on board. Our voyage at first was prosperous, and time went on rapidly. I felt my strength increase the longer I was at sea, and when we arrived off the southern coast of Florida, my feelings were like those of another man.

It was towards the evening of the fourteenth day, two hours before sun-set, that we espied a sail astern of us. As twilight came, it neared us with astonishing rapidity. Night closed, and all around was impenetrable darkness. Now and then a gentle wave would break against our bow and sparkle for a moment, and at a distance behind us, we could see the uneven glow of light, occasioned by the foaming of the strange vessel. The breeze that filled our canvass was gentle, though it was fresh.

We coursed our way steadily through the night; though once or twice the roaring of the waves increased so suddenly, as to make us believe we had passed a breaker. At the time it was unaccountable to me, but I now believe it to be occasioned by the bark behind us, coming rather near in the darkness of the night.—At midnight I went on deck. Nothing but an occasional sparkle was to be seen, and the ocean was undisturbed. Still it was a fearful and appalling darkness, and in spite of my endeavours I could not compose myself. At the windlass, on the fore-castle, three of the sailors, like myself, unable to sleep had collected for conversation

On joining them, I found our fears were mutual. They all kept their eyes steadily fixed upon the unknown vessel, as if anticipating some dreadful event. They informed me that they had put their arms in order and were determined to stand or die.

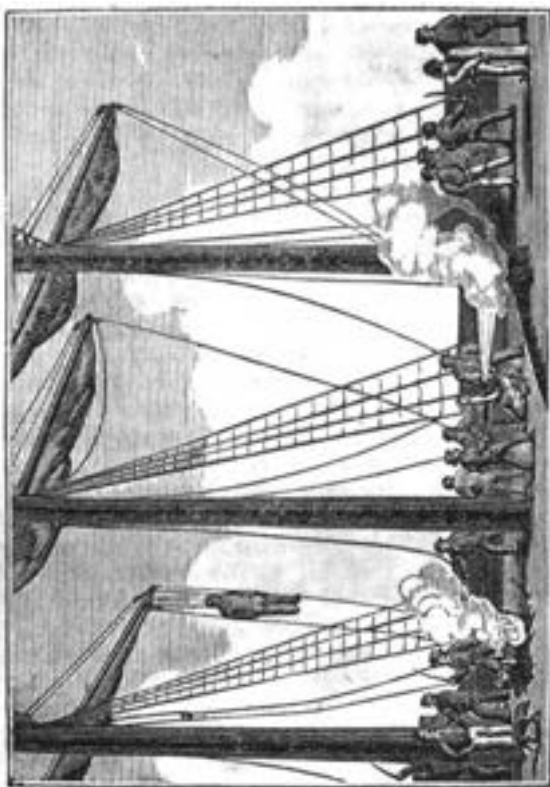
At this moment a flash of light, perhaps a musket burning priming, proceeded from the vessel in pursuit, and we saw distinctly that her deck was covered with men. My heart almost failed me. I had never been in battle, and I knew not what it was. Day at length dawned, and setting all her canvass, our pursuer gained alarmingly upon us. It was evident that she had followed us the whole night, being unwilling to attack us in the dark.—In a few minutes, she fired a swivel and came along side. She was a pirate. Her boat was lowered, and about a dozed hideous looking objects jumped in, with a commander at their head. The boat pushed off, and was nearing us fast, as we arranged ourselves for giving her a broadside. Our whole stock of arms consisted of six muskets and an old swivel used as a signal gun, belonging to the *Mary*, and a pair of pistols of my own, which I carried in my belt. The pirate boat's crew were armed with muskets, pistols, swords, cutlasses, and knives; and when she came within her own length of us, we fired five of our muskets and the swivel into her. Her fire was scarcely half given, when she filled and went down with all her crew. At this success we were inclined to rejoice, but looking over the pirate schooner, we observed her deck still swarming with the same description of horrid looking wretches. A second boat's crew pushed off, with their muskets pointed directly at us the whole time. When they came within the same distance as the other, we fired, but with little, if any effect. The pirate immediately returned the fire, and with horrid cries jumped aboard of us. Two of our brave crew were lying dead upon

the deck, and the rest of us expected nothing better. French, Spanish, and English, were spoken indiscriminately, and all at once. The most horrid imprecations were uttered against us, and threats that fancy cannot imagine.

A wretch whose black, shaggy whiskers covered nearly his whole face, whose eyes were only seen at intervals from beneath his bushy eye-brows, and whose whole appearance was more that of a hell-hound than of a human being, approached me with a drawn cutlass in his hand. I drew one of my pistols and snapped it in his face; but it flashed in the pan, and before I could draw the other, the pirate, with a brutality that would have disgraced a cannibal, struck me over the face with his cutlass, and knocked me down. I was too much wounded by the blow to resist, and the blood ran in torrents from my forehead. In this situation the wretch seized me by the scalp, and thrusting his cutlass in my cravat, cut it through completely. I felt the cold iron glide along my throat, and even now the very thought makes me shudder. The worst idea I had ever formed of human cruelty seemed now realized, and I could see death stare me in the face. Without stopping to examine the cravat, he put it in his pocket, and in a voice of thunder exclaimed "*levez vous ?*" I accordingly rose on my feet, and he pinioned my hands behind my back, led me to the gunwale of the vessel, and asked another of the gang, in French, whether he should throw me overboard. At the recollection of that scene I am still staggered. I endeavoured to call the prospects of eternity before me, but could think of nothing except the cold and quiverless apathy of the tomb. His infamous companion replied, "*Il est trop bonne hetire l'envoyer au diable,*" and led me to the foremast, where he tied me with my face to the stern of the vessel. The cords were drawn so tight around my arms

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ASTOR, LENOX, AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
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The Pirates Torturing the crew of the Schr. Mary, page 265.

and legs, that my agony was excruciating. In this situation he left me.

On looking round, I found them all employed in plundering and ransacking every thing we had. Over my left shoulder one of our sailors was strung up to the yard arm, and apparently in the last agonies of death; while before me our gallant Captain was on his knees and begging for his life. The wretches were endeavouring to extort from him the secret of our money; but for a while he was firm and dauntless. Provoked at his obstinacy, they extended his arms and cut them off at the elbows. At this, human nature gave way, and the injured man confessed the spot where we had concealed our specie.—In a few moments it was aboard their own vessel. To revenge themselves on our unhappy captain, when they had satisfied themselves that nothing else was hidden, they spread a bed of oakum on the deck before, and after soaking it through with turpentine, tied the captain on it, filled his mouth with the same combustibles, and set the whole on fire. The cries of the unfortunate man were heart-rending, and his agonies must have been unutterable; but they were soon over. All this I was compelled to witness. Heart-sick with the sight, I once shut my eyes, but a musket discharged close to my ear, was a warning sufficient to keep them open.

On casting my eyes to the stern of the vessel, I discovered that the boatswain had been nailed to the deck through his feet, and the body spiked through to the tiller. He was writhing in the last agonies of crucifixion.—Our fifth comrade was out of sight during all this tragedy; in a few minutes, however, he was brought upon the deck blindfolded. He was then conducted to the muzzle of the swivel, and commanded to kneel. The swivel was then fired off, and his head was dreadfully wounded by

the discharge. In a moment after, it was agonizing to behold his torments and convulsions—language is too feeble to describe them. I have seen men hung upon the gibbet, but their death is like sinking in slumber when compared with his.

Excited with the scene of human butchery, one of those wretches fired his pistol to the captain's dog. The ball struck his shoulder and disabled him; he finished him by shooting him again, and at last by cutting out his tongue! At this last hell-engendered act, my blood boiled with indignation at such savage brutality on a helpless, inoffensive dog! But I was unable to give utterance or action to my feelings.

Seeing that the crew had been every one despatched, I began to think more of myself. My old enemy, who seemed to forget me, once more approached me; but shockingly be smeared with blood and brains. He had stood by the side of the unfortunate sailor who suffered before the swivel, and supported him with the point of his bayonet. He drew a stiletto from his side, placed its point upon my heart and gave it a heavy thrust. I felt its point touch my skin; but the quilting of my bank bills prevented its further entrance. This savage monster then ran it up my breast, as if intending to divide my lungs, and in doing so, the bank bills fell upon the deck. He snatched them up greedily, and exclaimed, "Ah! laissez moi voir ce que reste." My dress in a few moments, was ripped to pieces at the peril of my life. He frequently came so near as to tear my skin and deluge me with blood; but by the mercy of Providence, I escaped from every danger.—At this moment a heavy flaw struck the schooner, and I heard one of the pirates say, "Voilà un vaisseau!" They all retreated precipitately, and gaining their own vessel, was soon out of sight.

Helpless as I now was, I had the satisfaction of knowing that the pirates had been frightened by the appearance of a sail, but it was impossible for me to see it. Still tied to the foremast, I knew not what was my prospect of release.—An hour or two had elapsed after they left me; and it was now noon. The sun played violently upon my head, and I felt a languor and debility that indicated approaching fever. My head gradually sunk upon my breast, when I was shocked by hearing the water pouring into the cabin windows. The wretches had scuttled the vessel, and left me pinioned to go down with her. I commended my Spirit to my Maker, and gave myself up for lost. I felt myself gradually dying away, and the last thing I remembered was the foaming noise of the waves. This was occasioned by a ship passing by me. I was taken in, restored to health, and am now a poor, ruined, helpless man.

The ship Liverpool Packet, Ricker, of Portsmouth, N. H. was boarded on the 16th off Cape St. Antonio, Cuba, by two piratical schooners; two barges containing thirty or forty men, robbed the vessel of every thing moveable, even to her *flags*, rigging, one boat which happened to be afloat, and having a boy in it which belonged to the ship. They held a consultation whether they should murder the crew, as they had done before, or not—in the mean time taking the ship into anchoring ground. On bringing her to anchor, the crew saw a brig close along side, burnt to the water's edge, and three dead bo-

dies floating near her.—The pirates said they had burnt the brig the day before, and *murdered all the crew*!—and intended doing the same with them. They said “look at the turtles, (meaning the dead bodies) you will soon be the same.” They said the vessel was a Baltimore brig, which they had robbed and burnt, and murdered the crew as before stated, of which they had little doubt.—Capt. Ricker was most shockingly bruised by them. The mate was hung till he was supposed to be dead, but came to, and is now alive. They told the captain that they belonged in Regla, and should kill them all to prevent discovery.

BRIG DOVER.

Extract from the Log-Book of the brig Dover, Capt. Sabins, from Matanzas for Charleston.

Jan. 16, 1822, sea account, at 1 P. M.—Pan of Matanzas bearing S. saw a boat coming to us from a small drogher, which came out of Matanzas the night before us, with five Spaniards, armed with long knives, pistols, cutlasses, &c. When they got within hail, they fired a musket at us, cheered, and came on board. They were the most villainous looking rascals that any one had probably ever beheld. They immediately drew their weapons, and after beating us severely with their cutlasses, drove us below. They then robbed us of all our clothes except what we had on, our watches, and every thing of value. We were afterwards called up singly. Four men with drawn knives stood over the

captain, and threatened him if he did not give up his money, they would kill all hands and burn the vessel. After robbing the people they commenced plundering the brig. They broke open the hatches, made us get out our boat and carry their plunder to their vessel. They took from us one compass, five bags coffee, one barrel sugar, nearly all our provisions, our colours, rigging, and cooking utensils. They then ordered us to stand to the north, or they would overhaul us, murder the crew and burn the vessel. We made sail, and shortly after were brought to by another boat of the same character, which fired into us, but left us upon being informed that we had been already robbed.

The Porpoise, Capt. Ramage, arrived at Charleston from his successful cruise against the Pirates, having recaptured a Baltimore schooner which had been in their possession three days, destroyed three of their establishments on shore, 12 of their vessels, besides two on the stocks, and brought in four prisoners, against whom it is supposed there is strong evidence.

It is stated, that a Pirate Captain and his mate quarrelled on the question of putting to death all captives,—they fought a duel with muskets, the Captain was killed, and the Mate (who was the advocate of mercy) succeeded to the command.

The schooner Jane, of Boston, was taken the 24th Jan. by a pirate schooner.—They were carried into a place where were three more of the same trade.—

The captain and crew were threatened, beat, and the vessel plundered of much property; after which they were released.

If the Spanish Government is unable to drive the Pirates from their strong holds in Cuba, the Baltimore Chronicle suggests the necessity of occupying the island with American forces for that purpose, as robbers and pirates have a right to enjoy no protection whatever; and in this case all civilized powers are warranted in carrying the war into the enemy's territory.

PIRATES CAPTURED.

Charleston, Feb. 12.—The four pirates brought into this port by the United States Porpoise, were landed yesterday from that vessel, and committed to prison. Three of them are Spaniards, the other a Portuguese; two of the former father and son, the son being only about 18 years of age.

Charleston, Feb. 14, 1824.—The United States schooner Grampus, Lieut. Gregory, from a cruise of 4 months in the West-Indies and along the Spanish Main, arrived at our port yesterday morning, last from Santa Martha. She has brought in three Pirates, viz. James Maxfield, one of the crew that robbed the Orleans, of Philadelphia, and Charles Owens and James Ross, who robbed a Portsmouth schooner of \$2600 in the Bite of Leogane. One of these daring freebooters was delivered up to Lieut. G. by the Governor of St. Barts, and the other two

by the President of Hayti, for trial by the United States. The G. has boarded several privateers during her cruise, and traversed a space of 9000 miles, spreading terror among those wretches whose impotence is equal to their atrocity, and who only require active pursuit to frighten them out of visible existence.

Mobile, June 1, 1822.—Capt. Carter of the schr. Swan, arrived yesterday from Havana, reports that on his outward passage from this port, on the 27th ult. at 8 o'clock, A. M. being then within 30 miles from Havana, he was boarded by an open boat from the shore, manned with nine men, who all appeared to be Spanish, armed with muskets, pistols, cutlasses, and knives, who plundered the vessel of every thing they could carry off. They also robbed the captain and crew of their clothing, even stripping the jackets from their backs, and the shoes from their feet.

The villains would not even spare the property of a Spanish Priest, passenger on board, but they robbed him also of his clothes, money, and plate, the value of 800 dollars; they however afterwards, returned his gown.

A sail heaving in sight, they left the schooner with orders to steer E. N. E. and not go over three leagues from shore, under pain of death. From their conversation while on board, it appeared that they intended to board the schooner again in the evening, run her ashore and burn her, but she escaped by the darkness of the night.

LIEUT. ALLEN'S VICTORY AND DEATH.

Extract of a letter from Matanzas, dated November
11, 1822.

“The gallant ALLEN is no more!—You witnessed the promptitude with which he hastened to relieve the vessels which I informed him had been captured off this port. He arrived just in time to save five sail of vessels which he found in possession of a gang of pirates, 300 strong, established in the Bay of Lejuapo, about 15 leagues east of this. He fell, pierced by two musket balls, in the van of a division of boats, attacking their principal vessel, a fine schooner of about eighty tons, with a long eighteen pounder on a pivot, and four smaller guns, *with the bloody flag nailed to the mast*. Himself, Capt. Freeman of Marines, and twelve men, were in the boat, much in advance of his other boats, and even took possession of the schooner, after a desperate resistance, which nothing but a bravery almost too daring could have overcome. The pirates, all but one, escaped by taking to their boats and jumping overboard, before the Alligator's boats reached them. Two other schooners escaped by the use of their oars, the wind being light.

Capt. Allen survived about four hours, during which his conversation evinced a composure and firmness of mind, and correctness of feeling, as honourable to his character, and more consoling to his friends than even the dauntless bravery he before exhibited.”

The Surgeon of the Alligator in a letter to a friend, says, “He continued giving orders and con-

versing with Mr. Dale and the rest of us, until a few minutes before his death, with a degree of cheerfulness that was little to be expected from a man in his condition. He said he wished his relatives and his country to know that he had fought well, and added that he died in peace and good will towards all the world, and hoped for his reward in the next."

Lieut. Allen had but few equals in the service. He was ardently devoted to the interest of his country, was brave, intelligent, and accomplished in his profession. He displayed, living and dying, a magnanimity that sheds lustre on his relatives, his friends, and his country.

PIRATES ENTRAPPED.

The British schooner *Speedwell* arrived at Nassau N. P. in November, bringing in 18 pirates, who had been captured by the *Speedwell* and her consort. The schooner had been disguised as a merchantman, and the pirates, taking her to be an easy prize, came carelessly along side of her, for the purpose of boarding, when she gave them a hot fire, and threw them into confusion. Many jumped overboard and were drowned; and with these and the killed, the loss of the pirates was about 15 or 16. The remainder of them, 18 in number, were taken prisoners and carried into Nassau.

SAILING OF COMMODORE PORTER.

BALTIMORE, JAN. 17, 1823.

Yesterday Commodore PORTER left this port in the steam galley *Enterprize*, to join the squadron fitted out at Norfolk, for the purpose of suppressing piracy on the coast of Cuba. Every friend of humanity must wish that the efforts of the distinguished officer who has been selected to this command will be crowned with success. The means adopted are certainly the best calculated to effect the object. Frigates and sloops of war are totally inadequate, by means of their great draft of water; but the vessels which have been selected by Commodore PORTER, are precisely calculated to ferret the banditti from their lurking places. The aid of steam we think a most valuable addition to the squadron, and from the manner in which the *Enterprize* has been fitted out, we have every reason to believe she will completely answer the expectations formed. Commodore PORTER has been indefatigable since he came here, and several of our citizens conversant in steam affairs, volunteered their services to aid him in the necessary equipments for that department. We learn that she is provided with duplicates of every piece of machinery which might be carried away in action, and that able and experienced engineers were also procured for her.

In a very short time we hope to hear of the Commodore's arrival at his cruising ground, and we doubt not he will soon put an end to the ravages of those lawless barbarians.

EXECUTION OF THE PIRATES.

Ten of the pirates captured by the British sloop of War Tyne, were executed at Kingston, Jamaica, on Friday, the 7th of February, 1823.

About a quarter of an hour before day dawn, the wretched culprits were taken from the jail, under a guard of soldiers from the 50th regiment, and the City Guard. On their arrival at the wherry wharf, the military retired, and the prisoners, with the Town Guard were put on board two wherries, in which they proceeded to Port Royal Point, the usual place of execution in similar cases. They were there met by a strong party of military, consisting of 50 men, under command of an officer. They formed themselves into a square round the place of execution, with the Sheriff and his officers with the prisoners in the centre. The gallows was of considerable length, and contrived with a drop so as to prevent the unpleasant circumstances which frequently occur.

The unfortunate men had been in continual prayer from the time they were awakened out of a deep sleep till they arrived at that place, where they were to close their existence.

They all expressed their gratitude for the attention they had met with from the Sheriff and the inferior officers. Many pressed the hands of the turnkey to their lips, others to their hearts, and, on their knees, prayed that God, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary, would bless him and the other jailers for their goodness. They all then fervently joined in prayer. To the astonishment of all, no clerical character, of any persuasion, was present. They repeatedly called

out, "Adonde esta el padre," (Where is the holy father.)

Juan Hernandez called on all persons present to hear him—he was innocent; what they had said about his confessing himself guilty was untrue. He had admitted himself guilty, because he hoped for pardon; but that now he was to die, he called God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, to witness that he spoke truth—that he was no pirate, no murderer—he had been forced. The Lieutenant of the pirates was a wretch, who did not fear God, and had compelled him to act.

Juan Gutiérrez and Francisco de Sayas were loud in their protestations of innocence.

Manuel Lima said, for himself, he did not care; he felt for the old man (Miguel Jose.) How could he be a pirate who could not help himself? If it were a Christian country, they would have pardoned him for his gray hairs. He was innocent—they had both been forced. Let none of his friends and relations ever venture to sea—he hoped his death would be a warning to them, that the innocent might suffer for the guilty. The language of this young man marked him a superior to the generality of his companions in misfortune. The seamen of the Whim stated that he was very kind to them when prisoners on board the piratical vessel. Just before he was turned off, he addressed the old man—"Adios viejo, para siempre adios."—(Farewell, old man, for ever farewell.)

Several of the prisoners cried out for mercy, pardon, pardon.

Domingo Eucalla, the black man, then addressed them. "Do not look for mercy here, but pray to God; we are all brought here to die. This is not built for nothing; here we must end our lives. You know I am innocent, but I must die the same as you all. There is not any body here who can do us

any good, so let us think only of God Almighty. We are not children but men, you know that all must die; and in a few years those who kill us must die too. When I was born, God set the way of my death; I do not blame any body. I was taken by the pirates, and they made me help them; they would not let me be idle. I could not show that this was the truth, and therefore they have judged me by the people they have found me with. I am put to death unjustly, but I blame nobody. It was my misfortune. Come, let us pray. If we are innocent, so much the less we have to repent. I do not come here to accuse any one. Death must come one day or other; better to the innocent than guilty." He then joined in prayer with the others. He seemed to be much revered by his fellow prisoners. He chose those prayers he thought most adapted to the occasion. Hundreds were witnesses to the manly firmness of this negro. Observing a bystander listening attentively to the complaints of one of his fellow wretches, he translated what had been said into English. With a steady pace, and a resolute and resigned countenance, he ascended the fatal scaffold. Observing the executioner unable to untie a knot on the collar of one of the prisoners, he with his teeth undid it. He then prayed most fervently till the drop fell.

Miguel Jose protested his innocence.—“No he robado, no he matado ningune, muero inocente.”—(I have robbed no one, I have killed no one, I die innocent. I am an old man, but my family will feel my disgraceful death.)

Francisco Miguel prayed devoutly, but inaudibly. His soul seemed to have quitted the body before he was executed.

Breti Gullimillit called on all to witness his innocence; it was of no use for him to say an untruth, for he was going before the face of God.

Augustus Hernandez repeatedly declared his innocence, requested that no one would say he had made a confession; he had none to make.

Juan Hernandez was rather obstinate when the executioner pulled the cap over his eyes. He said, rather passionately—"Quita is de mis ojos."—(Remove it from my eyes.) He then rubbed it up against one of the posts of the gallows.

Miguel Jose made the same complaint, and drew the covering from his eyes by rubbing his head against a fellow sufferer.

Pedro Nondre was loud in his ejaculations for mercy. He wept bitterly. He was covered with the marks of deep wounds.

The whole of the ten, included in the death warrant, having been placed on the scaffold, and the ropes suspended, the drop was let down. Nondre being an immense heavy man, broke the rope, and fell to the ground alive. Juan Hernandez struggled long. Lima was much convulsed. The old man Gullimillit, and Miguel, were apparently dead before the drop fell. Eucalla (the black man) gave one convulsion, and all was over.

When Nondre recovered from the fall and saw his nine lifeless companions stretched in death, he gave an agonizing shriek; he wrung his hands, screamed "Favor, favor, me matan sin causa. O! buenos Christianos, me amparen, ampara me, ampara me, no hay Christiano en asta, tiara?" (Mercy, mercy, they kill me without cause—Oh, good Christians, protect me, protect me, Oh, protect me. Is there no Christian in this land.)

He then lifted his eyes to Heaven, and prayed long and loud. Upon being again suspended, he was for a long period convulsed. He was an immense powerful man, and died hard.

PIRATES CAPTURED.

The famous pirate, La Cata, was captured, off the Isle of Pines, about the 1st of March, 1823, by the British cutter Grecian, after a smart action. The cutter had 50 men—the pirate 100, and 8 guns; it was believed that about 30 of the crew of the latter were killed, but only three prisoners were made, the rest making their escape on shore. Considerable quantities of goods were found on board the prize.

The Grecian conveyed the prisoners to Jamaica, where, it seems, there is more law to reach cases of piracy than in the United States.

LAFITTE, THE NOTED PIRATE, KILLED.

A British sloop of war fell in with and captured a piratical vessel with a crew of sixty men, under command of the famous LAFITTE. He hoisted the bloody flag and refused quarter, and fought until nearly every man was killed or wounded—LAFITTE being among the former.

The schooner Pilot, of Norfolk, was captured by the pirates off Matanzas, and her crew much abused; but they were put ashore, and the wretches went on a cruize in the prize, and captured and

robbed two vessels, *within two miles of the Moro castle*, Havana. A few days after, the U. S. schooner Jackall fell in with her and made a re-capture, securing, however, only one of the pirates; but several of them were killed in the action, fighting desperately. Several captures were made about the same time by Com. Porter's squadron, which was actively employed.

BATTLE WITH THE PIRATES.

Almost every day furnished accounts evincing the activity of Commodore Porter, and the officers and men under his command; but for a long time their industry and zeal was rather shown in the *suppression* of piracy than the *punishment* of it. At length, however, an opportunity offered for inflicting the latter, as detailed in the following letter, dated Matanzas, July 10, 1823.

“I have the pleasure of informing you of a brilliant achievement obtained against the pirates on the 5th inst. by two barges attached to Commodore PORTER's squadron, the Gallinipper, Lieut. Watson, 18 men, and the Musquito, Lieut. Inman, 10 men. The barges were returning from a cruise to windward; when they were near Jiguapa Bay, 13 leagues to windward of Matanzas, they entered it—it being a rendezvous for pirates. They immediately discovered a large schooner under way, which they supposed to be a Patriot privateer; and as their

stores were nearly exhausted, they hoped to obtain some supplies from her. They therefore made sail in pursuit. When they were within cannon shot distance, she rounded to and fired her long gun, at the same time run up the bloody flag, directing her course towards the shore, continuing to fire without effect. When she had got within a short distance of the shore, she came to, with springs on her cable, continuing to fire; and when the barges were within 30 yards, they fired their muskets without touching boat or man; our men gave three cheers, and prepared to board; the pirates, discovering their intention, jumped into the water, when the bargemen, calling on the name of "ALLEN," commenced a destructive slaughter, killing them in the water and as they landed. So exasperated were our men, that it was impossible for their officers to restrain them, and many were killed after orders were given to grant quarter. Twenty-seven dead were counted, some sunk, five taken prisoners by the bargemen, and eight taken by a party of Spaniards on shore. The officers calculated that from 30 to 35 were killed. The schooner mounted a long nine pounder on a pivot, and 4 four pounders, with every other necessary armament, and a crew of 50 to 60 men, and ought to have blown the barges to atoms. She was commanded by the notorious Diablero or Little Devil. This statement I have from Lieut. Watson himself, and it is certainly the most decisive operation that has been effected against those murderers, either by the English or American force.

"This affair occurred on the same spot where the brave ALLEN fell about one year since. The prize was sent to Thompson's Island."

A British sloop of war, about the same time, captured a pirate schooner off St. Domingo, with a crew of 60 men. She had 200,000 dollars in specie, and

other valuable articles on board. The brig *Vestal* sent another pirate schooner to New-Providence.

CAPTURE OF A PIRATICAL STATION IN CUBA.

The U. S. schooners of war *Greyhound* and *Beagle* left Thompson's Island, June 7, 1823, under the command of Lieuts. Kearney and Newton, and cruised within the Keys, on the south side of Cuba, as far as Cape Cruz, touching at all the intermediate ports on the island, to intercept pirates. On the 21st July, they came to anchor off Cape Cruz, and Lieut. Kearney went in his boat to reconnoitre the shore, when he was fired on by a party of pirates who were concealed among the bushes. A fire was also opened from several pieces of cannon erected on a hill, a short distance off. The boat returned, and five or six others were manned from the vessels, and pushed off for the shore, but a very heavy cannonade being kept up by the pirates on the heights, as well as from the boats were compelled to retreat. The two schooners were then warped in, when they discharged several broadsides, and covered the landing of the boats. After a short time the pirates retreated to a hill that was well fortified. A small hamlet, in which the pirates resided was set fire to and destroyed. Three guns, one a four pounder, and two large swivels, with several pistols, cutlasses, and eight large boats, were captured. A cave, about 150 feet deep, was discovered, near where the houses were, and after considerable difficulty, a party of seamen got to the bottom, where was found

an immense quantity of plunder, consisting of broad-cloths, dry goods, female dresses, saddlery, &c. Many human bones were also in the cave, supposed to have been unfortunate persons who were taken and put to death. A great deal of the articles were brought away, and the rest destroyed. About forty pirates escaped to the heights, but many were supposed to have been killed, from the fire of the schooners, as well as from the men who landed. The bushes were so thick that it was impossible to go after them. Several other caves are in the neighbourhood, in which it was conjectured they occasionally take shelter.

PIRATES TAKEN AND EXECUTED.

A piratical vessel, and her crew of thirty-eight men were captured off Matanzas on the 16th May, 1825, by a British cutter and a steamboat fitted out at that place. Several of the pirates were killed, and the rest sent to Havana for trial. It was ascertained that some of them had assisted in capturing more than twenty American vessels, whose crews were MURDERED!!

An additional gang of pirates was hung at the same period, at Porto Rico—Eleven at once.

**CHARLES GIBBS, otherwise JAMES D. JEFFERS,
AND THOMAS I. WANSLEY.**

This atrocious villain was a native of Providence in Rhode Island. His true name was James D. Jeffers, but as he was more generally known as Charles Gibbs, we shall give him that appellation. His adventures, excepting the crime for which he was finally hanged, are only known from his own admissions while under sentence of death, and our readers must judge for themselves how far they are to be credited.

It appears from evidence legally taken, that the brig *Vineyard* sailed from New Orleans about the first of November, eighteen hundred and thirty, for Philadelphia. William Thornby was the master of the vessel, and William Roberts the mate. The crew consisted of seven persons, viz. Charles Gibbs, John Brownrigg, Robert Dawes, Henry Atwell, James Talbot, A. Church, and Thomas I. Wansley, a young negro native of Delaware, who acted as cook.

When the *Vineyard* had been five days at sea, Wansley made it known to the crew that there were fifty thousand dollars in specie on board. This information excited their cupidity, and induced them to consult on the means of getting the money into their own hands. Many conversations took place on the subject, and while these were going on, Dawes, who was a mere boy, was sent to converse with the officers, in order to divert their attention from what was passing. Finally it was *resolved*, that as the master and mate were old men, it was time they should die and make room for the rising generation. Moreover, they were of opinion that as the mate was of a peevish disposition, he deserved death. Yet, to do no man injustice, it does not appear that Brownrigg or Talbot had any part in these deliberations, or in the foul deed that resulted from them.

The conspirators agreed to commit the greatest earthly crimes, murder and piracy, on the night of the twenty-third. The murder of the master was as-

Mating on board the Vineyard.



signed to Gibbs and Wansley; that of the mate to Atwell and Church.

The vessel was off Cape Hatteras, when the time fixed for the murder arrived. The master was standing on the quarter deck, Dawes had the helm, and Brownrigg was aloft. Dawes called Wansley aft to trim the light in the binnacle. The black moved as if to obey, but coming behind Mr. Thornby, struck him on the back of the neck with the pump brake, so that he fell forward, crying "murder!" Wansley repeated his blows till the master was dead, and then, with the assistance of Gibbs, threw the body overboard. While this deed of darkness was being done, the mate, aroused by the noise, came up the companion ladder from the cabin. Atwell and Church were waiting for him at the top of the ladder, and one of them struck him down with a club; but the blow did not kill him. Gibbs followed to complete the work, but not being able to find the mate in the dark, returned to the deck for the binnacle light. With this he descended and laid hands on the victim, but was not able to overcome him, even with the aid of Atwell; but finally, with the assistance of Church, he was dragged on deck, beaten and thrown overboard. He was not yet dead, and swam after the vessel four or five minutes, crying for help, before he sank. All these transactions were witnessed by the boy Dawes, who had a passive, if not an active part in them.

The pirates then took possession of the vessel, and Wansley busied himself in wiping up the blood that had been spilled on deck, declaring, with an oath, that though he had heard that the stains of the blood of a murdered person could not be effaced, he would wipe away these. Then, after drinking all round, they got up the money. It was distributed in equal portions to all on board; Brownrigg and Talbot being assured that if they would keep the secret, and share the plunder, they should receive no injury.

They then steered a northeasterly course toward Long Island, till they came within fifteen or twenty miles of South-Hampton Light, where they resolved to leave the vessel, in the boats, though the wind was blowing hard. Atwell scuttled the brig and got into the jolly boat with Church and Talbot, while Gibbs, Wansley, Dawes and Brownrigg, put off in the long boat. The jolly boat swamped on a bar two miles from the shore, and all on board were drowned. The long boat was in great danger also, and was only saved from a like fate by throwing over several bags of specie. Nevertheless, the crew at last got on shore on Pelican Island, where they buried their money, and found a sportsman who told them where they were. They then crossed to Great Barn Island, and went to the house of a Mr. Johnson, to whom Brownrigg gave the proper information. Thence they went to the house of a Mr. Leonard, where they procured a wagon to carry them farther. As they were about to get in, Brownrigg cried aloud that they might go whither they pleased, but he would not accompany them, for they were murderers. On hearing this Mr. Leonard sent for a magistrate, and Gibbs and Dawes were apprehended. Wansley escaped into the woods, but was followed and soon taken.

The evidence of the guilt of the prisoners was full and conclusive. Their own confessions of the crime gratuitously made to Messrs. Meritt and Stevenson, who had the custody of them from Flatbush to New-York, could have left not the shadow of a doubt on the mind of any person who heard the testimony of those officers. Wansley told the whole story, occasionally prompted by Gibbs, and both admitted that Brownrigg was innocent of any participation in their crimes. Their confession was not, however, so favorable to Dawes.

Gibbs was arraigned for the murder of William Roberts, and Wansley for that of William Thornby. They were both found guilty, and the district attorney

moved for judgment on the verdict. There was nothing peculiar in their deportment during the trial. The iron visage of Gibbs was occasionally darkened with a transient emotion, but he had evidently abandoned all hope of escape, and sat the greater part of the time with his hands between his knees, calmly surveying the scene before him. Wansley was more agitated, and trembled visibly when he rose to hear the verdict of the jury.

The judge proceeded to pass sentence on them severally, that each should be taken from the place where they then were, and thence to the place of confinement, and should be hanged by the neck till dead; and that the marshal of the Southern District of New-York should see this sentence carried into execution on the twenty-second day of April following, between the hours of ten and four o'clock.

The first account which Gibbs gave of himself is, that his father obtained a situation for him in the United States sloop of war *Hornet*, Captain Lawrence, during the last war with England, in which vessel he made two cruises; in the last of which she captured and sunk the enemy's sloop of war *Peacock* off the coast of Pernambuco, after an engagement of twenty minutes. On the arrival of the *Hornet* in the United States, Captain Lawrence was assigned by the government to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, then lying in Boston harbor, and Gibbs accompanied him to that ill-fated vessel in the month of April, eighteen hundred and thirteen.

This statement of his services was proved to be false, and acknowledged as such by himself. His motive for the falsehood was, to conceal his real adventures about this time, that his proper name might not be discovered. There is much to corroborate and nothing to disprove what follows.

After his exchange, he abandoned all idea of following the sea for a subsistence, went home to Rhode

Island, and remained there a few months, but being unable to conquer his propensity to roving, he entered on board a ship bound to New Orleans, and thence to Stockholm. On the homeward passage they were compelled to put into Bristol, England, in distress, where the ship was condemned, and he proceeded to Liverpool. He returned to the United States in the ship *Amity*, Captain Maxwell.

After its arrival, he left the ship, and entered on board the Colombian privateer *Maria*, Captain Bell. They cruised for about two months in the Gulf of Mexico, around Cuba, but the crew becoming dissatisfied in consequence of the non-payment of their prize-money, a mutiny arose, the crew took possession of the schooner, and landed the officers near Pensacola. A number of days elapsed before it was finally decided by them what course to pursue. Some advised that they should cruise as before, under the Colombian commission; others proposed to hoist the black flag. They cruised for a short time without success, and it was then unanimously determined to hoist the black flag and declare war against all nations. At last one of the crew, named Antonio, suggested that an arrangement could be made with a man in Havana, that would be mutually beneficial; that he would receive all their goods, sell them, and divide the proceeds. This suggestion being favorably received, they ran up within two miles of Moro Castle, and sent Antonio on shore to see the merchant and make a contract with him, which was done.

The *Maria* now put to sea, with a crew of about fifty men. The first vessel she fell in with was the *Indispensable*, an English ship, bound to Havana, which was taken and carried to Cape Antonio. The crew were immediately destroyed: those who resisted were hewed to pieces: those who offered no resistance, were reserved to be shot and thrown overboard. Such was the manner in which they proceeded in all their

subsequent captures. The unhappy being that cried for mercy, in the hope that something like humanity was to be found in the breasts even of the worst of men, shared the same fate with him who resolved to sell his life at the highest price. A French brig, with a valuable cargo of wine and silk, was taken shortly after: the vessel was burnt and the crew murdered.

The sanguinary scenes through which Gibbs had passed, now effectually wrought up his desperation to the highest pitch, and being as remarkable for his coolness and intrepidity as he was for his skill in navigation, he was unanimously chosen to be their leader in all future enterprises. To reap a golden harvest without the hazard of encountering living witnesses of their crimes, it was unanimously resolved to spare no lives, and to burn and plunder without mercy. They knew that the principle inculcated by the old maxim that "dead men tell no tales," was the safe one for them, and they scrupulously followed it. Gibbs states that he never had occasion to give orders to begin the work of death.

He now directed his course towards the Bahama Banks, where they captured a brig, believed to be the *William* of New York, from some port in Mexico, with a cargo of furniture, destroyed the crew, took her to Cape Antonio, and sent the furniture and other articles to their friend in Havana. Sometime during this cruise, the pirate was chased for nearly a whole day by a United States ship, supposed to be the *John Adams*; he hoisted Patriot colors, and finally escaped. In the early part of the summer of eighteen hundred and seventeen, they took the *Earl of Moira*, an English ship from London, with a cargo of dry goods. The crew were destroyed, the vessel burnt, and the goods carried to the Cape. There they had a settlement with their Havana friend, and the proceeds were divided according to agreement.

During the cruise which was made in the latter

part of eighteen hundred and seventeen, and the beginning of eighteen hundred and eighteen, a Dutch ship from Curacoa was captured, with a cargo of West India goods, and a quantity of silver plate. The passengers and crew, to the number of thirty, were all destroyed, with the exception of a young female about seventeen, who fell upon her knees and implored Gibbs to save her life. The appeal was successful, and he promised to save her, though he knew it would lead to dangerous consequences among his crew. She was carried to Cape Antonio, and kept there about two months; but the dissatisfaction increased until it broke out at last into open mutiny, and one of the pirates was shot by Gibbs for daring to lay hold of her with a view of beating out her brains. Gibbs was compelled in the end to submit her fate to a council of war, at which it was decided that the preservation of their own lives made her sacrifice indispensable. He therefore acquiesced in the decision, and gave orders to have her destroyed by poison, which was immediately done.

The piratical schooner was shortly after driven ashore near the Cape, and so much damaged that it was found necessary to destroy her. A new sharp-built schooner was in consequence provided by their faithful friend in Havana, called the *Picciana*, and despatched to their rendezvous. In this vessel they cruised successfully for more than four years. Among the vessels taken and destroyed with their crews, was the *Belvidere*, *Dido*, a Dutch brig, the British barque *Larch*, the other vessels enumerated in the list furnished to Justice Hopson, and many others whose names are not recollected. They had a very narrow escape, at one time, from the English man-of-war *Coronation*. In the early part of October, eighteen hundred and twenty one, they captured a ship from Charleston, took her to Cape Antonio, and were busily engaged in landing her cargo, when the United States

brig *Enterprise*, Captain Kearney, hove in sight, and discovering their vessels at anchor, sent in her barges to attack them. A serious engagement followed; they defended themselves for some time behind a four gun battery, but in the end were defeated with considerable loss, and compelled to abandon their vessels and booty, and fly to the mountains for safety.

They left hot poisoned coffee on the cabin table, in hopes that some of the American officers would drink it. This statement is confirmed by Captain Kearney.

On Friday, April twenty-second, 1831, Gibbs and Wansley paid the penalty of their crimes. Both prisoners arrived at the gallows about twelve o'clock, accompanied by the marshal, his aids, and some twenty or thirty United States marines. Two clergymen attended them to the fatal spot, where every thing being in readiness, and the ropes adjusted about their necks, the throne of mercy was fervently addressed in their behalf. Wansley then prayed earnestly himself, and afterwards joined in singing a hymn.

The boy Dawes was not prosecuted, having been received as State's evidence against Gibbs and Wansley.

PIRACIES ON THE BRIG MEXICAN.

On the 26th day of August, 1834, His Britannic Majesty's brig of war *Savage*, from Portsmouth, England, arrived at Salem, Massachusetts, having on board sixteen of the crew of the piratical schooner *Panda*, which robbed the brig *Mexican*, of Salem, on the high seas, nearly two years since.

The robbery committed upon the *Mexican* was one of the most audacious and cruel acts of piracy ever recorded. She was bound to Rio Janeiro from Salem, and was boarded by a piratical schooner under Brazilian colors, on the 20th of September, 1832, lat. 33, long. 34, 30, and robbed of twenty thousand dollars.

in specie, the officers and crew stripped of every thing valuable, and fastened below, and the vessel set on fire with the horrid intention of destroying her with all on board. Captain Butman and his men succeeded in getting on deck through the scuttle which the pirates had left unsecured, and extinguished the flames, and returned home. Our government ordered a vessel to cruise in pursuit, but she gave up the chase as hopeless. The piratical vessel was afterwards taken on the coast of Africa, by His Britannic Majesty's brig Curlew, and destroyed, under the following circumstances :

The Curlew arrived at St. Thomas, west coast of Africa, from India, with orders to cruise on that coast ; and her commander having obtained information that a schooner, suspected to be a pirate, was lying in the river Nazareth, on the southern extremity of the coast, immediately sailed in pursuit, and found the schooner as described. The boats of the Curlew were manned to take possession of her, when the crew of the schooner fled to the shore, with the exception of four who were taken prisoners. They had kindled a fire to destroy the schooner, and she had been stripped of every thing valuable. The fire was extinguished without damage. She had no cargo on board, but her water casks were all filled, and she was apparently ready for another cruise. In her cabin were found a compass, marked Boston, the flags and ensigns of different nations, and custom-house papers made out at Havana. In taking her down the river, she accidentally blew up, and the Curlew's purser and one man were killed. The four men taken were shipped at St. Thomas after the robbery of the Mexican. The Curlew's crew pursued the fugitives in various directions, and succeeded in capturing an additional number of the pirates ; and several natives' towns were burned by the Curlew's men. The pirates had an examination in England before the proper authorities, when five of them offered to turn king's evidence, two of whom

were admitted to testify. They were fully committed, and the British government ordered them to this country for trial, and the affidavits and documents relative to their capture and subsequent confinement and examination were delivered to the authorities in this country.

The pirates were tried before the United States court at Boston, November 11th, 1834, which continued for fourteen days, and resulted in the conviction of seven of their number, five of whom were executed agreeably to their sentence, the other two received a reprieve from the President of the United States.

Execution of the Spanish Pirates.—[Thursday, June 11, 1835.]—Pursuant to previous arrangement, Captain Don Pedro Gibert, and Juan Montenegro, Manuel Castillo, Angel Garcia, and Manuel Boyga, were yesterday morning summoned to prepare for their immediate execution, agreeably to their sentence, for having, while belonging to the schooner Panda, committed piracy, by robbing the brig Mexican, of Salem, of twenty thousand dollars, and afterwards attempting to destroy the crew and all evidence of their crime, by setting fire to the vessel. It is understood, that, when the prisoners became thoroughly convinced that there was no longer any grounds to hope for a further respite, they entered into a mutual agreement to commit suicide on Wednesday night. Angel Garcia made the first attempt, in the evening, by trying to open the veins in each arm, with a fragment of a bottle, but was discovered before he could effect his purpose, and a stricter guard was afterwards maintained upon all of them during the remainder of the night, and every thing removed with which they might be supposed to renew any attempt upon their own lives. Yesterday morning, however, about nine o'clock, while the avenues of the jail resounded with the heavy steps of a host of acting marshals, and the "busy note of prepa-

ration" struck solemnly upon the ears of the spectators within reach of its echo, Boyga succeeded in inflicting a deep gash on the left side of his neck with a piece of tin. The officer's eye had been withdrawn from him scarcely a minute, before he was discovered lying on his pallet, with a peculiar trembling of his knees, which induced the officers to examine if any thing had suddenly happened to him. They found him covered with blood, and nearly insensible; medical aid was at hand, and the wound was immediately sewed up, but Boyga, who had fainted from loss of blood, never revived again. Two Catholic clergymen, the Rev. Mr. Varella, a Spanish gentleman, and pastor of the Spanish congregation at New York, and the Rev. Mr. Curtin, of this city, were in close attendance upon the prisoners during the whole morning; and at a quarter past ten, under the escort of the Marshal and his deputies, accompanied them to the gallows, erected on an insulated angle of land in the rear of the jail.

When the procession arrived at the foot of the ladder leading up to the platform of the gallows, the Rev. Mr. Varella, looking directly at Captain Gibert, said—"Spaniards, ascend to heaven." Gibert mounted with a quick step, and was followed by his comrades at a more moderate pace, but without the least perceptible indication of hesitancy. Boyga, unconscious of his situation and destiny, was carried up in a chair, and seated beneath the rope prepared for him. Gibert, Montenegro, Garcia, and Castillo all smiled subduedly as they took their appointed stations on the platform. Judging only from Gibert's air, carriage, and unembarrassed eye, as he glanced at the surrounding multitude, and surveyed the mechanism of his shameful death, he might have well been mistaken for an officer in attendance, instead of one of the doomed. With the exception of repeating his prayers, after the clergyman, he spoke but little. Soon after he ascertained his position on the stage, he left it, and passing over to the

spot where the apparently lifeless Boyga was seated on the chair, he bent over his shoulder and kissed him very affectionately. He then resumed his station, but occasionally turned round to Mr. Peyton the interpreter, and the clergymen. Addressing his followers, he said—"Boys, we are going to die; but let us be firm, for we are innocent." To Mr. Peyton, removing his linen collar, and handing it to him, he said—"This is all I have to part with—take it as a keepsake. I die innocent, but I'll die like a noble Spaniard. Good bye, brother, we die in the hope of meeting you in heaven. Montenegro and Garcia, though exhibiting no terror, vociferated their innocence, exclaiming—"Americans, we are not *culpable*—we are innocent; but we forgive all who have injured us." Castillo addressed himself to an individual, whom he recognised in the front rank of the officers below the stage, and said—"Adieu, my friend—I shall see you in heaven—I do not care so much about dying, as to have the Americans think I am guilty," [culpable.] All of them expressed great satisfaction at the intelligence of De Soto's reprieve.

The Marshal having read the warrant for their execution, and stated that De Soto was respited for sixty days, and Ruiz for thirty, the ropes were adjusted round the necks of the prisoners, and a slight hectic flush spread over the countenance of each; but not an eye quailed, nor a limb trembled, nor a muscle quivered. As the cap was about to be drawn over Gibert's face, the Spanish Priest fervently embraced him, and during the operation of covering the faces of the others, the Rev. Mr. Curtin advanced to the railing of the stage, and read a brief declaration on behalf of the prisoners, addressed to the citizens of America assembled, setting forth, that as at the trial they had declared their innocence, so did they now continue to do so. Boyga's cap and rope were adjusted, as he sat, supported by an officer, in the chair, which was

so placed as to fall with the drop. At a quarter before 11, after every preparation was completed, and while they were repeating to themselves, in scarcely audible tones, their prayers, Deputy Marshal Bass suddenly cut the small cord which restrained the spring, and the platform fell without even the creaking of a hinge. In falling, Boyga's chair struck against the bodies of the Captain and Garcia. Boyga struggled slightly once after his descent, and Montenegro and Castillo but little; Capt. Gibert did not die quite so easily, the rope being placed behind his neck. Garcia struggled most and longest—about 3 minutes. After being suspended 30 minutes, the physicians in attendance pronounced them dead, and they were cut down, and placed in black coffins, in readiness in the yard.

It is stated in many of the papers, that Captain Gibert attempted to cut his throat on Wednesday night, but this is not the fact. It is true that he pursued a line of conduct on that night which induced the officers to suspect that he intended to commit suicide. Mr. Tavers, one of the guards, who understands the Spanish language, overheard the signal agreed upon, by the whole party. The Captain proposed to write till one o'clock, when he was to bid "Good bye" to the rest, and they were then to despatch themselves with pieces of glass. Accordingly, at the appointed hour, the Captain, having terminated his writing, destroyed a part of his papers, retired to a corner of his cell, and appeared to be arranging his person to "die with dignity;" but being closely watched at the window, the officers, Messrs. Shute and Pierce, entered his cell before he had completed his toilet. They asked him what he intended to do; but he was irritated by their undesired intrusion, and, showing temper, declined answering. Upon searching, they found a piece of glass in his pocket. They then ironed him, with his hands behind his back. He remained dogged in his disposition, and blew the light out four times, which

the officer as often re-lighted, and threatened to put his legs in irons if he persisted in putting it out.

Montenegro, it was discovered, *after* his execution, had cut his throat in two places, and had bled very profusely, but had washed his shirt out in the morning to conceal the attempt. It was the irritation of the wounds, probably, that made him hold his head a little awry when the rope was first put round his neck. He was one of the most piratical looking of the crew, but one of the most innocent, and was always in pleasant humor. Garcia inflicted wounds upon his arms after he was ironed.

DYING DECLARATION OF THE PIRATES.—The Catholic Sentinel of Saturday contains the following declaration of innocence, written in Spanish by Capt. Gibert, and signed by his companions. The substance of it was delivered from the platform, a few minutes before their execution, by the Rev. Mr. Curtin, one of the Catholic clergymen in attendance:—

“Americans! we, the undersigned, were reduced to this sad and ignominious fate by misfortune, not by guilt. In this world we have nothing to hope; but in the next, we confidently expect salvation from the benign mercy of our heavenly Redeemer. Then, Americans, we declare to you with our dying breath, that we are innocent; and we now aver so in the hearing of that God before whom we must in a few moments appear;—but our souls will not, at that sacred tribunal, be charged with debasing the last act of our lives by the utterance of falsehood. We speak the solemn truth;—we are not culpable,—and we reiterate here, under the gallows, what we declared on our trial, *‘that we die innocent men.’* May God forgive those who brought us to this fatal end, as we leave the world in peace with all men. Farewell, Americans. :

*Angel Garcia,
Juan Montenegro,
Pedro Gibert,*

*Manuel Boyga,
Manuel Castilla.”*

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THE
REMARKABLE SHIPWRECKS.

LOSS OF THE GROSVENOR INDIAMAN.

On the Coast of Caffraria, August 4, 1782.

In the melancholy catalogue of human woes, few things appear more eminently disastrous than the general fate of the Grosvenor's crew. Shipwreck is always, even in its mildest form, a calamity which fills the mind with horror; but, what is instant death, compared to the situation of those who had hunger, thirst, and nakedness to contend with; who only escaped the fury of the waves to enter into conflicts with the savages of the forest, or the greater savages of the human race; who were cut off from all civilized society, and felt the prolongation of life to be only the lengthened pains of death?

The Grosvenor sailed from Trinicomale, June 13th, 1782, on her homeward bound voyage, and met with no memorable occurrence till the 4th of August, the fatal day on which she went on shore.

During the two preceding days it had blown very hard, the sky was overcast, so that they were unable to take an observation; and it is likewise probable, that from their vicinity to the shore, they had been carried out of their course by currents. The combination of these circumstances may account for the error in their reckoning, which occasioned the loss of the ship. It appears that captain Coxson had declared, a few hours before the disaster took place, that he computed the ship to be at least one hundred leagues from the nearest land, and this opinion lulled them into a false security.

John Hynes, one of the survivors, being aloft with some others, in the night-watch, saw breakers ahead, and asked his companions if they did not think land was near. In this opinion they all coincided, and hastened to inform the third mate, who was the officer of the watch. The infatuated young man only laughed at their apprehensions; upon which one of them ran to the cabin to acquaint the captain, who instantly ordered to wear ship. But before this could be accomplished, her keel struck with great force; in an instant every person on board hastened on the deck, and apprehension and horror were impressed on every countenance.

The captain endeavored to dispel the fears of the passengers, and begged them to be composed. The pumps were sounded, but no water found in the hold, as the ship's stern lay high on the rocks. In a few minutes the wind blew off the shore, which filled them with apprehensions lest they should be driven out to sea, and thus lose the only chance they had of escaping. The powder room was by this time full of water, the masts were cut away, without any effect, and the ship being driven within a cable's length of the shore, all hopes of saving her vanished.

This dismal prospect produced distraction and despair, and it is impossible to describe the scene that ensued. Those who were most composed set about forming a raft, hoping by means of it to convey the women, the children, and the sick, to land. Meanwhile three men attempted to swim to the shore with the deep-sea line; one perished in the attempt, but the other two succeeded. By these a hawser was, at length, carried to the shore and fastened round the rocks, in which operation they were assisted by great numbers of the natives, who had come down to the water's edge to witness the uncommon sight.

The raft being by this time completed, was launched overboard, and four men got upon it to assist the ladies; but they had scarcely taken their station before the hawser, which was fastened around it, snapped in two, by



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which accident it was upset, and three of the men drowned. In this dilemma, every one began to think of the best means of saving himself. The yawl and jolly-boat had already been dashed to pieces by the violence of the surf; so that the only means of preservation now left was by the hawser made fast to the rocks, hand over hand. Several got safe on shore in this manner, while others, to the number of fifteen, perished in the difficult attempt.

The ship soon separated just before the main-mast. The wind, at the same time, providentially shifted to the old quarter, and blew directly to the land; a circumstance which contributed greatly to the preservation of those on board, who all got on the poop, as being nearest to the shore. The wind and surges now impelling them, that part of the wreck on which the people were rent asunder fore and aft, the deck splitting in two. In this distress they crowded upon the starboard quarter, which soon floated into shoal water, the other parts of the wreck breaking off those heavy seas which would otherwise have engulfed or dashed them to pieces. Through this fortunate incident, all on board, even the ladies and children, got safe on shore, except the cook's mate, a black, who, being drunk, could not be prevailed upon to leave the wreck.

Before this arduous business was well effected night came on, and the natives having retired, several fires were lighted with fuel from the wreck, and the whole company supped on such provisions as they picked up on the shore. Two tents were formed of sails that had drifted to the shore, and in these the ladies were left to repose, while the men wandered about in search of such articles as might be of service.

On the morning of the 5th, the natives returned, and, without ceremony, carried off whatever suited their fancy. This conduct excited a thousand apprehensions, particularly in the minds of the females, for their personal safety; but observing that the savages contented themselves with plunder, their fears were somewhat allayed.

The next day was employed in collecting together all

the articles that might be useful in their journey to the Cape, to which they imprudently resolved to direct their course; a resolution which involved them in complicated misery, and which can be justified by no wise principle. From the wreck they might easily have built a vessel capable of containing them all, and by coasting along, they might have reached the nearest of the Dutch settlements with half the danger or risk to which they were then exposing themselves. Distress, however, sometimes deprives men of all presence of mind; so the crew of the *Grosvenor*, having just escaped the dangers of the sea, appear to have considered land as the most desirable alternative, without reflecting on the almost insuperable obstacles that lay in their way.

On examining their stores, they found themselves in possession of two casks of flour and a tub of pork, that had been washed on the beach, and some arrack, which the captain prudently ordered to be staved, lest the natives should get at it, and by intoxication increase their natural ferocity.

Captain Coxson now called together the survivors, and having divided the provisions among them, asked if they consented to his continuing in the command, to which they unanimously agreed. He then informed them, that from the best calculation he could make, he was in hopes of being able to reach some of the Dutch settlements in fifteen or sixteen days. In this calculation the captain was probably not much mistaken. Subsequent observations prove that the *Grosvenor* must have been wrecked between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth degrees of south latitude; and as the Dutch colonies extend beyond the thirty-first degree, they might have accomplished the journey within the time specified, had not rivers intervened and retarded their progress.

Every thing being arranged, they set out on their journey on the seventh, leaving behind only an old East-India soldier, who, being lame, preferred trusting himself to the natives till some more favorable opportunity of getting away should present itself; adding, that he might as well die with them as end his life on the way with pain and hunger.

As they moved forward they were followed by some of the natives, while others remained at the wreck. Those who accompanied them plundered them, from time to time, of whatever they liked, and sometimes threw stones at them. After proceeding a few miles they were met by a party of about thirty of the natives, whose hair was fastened up in a comical form, and their faces painted red. Among these was a man who spoke Dutch, who, it afterwards appeared, was a runaway slave from the Cape, on account of some crimes, and was named Trout. When this man came up to the English he inquired who they were, and whither they were going. Finding by their answers that they had been cast away, he informed them, that their intended journey to the Cape would be attended with unspeakable difficulties from the natives, the wild beasts, and the nature of the country through which they would have to pass.

Though this did not contribute to raise their spirits they tried to engage him as a guide, but no arguments could prevail upon him to comply with their wishes. Finding all their solicitations fruitless, they pursued their journey for four or five days, during which they were constantly surrounded by the natives, who took from them whatever they pleased, but invariably retired on the approach of night.

As they proceeded they saw many villages, which they carefully avoided, that they might be less exposed to the insults of the natives. At length they came to a deep gully, where they were met by three Caffres, armed with lances, which they held several times to the captain's throat. Irritated beyond all patience by their conduct, he wrenched one of the lances from their hands and broke it. Of this the natives seemed to take no notice, and went away; but the next day, on coming to a large village, they there found the three men, with three or four hundred of their countrymen, all armed with lances and targets. As the English advanced they were stopped by these people, who began to pilfer and insult them, and at last fell upon and beat them.

Conceiving that it was the intention of the natives to

kill them, they formed a resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity. Accordingly, placing the women, the children, and the sick at some distance, the remainder, to the number of eighty or ninety, engaged their opponents in a kind of running fight for upwards of two hours, when our countrymen, gaining an eminence, where they could not be surrounded, a kind of parley took place. In this unfortunate encounter many were wounded on both sides, but none killed. After a pacification had taken place, the English cut the buttons from their coats, and presented them to the natives, upon which they went away and returned no more.

The following night they were terrified with the noise of wild beasts, so that the men were obliged to keep watch to prevent their too near approach. What a dreadful situation, especially for females of delicate habits, and so lately possessing all the luxuries that eastern refinement could afford!

When morning arrived they were again joined by Trout, who had been on board the wreck, and had loaded himself with various articles of iron and copper, which he was carrying to his habitation. He cautioned them against making any resistance in future, for as they were not furnished with any weapons of defence, opposition would only tend to irritate the natives and increase obstructions. With this advice he left them.

Having made some progress during the day, they agreed to pass the night near a deep gully, but were so disturbed by the howlings of wild beasts that they could get but little sleep. Though a large fire was kept up to intimidate these unwelcome visitors, they came so near as to occasion a general alarm.

The next day, as they were advancing, a party of natives came down upon them, and plundered them, among other things, of their tinder-box, flint, and steel, which proved an irreparable loss. They were now obliged to carry with them a firebrand by turns, the natives following them until it was almost dark. At length they came to a small river, where they determined to stop during the night. Before the natives retired they be-

came more insolent than ever, robbing the gentlemen of their watches, and the ladies of the diamonds which they had secreted in their hair. Opposition was in vain; the attempt to resist these outrages being productive of fresh insults, and even blows.

The following day they crossed the river. Here their provisions being nearly expended, and the delay and fatigue occasioned by travelling with the women and children being very great, the sailors began to murmur, and each seemed resolved to shift for himself. Accordingly the captain, with Mr. Logie, the first mate, and his wife, the third mate, colonel James and lady, Mr. and Mrs. Hosea, Mr. Newman, a passenger, the purser, the surgeon, and five of the children, agreed to keep together, and travel as before; many of the sailors were also prevailed upon to attend them, by the liberal promises of the passengers.

On the other hand, Mr. Shaw, the second mate, Mr. Trotter, the fourth, Mr. Harris, the fifth, captain Talbot, Messrs. Williams and Taylor, M. D'Espinetto, several other gentlemen, and their servants, together with a number of the seamen, in all forty-three persons, among whom was Hynes, from whom much information was afterwards obtained, resolved to hasten forward. A young gentleman of the name of Law, seven or eight years of age, crying after one of the passengers, they agreed to take him with them, and to carry him by turns when tired.

This separation was equally fatal, cruel, and impolitic; however, the second mate's party having been stopped by a river, they once more joined with great satisfaction, and travelled in company the whole of that day and part of the next.

They now arrived at a large village, where they found Trout, who introduced his wife and child to them, and begged a piece of pork. He informed them that this was his residence, and repeated his former declaration, that the natives would not suffer him to depart, even if he were inclined to return to his own country. He, however, communicated various articles of information

relative to their journey, for which they made due acknowledgments; but it is to be lamented that he could not be induced to extend his services, or rather that his crimes and character rendered him dangerous to be trusted, and fearful of trusting himself among Christians.

During their conversation with Trout, the natives surrounded them in numbers, and continued to follow them till dusk. The two companies passed the night together, but that distress, which ought to have been the bond of unity, was unfortunately perverted into an occasion for disaffection and complaint.

Their provisions running very short, a party went down to the sea-side to seek for shell-fish on the rocks, and found a considerable quantity of oysters, muscles, and limpets. These were divided among the women, the children, and the sick; for the tide happening to come in before they had collected a sufficient stock, some of the wretched troop were obliged to put up with a very scanty allowance. After a repast which rather excited than gratified their appetites, they continued their march, and about noon reached a small village, where an old man approached them, armed with a lance, which he levelled, making at the same time a noise somewhat resembling the report of a musket. From this circumstance, it is probable, he was acquainted with the use of fire-arms, and apprehended they would kill his cattle, for he immediately drove his herd into the kraall; an inclosure, where they are always secured upon the appearance of danger, and during the night. The old man took no farther notice of the English, but they were followed by some of the other inhabitants of the village, who behaved extremely ill.

The final separation now took place; they parted to meet no more. In adopting this resolution they appear to have been influenced by motives which had, at least, the specious appearance of reason. They conceived, that by pursuing different routes, and travelling in small parties, they should be less the object of jealousy to the natives, and could the more easily procure subsistence.

To counterbalance these advantages, however, they lost that unity of action, that systematic direction, which a prudent superior can communicate to those under his care; and by rejecting established authority, they soon split into parties, guided only by caprice, and swayed by temporary views. After all, they did not part without evincing those emotions so honorable to human nature: their misfortunes had, in some measure, levelled distinctions, and the services of the lowest were regarded as tokens of friendship, not expressions of duty.

From this period the fate of the captain, and his associates, is almost wholly unknown. But imagination cannot form a scene of deeper distress than what the delicate and tender sex, and the innocent children, must have experienced. From the accounts of some of the party who survived their distresses, and subsequent inquiries, it is probable, that the hand of death soon released them from their accumulated ills; though the public mind was long harassed with the belief that a few had been doomed to worse than death among the natives.

The separation being decided upon, the party which had attached itself to the second mate travelled till it was quite dark, when, arriving at a convenient spot, they kindled a fire and reposed for the night.

Next day they proceeded, as they conjectured, thirty miles; and though they saw great numbers of the natives they received from them not the least molestation. Towards the close of the day they reached an extensive wood, and being fearful of entering it, lest they might lose their way, they spent a restless night on its verge, being terribly alarmed by the howlings of wild beasts.

They continued their route the following day till noon, without any other food than wild sorrel and such berries as they observed the birds to peck at. None of the natives made their appearance. The wanderers, having reached a point of the rocks, found some shell-fish, and after refreshing themselves they advanced till they came to the banks of a large river, where they reposed.

Next morning, finding the river very broad and deep,

and several of the company being unable to swim, they resolved to follow its windings, and seek some place where it was fordable. In their way they passed many villages, the inhabitants of which were too much alarmed to yield them any assistance. Pursuing the course of the river a considerable way, and not finding it become narrower, they determined to construct catamarans, a kind of raft, in order to cross it. This being effected, with such materials as they found on the banks, those who could not swim were placed upon the float, which being impelled by the others, they all crossed it in safety, though the river was computed to be not less than two miles over.

It was now three days since they had left the sea, and during that period they had scarcely taken any nourishment but water and a little wild sorrel. They therefore again directed their course to the shore, where they were fortunate enough to find abundance of shell-fish, which afforded them a very seasonable refreshment.

After following the trendings of the coast for three or four days, during which the natives suffered them to pass without molestation, penetrating a pathless wood, where, perhaps, no human being ever trod, uncertain which way to proceed, incommoded by the heat, and exhausted by the fatigues of their march, they were almost ready to sink, when they reached the summit of a hill. Here they rested, and had the satisfaction to see a spacious plain before them, through which a fine stream meandered. As the wild beasts, however, were accustomed, in their nocturnal prowlings, to resort to this place for water, the situation of the travellers was perilous, and subject to continual alarms.

In the morning one of the party ascended a lofty tree to observe the trendings of the coast, after which they resumed their course, and entered another wood just as the night set in. Having passed it by paths which the wild beasts alone had made, they again reached the sea-coast. Here they made fires, which, after the fatigues they had undergone, was a toilsome business, and threw into them the oysters they had collected, to make them

open, as they had not a single knife remaining among them. On this spot they reposed, but found no water.

Next day, the wanderers, in the course of their journey, had the good fortune to discover a dead whale, which sight in their present situation afforded them no little satisfaction. The want of a knife to cut it up prevented them from taking full advantage of this accidental supply; some of them, though in the extremity of hunger, nauseated this food: while others, making a fire on the carcass, dug out the part thus roasted, with oyster-shells, and made a hearty meal.

A fine, level country now presented itself, the sight of which caused them to believe that their fatigues were near a termination, and that they had reached the northernmost part of the Dutch colonies. Here new dissensions arose, some advising that they should penetrate inland, while others persevered in the original plan of keeping in the vicinity of the sea-coast.

After many disputes another division of the party took place. Mr. Shaw, the fourth mate, Mr. Harris, the fifth, Messrs. Williams and Taylor, captain Talbot, and seamen, to the number of twenty-two persons, among whom was Hynes, the reporter, resolved to proceed inland. The carpenter, the ship's steward, M. D'Espinet, M. Olivier, with about twenty-four seamen, continued to follow the shore.

The party which took the interior proceeded for three days through a very pleasant country, where they saw a great number of deserted kraals. During this time they had nothing to subsist on but a few oysters, which they carried with them, and some berries and wild sorrel gathered on the way. The effects of hunger soon compelled them to return to the coast, where, as usual, they found a supply of shell-fish. As they were proceeding up a steep hill, soon after their separation, captain Talbot complained of great lassitude, and repeatedly sat down to rest himself. The company several times indulged him by doing the same; but perceiving that he was quite exhausted, they went on, leaving him and his faithful servant, Blair, sitting beside each other, and neither of them was heard of any more.

Having reposed near the shore, the next day, about noon, they arrived at a small river, where they found two of the carpenter's party, who, being unable to swim, had been left behind. The joy of these poor creatures, at the sight of their comrades, was excessive. They were preserved since they had been in this place almost by a miracle, for while they were gathering shell-fish on the beach their fire went out, so that it was wonderful how they escaped being devoured by the wild beasts.

They were with difficulty got over the river, and travelling on for four days more the party came to another river, of such breadth that none of them would attempt to pass it. Having no alternative, they marched along its banks in hopes of finding a practicable passage, and arrived at a village, where the natives showed them the inside of a watch, which some of the carpenter's party had given for a little milk. Mr. Shaw conceiving that such a traffic would not be unacceptable, offered them the inside of his watch for a calf. To these terms they assented, but no sooner had they obtained possession of the price than they withheld the calf, which was immediately driven out of the village.

They continued their march along the river for several days, and passed through several villages without molestation from the inhabitants, till they came to a part where they conceived they should be able to cross. Having constructed a catamaran, as before, they all passed the river in safety, excepting the two who had been left behind by the carpenter's party, and who were afraid to venture. These unfortunate men were never seen afterwards.

Having gained the opposite bank, the company now proceeded, in an oblique direction, towards the shore, which they reached about noon on the third day. The next morning, at the ebbing of the tide, they procured some shell-fish, and having refreshed themselves, they pursued their journey.

In the course of that day's march they fell in with a party of the natives, belonging, as they imagined, to a new nation, by whom they were beaten, and extremely

all treated. To avoid their persecutions they concealed themselves in the woods till the savages had retired, when they assembled again and resumed their march. They had not proceeded far before they perceived the prints of human feet in the sand, from which they concluded that their late companions were before them. In the hope of rejoining them they traced their supposed footsteps for a while, but soon lost them among the rocks and grass.

After some time they came to another river, not very broad, but of considerable depth, which they passed in safety on a catamaran, as before. Nothing remarkable occurred during the three following days; but at the expiration of that period they overtook the carpenter's party, whose sufferings they found had been even more severe than their own. The carpenter himself had been poisoned by eating some kind of fruit, with the nature of which he was unacquainted: M. D'Espinette and M. Olivier, worn out with famine and fatigue, had been left to their fate. The unfortunate little traveller, Law, was still with them, and had hitherto supported every hardship in an astonishing manner.

Thus once more united they proceeded together till they came to a sandy beach, where they found a couple of planks with a spike nail in each. This convinced them that some European ships had been near the coast, or that they were in the vicinity of some settlement. The nails were prizes of the first consequence; these, being flattened between two stones, were shaped into something like knives, and, to men in their situation, were considered a most valuable acquisition.

In a short time they came to another river, on whose banks they accidentally found fresh water, which induced them to rest there for the night. In the morning they crossed the river, and on examining the sea-shore they found another dead whale, which diffused a general joy, till a large party of natives, armed with lances, came down upon them. These people, however, perceiving the deplorable condition of the travellers, conducted themselves in such a pacific manner as to dispel their

apprehensions. One of them even lent those who were employed upon the whale his lance, by means of which, and their two knives, they cut it into junks, and carried off a considerable quantity, till they could find wood and water to dress it.

On coming to a river the following day, another of the party drooped, and they were under the cruel necessity of leaving him behind. Having plenty of provisions, they now proceeded four days without intermission, and procuring a stick, they set about making a kind of calendar, by cutting a notch for every day; but, in crossing a river, this register of time was lost, and the care they had taken to compute their melancholy days was of no avail.

They soon reached a new river, where they halted for the night. The frequent impediments of rivers much retarded their progress. Few of these, however, are of very great magnitude at any distance from the sea; but as the travellers derived all their subsistence from the watery element, they were obliged to submit to the inconvenience of passing them in general where the tide flowed. This will account for difficulties, from which, had it been practicable, a more inland course would have exempted them.

As the weather was very unfavorable next morning, some of the company were afraid to cross the river, upon which Hynes, and about ten more, being impatient to proceed, swam across, leaving the rest, among whom was master Law, behind them. Having gained the opposite shore, they proceeded till they came to a place where they met with shell-fish, wood, and water. Here they halted two days, in expectation of the arrival of the others; but as it still blew fresh, they concluded that their more timorous companions had not ventured to cross the river; therefore thinking it in vain to wait any longer, they went forward.

They had not travelled many hours before they had the good fortune to discover a dead seal on the beach. One of the knives being in possession of this party, they cut up their prey, dressed part of the flesh on the spot, and carried the rest with them.

The next morning the party left behind overtook them. It was now conducted by the ship's steward, and in the interval from the recent separation it appeared that they had suffered extremely from the natives, from hunger, and fatigue, and that five of them were no more. Thus these unfortunate men were rapidly losing some of their body; yet the reflection of their forlorn condition did not rouse them to the good effects of unanimity, which alone, had it been either a permanent principle, or enforced by an authority to which they ought to have submitted, might have saved them many distresses, and would have tended to the preservation of numbers. Concord is always strength; the contrary, even in the happiest circumstances, is weakness and ruin.

Having shared the remainder of the seal among them, and taken some repose, they again proceeded in one body, and after some time came to a lofty mountain, which it was necessary to cross, or go round the bluff point of a rock on which the surf beat with great violence. The latter appearing to be much the shortest passage, they chose it, but had reason to repent their determination, as they had a miraculous escape with their lives. Some of them not only lost their provisions, but their firebrands, which they had hitherto carefully carried with them, were extinguished by the waves.

Dispirited by this essential loss, which was their chief protection from the wild beasts, they felt the misery of their situation with aggravated force, and an additional gloom clouded their future prospects. Marching along in this disconsolate mood, they fell in with some female natives, who immediately fled. When the travellers came up to the spot where these women had been first descried, they had the satisfaction to find that the fire on which they had been dressing muscles was not extinguished. With joy they lighted their brands, and after a few hours' repose pursued their course.

Next day they arrived at a village, where the natives offered to barter a young bullock with them. The inside of a watch, some buttons, and other trifles, were offered and readily accepted in exchange; the beast be-

ing delivered up, was despatched by the lance of one of the natives. The Caffres were pleased to receive back the entrails, and the carcass being divided in the most impartial manner, our people took up their abode for that night near the village, and the next morning passed another river on a catamaran.

The bullock was the only sustenance they had hitherto received from the natives, by barter or favor, excepting that the women sometimes gave the poor child who accompanied them some milk. Among the most barbarous nations, the females, to the honor of their sex, are always found to be comparatively humane, and never was there a more just object of commiseration than master Law. Hitherto he had got on tolerably well, through the benevolent attention of his companions. He walked when able, and when tired they carried him in turn without a murmur. None ever obtained any food without allowing him a share. When the rest were collecting shell-fish he was left to watch the fire, and on their return he participated in the spoils.

They now entered a sandy desert, which they were ten days in passing. In this desolate tract they had many rivers to pass; and had it not been for the supply of food they carried with them, they must all have perished. However, they had wood in abundance, seldom failed to find water by digging in the sand, and being safe from the apprehensions of the natives, this appears to have been the most pleasant part of their journey.

Having crossed the desert, they entered the territories of a new nation, by whom they were sometimes maltreated, and at others were suffered to pass without molestation. Being now on the borders of the ocean, they fell in with a party of the natives, who, by signs, advised them to go inland; and complying with their directions, they soon arrived at a village, where they found only women and children. The women brought out a little milk, which they gave to master Law. It was contained in a small basket, curiously formed of rushes, and so compact as to hold any kind of liquid. Here they had an opportunity of examining several huts, and

observed the mode in which the natives churn their butter. The milk is put into a leather bag, which is suspended in the middle of the tent, and pushed backward and forward by two persons, till the butter arrives at a proper consistence. When thus prepared, they mix it with soot, and anoint themselves with the composition, which proves a defence against the intense heat of the climate, and renders their limbs uncommonly pliant and active.

While the travellers were resting themselves, the men belonging to the village returned from hunting, each bearing upon the point of his spear a piece of deer's flesh. They formed a ring round the strangers, and seemed to gaze on them with admiration. After having satisfied their curiosity, they produced two bowls of milk, which they appeared willing to barter; but as our wretched countrymen had nothing to give in exchange, they drank it up themselves.

Scarcely had they finished their meal, when they all rose up, and in an instant went off into the woods, leaving the English under some apprehensions as to the cause of this sudden motion. In a short time, however, they returned with a deer, and though our people earnestly entreated to be permitted to partake of the spoil, the natives not only disregarded their solicitations, but likewise insisted on their quitting the kraal. This they were obliged to comply with, and after walking a few miles they lay down to rest.

For several days they pursued their journey without any remarkable occurrence. They frequently fell in with the natives, who had great numbers of oxen, but they would part with nothing without a return, which was not in the power of the travellers to make. They had, however, the negative satisfaction of not being annoyed in their progress. They now came to another river, where they saw three or four huts, containing only women and children. The flesh of sea-cows and sea-lions was hanging up to dry, of which the women gave the travellers a part. They slept that night at a small distance from these huts.

Next morning, Hynes and nine others swam across the river, but the rest were too timorous to make the attempt. Those who had crossed the river soon afterwards had the good fortune to observe a seal asleep, just at high-water mark, and having cut off his retreat, they found means to kill him. Having divided the flesh, they travelled four or five days, occasionally falling in with the natives, who, upon the whole, behaved with tolerable forbearance.

They now arrived at another river, which they were obliged to cross, and proceeding on their route, the next day found a whale; and thus being well supplied with provisions they resolved to halt for their companions; but after waiting in vain two days they proceeded without them. They afterwards found that their companions had taken a more inland route, and had got before them. Having, therefore, cut up as much of the whale as they could carry, and being much refreshed, they proceeded with alacrity, having now no necessity to loiter in quest of food.

Thus they travelled for more than a week, and in their way discovered some pieces of rags, which satisfied them that their late associates had got the start of them. They now entered an extensive sandy desert, and finding, towards the close of the first day, but little prospect of obtaining either wood or water, they were much disheartened. To their joy, however, at the entrance of a deep gully they saw the following words traced on the sand: *Tu'n in here and you will find plenty of wood and water.* This cheered them like a revelation from heaven, and on entering the gully they found the notification verified, and the remains of several fires, which assured them that their late companions had reposed in the same place.

They proceeded several days, proportionably exhausted with fatigue as they advanced, but without any memorable occurrence. They now came to a bluff point of a rock, which projected so far into the sea as to obstruct their progress, so that they were obliged to direct their course more inland. To add to their distress, their provisions were again exhausted, when, arriving at a

large pond, they luckily found a number of land-crabs, snails, and some sorrel in the vicinity, and on these they made a satisfactory meal.

As soon as it dawned they resumed their journey, and entering a wood, they observed many of the trees torn up by the roots. While they were lost in amazement at this phenomenon, to their terror and astonishment thirty or forty large elephants started up out of the long grass, with which the ground was covered. The travellers stood some moments in suspense, whether they would retreat or advance; but, by taking a circuitous course, they passed these enormous creatures without any injury. The grass in which they lay was not less than eight or nine feet high. This may appear strange to those who are not acquainted with the luxuriant vegetation of tropical climates, but other travellers, of unquestionable veracity, have made the same remarks on Africa.

Having reached the sea-shore that night, our travellers were miserably disappointed by the state of the tide, which deprived them of their usual supplies of shell-fish. To such extremities were they, in consequence, reduced, that some of them, who had made shoes of the hide of the bullock obtained in barter from the natives, singed off the hair, broiled and eat them. This unsavory dish they rendered as palatable as possible by means of some wild celery they found on the spot, and the whole party partook of it.

At low water they went as usual to the rocks to procure shell-fish; and as they proceeded they often perceived evident traces of that division of their party which had got the start of them. In two days' time they fell in with a hunting party of the natives, who offered no molestation to our people as they passed, and for several days they everywhere behaved with the same forbearance.

After passing two rivers, and finding no fresh water near them, they entered a sterile country, where the natives appeared to have nothing to subsist on but what they derived from hunting and fishing. What then

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must have been the situation of our travellers! They had not a drop of water for several days; and a few berries which they occasionally picked up were the only alleviation of their burning thirst. However, they soon reached Caffraria, properly so called, which they found to be a fine and populous country.

During their march through this territory our travellers were absolutely starving in the midst of plenty. They saw abundance of cattle, but so tenacious were the natives of their property, that they would not part with any thing gratuitously, and our people had nothing to give in barter. So apprehensive were the Caffres, lest these poor vagrants might commit depredations, that they constantly secured their cattle as they approached, and even used violence to keep them at a distance. So true it is that in all countries poverty is considered rather as a crime than a misfortune, and that he who has nothing to bestow is immediately suspected of an intention to take away.

But the Caffres have been characterized as a humane and inoffensive people. How are we then to reconcile this description with the conduct they displayed to our countrymen? May not the idea, that they were Dutchmen, solve the difficulty? Between the Caffres and the Dutch colonists an inveterate enmity subsisted at that period. The Caffres had been treated with unparalleled cruelty and oppression by the white people, with whom they were conversant; all white people were, therefore, probably regarded as enemies. Among uncivilized nations, wherever any intercourse has been established with Europeans, the characters of the latter, in general, have been determined from the conduct of a worthless few. Thus, as on other important occasions, many suffer for the vices of individuals.

Our travellers, everywhere repelled, or regarded with apprehension, at length came to a river, and having crossed it, were met by a party of the natives, one of whom had adorned his hair with a piece of a silver buckle, which was known to have belonged to the ship's cook. It seems the cook, who set a particular value up-

on his buckles, had covered them with bits of cloth, to conceal them from the natives; but at length hunger had compelled him to break them up, in order to barter them for food: but no sooner was the price deposited than the natives broke their engagement, as had been their general practice, except in one solitary instance, and drove the claimants away.

Hynes and his party were roughly handled by the natives they had fallen in with. To avoid their persecution, they travelled till late at night, and after reposing for a few hours, they recommenced their journey before it was light, that they might escape a repetition of their ill treatment.

Next day, about noon, they reached a spot where there was good water, and a probability of finding an abundance of shell-fish; here, being much fatigued, they determined to spend the night. While in this situation they were overtaken by a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, and the rain poured down in such torrents that they were obliged to hold up their canvass frocks over the fire to save it from being extinguished. Next day, at low water, they found shell-fish, as usual, staid some time to dry their clothes, and then resumed their journey. Coming to a large village the inhabitants fell upon them with such fury, that several of them were wounded, in consequence of which, one man died soon afterwards. Hynes received a wound in his leg from a lance, and being knocked down, was left senseless on the spot by his companions, who supposed him to be dead. However, in a few hours, to their great joy, he rejoined his countrymen, who had despaired of ever seeing him again.

From this time they lost sight of the habitations of the natives, and entered a sandy desert, where it was with the utmost difficulty they could procure any sustenance. At intervals, indeed, they experienced the usual bounty of the sea, and having collected as many shell-fish as possible, they opened them in the fire, and taking out the animal, left the shells, which greatly diminished the labor of carriage.

Having passed the desert, they arrived at a large river, which, as they afterwards learned from the Dutch, is called Bosjesman's river. Here they found Thomas Lewis, one of the party which had gone before them, who, having been taken ill, was abandoned to his fate. He informed them that he had travelled inland and seen many huts, at one of which he obtained a little milk, and at another was beaten away. He added, that having reached the place where he now was, he found himself too weak to cross the river, and was, therefore, determined to return to the nearest kraal, indifferent as to his reception or his life. In vain his companions strove to overcome this determination. They flattered him with the hope of yet being able to reach the Cape, but their encouragement was ineffectual. Both his body and mind were broken down; he had drained the cup of affliction to the dregs; despair had laid her iron hand upon him, and sealed him for her own. In spite of all their entreaties he went back to the natives, and once more had the good fortune to receive assistance, when he could least of all expect it, and in such a shape as proved effectual to his preservation. But we are anticipating events.

On exploring the sea-coast, our people, to their great joy, discovered another whale, and having cut the flesh into junks, took with them as much of it as they were able to carry. Again losing sight of the natives and their huts, they were kept in perpetual alarm by the wild beasts, which were here more numerous than in any part of the country through which they had hitherto passed.

On the fourth day, after passing the river, they overtook the ship's steward and master Law, who still survived inexpressible hardships. From them they learned that the cooper had been buried the preceding evening in the sand; but when Hynes and the steward went to take a farewell view of the spot, they found, to their surprise and horror, that the body had been carried off by some carnivorous animal, which had evidently dragged it to a considerable distance.

Hynes' party presented the steward and child with some of the flesh of the whale, by which they were much refreshed; and for eight or ten days more they all proceeded in company. At length they came to a point of rocks, and as the whale was by this time wholly consumed, they went round the edge in search of such sustenance as the sea might afford. This took up so much time that they were obliged to sleep on the rock, where they could procure no water but what was very brackish. In the morning the steward and child were both taken ill, and being unable to proceed, the party agreed to halt till the next day. The extreme coldness of the rock on which they had slept produced a sensible effect on them all: the steward and child still continued very ill. Their companions, therefore, agreed to wait another day, when, if no favorable turn took place, they would be under the painful necessity of abandoning them to their fate. But their humanity was not put to this severe test, for in the course of the following night this poor child resigned his breath, and ceased any longer to share their fatigues and sorrows. They had left him, as they supposed, asleep, near the fire round which they had all rested during the night; but when they had made their arrangements for breakfast, and wished to call him to participate, they found that his soul had taken its flight to another world.

Forgetting their own misery they sensibly felt for the loss of this tender youth, and the affliction of the steward in particular was inexpressible. This child had been the object of his fondest care, during a long and perilous journey, and it was with the utmost difficulty that his companions could tear him from the spot.

They had not proceeded far before one of the party asked for a shell of water, which being given him, he solicited a second, and as soon as he had drunk it, lay down and instantly expired. So much were they habituated to scenes of distress, that, by this time, death had ceased to be regarded as shocking; it was even considered by them as a consummation rather to be wished for than dreaded. They left the poor man where he drop-

ped, and had not advanced far, when another complained of extreme weakness, and sat down upon the sand by the sea-side. Him too they left, compelled by severe necessity, in order to seek for wood and water, promising, if they were successful, to return to assist him.

Having sought in vain for a comfortable resting-place for the night, they were all obliged to repose on the sands. Recollecting the situation of their comrade, one of the party went back to the spot where he had been left, but the unhappy man was not to be found; and as he had nothing to shelter or protect him, it is more than probable that he was carried off by wild beasts.

With the first approach of day they resumed their journey, but their situation was now more deplorable than ever. Having had no water since the middle of the preceding day, they suffered exceedingly from thirst, the glands of their throats and their mouths were much swollen; and in the extremity of thirst they were induced to swallow their own urine.

This was the crisis of calamity. The misery they now underwent was too shocking to relate. Having existed for two days without food or water, they were reduced to such an extremity that when any of them could not furnish himself with a draught of urine, he would borrow a shell full of his more fortunate companion till he was able to repay it. The steward, whose benevolence ought to immortalize his memory, now followed his little favorite to another world. In short, to such a state of wretchedness were they now reduced, that death was stripped of all its terrors.

Next morning two more of the party were reduced to a very languid state; one of them, unable to proceed a step farther, lay down, and his companions, incapable of affording him any assistance, took an affectionate farewell, and left him to expire.

Towards evening they reached a deep gully, which they entered, in the hope of meeting with fresh water. Here they found another of the Grosvenor's crew lying dead, with his right hand cut off at the wrist. A circumstance so singular could not fail to attract the notice

of his companions, especially as they recollected that it had been the common asseveration of the deceased,—*May the devil cut my right arm off if it be not true!* It had a sensible effect upon his comrades for a time, as they superstitiously imagined that Providence had interfered, by a miracle, to show its indignation against his profaneness. One of the company, who had lost his own clothes in crossing a river, took the opportunity of supplying himself by stripping the dead man, and then they proceeded till night, without any other sustenance than what their own water afforded them.

Next day brought no alleviation of their miseries. Necessity impelled them to proceed, though hope scarcely darted a ray through the gloom of their prospects. The whole party was, at last, reduced to three persons, Hynes, Evans, and Wormington, and these could hope to survive their companions only a very few days. Their faculties rapidly declined, they could scarcely hear or see, and a vertical sun darted its beams so intensely upon them, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could proceed.

Their misery, from thirst, now became so intolerable, that Wormington earnestly importuned his companions to determine by lot which of them should die, in order that the others might be preserved by drinking his blood. Hynes, though almost childish, was shocked at the proposal; his tears flowed abundantly, and he declared, that as long as he was able to walk he could not think of casting lots; but that, if he should be obliged to drop, they might then use him as they pleased. Upon this, Wormington, shaking hands with Hynes and Evans, suffered them to proceed without him.

Every hour now seemed to throw a deeper gloom over their fate; nature could support no more. Hynes and Evans, however, made another effort to advance, without even indulging a hope of the possibility of relief. They this day saw something before them which had the appearance of large birds, but their surprise may be conceived, when upon a nearer approach they discovered them to be men. Nearly blind and idiots, they did not

at first recollect their newly found companions, but after some time they recognised in them four of the steward's party from which they had been separated. One of them, a boy, named Price, advanced to meet them, and gave them the pleasing information, that his associates had fresh water in their possession. This inspired them with new life, and reciprocal inquiries were made relative to the fate of their lost companions. The three men whom Hynes and his companion had overtaken were named Berney, Leary, and De Lasso, who hearing that Wormington was left behind, the two latter went in search of him, charging those who remained not to suffer Hynes and Evans to drink too freely of the water, as several had expired from the eagerness with which they swallowed that fluid after long abstinence.

Wormington was recovered by the humanity of those who went in search of him, and a painful detail of sufferings succeeded. It appeared that the captain's steward had been buried in the sand of the last desert over which they passed, and that the survivors were reduced to such extremity, that after his interment two of the party were sent back to cut off his flesh for their immediate support; but while proceeding upon this horrid errand, they had the good fortune to discover a young seal, newly driven on shore, and fresh bleeding, which proved a most seasonable relief. They farther stated, that they had obtained shell-fish in the sand, when none were to be seen upon it, by observing the manner in which the birds scratched for them. Without this discovery they must inevitably have perished.

Hynes and Evans, recounting their adventures to the party they had joined, among other circumstances mentioned that the ship's steward, whom they had left to expire on the road, had on very decent clothes. This tempted one of them to propose to Evans, who was by this time pretty well recovered, to go back to the spot and strip the body, but the steward could not be found, and they concluded that the wild beasts had anticipated their design. In the evening Evans returned, but without his companion, who had been so indolent and ad-

vanced with such a slow pace, that the former was obliged to leave him behind. As he was never seen afterwards, no doubt can be entertained but that he likewise fell a victim to the ravenous beasts. These were so numerous as to be seen in troops of twenty or more; and it was the common and effectual practice of the travellers to shout as loud as possible to drive away those formidable animals.

Having now arrived at a favorable spot for water and shell-fish, they employed two days in collecting provisions for their future march, and in refreshing themselves. Rest and food had an astonishing effect in restoring not only the powers of the body, but of the mind; and in a short time they thought themselves qualified to encounter new fatigues.

With extreme difficulty and danger they passed a large river, supposed to be the Sontag, on a catamaran, and having reached the opposite shore, they looked back with terror and amazement on their fortunate escape from being driven out to sea by the rapidity of the stream. Here they likewise found a kind of shell-fish which buries itself in the sand, and which increased their supplies.

The united party, consisting of six persons, pursued their route over a desert country, where neither hut nor native was to be seen, and in six days reached the Schwartz river, as they afterwards learned, on the banks of which they took up their abode for the night.

The country, at length, began to assume a fertile and cultivated appearance, and some huts appeared at a distance from the shore. While contemplating with pleasure this change of prospect, the grass near them took fire, and spread with great rapidity. They all used every effort to extinguish it, lest this involuntary mischief should provoke the resentment of the natives, or the blaze call them to the spot.

Next morning they swam over the river in safety, and soon discovered another dead whale lying on the seashore. Thus supplied with food they purposed resting here a few days, if they could have found fresh water,

but that necessary article being wanting, they cut up as much of the whale as they could carry, and proceeded on their route. In two hours they came to a thicket, where they met with water, and halted to rest.

Next morning four of the party went back to the whale for a larger supply, De Lasso and Price being left in charge of the fire. As Price was collecting fuel he perceived at a little distance two men with guns, and being intimidated at the sight, he returned hastily to the fire, whither the welcome intruders pursued him. These men belonged to a Dutch settlement in the neighborhood, and were in search of some strayed cattle. One of them, named John Battores, supposed to be a Portuguese, was able to converse with De Lasso, the Italian, so as to be understood; a circumstance as fortunate as it was little to be expected. Battores having learned the outline of their melancholy story, accompanied them to the whale, where their companions were employed in cutting away the flesh. Affected at the sight of these miserable objects, he desired them to throw away what they had been collecting, promising them better fare when they reached the habitation to which he belonged.

In vain shall we attempt to describe the sensations of the shipwrecked wanderers on receiving this intelligence, and that they were within four hundred miles of the Cape. The joy that instantly filled every bosom produced effects as various as extraordinary: one man laughed, another wept, and the third danced with transport.

On reaching the house of Mynheer Christopher Roostooff, to whom Battores was bailiff, they were treated with the kindest attention. The master, on being acquainted with their distress, immediately ordered bread and milk to be set before them; but acting rather on principles of humanity than prudence, he furnished them such a quantity that their weak stomachs were overloaded. After their meal, sacks were spread upon the ground for them to repose on.

It had been so long since they had known any thing

of the calculation of time, that they were unacquainted even with the name of the month; and they were given to understand, that the day of their deliverance was the twenty-ninth of November; so that one hundred and seventeen days had revolved their melancholy hours since they were shipwrecked; a period of suffering almost unparalleled, and during which they had often been miraculously preserved.

Next morning Mynheer Roostooff killed a sheep for the entertainment of his guests, and another Dutchman, of the name of Quin, came with a cart and six horses to convey them towards the Cape. The boy, Price, being lame, from the hardships he had undergone, was detained at Roostooff's house, who kindly undertook his cure, and promised to send him after the others when he had recovered. The rest of the party proceeded to Quin's house, where they were hospitably entertained four days.

From that time they were forwarded in carts, from one settlement to another, till they arrived at Swellendam, about one hundred miles from the Cape. Wherever they passed they experienced the humanity of the farmers, and their wants were relieved with a liberal hand.

At Swellendam they were detained till orders should be received from the governor at the Cape, in regard to their future destiny, Holland and Great Britain being at that time at war. At length two of the party were ordered to be forwarded to the Cape, in order to be examined, while the rest were to remain at Swellendam. Accordingly Wormington, and Leary proceeded to the Cape, where, after being strictly interrogated, they were sent on board a Dutch man-of-war lying in the bay, with orders that they should be set to work. While in this situation, Wormington having discovered that the boatswain was engaged in some fraudulent practices, imprudently threatened to give information, on which the boatswain, desiring him and his companion to step into a boat, conveyed them on board a Danish East Indiaman, just getting under way, and by this fortunate incident they first reached their native land.

But to return to the fate of the rest. Though the flames of war were raging between the two nations, the Dutch government, at the Cape, being informed of the particulars of the loss of the Grosvenor, with a humanity which does them infinite honor, despatched a large party in quest of the unhappy wanderers. This detachment consisted of one hundred Europeans, and three hundred Hottentots, attended by a great number of wagons, each drawn by eight bullocks. The command was given to captain Muller, with orders to proceed, if possible, to the wreck, and load with such articles as might be saved, and to endeavor to discover such of the sufferers as were still wandering about the country, or in the hands of the natives.

De Lasso and Evans accompanied this expedition as guides; but Hynes, being still very weak, was left at Swellendam. The party was well provided with such articles as were most likely to insure them a favorable reception from the natives, and procure the liberty of the unfortunate persons they might find in their way. They proceeded with spirit and alacrity, till the Caffres, in consequence of their antipathy to the colonists, interrupted the expedition. In their progress they found Thomas Lewis, who had been abandoned by his companions, as before mentioned, and William Hatterly, who was servant to the second mate, and had continued with that party till he alone survived. Thus the fate of one division was ascertained.

At other places on the road they met with seven lascars, and two black women, one of whom was servant to Mrs. Logie, and the other to Mrs. Hosea. From these women they learned, that soon after Hynes' party had left the captain and the ladies, they also took separate routes; the latter intending to join the lascars, but what became of them after this separation was unknown. They, indeed, saw the captain's coat on one of the natives, but whether he died or was killed could never be discovered.

After the enmity of the natives prevented the progress of the wagons, some of the party travelled forward fifteen

days on horseback, in the prosecution of their plan, but the Caffres still continuing to harass them, they were obliged to return, after an absence of about three months.

Captain Muller returned to Swellendam, with the three Englishmen, the seven lascars, and two black women, the boy, Price, and the two guides, De Lasso and Evans. The people of color were detained at Swellendam; but the English were forwarded to the Cape, where, after being examined by the governor, they were permitted to take their passage to Europe in a Danish ship, the captain of which promised to land them in England; but, excepting Price, who was set on shore at Weymouth, they were all carried to Copenhagen, from whence they at last found their way to England.

Such was the termination of the adventures of these unfortunate people; but the inquiry concerning the fate of the captain and his party was not dropped. Though it is probable that before the first Dutch expedition could have reached them they had all paid the debt of nature; rumors had been spread that several of the English were still in captivity among the natives, and these obtained such general belief, that M. Vailant, whose philanthropy equalled his genius and resolution, made another attempt to discover the reputed captives; but he could learn nothing decisive as to their situation or final fate.

The public mind, however, continued still to be agitated, and the interest which all nations took in the fate of the unhappy persons, particularly the women, some of whom it was reported had been seen, induced a second party of Dutch colonists, with the sanction of government, to make another effort to explore the country, and to reach the wreck.

These men, amply provided, set out on the twenty-fourth of August, 1793, from Kaffer Keyl's river, towards cape Natal, on the coast of which the Grosvenor was supposed to have been wrecked. Of this expedition we have a journal kept by Van Reenen, one of the party, and published by captain Riou. It would not be generally interesting to the reader to give the meagre details of distance travelled, and elephants killed; of danger

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encountered, and rivers crossed; we shall therefore confine ourselves to such incidents as appear to deserve notice, or are connected with the melancholy subject of our narrative.

After proceeding an immense way, on the third of November they arrived among the Hambonaas, a nation quite different from the Caffres. They have a yellow complexion, and their long, coarse hair is frizzled up in the form of a turban. Some of these people informed our adventurers, that, subject to them, there was a village of bastard Christians, descended from people shipwrecked on the coast, of whom three old women were still alive and married to a Hambonaa chief. This intelligence roused their curiosity, and they were fortunate enough to obtain an interview with the old women in question, who said they were sisters, but having been shipwrecked when children, they could not say to what nation they originally belonged. The Dutch adventurers offered to take them and their children back on their return, at which they seemed much pleased. It appears probable, that the reports which had been spread, in regard to some European women being among the natives, originated from this circumstance, and as the existence of any other white people in this quarter was neither known nor suspected, it was naturally concluded that they must have belonged to the Grosvenor.

The Dutch afterwards fell in with Trout, whose name has been mentioned in the preceding narrative. He at first engaged to conduct them to the spot where the Grosvenor was wrecked, and informed them that nothing was then to be seen, excepting some cannon, iron, ballast, and lead: adding, that all the unfortunate crew of that ship had perished, some by the hands of the natives and the rest of hunger.

Trout, who, it is to be feared, was guilty of much duplicity from the first, pretended that he was a freeman, and had sailed in an English ship from Malacca; but finding himself likely to be detected, and probably apprehensive of being carried back to the Cape, he cautiously avoided the Dutch in the sequel, and left them to find

their way to the wreck in the best manner they were able.

As they were proceeding to the spot, one of the party, named Houltshausen, unfortunately fell into a pit of burnt stakes, by which he was terribly wounded in the palm of one of his hands, which eventually produced a locked jaw, and terminated in his death. These pits are dug by the natives, and being covered over with branches of trees and grass, serve as snares for the elephants, which frequently fall into them, and are thus taken.

Several of the party, however, proceeded on horseback to the wreck, and found nothing more than what Trout had described remaining. It was plainly perceived that fires had been made in the vicinity, and on a rising ground, between two woods, was a pit, where things had been buried and dug out again. This likewise tallied with the information of Trout, who told them that all the articles collected from the wreck had been dispersed over the country, and that most of them had been carried to Rio de la Goa, to be sold. That place was represented to be about four days' journey from the scene of the catastrophe.

The natives in the neighborhood expressed great astonishment that the Dutch had been at such infinite pains to come in search of the unfortunate crew, and they all promised, that in case of any similar disaster they would protect such people as might be thrown upon the coast, if they could be assured of obtaining beads, copper, and iron, for their trouble, which was liberally promised by the Dutch.

These intrepid adventurers, who were now four hundred and thirty-seven leagues distant from the Cape, and two hundred twenty-six beyond any Christian habitation, finding that nothing farther was to be discovered relative to the wreck, or the fate of the persons who had reached the shore, determined to return, particularly as Houltshausen's illness increased.

On their way back they called at the bastard Christian village, and would have taken under their protection the three old women, who seemed desirous of living

among Christians, but they wished first to gather in their crops; adding, when that business was accomplished, their whole race, to the number of four hundred, would be happy to depart from their present settlement. Every indulgence was promised them in case they should be disposed to emigrate to the Cape. On seeing people of the same complexion as themselves they appeared to be exceedingly agitated.

On their homeward journey the Dutch shot many elephants and sea-cows; but on the first of December they met with a terrible accident, while employed in cutting up the sea-cows killed the preceding day. "As we were thus engaged, (says the journalist,) a large elephant made up to the wagons; we instantly pursued and attacked him, when, having received several shot, by which he twice fell, he crept into a very thick under-wood. Thinking we had killed him, Tjaart Vander Valdt, Lodewyk Prins, and Ignatus Mulder, advanced to the spot, when he rushed out furiously from the thicket, and catching hold of Prins with his trunk, trod him to death, driving one of his tusks through the body, and throwing it up into the air to the height of thirty feet.

"The others, perceiving that there was no possibility of escaping on horseback, dismounted, and crept into the thicket to hide themselves. The elephant seeing nothing in view but one of the horses, followed him for some time, and then turning about came back to the spot where the dead man was left. At this instant our whole party renewed the attack, and after he had received several more wounds, again escaped into the thickest part of the wood.

"We now supposed ourselves safe, but while we were digging a grave for our unfortunate companion, the elephant rushed out again, and drove us all from the place. Tjaart Vander Valdt got another shot at him; a joint attack being commenced, he began to stagger, and falling, the Hottentots despatched him as he lay on the ground."

The rest of their journey afforded little worth notice. In January, 1791, they reached their respective homes,

after surmounting incredible difficulties, in an expedition to which they were prompted solely by a principle of humanity, and the desire of relieving, if any remained alive, such of our countrymen as might be among the natives. No intelligence of this kind could, however, after the most diligent inquiries, be obtained. They were, indeed, informed that the ship's cook had been alive about two years before the period of their journey, but that he then caught the small-pox and died.

We cannot conclude this mournful narrative better than with the sensible reflections of captain Riou.

“Had the party (says he) that set out in search of these shipwrecked people, in 1783, prosecuted their journey with the same degree of zeal and resolution that Van Reenen's party manifested, it is possible they might have discovered and relieved some who have since perished. Yet, as they could not have arrived at the place of the wreck in less than six months after the disaster happened, there is no great probability for supposing, that after such a length of time had elapsed, any great number of the unfortunate sufferers could be remaining alive.

“But what we have most to regret is, that, perhaps, the failure of the endeavors of the unfortunate crew to save their lives was owing to their own misconduct. It is too often the case, that disorder and confusion are the consequences of extreme distress, and that despair, seizing on the unprincipled mind, hurries it on to a subversion of all good order and discipline: so that at the moment when the joint efforts of the whole are most necessary for the general good, each desponding, thoughtless member acts from the impulse of the moment, in whatever manner his tumultuous feelings may direct; and from an erroneous idea of self-interest, or, wonderful as it may appear, from a desire of gratifying a rebellious and turbulent spirit, at a time when it can be done with impunity, is always ready to overturn every plan that may be proposed by his superiors, and the considerate few that happen to be of the party.

“Such must have been, and such we are indeed told

was, the situation of the crew of the Grosvenor subsequent to their shipwreck.

“Though it may be said to be very easy to see errors when their consequences are apparent, it will not surely be too much to assert, that when this ship’s crew was once safely on shore, with the advantage of such articles as they could procure from the wreck, their situation, however deplorable, could not be considered as hopeless. For had a chosen body of ten or twenty men marched a few days to the northward, they must have fallen in with Rio de la Goa, where it seldom happens that there is not a French or Portuguese slave ship. But allowing captain Coxson was much out of his reckoning, and that he supposed himself much nearer to the Cape than he really was, they might then have existed on the sea-coast, in that climate, sheltered by huts, till ready to set out, and by preserving order and discipline, and conducting themselves properly in regard to the natives, they might gradually have proceeded in safety to the territories of the Dutch.

“Had the crew continued under the orders of their officers, either of those objects might have been accomplished, by men whose minds were not wholly resigned to despair; or they might have subsisted on what provision they could pick up from the wreck, together with what they could purchase from the natives, till a boat could have been constructed and sent to solicit assistance from the Cape.

“These reflections have been extended by considering the circumstances in which the shipwrecked people were placed; from all which it may fairly be concluded, that the greater part might have effected a return to their native land, had they been guided by any idea of the advantages of discipline and subordination.

“It is to be hoped, then, that the fatal consequences attending disorderly conduct on these calamitous occasions, will impress on the minds of seamen this incontrovertible truth, that their only hope of safety must depend upon obedience.”

LOSS OF THE EAST-INDIAMAN, THE
FATTYSALEM,

On the Coast of Coromandel, August 28th, 1761.

The following narrative of the loss of the *Fattysalem* is given in a letter from M. de Kearney, a captain in Lally's regiment, who was taken prisoner by the English, to the count D'Estaing, lieutenant-general, commanding the French troops in the East Indies, during the war of 1756.

Some time after your departure from India, (says M. de Kearney,) I was taken prisoner by the English, at the battle of Vandevachy, a small fort between Madras and Pondicherry. My conquerors treated me with the greatest generosity, and even did all in their power to save my effects. But I lost every thing I had taken with me for the campaign; the sepoy's plundered me without mercy. You are acquainted with that undisciplined militia: they do not comprehend that it is possible to treat as friends; that is, to spare as much as possible those who have been, and may again be, their enemies.

I slept one night in the English camp, and colonel Calliot paid me the greatest attention. The next day I obtained permission to go on my parole to Pondicherry, where I remained several months, and made every possible exertion to procure my exchange. When the place was invested by the English, I was summoned, together with the other prisoners of war, to repair to Madras. I accordingly went to that place, where I found almost two thirds of the officers of the king's army, taken on different occasions. I was, therefore, at Madras when the English, having made themselves masters of Pondicherry, resolved to send all the French officers to England. I was, in consequence, directed to hold myself in

readiness for embarking; lord Pigott, the governor of Madras, kindly permitted me to choose the way by which I wished to be conveyed to England. I chose that of Bengal, on account of the good accommodations which lord Pigott had provided me on board the Hawk, and I shall never forget the favors and civilities he conferred upon me. By this arrangement I hoped to alleviate the hardships and fatigues of my passage to Europe. The apprehensions arising from the prospect of such a long voyage, with upwards of fifty prisoners of war, of all descriptions, confined within a narrow compass, and suffering many inconveniences; but, above all, the necessity to which, as I was informed, we should be reduced, of living seven or eight months on salt provisions, though the company had given orders to the contrary, induced me to take this step, as the safest under such circumstances. It was, however, the cause of all my subsequent misfortunes.

The Hawk, in which I was to be conveyed to Europe, proceeded without me from Madras to Bengal, because I had not yet settled all my affairs. I was, therefore, ordered to prepare to join her by the first opportunity that should offer, and which could not be far distant in a season when vessels were sailing every week for the gulf.

The first ship that happened to depart was the Fattysalem, which had been built at Bombay, and had never been employed but in the India seas. She was intended to carry great part of the stores taken by the English, and near five hundred troops, which had been thought fit to send to Bengal, because, after the reduction of Pondicherry, they were not wanted on that coast.

In this unfortunate vessel I embarked on the 26th of August, 1761, and the same day set sail. On the 28th, between ten and eleven in the morning, the captain of the ship, in confidence, told major Gordon, the principal officer of the troops, that there were seven feet water in the hold, that, notwithstanding the exertions of the men, the water continued to gain upon them, and that the ship could not live above two hours longer.

When the people had been nearly two hours employed

lightening the vessel, by throwing every thing overboard, I kept a watchful eye upon the captain. I saw him speaking to the major, with an air of consternation, denoting the greatest misfortune. I advanced towards them and asked in a whisper, in English, what was the matter. Major Gordon with a tremulous voice repeated what he had just heard of the captain. Struck with the dreadful intelligence, but not deprived of the power of acting, I instantly formed my resolution. Cutting short all useless words, I only asked the captain if we might not save ourselves by taking possession of the boat which was laden with pigs, and in tow astern of the vessel. He replied, with the most dejected and discouraging look, that this expedient would only cause us to survive a few hours those we should leave on board; and he did not think this measure practicable among so many soldiers and sailors. This answer convinced me that the pusillanimous captain had no resource. I told him we would undertake the execution of the design, and that for his part he had only to observe two points, not to mention it to others, and to follow when he should see us in the fatal boat. He immediately left us. The major and I being left together, concerted our escape from the vessel, which we executed in less than two minutes. He descended from the deck by a private ladder into the great cabin, to inform the officers of his regiment, who might chance to be there, of our design, for the moments were too precious to go elsewhere to seek them. For my part, I called my servant, a trusty fellow, on whom I could depend. He had been a soldier in my company, and had likewise been taken prisoner; but I had obtained his liberty of lord Pigott. I told him in few words our intention. I immediately shut the door, that the people might not see us from the fore-castle. As the ship, though very large, had no gallery, I directed my servant to go out at one of the windows of the cabin, and by means of a rope he let himself down into the boat. I had previously furnished him with my sword and a hatchet, ordering him to despatch without mercy all that attempted to get into the boat,

excepting they came from the spot where I was stationed to conduct our descent. Every thing was executed in the best manner; this intelligent servant kept the boat for us till all those whom it was intended to receive had descended, and our little embarkation was effected with such success and expedition that he was not under the necessity of making use of his weapons. As soon as the captain, who through his irresolution had nearly lost the boat, had entered with the rest, the first thing we did was to cut the rope by which she was fastened to the vessel, and to push off, so that in a short time we had got a considerable distance.

We were now in an open boat, abandoned to the impulse of the wind and waves, to the number of twenty-five persons, among whom were two young ladies, the wives of English officers, in Coote's regiment, all badly accommodated, ill-clothed, and mixed promiscuously with the hogs. Our first purpose was to make room, for which purpose we began to throw the pigs overboard; but a lucky reflection of one of the company caused us to keep seven, in order that, at all events, we might not be reduced to the horrible necessity of devouring each other, which must have been the case without this wretched resource. Having thus cleared the boat a little, we were obliged to attend to another point equally pressing. Each of us took off his coat or waistcoat, to make a sail to our bark, and even the ladies were each obliged to give one of the petticoats they had on, which were only of muslin. All these things, being joined and tied together, with our handkerchiefs torn into slips, formed a kind of sail, equally weak and awkward.

While we were thus employed, the unfortunate crew kept making signals that every thing was repaired, with a view to induce us to return. This artifice was employed by our wretched companions, in the hope of saving themselves in our boat. If we had been so weak as to listen to our captain, who fell into such an evident snare, we should have gone back, and all have perished together. We, however, took care not to go near them, and it was fortunate for us that we did; for a few minutes

afterwards the ship presented the most distressing spectacle. She was no longer under government; sometimes she drifted away, and at others she turned round like a whirlwind. Soon afterwards one of the masts went by the board; another followed, and the third went next. The ship was now a sheer-hulk, still floating at the will of the waves; but which appeared to be kept afloat only by the incessant exertions of the poor wretches, whose piercing cries filled us with horror. A fog came on; we could no longer distinguish the vessel, and she must in a short time have gone to the bottom.

It is always by comparison that we are fortunate or miserable. What great reason had we to thank Heaven for having preserved us from the fate to which between five and six hundred persons left on board were doomed. But what was the price of our escape? For what miseries reserved? And, how melancholy our situation! In the open sea, in a crazy boat, which a single wave would have sent to the bottom, in the hand of Providence, without compass, or any other rigging than our little sail, which required all our attention.

We had not a drop of water, nor provisions of any kind. Constantly wet with the waves which entered our boat, and continually employed in baling the water, with which we were incessantly inundated; and, notwithstanding this fatiguing labor, were shivering with cold, because we had very few clothes to cover ourselves, and those few were thoroughly soaked. In this state we floated at the mercy of the waves seven days and seven nights.

Our only nourishment was a spoonful and a half of pig's blood, distributed to each every twenty-four hours; for, in order to allow two spoonfuls, it was necessary to mix with it a little salt water; and never was any thing more exactly measured than this scanty pittance. Many of us, whose appetites and stomachs were equally good, eat the flesh of the pigs quite raw, and we killed one each day, so that on the seventh we had nothing left. My principal regale was the liver, or coagulated blood, which I only sucked, and then spit it out. My servant, our butcher, always reserved that part for me.

Soon after twelve o'clock of the seventh night, we thought we heard a noise, that at first appeared very strange, but which we afterwards judged to proceed from the dashing of breakers against the rocks, or against some shore. We floated between fear and joy, and impatiently waited for daylight. That light, so slow in its approach, at length arrived, and every thing disappeared. Judge of the revolution produced in our minds and bodies by this vain hope destroyed, as soon as conceived. It plunged us into such profound consternation, that we should not have been able to bear up against it, had not the hand of the Almighty speedily afforded relief.

About seven the same morning, one of the company cried out, "Land, or something like it." We now distinguished in the horizon a speck which our ardent desire to meet with land actually caused us to take for such. Nature was once more animated by a ray of hope. We directed our course towards the point which appeared in the horizon, and at nine began to distinguish hills, but saw no land till we were on the beach, because the shore is so extremely low. It is impossible to describe the effect this cheering sight produced upon us. I will, however, endeavor to give you some idea of it. We all immediately experienced a certain impression of joy, vigor of life, with which our souls were penetrated, as a person is penetrated by the heat, when, after enduring excessive cold, he comes to a good fire, whose genial influence reanimates his benumbed powers. We felt a delicious sensation of our feeble existence, and this sensation, diffused through all our faculties, seemed to restore us to new life. It is only those who have been in the same situation that can know the inexpressible enjoyment of a moment of which assuredly no other situation in life can afford an idea.

The question now was how to disembark. Here we were under some embarrassment; for the surf was very strong, and the desert appearance of the coast, on which we discovered neither house, nor inhabitants, nor *chelin-guis*, (small boats which are used in the East Indies for

embarking and going on shore,) was a more convincing proof than the assertion of the pusillanimous captain, that no European boat had ever landed there. A consultation was held, in which it was resolved to make the attempt to let those save themselves who could. This opinion, supported by those who could swim, and particularly by the captain, who even declared that he was sure of getting on shore safe, was too contrary to humanity to be adopted by good sense. It was the same as condemning those who unfortunately were not familiar with the water, and in particular the two females and myself, who knew no more how to swim than they, to almost inevitable death, at least, excepting the Almighty should work a new miracle in our behalf. I reprobated the measure, and told the captain in a firm tone that it should not be executed as long as I had breath; that since part of the company were in the same predicament with myself, and my servant, whose life was as dear to me as my own, it was their duty to steer the boat in such a manner, that we might all get to land in safety. I added, holding my sword drawn before him, that he should answer with his life for that of every individual.

At these words an English officer, of the name of Scott, a hotheaded man, and almost inclined to the most violent measures, exclaimed, "What! does a single Frenchman, and prisoner of war, here pretend to give law to us, and dare to call us barbarians?" "Sir," said I, calmly, "our common misfortune renders us all equal; I am free here as well as you, and repeat it at the risk of all the satisfaction that may be demanded of me when on shore, the captain shall answer with his life for the lives of all our companions."

The captain being intimidated, ordered two lascars, good swimmers, that had escaped with us, to place themselves beside me, and not to quit me till I was on shore. He then went to the helm, and managed so skilfully, or rather with such good fortune, that we ran aground without any accident. In consequence, however, of a very natural impatience, twelve of our companions, the

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moment the boat struck, leaped into the water, and even some of those who could swim nearly perished. They were besides separated from us, the boat being thrown by two waves into a river, which we did not perceive till we had entered it. This river was so rapid that our boat was soon driven aground, and we thus had an opportunity of getting on shore.

I wish I could describe this moment; but how shall I trace it, with all its circumstances, with the simplicity, the energy, the truth of nature? We scarcely felt the ground, when each, occupied only with himself and the single sentiment of his own preservation, no longer thought of his companions. Our eyes sought only fresh water, and something to prolong our existence. We perceived a small lake, and we instantly ran to its banks, plunging overhead in the water like ducks, to allay a dreadful thirst, a thirst of seven whole days, to which the heat of a burning fever bears no comparison. It would be necessary to have endured, for the same length of time, the devouring fire of thirst, of all human wants the most insupportable, and the most pressing, to form any conception of ours, and our eagerness to appease it. In such a situation, the sufferer would give for a glass of water all the gold and all the diamonds of India; he would give the world. From this you may judge of our protracted sufferings, our transports on the banks of the lake, and the delight we experienced. Having drank our fill, we began some to eat the grass, and others the shell-fish, which fortunately happened to be on the spot where we landed, and during forty-eight hours we had no other nourishment.

We now began to be distressed at our separation into two parties. We endeavored to join each other again, but being prevented by the depth of the torrent that separated us, each company began to march towards the interior of the country, in quest of some habitation. The country belonged to the dominions of the Rajah of Arsa-pour, situated near the mouth of the Ganges. We had not advanced far, when a snare was laid for us by the natives, that they might the more easily get us into their

power. Two fishermen, by whom we had been discovered, were directed to tell us to remain where we were. They assured us that the sovereign of the place was informed of our arrival in his dominions, that he was acquainted with our disaster, and our unfortunate situation, and that, being a prince of a benevolent disposition, he would very soon send us relief of every kind. A few hours afterwards a quantity of rice and hog's lard was actually brought us, with the Rajah's compliments, and a promise that the following day we should be sheltered from the inclemency of the air, and particularly the night dews, which was very dangerous in that climate. This promise they punctually performed, for the next day people came to fetch us, but it was for the purpose of conducting us to a small island, to be kept as prisoners. Each of the two divisions was conducted by a different route, and we knew not what had become of the other. There we remained seven weeks, having no other nourishment than black rice, on paying for it, and twice a week detestable salt fish; and to procure even this we were obliged to sell every thing we had about us. We, however, found means to tame two blacks, to whose care we were consigned, and to procure of them some indulgences. One of our ladies, Mrs. Tait, a native of Ireland, who had a good voice, sung them some English songs, to which they listened with great pleasure, though they understood not a word of them. This complaisance obtained us from time to time some fruits and other refreshments. The water we had to drink was so unwholesome, that out of the two companies thirteen died, and the twelve survivors were all attacked with fevers or dropsies, and were either livid or yellow, and so disfigured, that no one would have taken us for Europeans.

But as no distress is so great as to deprive men of all hope or the power of relieving themselves from it, so our attention was incessantly directed towards the means of escaping from our island. The two lascars who were in our company appeared likely to aid us in the design. With a pencil, which one of the ladies chanced to have

preserved, we wrote a note to Barasole, where the English have a small factory. This we prevailed upon the lascars to take, promising them a considerable sum of money, if we should be released from captivity, and on our arrival at the first European settlement. The lascars complied with our desire, and notwithstanding the difficulties of the journey, they set off. They were obliged to swim across three or four very large rivers, and always to travel in the night, to prevent being discovered by the natives. Having escaped many dangers by their dexterity, or surmounted them by their boldness and perseverance, they at length arrived at Cattack, the residence of a Rajah, or chief of the Mahrattas. On their arrival at that place they were carried before the Rajah, and being interrogated respecting their business there, they gave an account of our shipwreck, the manner in which we had escaped, the distresses we had since experienced, and our confinement by the Rajah of Arsapour. They did not forget to add that we had with us two young white women, and that the men were people of consequence. The Mahratta chief then inquired if the men were proper for soldiers; likewise asked whether the women were very fair, and handsome enough for his seraglio. The lascars having satisfied him relative to these particulars, the Rajah immediately sent for the son of the Rajah of Arsapour, who was then his hostage, and ordered him to write to his father, to send off to Cattack, immediately on the receipt of his letter, the Europeans, both men and women, whom he had, for two months, kept prisoners in an island. Conformably to the policy of all the petty sovereigns of India, he likewise took care to order that we might be sent by the worst and least frequented roads, to conceal us as much as possible from the sight of the natives. The order for departure having been given separately to the two parties, we set off with our guides, and had proceeded some hours when we met. We had been parted two months, and during this interval had received no tidings of each other; you may therefore conceive how great was our joy on seeing one another again. We mutually learned the

death of those of our companions which each party had lost; and skeletons, walking spectres, that could scarcely walk, congratulated each other on being still alive.

The distance to Cattack was fourteen days' journey; this we travelled on foot, and almost without shoes. Our journeys were very short, because we were all ill, and exhausted with fatigue; besides, our way led almost continually through marshes, up to our waists in mud. We had several large rivers to cross, in the passage of which those who could swim assisted the others. The two young English women, who certainly were not formed for such hardships, were in a most deplorable condition, and the sufferings of these poor creatures seemed to aggravate our own distresses. One of them, Mrs. Nelson, died four days before we reached Cattack, but the other, though three months advanced in her pregnancy, was so fortunate as to arrive at that place in safety.

Although exhausted with fatigue at the end of each day's journey, we were obliged to pass the night under trees, because the people of the country would not permit us to set foot in their houses, the exercise of hospitality towards Europeans being prohibited by their religion. We, at length, arrived at Cattack, but some several days before the others. There we learned that the English had a factory in the place, and repaired thither immediately; but we found only some sepoys in the Company's pay, and not a single European. The sepoys received us with great kindness, and, moved by our situation, they first went to the bazar, or market, to procure us some bread. This we greedily devoured, drinking water, which they gave us, and thus made a delicious repast. We congratulated one another on finding ourselves under a roof, and sheltered from the inclemency of the air; we then lay down and slept. We expected the next day that the Mahratta chief would send some orders relative to us, but he was then on a tour in the country. His minister took no notice of us, and allowed us nothing to subsist upon. The sepoys, therefore, continued to maintain us in the best manner they were able.

During our journey from the island in which we had been confined to Cattack, the two lascars who had effected our release, and had concealed from the Mahratta chief the commission with which they were intrusted by us, proceeded on their route, and arrived at Barrasole, where they acquainted the English with our situation. They then went to Calcutta, and called upon Mr. Van Sittart, the English governor of Bengal. The governor lost no time in sending us relief; but, on account of the distance, we did not receive it till twenty or twenty-five days after our arrival at Cattack. He used all his influence with the Mahrattas to obtain our liberty, but as they were not, at that time, on very good terms with the Company, they refused to grant this favor to merchants. It was, therefore, necessary that colonel Coote, the conqueror of India, should demand our release, which he obtained without difficulty.

Our company was soon anxious to repair to Barrasole, at the distance of six days' journey. As for me and my faithful servant we did not wait for the general order to depart, but set off before the rest. I had found at Cattack an European, a native of Russia, who had been a gunner in M. De Bussy's army, and was now an artillery officer in the service of the Mahrattas. As he understood and could speak the French language, I endeavored, without informing him who I was, to learn his sentiments relative to M. De Bussy. He assured me that it was he who had given the Asiatics the highest idea of the Europeans, that he should regret him all his life, and should never cease to adore him; these were his expressions. On this I told him I was a Frenchman, and prisoner of war to the English; that I had with me a servant, to whom I was strongly attached, and that I was desirous of leaving Cattack as speedily as possible. He replied that he would procure me permission to leave the place, provided the others should know nothing of the matter till the moment of our departure. I kept the secret, and he actually obtained a kind of permission for me and my servant. I immediately hired two dooleys, a kind of handbarrow carried by men. To pay for

these and to support us on our journey, I sold my stock buckle and sleeve buttons, the only things I had left. I then took leave of my companions, frankly informing them how and by what means I had obtained permission to depart, that they might employ the same method.

Our journey to Barrasole had nearly proved fatal to us; being twice attacked by tigers, and had the pain to see a Moor, that had been very serviceable to us several times in our distress, carried off, at the distance of a few paces from us, by one of these cruel animals. The same tiger, after despatching the unfortunate man, came again out of the wood, and gazed on us with a most terrible look, but keeping close together, our firmness, and the noise we made, obliged him to retire.

On my arrival at Barrasole, I met with some Englishmen going to embark for Bengal. They proposed to me to accompany them. I had scarcely time to drink a glass, and went on board.

We were six or seven days in reaching Calcutta, it being so very difficult to ascend the Ganges, and were again near perishing in this short passage, where you meet with rocks upon rocks, and dangers upon dangers. When we had arrived at Goupil, I saw several of the East India Company's ships, and begged the English to let me go on board one of them. They perceived that both myself and my servant were sick, exhausted, and in want of every thing; therefore, at the expense of two rupees, all the money I had left, I procured a boat to carry me on board the Plassy, commanded by captain Ward. When I had got on board this ship, I imagined my hardships at an end, and every thing was almost forgotten. The first person I spoke to was Mr. White, a captain of the Company's troops. He took my servant and me for two soldiers who had been robbed; our figure and dress, equally worthy of pity, announced the most miserable condition. This generous Englishman, addressing himself to me, said, in his own language,—“Poor soldier! you are badly equipped. Who are you, and whence do you come?” I replied in English, “You are right, I am a soldier, and my servant there is one

likewise; we think ourselves very fortunate in being still in existence." I added, that I was one out of twelve who had escaped from the ship *Fattysalem*, which had been lost, together with the crew, on the coast of *Coromandel*; that I was indebted for my life, in the first place, to my soldier's courage, and in the next to the exertions of my servant, whom he saw overwhelmed with disease, and unable to stand; and concluded with telling him my name and rank. Mr. White immediately went to his cabin, and brought me a change of clothes from head to foot, of which I certainly stood in great need, for I had for ten weeks worn the same shirt, all in tatters; my servant only dipped it from time to time in water, to ease me a little. The poor fellow, who was quite naked, was likewise supplied with clothes. Mr. White then presented me with some chocolate and something to eat; but I was so weak that the smell only of the chocolate had nearly made me faint, and I could not eat any thing. I drank some tea, and that was all I could get down. I received a thousand other civilities from this worthy man, and the captain showed me equal kindness. When I had changed my things and taken my tea, those gentlemen proposed to me to go up the *Ganges* to *Calcutta* with them, in a vessel that was just going to set off. I consented, but not without great regret, at being obliged to leave behind me in the vessel my faithful companion, who was attacked with a violent fever. However, as there was no other alternative, and as the kindness of those gentlemen, both to him and to me, rendered me easy with regard to his fate, I left him, but not without great reluctance. He died soon afterwards in the English hospital at *Calcutta*.

We arrived at that place the next day. I went to the governor, Mr. Van Sittart, who received me with great humanity, and assigned me, as a prisoner of war, one hundred and twenty rupees per month for my subsistence. I was in great want, and he did not make me any advance. I had recourse to my benefactor, Mr. White, who lent me three hundred rupees, which I expended in the purchase of linen and clothes. I was two months

without drawing the allowance assigned me, by the governor. I was about to receive it, when I suddenly received an order to embark in the Hawk, which was still on the coast. I was sick, and had no linen made up, nor any thing necessary to set out on so long a voyage. I was, however, pressed to set off. Colonel Coote had the kindness to defer my departure, and the Hawk sailed without me. I therefore had time to equip myself. I flattered myself that Mr. Van Sittart, to whom, in the quality of an officer of the king's etat-major and captain of his forces, I offered the necessary securities, or bills of exchange on the French East India Company, would advance me a sum to pay the debts which my situation had obliged me to contract: but in this hope I found myself mistaken. I mentioned this subject shortly before my departure to colonel Coote, who sent me three hundred rupees. The governor hearing of it, likewise transmitted me four hundred. This was all I received from him, and I could not help receiving this scanty relief, that I might leave no debts behind me.

On the 2d of February, I left Calcutta and returned to Goupil, on the Ganges, where I embarked in the Holdernesse, commanded by captain Brooke. I was received with great kindness by the captain, who had on board thirteen or fourteen other French officers, prisoners like myself. The ship arrived without accident, and after a month's residence at London I was permitted to return to France.



LOSS OF THE AMERICAN SHIP HERCULES,

On the Coast of Caffraria, the 16th of June, 1796.

THE account of the fate of the American ship Hercules, (and of the adventures and sufferings of her crew,) which set out on her voyage from Bengal in the month of December, 1795, involves so much interest, as cannot fail to prove extremely entertaining; nor can it be better detailed than from the account given by the commander, captain Benjamin Stout; whose intention it was, to take in a private freight for Hamburgh, but not finding one that would answer his expectations, he chartered his ship to the British East India Company, who were at that time busily employed in shipping rice for England. Intelligence having reached the settlements in India that a failure of corn throughout the whole of Great Britain was likely to produce a famine, the most active and laudable exertions were made in India to supply the markets at home with rice; and he received on board upwards of nine thousand bags, with directions to proceed to London with every possible despatch. The crew, most of which having been engaged in India, consisted Americans, Danes, Swedes, Dutch, Portuguese, but chiefly lascars, amounting in the whole, men and boys, to about sixty-four. The necessary arrangements for the voyage being completed, they sailed from Sugar-Roads on the 17th of March, 1796.

Nothing material occurred during the voyage until the 1st of June following, at which time they reached the latitude of about 35° south, and $28^{\circ}, 40'$, east longitude. It then began to blow a gale from the westward, which obliged them to lay to under their mizzen stay-sail for six days. During this time the gale continued to blow from

the west, but increased progressively until the 7th, when the contentions of the sea and winds presented a scene of horror, of which, perhaps, the annals of marine history give us no example. "Although bred to the sea (says captain Stout) from my earliest life, yet all I had ever seen before, all I had ever heard of or read, gave me no adequate idea of those sublime effects which the violence and raging of the elements produce, and which, at this tremendous hour, seemed to threaten nature itself with dissolution." The ship, raised on mountains of water, was in a moment precipitated into an abyss, where she appeared to wait until the coming sea raised her again into the clouds. The perpetual roaring of the elements echoing through the void, produced such an awful sensation in the minds of the most experienced of the seamen, that several of them appeared for some time in a state of stupefaction; and those less accustomed to the dangers of the sea added to this scene of misery by their shriekings and exclamations.

The terrors of the day could only be surpassed by those of the night. When the darkness came on, it is impossible for man to describe, or human imagination to conceive, a scene of more transcendent and complicated horror. To fill up the measure of their calamities, about the hour of midnight a sudden shift of wind threw the ship into the trough of the sea, which struck her aft, tore away the rudder, started the stern post from the hauden ends, and shattered the whole of her stern frame. The pumps were immediately sounded, and in the course of a few minutes the water had increased to four feet. A gang was immediately ordered to the pumps, and the remainder were employed in getting up rice out of the run of the ship, and heaving it overboard, in order, if possible, to get at the leak. After three or four hundred bags were thrown into the sea, the principal leak was discovered, and the water poured in with astonishing rapidity. In order, therefore, to decrease as much as possible the influx of water, sheets, shirts, jackets, bales of muslin, and every thing of the like description were thrust into the aperture. Had not these exertions been attended

with some success, the ship must certainly have gone down, although the pumps delivered fifty tons of water an hour.

As the next day advanced, the weather began to moderate. The men worked incessantly at the pumps, and every exertion was made to keep the ship afloat. They were at this time about two hundred miles from the eastern coast of Africa.

On the 9th, although the violence of the tempest had in a great measure subsided, yet the swell of the sea was tremendous. The longboat was ordered out; but the captain having reason to suspect that some of the crew would endeavor to make off with her, he directed the second mate and three seamen to take possession of her; at the same time giving them arms and express orders to shoot the first man who attempted to board her without his permission. They were also instructed to keep astern, but to stick by the ship until they came to an anchor.

The men having taken their station in the boat, a raft was ordered to be made of all the large spars, which was accordingly done. The whole when lashed together measured about thirty-five feet in length, and fifteen in breadth. At this time the captain apprehended the ship could not make the land, and being convinced, in case of her going down, that all the people could not be received into the longboat, determined not to neglect any measure that presented even a chance of saving the whole.

When the second mate was preparing to obey the orders he had received, and take command of the longboat, the carpenter addressed the captain in a respectful manner, and earnestly entreated him to leave the ship. On being reprimanded for not attending to the pumps, the man burst into tears, and declared, that the whole of the stern frame was shook and loosened in such a manner, that he expected every minute she would go down. The miserable appearance of this man, and the affecting tone of voice in which he delivered his apprehensions, considerably increased the terrors of the crew;

whereupon the captain thought it necessary to declare that he would perform his duty and stick to the ship until he was convinced from his own observation that all hope of saving her was at an end. The carpenter repeated his solicitations, when he was ordered to his post, and assured, at the same time, that unless he made every exertion to encourage the people in their duty at the pumps, he should be immediately thrown into the sea. He retired, and exerted himself afterwards with a manly perseverance.

The captain was immediately addressed on the departure of the carpenter by many of the sailors, and on the same subject. They were so clamorous, and diffused so much in their opinions, that he was nearly going to extremes with some of them.

These circumstances are mentioned as a caution to future navigators, who are intrusted with a command. They too frequently listen to the opinion of their people in time of danger, who are generally for quitting the ship, and taking to boats, masts, yards and spars formed into rafts, or whatever timbers they can lash together; indeed, as the prejudices and sentiments of the common sailors on these occasions are so various, it is not to be supposed that any thing can arise from such a mistaken conduct but confusion and misfortune.

A crew, such as composed that of the Hercules, which consisted of people of various nations, require indeed from their commander a peculiar attention. It may happen, that by humoring their religious prejudices at a particular moment, an essential service may be obtained; and the following remarkable anecdote will tend to elucidate this opinion.

At a period when the tempest raged with the utmost violence, the captain directed most of the crew below, particularly the lascars, to work the pumps. One of them, however, was perceived coming up the gangway, with a handkerchief in his hand; and on being questioned what he was about, he answered in a tone of voice that discovered a perfect confidence in the measure he proposed, that he was going to make an offering to his

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god. "This handkerchief," said he, "contains a certain quantity of rice, and all the rupees I am worth; suffer me to lash it to the mizzen-top, and rely upon it, sir, we shall all be saved." The captain was going to order him back to the pumps, but recollecting that in so doing he might throw both him and his countrymen into a state of despondency, and thereby lose the benefits of their exertions, he acquiesced. The lascar thanked him, and he soon beheld the child of prejudice mount the tottering ladder without discovering a single apprehension. He lashed the handkerchief to the mizzen top-mast head, fearless of all danger, and arrived in safety on the deck. Confident now that his god was the captain's friend, he went below to inform his brethren that he had done his duty; all the lascars seemed transported with joy, embraced their virtuous companion, and then labored at the pumps with as much alacrity and perseverance as if they had encountered, before, neither apprehension nor fatigue. To their unceasing labors was owing, in a great measure, the preservation of his people.

The shift of wind which threw the ship into the trough of the sea and tore away the rudder, was fortunately a squall of but short duration, not continuing above a quarter of an hour. Had it lasted but a little longer, the ship must have been torn to pieces. The wind came round to its former quarter, and moderated gradually.

After the longboat had been delivered to the care of the second mate, and the raft completed, the captain held a consultation with the officers, and they were all decidedly of opinion that it was impossible to save the ship, and that they had no other chance to preserve their lives than to make the land and run her on shore.

The people, when informed of the issue of this consultation, appeared to work with renovated spirits. This disposition was kept up by being assured they would soon be within sight of land, and that by constantly working at the pumps, the ship would be kept afloat until they reached the shore.

She remained for some time unmanageable, frequently

standing with her head from the land, which all their efforts could not prevent. The captain got a rudder made out of the top-mast, and fixed in the place of the one they had lost; but it was found of little use without the help of the longboat, which he ordered therefore to be hauled athwart her stern, and this served, although with the greatest difficulty, to get her head towards the shore, the wind being variable from the eastward. A cable could have been got out, that might have answered tolerably well to steer the ship; but the people could not be spared from the pumps to attend roussing in on the tackles, or guise, as occasion might require.

On the evening, however, of the 15th, they discovered land at about six leagues' distance. All on board at this moment expressed their joy in shouts and acclamations. The ship still kept nearing the shore, with five feet water in her hold.

On the 16th, in the morning, being then about two miles from the land, and the wind from the westward, the captain ordered the anchor to be let go, that a last effort might be made to stop the leaks, and, if possible, save the ship. But her stern was shattered in such a manner, that after holding another consultation with his officers, it was finally resolved to run the ship on the coast then opposite to them. Another gale threatened them, and no time was to be lost.

The captain immediately ordered his second mate, who was in the boat, to come on board, and he then delivered into his custody the ship's register, and all the papers of consequence he had. After providing him and his three men with water and provisions, he ordered him into the boat again, with directions to keep in the offing; and that after they had run the ship on shore, provided they got safe to land, he would search for some inlet into which he might run with safety. They desired him also to look out for signals which would be occasionally thrown out from the shore to direct his course. The mate faithfully promised to obey his instructions, and then returned to his boat.

They were now on the coast of Caffraria, within a

few leagues where the Infanta river empties itself into the sea. A dreadful crisis approached, and they agreed to meet it with becoming fortitude. The captain therefore gave directions to set the head sail, to heave the spring well taught, in order to get her head towards the shore, and then to cut the cable and the spring. His orders were obeyed with the greatest promptitude.

After running until within something less than half a mile of the shore, she struck on a cluster of rocks. The swell at this moment was tremendous; and from the ship's thumping so violently, it was scarcely possible for the men to hold on. In this situation she remained for about three or four minutes, when a sea took her over the rocks, and carried her about a cable's length nearer the shore, where she again struck, and kept heaving in with a dreadful surf, which every moment made a breach over her.

The lashings that held the raft having given way, and the spars carried to a considerable distance from the ship, they lost all hope from that quarter. At length one of the crew, who was a black, plunged into the waves, and by exertions which seemed more than human, gained and seated himself on the raft. He scarcely remained in that situation for ten minutes, when the whole was turned over and the man completely enveloped in the sea. In a few moments, however, they perceived him in his former seat. Again he endured a similar misfortune; and a third succeeded. Still he buffeted the waves, and gained the raft, until at length, after suffering two hours of fatigue, which, until then, the captain could not possibly imagine human nature could survive, he drifted on land.

The natives, who had kindled several fires, appeared in great numbers on the shore. They were mostly clothed in skins, armed with spears, and accompanied by a vast number of dogs. A party of them seized the man who had landed, and conducted him behind the sand-hills that line the coast, and which hid him entirely from their view.

Twelve of the crew now launched themselves on dif-

ferent spars, and whatever pieces of timber they could find. They braved all difficulties and at last gained the land. No sooner had they reached the beach than the natives came down, seized and conducted them also behind the sand-hills. As it was impossible for those who remained on board to discover what they were about, and observing several parties of the natives appear at different times on the shore, but not accompanied by any of the people, they conceived all those who had landed were massacred, and that a similar fate awaited the whole of them. They who had remained on board the ship were obliged to shelter themselves in the fore-castle, as the wreck becoming a fixed object, the sea made over her, and there was no other part where they could remain, even for a moment, in a state of security.

Suspense and apprehension reigned during the whole of the night. Some were of opinion, that to avoid being tortured by the savages, and perhaps thrown into the fires they had perceived on shore, it would be more advisable to resign themselves to a watery element, as in that situation they should only endure a few struggles, and then life would be no more. Others entertained different sentiments, and were for making the shore in as compact a body as possible. "We shall then," said they, "attack the savages with stones, or whatever we can find." This was overruled as a measure impracticable; there was no possibility of six men keeping together; but if such a number could, by a miracle, get on shore without being divided, the natives could destroy them in a moment with their spears. The whole of this miserable night was spent in such consultations; and as the next sun was to light them to their fate, they trembled at its approaching the horizon.

As soon as morning appeared, they looked towards the shore; but not an individual was to be seen. Distraction was now visible in every countenance, and what death to choose the principal consideration. At length, about the hour of nine, the scene changed in a moment. A delirium of ecstasy succeeded, which no pencil can portray, no being can conceive, but those who beheld it.

All the people who had landed the day before were observed making towards the shore; and they soon perceived them beckoning and inviting them to land. In a few minutes, every spar, grating, and piece of timber that could be procured, were afloat, and completely occupied; some with two people, others with more, according to the size. "I immediately (says the captain) stripped off my shirt, put on a short jacket, wrapped a shawl round my waist, in the corner of which I put a gold watch, and keeping my breeches on, seized a spar and launched into the sea. For nearly three quarters of an hour I preserved my hold, and drifted towards the shore. Sometimes I was cast so near as to touch the rocks with my feet, then hurried away to a considerable distance; again I was precipitated forward, and in a moment afterwards carried off by the returning sea. At length a sudden jerk, occasioned by the swell, strained both my arms, and I was compelled to quit the spar. At this instant, although a considerable distance from the beach, a wave that was proceeding rapidly towards the shore bore me along, and in a few moments cast me senseless on the sand. My people who were on shore observed my situation; they ran down, and snatching me from the danger of the coming waves, bore me to a place of security. I was insensible at this time, but soon revived, as they placed me near a fire, and used every means in their power for my recovery. The first subject of inquiry, when my faculties returned, was, of course, the fate of my unfortunate crew; and I enjoyed the heart-felt pleasure of beholding them all around me, except them in the longboat, and one man, who perished near the shore. I then addressed myself to the natives; but on this occasion I labored under the difficulty of not being understood. I knew nothing of their language, and for some time I endeavored to explain myself by signs. Fortunately there was a Hottentot present, who had lived with the Dutch farmers, and could speak their language. My third mate was a Dutchman, and these served as interpreters.

"This difficulty being happily removed, I endeavored

Loss of the Hercules, page 64.



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by every means in my power to secure the friendship of the natives. I thanked them in the name of my whole crew, and on the part of my nation, for the liberal and humane assistance they had afforded us in the hour of our misfortune, and solicited their future kindness and support.

"This being, as I conceived, at no great distance from the spot where the Grosvenor was lost in 1782, I inquired of the natives whether any of them remembered such a catastrophe. Most of them answered in the affirmative, and, ascending one of the sand-hills, pointed to the place where the Grosvenor suffered.

"I then desired to know of them whether they had received any certain accounts respecting the fate of captain Coxson, who commanded the Grosvenor, and who was proceeding on his way to the Cape, with several men and women passengers, who were saved from the wreck. They answered, that captain Coxson and his men were slain. One of the chiefs having insisted on taking two of the white ladies to his kraal, the captain and people resisted, and not being armed, were immediately destroyed. The natives, at the same time, gave me to understand, that at the period when the Grosvenor was wrecked, their nation was at war with the colonists; and as the captain and his crew were whites, they could not tell, provided they had reached the Christian farms, but they would assist the colonies in the war. This affected my situation so directly, that I desired to know on what terms the Caffres and the colonists then stood. 'We are friends,' said they, 'and it will be their fault if we are not always so.'

"This answer relieved me from a very serious embarrassment; but the fate of the two unfortunate ladies gave me so much uneasiness, that I most earnestly requested of them to tell me all they knew of their situation; whether they were alive or dead; and if living, in what part of the country they were situated. They replied, and with apparent concern, that one of the ladies had died a short time after her arrival at the kraal; but they understood the other was living, and had several children

by the chief. 'Where she now is,' said they, 'we know not.'

"After I had received every possible information on this melancholy subject, we employed ourselves principally during the remainder of the day in assisting the natives to save whatever came on shore from the wreck. When they got a piece of timber, they placed it immediately on the fire, as the readiest method of procuring the iron, which they sought after with the most persevering diligence."

When night came on, the natives retired, and they left us to sleep under the sand-hills, without covering, and without food. The weather was boisterous, and a strong wind from the westward, and the cold severe: a consultation was held in what manner they should dispose of themselves until morning, and they at length resolved that some of them should keep watch during the night, and the rest place themselves near the fire, and, if possible, obtain a little rest.

The night passed without any of the unfortunate sufferers enjoying a moment of repose. Their bodies on one side were heated by the fire, but the cold chilled the other in such a manner as to render the pain hardly supportable. The sand, driven by the winds in prodigious quantities, filled their eyes, ears, and mouths, as they lay under the banks, and kept them in perpetual motion. They likewise entertained apprehensions respecting the natives.

At length day appeared, and the Caffres returned in great numbers. The chief, knowing they were in want of food, brought a bullock, which they immediately slaughtered by knocking the animal on the head with clubs, and penetrating its sides with their spears. It was skinned almost in a moment, and they cut it up in lumps, which they placed on the fire to singe, rather than to roast, and then devoured their respective shares with the highest satisfaction. The beast, as it was given to the famished crew, it might be supposed would be left for their own disposal; but the Caffres were hungry, and they knew nothing of European etiquette. It is true

they presented the bullock to them as a donation; but they saw no reason why they should not dispose of the greater part of it.

On cutting up the animal, it was observed they paid more than ordinary attention to the paunch. Several of the Caffres laid violent hands on it; and after giving it a shake for the purpose of emptying the contents, they tore the greater part in slits with their teeth, and swallowed the whole as it came warm from the beast.

Their meal, such as it was, being finished, part of the crew proceeded to the shore, and the longboat was observed at a considerable distance. The ship was dividing very fast, and the gale increasing; many things were therefore cast on shore, which the Caffres were indefatigable in procuring. A cask, however, was thrown on the beach, which considerably excited the captain's anxiety: it contained sixty gallons of rum, a quantity sufficient to have intoxicated the whole of the natives, although they amounted to at least three hundred. The predilection for such liquor is well known, and the consequences of their intoxication were particularly dreaded by the captain. The only way left was to steal to the spot where the cask lay, and stave in the head without being perceived by them. This was happily accomplished, and they afterwards stripped the vessel of the iron hoops, without discovering what had been done, or what it formerly contained.

In the general search on the shore, one of the Caffres had picked up the ship's compass. Not knowing what it was, yet pleased with its formation, he delivered it to the chief, who immediately took it to pieces; and after contemplating the various parts, took the copper ring in which it hung, and suspended it from his neck. He appeared highly pleased with the ornament; and this circumstance induced the captain to present him with one still more glittering, and of course, in his estimation, more valuable: recollecting that he had in his possession a pair of paste knee-buckles, he presented them to the chief, and hung one upon each of his ears.

The moment this was done, the chief stalked about

with an air of uncommon dignity. His people seemed to pay him greater reverence than before, and they were employed for some time in gazing at the brilliancy of the ornaments, and contemplating the august deportment of their chief magistrate.

Towards evening the captain again addressed the chief on the subject of their departure. He requested he would send a guide with them through the deserts to the first Christian settlement, and that nothing should be wanting on his part to recompense his kindness. The Caffre paused for a moment, and then very coolly replied, that he would gratify the captain's wishes; and being desired to name the time when he would suffer them to depart, he gravely answered, "When I consider that matter you shall be made acquainted with my determination." This answer alarmed the unfortunate sufferers. The countenance of the savage appeared to discover some hostile measure that was lurking in his mind; and yet his former conduct was so liberal and humane, that they had no just ground for suspecting his integrity. The natives, however, were perceived consulting together in parties, and from their gestures nothing favorable could be perceived. When the day was drawing to a close, the crew was left to rest under the sand-hills, as on the former night.

The fire was recruited with some timber from the wreck, and sentinels placed as before. The wind blowing hard from the same quarter, they were again tormented with clouds of sand, and a chilling atmosphere. June being one of the winter months, they had to encounter the severities of the season. It was impossible to shift their quarters, as they could not procure timber to light new fires, and the Caffres might be displeased at their not remaining in their former situation. The night passed in consultations and gloomy predictions. The captain told his people not to do any thing that might have the least tendency to displease the natives; to give them every thing they asked for, as the inhabitants of these deserts were only to be dreaded when provoked; but at the same time, if, contrary to their expectation,

they made an attack, or endeavored to detain them after a certain time, then he hoped they would firmly unite, and either force their way or perish in the conflict.

When the sun made its appearance, they mounted the most elevated of the sand-hills to look out for the long-boat; but she was not to be discovered in any direction. In a short time they perceived the Caffres advancing. Most of them had assagays in their hands; others were furnished with clubs; some were decorated with ostrich feathers, and their chief wore a leopard-skin, with the captain's knee-buckles suspended as before. They saluted the crew in a very friendly manner, and were accompanied by them to the beach. The wind had increased during the night, and several parts of the ship came on shore. One of the people had picked up a handsaw, and as he perceived the Caffres were indefatigable in procuring iron, he hid it in the sands. This was a valuable acquisition, and became of infinite service to them in the course of their proceedings.

Having secured all they could obtain from the wreck, the captain requested the chief to order some of his people to display their skill in the use of the assagays. This is a spear of about four feet six inches in length, made of an elastic wood, and pointed with iron, which the natives contrive to poison so effectually, that if it wounds either man or beast, death is the inevitable consequence.

The captain's wishes were immediately gratified. The Caffres first placed a block of wood on the ground, and then retired about seventy yards from the spot where it lay. The chief then said they would now behold their manner of fighting when engaged in battle. These compliances, as they seemed to remove former suspicions, gave great satisfaction to the sufferers. A party of about thirty began their manœuvring. They first ran to a considerable distance; then fell, as if motionless, on the ground; in a moment they started up, divided, joined again, and ran in a compact body to the spot from whence they originally set out. After halting for about a minute, they let fly a shower of assagays at the mark, and with a precision that was truly astonishing.

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Not a word more passed this day about the departure of the crew. The natives retired as usual on the approach of night. All were employed to gather wood; and after procuring a sufficient quantity, they stretched themselves on the ground, and in spite of wind, sand, and cold, slept until morning.

When day appeared, all were again employed in looking out for the longboat; but she was not to be seen, nor did they ever hear of her again.

The Caffres did not make their appearance this day until the sun had proceeded two hours in its course. As little now was to be procured from the wreck, captain Stout begged the chief to appoint a guide for himself and crew, as he proposed taking his departure on the next day. "I shall furnish you with two," said the chief. These joyful tidings were delivered with so much frankness, that the captain was relieved at once from all apprehension and suspicion.

Desirous of having the Hottentot who served as an interpreter to accompany them through the desert, the chief was given to understand how much the services of this man would not only contribute to their pleasure, but also to their safety. The honest savage, however, had anticipated their wishes; he had previously mentioned it to the Hottentot, who had consented to proceed to the first Christian farm. Another of the tribe, who was better acquainted with the country, had likewise agreed to be of the party; and this information, which was communicated to the crew, diffused a general joy and satisfaction.

After assuring the chief and the Caffres in general of our unalterable friendship, and that the guides should be rewarded to the extent of their wishes, "I told him, (says the captain,) we had endured great distress for want of water, and begged to know where we could procure some. 'I will conduct you,' said he, 'to a spring of excellent water; it is not far from this place; and, if you think proper, we will proceed directly to the spot.' No sooner was the proposal made than we set out; the Caffres singing and dancing as they proceeded, and my

people, although not without suspicion, in tolerable spirits."

After travelling westward about four miles through a delightful country, they came at last to a wood, in the bosom of which was discovered a hollow. The Caffres descended first, and when they all arrived at the bottom, the chief pointed to the brook. They drank of the water and found it delicious. After allaying their thirst, they looked about, and from the dismal appearance of the place, were again in a state of apprehension; being mostly of opinion, that nothing less was intended by the Caffres than to massacre the whole party in this sequestered place; that they were decoyed here for the purpose; and that every man should prepare to defend his life. The captain, however, endeavored to quiet their apprehensions, and at last succeeded.

The Caffres having invited the party to remain on this spot during the night, they began to prepare wood for the fires. All hands went to work, and by the assistance of a *handsaw*, they procured some dry trees and underwood, that afforded a very comfortable fire. One of the Hottentots, who was so rich as to possess a tinder-box, struck a light; and this accommodation being not only highly useful, but unexpected, gave new spirits to the whole party.

The natives, as the night came on, did not retire as usual to their kraal. This gave a fresh alarm, which did not appear to be without some cause; situated as the party then were, they were obliged to abide the event, and therefore prepared for the worst that could happen. The watch was set as formerly; but the Caffres, huddling together, were soon lost in sleep. This place, however dismal in its appearance, afforded a tolerable shelter for the night; clouds of sand were no longer troublesome, and the severities of the wind and cold were mitigated by the friendly shade afforded by the trees.

"We were roused," says the captain, "by the savages, as the sun appeared, and we departed from this supposed Golgotha in tolerable spirits. We had, however, consumed the last pound of our bullock, before we left the

sand-hills, and our party began to dread an approaching famine. I mentioned the distress of my people to the chief, and he promised to relieve us. We had journeyed but a few miles, when the Caffres told us we must remain where we were that night. We accordingly set to work to procure firewood, and had scarcely completed this necessary business, when the chief presented us with another bullock. It was soon despatched, skinned, cut into pieces of about four pounds each, and we then proceeded to dress them as provision for our journey. This was a business of so much importance, that most of the day was spent in accomplishing it.

"The night passed with less apprehension than before, and when the morning came, we prepared for our departure.

"The moment now arrived when the real intentions of the Caffres were to be developed. The natives came about us, and assisted in dividing the provisions. Each man was to carry his own stock, which amounted to about three or four pounds of beef; this, with some biscuits, which a few of my people had contrived to preserve from the wreck, was to serve us until we reached a Christian settlement. So far from any appearance of hostility, the natives seemed to view our departure with regret. I took the chief by the hand, and thanked him for his great and friendly attentions to me and my unfortunate crew; assuring him at the same time, that if I survived the journey, it would ever be my first consideration to render him and his people some essential service. He thanked me, and then requested I would tell the colonists our ship was lost at sea, and so distant from the land that no part of her could possibly reach the shore. He also desired me to place the utmost confidence in my guides, as they would certainly direct me for the best. After my people and the natives had exchanged some mutual civilities, we parted, and gave one another a last and affectionate adieu."

They did not take their departure on the morning of the 23d until the sun was well up. The guides were intelligent, and gave them to understand that they must

on no account travel early, as the wild beasts constantly rose with the sun, and then ranged the deserts in quest of their prey. As they were all unarmed, a single lion, leopard, or panther could have destroyed most of them. It became, therefore, highly necessary they should not stir until these animals had satisfied their hunger, and were retired for the day.

Notwithstanding this cautious and necessary advice, and which was given with a laudable earnestness for their preservation, still the people were so desirous of getting on, that they grew uneasy; but the guides could not be induced to quit the fires until about nine o'clock, at which time they all proceeded, and in good spirits.

Not more than three or four of the party were at this moment in possession of shoes. They had many hundred miles to travel through unknown countries, to ascend mountains of stupendous elevation, penetrate woods, traverse deserts, and ford rivers; and yet they were to combat all these difficulties barefooted, not having saved above four pair of shoes, and even these but in a sad condition.

"As my feet were naked," says the captain, "like most of my people, one of them offered me an old pair of boots which he then wore; but I refused them. My habiliments were a short jacket, a tablecloth, which I found on the shore, wrapt round my loins; a shawl over it; four shirts, which I wore at the same time; a pair of trousers, and a hat. We bore to the westward on our setting out, for the purpose of obtaining fresh water in the course of our journey. Our guides observed, that near the coast the water was generally brackish; we therefore struck into the interior, and were not entirely disappointed in our expectations."

They now travelled through a country beautifully variegated with hills, dales, extensive plains finely watered, but less wooded than the former. The grass appeared of an extraordinary height; but in the course they pursued, not a human footstep could be traced; no cattle, nor sign of cultivation, could be observed. They were not interrupted by any beast of prey, although they

constantly perceived their dung. At length, after travelling about thirty-five miles, they began to feel the want of water.

Having searched for this indispensable aliment, with the utmost anxiety and attention, they were so fortunate as to discover, before sunset, a brook that ran near the corner of a wood; and here they determined to rest for the night. They began, therefore, to prepare a sufficient quantity of fuel. The wood was chiefly composed of trees that partook in some degree of the nature of thorn; they cut several, and arranged their fires. One of the Caffres struck a light, and the whole, in a few minutes, was in a blaze. The tinder which he provided was of a particular description; it consisted of a pitchy substance, extracted from a reed, and so tenacious of fire, that a single spark from the steel caught it in a moment. The weather being cold, they resolved to sleep close to one another; but the guides told them the place they had fixed upon to rest during the night was known to be infested with leopards, and that, if they scented the party, nothing could prevent them from destroying some of them. This intelligence induced them to enlarge their fires, and they began to consult upon other measures that were likely to contribute also to their preservation. But such is the powerful influence of Morpheus over the harassed soul, that their conversation had scarcely commenced on this important subject, when they were all relieved from any sense of danger, by gently falling into a sound sleep, in which they remained in perfect security until morning.

No sooner had the sun peeped above the horizon, than they were all roused by the tremendous roaring of lions. Never were men in a situation more truly alarming. Had they discovered them during the night, they must have been torn to pieces when sleeping, as not an individual could attend the watch, or keep awake even for an hour. They therefore congratulated one another on finding they had all escaped, and set out about seven in the morning in company with their guides. They soon arrived at the bank of a small river, which, being per-

fectly dry, they crossed without difficulty. Shortly after they came to another, which they likewise passed in a few minutes. They reached at length some islands, from the tops of which they discovered several beautiful vales, clothed with long dry grass, and clusters of trees; in other places, forests of considerable extent, and skirting mountains of different elevations. In the course of the day they were in great distress for want of water, and lost much time in the pursuit of it. Indeed they almost despaired of finding any, as the earth appeared so dry as to exhaust all the brooks they had visited. Luckily, however, about sunset, they discovered a small rivulet that ran near the skirt of a forest; and, although the water was not good, yet it still relieved them from a dreadful situation.

Having travelled this day about thirty miles, they determined to remain where they were during the night. All hands, therefore, went immediately to work, for the purpose of getting fuel. They had seen no wild animals in the course of the day, but frequently observed the dung of the elephant and the rhinoceros.

As their situation for this night was as dangerous and deplorable as on the preceding one, they determined to enlarge their fires, as the only means of safety they had left. This was accordingly done, and they had the pleasure to find, when the day appeared, that not an individual was missing of the whole party.

They proceeded on their journey shortly after sunrise; and, as they were to travel through a wood of considerable extent, the guides told them to be upon their guard, as they would certainly be interrupted by wild animals, which resorted to that place in prodigious numbers. They determined, notwithstanding, to brave all dangers, and accordingly proceeded. They indeed escaped the lions, the panthers, the rhinoceros, the elephant, &c. but, unfortunately, about noon, came up with a horde of Caffres, that were distinguished by their own countrymen as a bad tribe. They spoke at first to some Caffre women, who behaved kindly, and gave them one or two baskets of milk. These baskets are made of twigs, wove so closely together as to hold water.

Having proceeded but a short way, after receiving this instance of female liberality, they were stopped by twelve Caffre men, armed with spears, and clothed in leopard-skins. Their guides, alarmed at the appearance of these savages, flew to the banks of the great Fish river, which at that time was not more than two hundred yards from the place where they stood. They repeatedly called on them to return, but in vain; they immediately crossed the bed of the river, which was dry, and having reached the opposite shore, ascended an adjoining mountain with the utmost precipitation. The savages brandished their spears, and appeared by their gestures to menace the destruction of the people. They could not understand them, but supposed they demanded from them whatever articles they possessed; and as these principally consisted of the little stock of provisions they had left, and their clothes, they determined not to part with either.

One of the captain's people had a knife, which was slung over his shoulder. A Caffre perceiving it, made a snatch at the handle; but the owner resisting it, he lost his hold. This so enraged the savage, that he lifted up his assagay with an apparent intention of despatching the object of his resentment. At the moment he stood in this attitude, a more finished picture of horror, or what may be conceived of the infernals, was perhaps never seen before. The savage wore a leopard's skin; his black countenance bedaubed with red ochre; his eyes, inflamed with rage, appeared as if starting from their sockets; his mouth expanded, and his teeth gnashing and grinning with all the fury of an exasperated demon. He was, however, diverted from his purpose, and dropped the assagay.

The crew instantly proceeded to the river, and crossed it in pursuit of their guides, who were standing on the summit of the mountain; when they came up, the guides expressed the utmost satisfaction at their escape. They gave them a terrible description of the people they had just left, and assured them, if the remainder of their horde had not been hunting at the time they got to the Fish river, not a man of them would have survived.

They also declared, that they were the most abominable horde throughout the whole of Caffraria.

Their conversation lasted but a few minutes, when they resolved to descend the mountain, and pursue their journey. Scarcely had they put themselves in motion, when a scene of the most extensive and luxuriant beauties burst in a moment on their view. The danger they had just escaped engaged their attention so entirely, when they gained the summit, that they did not immediately perceive the world of beauties that now lay spread before them. All stood for some time in a state of rapture and amazement. The country was mostly a level, yet pleasingly diversified with gentle elevations, on the tops of which they could perceive clumps of the mimosa tree, and the sides clothed with shrubs of various denominations. A thousand rivulets seemed to meander through this second Eden; frequently skirting or appearing to encircle a plantation of wood; then suddenly taking a different direction, glided through a plain of considerable extent, until it came to a gentle declivity; here it formed a natural cascade, and then, following its course, proceeded in an endless variety throughout the whole of the country.

As they stood gazing on this sylvan scene, they perceived innumerable herds of animals, particularly of the species of the gazelle, scouring over the plains; some darting through the woods, others feeding, or drinking at the rivulets. As far as the eye travelled in pursuit of new beauties, it was most amply gratified, until at length the whole gradually faded on the view, and became lost on the horizon. They were so wrapt in ecstasy in contemplating this landscape, that they forgot their danger, and remained too long upon the mountain. They at length descended and proceeded on their journey.

Before the day closed they fixed on a place where they were to remain until the morning. It was near a wood, mostly composed of that kind of thorn already mentioned. Several of these they immediately cut, not only for the purpose of fuel, but to form a barricade or defence against the wild animals during the night.

After completing their fortification, lighting the fires, and supping in the best manner possible, they lay down to rest; but their sleep was constantly disturbed during the night by a herd of elephants brushing through the wood, passing and returning almost every moment. Had not the fence been erected the preceding evening, they would in all probability have been trampled to death by these monstrous animals. They had the good fortune however to escape; and, about seven the next morning, proceeded on their journey, in company with the guides.

They travelled this day through a delightful country. The land, in some places, seemed to be composed of a red and yellow clay, and the valleys appeared covered with a very thick and long grass, but not a sign of agriculture was to be observed. In the course of the day they perceived a few deserted huts, one of which they entered, but paid severely for their curiosity, as those who ventured in were in a moment entirely covered with fleas.

Water was found sometimes, but it was brackish, although they were at least fifty miles from the sea. They kept at this distance during most of the journey.

They brought up for the night, after travelling about thirty-five miles, at the skirt of a small forest, and provided fuel, with a temporary defence, as before. The provisions being nearly exhausted, they were obliged to eat sparingly, although most of them were ravenously hungry.

About seven in the morning they again set out; but many of the people dropped astern in the course of the day, being almost worn out with fatigue. In this situation it was thought advisable for such of the party as could travel to get forward, and provide a place where wood and water could be had. The captain was of this company; and that all those who remained behind might find their way, he ordered the Caffre guides to set fire to the long grass, which served during the night as a point of direction. He was likewise in expectation of their coming up before morning, but was sadly disappointed. They remained stationary until the sun appeared, and then went on.

Not one of the people left behind appeared this morning; but the guides were of opinion they would reach a Christian settlement in the course of the day, where assistance would certainly be had. This intelligence gave them new spirits; and they travelled with unusual alertness until they came to a farm-house. Here relief was expected, but none was to be found: the whole place had been deserted for some time; they were obliged, therefore, to sleep again in the air, and leave their absent and miserable companions to all the horrors of the desert.

This was not a night of sleep, but lamentation. They sat round the fire, and spoke of nothing but their absent messmates, and their unfortunate situation. They were left defenceless, without food, hardly able to stand erect, and in a country where the ferocious animals were most numerous. They were likewise every hour in danger of an attack from the Boshis-men, who swarm in these parts, and destroy the unhappy objects of their vengeance with arrows that are poisoned. The sensibility of the people on this melancholy occasion displayed the genuine character of a sailor. Men who could brave all the dangers of the tempest, and face death without a trembling nerve, even in the cannon's mouth, could not, however, speak of their distressed and absent brethren without a tear. Their own misfortunes were forgotten, and their only consideration, during the night, was their unhappy messmates, whom they never expected to behold again.

They remained here for more than an hour after the rising of the sun. Out of sixty, that composed the party when they departed from the beach, thirty-six were so maimed and worn down by fatigue as to be unable to travel: these remained in the desert, if not already destroyed, and had no hope of preservation but by the exertions of the party who were able to proceed. The guides were now certain that a Christian habitation was at hand. The last they saw had been destroyed by the Caffres in the war with the colonists: it was therefore determined to proceed to a place where relief could be obtained, with every possible despatch. The people

proceeded with redoubled energy; the salvation of their companions was the incentive, and that consideration banished every idea of danger or fatigue.

They travelled without a single halt for about three hours, when one of the guides, who was advanced, roared out, in a transport of joy, "I see a Hottentot, attending a flock of sheep." It was the voice of a seraph proceeding from a Caffre. They all ran to the place where he stood, and, at a considerable distance, observed a man attending a flock of at least four thousand. They moved in a body towards the shepherd, who seemed at first to be alarmed; but perceiving that they were mostly whites, and unarmed, he stopped until they came up. The captain requested of him to direct them the nearest way to the first settlement, which he did, and at the same time informed us the proprietor was a good man; the distance, he said, was about three miles. The pleasure diffused through the party, on receiving this information, it is impossible to describe. The captain embraced this opportunity, and went on; a general joy succeeded, and who should be foremost was the principal consideration.

At length—ecstatic reflection!—they came within sight of a Christian farm. "Come on, my lads," said the captain, "we are safely moored at last; and our people in the deserts will be soon relieved." Some tottered as they stood, overcome with joy, and could not move; others appeared as in a trance, until at length about ten followed him, and they entered the house of Jan du Pliesies.

Fortunately, this was a settler of the best order, about sixty years old, born in Holland, but who had resided in Africa for many years; humane, generous, and possessing a heart that appeared to be the constant mansion of a virtuous sympathy. His cottage was formed of clay, thatched with a kind of reed, and furnished with a few stools, a table, and some kitchen utensils. His family consisted of five or six sons, their wives and children, together with a daughter, making together about twenty people. His stock, however, was considerable, not

less than twelve thousand sheep, and one thousand oxen.

After the alarm which their first appearance occasioned had subsided, the captain told the story of their melancholy disaster, and implored his assistance for the relief of the unhappy people who were left behind. This good man could not listen to the relation without discovering by his countenance the tenderness of his nature. His face, which was naturally pallid, became at certain intervals of a crimson hue: these emotions appeared as the effervescence of sensibility, and to exhibit, in glowing colors, the complexion of virtue.

As no time, he said, should be lost in preparing for the relief of the unfortunate people, he immediately directed two of his sons to harness eight oxen to a wagon. His orders were obeyed with a cheerfulness that evinced an hereditary goodness, and that it had descended, unimpaired, from the sire to his children. They were directed to travel all night; and the guides described the spot so minutely as to avoid all possibility of a mistake. The wagon was soon out of sight, and they all sat down to partake of a sheep, which our liberal host had ordered to be killed for their entertainment.

When the meal was over, the worthy colonist began to interrogate them respecting their journey through Caffraria. He could not possibly conceive, he said, how the Tambochis could be induced to suffer their departure. They were such a horrid race, that nothing was so gratifying to their nature as the shedding of human blood. The Boshis-men, he also observed, were so numerous, and so perpetually on the look-out, that he was amazed at their travelling with any degree of security; but when he considered that they came through a part of Caffraria so infested with carnivorous animals that people could never travel safely but in parties, and well armed, he declared their being then in his house appeared to him a kind of miracle.

The captain took this opportunity of giving our worthy host a proper idea of the Tambochis. His mind had been poisoned by some of his depredating neighbors, and

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never going on such parties himself, he had entertained these prejudices without having an opportunity of knowing the contrary. He appeared much pleased at the conduct of the Tambochis during our abode in their country, and declared this circumstance alone would relieve him from many hours of uneasiness.

His sequestered mansion was nearly surrounded by trees, on which were hung to dry the skins of lions, tigers, panthers, and other destructive animals killed in the vicinity of his own habitation. The carcasses of two enormous creatures were observed lying near the door, which had the appearance of being recently destroyed. They were two rhinoceroses that the farmer's sons had killed, but the day before, on their own land. This gave rise to a narrative respecting these animals, which the good man related with great circumspection, and which appeared very extraordinary.

"These creatures," said the farmer, "are more savage, and infinitely more to be dreaded, than any other animal of the deserts. Even the lion, when he perceives a rhinoceros, will fly from him in an instant. I had a proof of this," said he, "about two years ago. As I was traversing my lands in the morning, I perceived a lion entering a thicket, about the distance of half a mile from the place where I stood. In a few minutes after I observed a second, then a third, and a fourth came; they seemed to follow one another at their leisure, and, in less than an hour, I counted nine that entered the same wood. Never having seen so many of the same species together, I was desirous to know the event of their meeting, and I concealed myself for the purpose. After waiting for rather more than an hour in my lurking place, without either seeing any of them or hearing any noise from the quarter where they lay, I began to despair of having my curiosity in the least gratified. At length I perceived a rhinoceros of uncommon magnitude approach the wood. He stood motionless for about five minutes when he arrived at a small distance from the thicket, then tossed up his nose, and at last scented the animals that lay concealed. In an instant I saw him dart into the wood, and

in the space of about five minutes afterwards I observed all the lions scamper away in different directions, and apparently in the greatest consternation. The rhinoceros beat about the wood in pursuit of his enemies for a considerable time; but not finding any, he broke covert at last and appeared on the plain. He then looked around him, enraged at his disappointment, began tearing up the earth, and discovered every sign of madness and desperation. I remained quietly in my retreat until the animal disappeared, and then returned to my house."

The travellers slept this night on sacks, which their host had arranged for their accommodation. At breakfast on the succeeding morning, their benefactor entertained them with some very interesting observations respecting the country where he resided. He particularly stated the hardships which the colonists endured from the restrictive orders and persecuting conduct of the government at the Cape. "I have lead ore," said he, "on my own farm, so near the surface that we can scrape it up with our hands, and yet we dare not touch it. If we were known to melt and use a single pound of it, we should all be transported, for life, to Batavia."

Before they had finished their meal, their benefactor despatched messengers to his neighboring friends, desiring their assistance to get the crew to the Cape. Several of them came and behaved with the greatest tenderness and liberality. They went so far as to say, that such as were desirous of remaining in the country till they were perfectly recovered, should be accommodated at their houses; and as they travelled once in every year to the Cape, they would take the first opportunity of conveying them thither. The captain thanked them for their kindness, but declined accepting their proposal, as his intention was to make the Cape with every possible expedition.

This conversation was interrupted by a Hottentot servant who ran into the house and declared the "wagon was in sight." All flew to meet it, and the captain had the heart-felt consolation of perceiving twenty-three of his unfortunate people, chiefly lascars, lying down

In the machine. On their arrival, the two sons of Pliesies said they found them near a wood, perfectly resigned to their fate, having given up all hopes of relief. The preceding thirteen of their companions had separated from them; but where they had strayed to not one of them could even guess at. These poor fellows, after enduring for a long time the most unexampled miseries, all arrived in safety at the Cape.

They were now forty-seven in number, and as they were to proceed in wagons, such as were afflicted with sore feet, or weak, through hunger and fatigue, would not again be separated from their companions.

Their benevolent host now provided them with a wagon and two sets of oxen, each set containing eight. They were occasionally to relieve each other on the way, and two or three Hottentot servants were appointed as drivers, and to take charge of the relaying cattle. One of the farmer's sons, completely armed, was likewise directed to attend them, and the wagon was stored with provisions and water sufficient for them until they should arrive at the next settlement.

They took their departure from the hospitable mansion of the benevolent Du Pliesies on the morning of the 2d of July. The guard was perpetually on the watch, lest the Boshis-men or the wild animals might dart upon them unperceived. About eight o'clock in the evening, however, they reached the second farm in perfect security. The distance travelled was about thirty-five miles this day, and all the people in good spirits.

The owner, whose name was Cornelius Englebrock, they found also a benevolent character. His cottage was poor indeed, but all that he could afford he gave with cheerfulness. His neighbor's letter was produced, which he read with great attention, and then said, "My friend is a good man, and I always valued him; but you wanted no other recommendation to my poor services than your misfortunes."

They remained here during the night, after partaking of a frugal repast which their host had provided, and which was given with many innocent apologies for its scantiness.

Before their departure on the ensuing morning, the farmer generously presented them with nine sheep. The poor man lamented that he could not let them have a morsel of bread. "We live, (said he,) the year round chiefly on mutton and game, but seldom enjoy the luxury of a loaf." He insisted, however, on the captain's taking the sheep, which he accepted with many thanks, and they then departed on their journey.

During the four or five succeeding days, they travelled on from house to house, generally at fifteen or sixteen miles' distance from each other, and were received at all of them with a disinterested hospitality. These occurrences are related with a scrupulous attention to fidelity, because the colonists, without distinction, have been frequently represented as a ferocious banditti, scarcely to be kept within the pale of authority.

During several days' travelling they could get but little bread, and not much water. The countries were alternately hill and dale, and often afforded the most romantic prospects. They frequently perceived vast quantities of wolves, and such droves of that species of deer which the farmers call spring-buck, that one flock alone could not contain less than from twelve to fourteen thousand. Indeed many of the settlers said they had seen double that number at one time, and frequently killed three at a single shot. Our travellers likewise saw vast quantities of guinea-fowl, which after a shower of rain are easily caught by the farmers' dogs.

The zebra, or wild ass, is common in these advanced colonies, and many of them were seen. Ostriches were likewise very numerous. They had such plenty of venison at the houses where they stopped, that their stock of nine sheep, furnished by honest Englebrock, was diminished but three in the course of six days.

From the 8th to the 14th of July, their journey was not interrupted by any disagreeable occurrence. The countries through which they passed displayed at every mile a new change of beauties. The mountains were in many places of stupendous height, and the valleys, decorated with wood, were astonishingly fertile in vegetable

productions. One of the most extensive of these valleys took them no less than three days and a half in passing. It is called by the settlers Long Cluff, and affords, perhaps, as many romantic scenes as can be found in any spot of the same extent on the face of the earth.

The hills, for seventy or eighty miles, run parallel to each other. The lands between are wonderfully rich, and produce vast quantities of a plant similar in its taste and smell to our thyme. On this fragrant herb are fed immense quantities of sheep and cattle; they devour it with great eagerness, and it gives the mutton a flavor so like our venison, that an epicure might be deceived in the taste. The valleys are generally level, from four to eight miles in breadth, and in several places intersected with rivulets, on the borders of which are frequently perceived whole groves of the aloe-tree.

On or about the 14th, they reached the settlement of an old and blind man. He had a large family, and appeared to possess a comfortable independence. When he heard the story of the travellers, the good farmer burst into tears, and ordered a glass of brandy to be given to each of the crew. After this unusual and cheering repast, he directed some mutton to be delivered to the people, and gave them a pot to dress it in. He then requested the captain to mess with the family, which was complied with, and when supper was ended, this worthy creature said he was so pleased with their escaping the dangers of the seas, and the Caffres, that he would celebrate the meeting with a song. He immediately began and sung with the voice of a Stentor. A general plaudit succeeded; and then the honest benefactor said, "Now, captain, I have a favor to ask of you. Pray, desire all your people to sing." It was impossible to help laughing at this whimsical request; but it was thought good-humor, at such a moment, should not be interrupted; therefore an American sailor was desired to sing one of his best songs. He no sooner began than all the lascars tuned their pipes; this set agoing the Swedes, Portuguese, and Dutchmen, and all the crew; each party sung in their different languages, and at the same time. Such a con-

cert was never heard before; the liberal and merry old colonist was so entertained with their music, that he had nearly dropped from his chair in a fit of laughter.

The captain was provided this night with a sheep-skin, on which he rested under the roof of the farmer's cottage; but there was not room for all, and therefore most of the poor fellows were obliged to sleep in the air. A similar inconvenience had happened so frequently since they reached the colonies, that they determined to separate.

On the morning of the 17th they separated, and the captain took with him his chief and third mate, together with one or two more, who were solicitous to accompany him. The country, as they advanced, increased in population; and the farm-houses were, in several places, not more than two miles' distance from each other. Many of them were beautifully situated, and the lands produced grain, oranges, figs, and lemons in abundance. Their grapes likewise appeared to flourish, and supplied them with wine and brandies, which they vended chiefly at the Cape. Vast herds of deer, and partridges out of all number, were seen, and immense tracts of land covered entirely with aloe-trees.

From the 17th to the 21st, they travelled a mountainous country; but the valleys constantly presented farms and habitations where the industry of the husbandman was amply rewarded. The flocks of sheep were prodigious; but the cattle were not so numerous, nor in such good condition, as those seen in the more advanced colonies.

On the 22d they arrived at Zwellingdam, and proceeded to the landorshouse. The landorshouse is the chief man of the place, and his settlement consists of about sixteen or eighteen houses, surrounded by a delightful country, and producing grain, vegetables for culinary purposes, grapes, and fruits of almost every description.

This gentleman gave them a very hospitable reception, and the next morning furnished the captain with a horse and guide, to conduct him to his brother-in-law's. That nothing might be omitted on his part to secure a favora-

ble reception at the Cape, the captain's worthy host gave them a very kind letter to his friend general Craig, commander in chief, acquainting him with the loss of the ship, and the miseries endured by the crew in their travels through the desert. He also requested the general would do them every kindness in his power, which he would acknowledge as an obligation conferred upon himself.

They arrived at the settlement of Johannes Brinch, at Stallen Bush, on the third or fourth day, after travelling a country highly cultivated, and producing immense forests of the aloe-tree. The farmers live here in affluence, and the crew continued to experience the most liberal and kind attention during the remainder of their journey.

On their arrival at Stallen Bush, the captain waited on Mr. Brinch, whose reception can never be mentioned but in terms of the most fervent gratitude and esteem. His residence is one of those delightful places which, from its natural situation and fertility, wraps the beholder, the moment he sees it, in a kind of ecstasy. The vines there are reared with great attention, and are highly productive. Grain, vegetation, and fruits, yield abundant crops; and camphor-trees of very large dimensions thrive also in the settlement. Indeed, the whole settlement seemed to be so precisely what it should be, that any alteration must be a deformity. The people here dress well, but nearer the English than the Dutch style. They have nothing of that sullen taciturnity belonging to the character of the Hollander, but are sprightly and good-humored.

"I remained two days (says the captain) under the roof of this liberal and benevolent gentleman. He pressed me to stay longer; but I was desirous of reaching the Cape, and therefore declined his hospitable invitation. In the morning, therefore, he provided me with a horse and guide, and I took my departure from Stallen Bush, on the 30th, in the morning. Our journey was but short, as we arrived the same evening at the Cape of Good Hope; and although emaciated in my frame, yet in tolerable health."

LOSS OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP LITCHFIELD,

Of Fifty Guns, on the Coast of Barbary, Nov. 30, 1758.

THE *Litchfield*, captain Barton, left Ireland on the 11th of November, 1758, in company with several other men-of-war and transports, under the command of commodore Keppel, intended for the reduction of Goree. The voyage was prosperous till the 29th, when at eight in the evening I took charge of the watch, and the weather turned out very squally, with rain. At nine it was extremely dark, with much lightning, the wind varying from S. W. to W. N. W. At half past nine, had a very hard squall. Captain Barton came upon deck and staid till ten; and then left orders to keep sight of the commodore, and make what sail the weather would permit. At eleven saw the commodore bearing south, but the squalls coming on so heavy, we were obliged to hand the main top-sail, and at twelve o'clock were under our courses.

November 30th, at one in the morning, I left the deck in charge of the first lieutenant; the light, which we took to be the commodore's, right ahead, bearing S.; wind W. S. W., blowing very hard. At six in the morning I was awaked by a great shock, and a confused noise of the men on deck. I ran up, thinking some ship had run foul of us, for by my own reckoning, and that of every other person in the ship, we were at least thirty-five leagues distant from land; but, before I could reach the quarter-deck, the ship gave a great stroke upon the ground, and the sea broke over her. Just after this I could perceive the land, rocky, rugged and uneven, about two cables' length from us. The ship lying with her broadside to windward, the masts soon went overboard,

carrying some men with them. It is impossible for any but a sufferer to feel our distress at this time; the masts, yards, and sails hanging alongside in a confused heap; the ship beating violently upon the rocks; the waves curling up to an incredible height, then dashing down with such force as if they would immediately have split the ship to pieces, which we, indeed, every moment expected. Having a little recovered from our confusion, we saw it necessary to get every thing we could over to the larboard side, to prevent the ship from heeling off, and exposing the deck to the sea. Some of the people were very earnest to get the boats out, contrary to advice; and, after much entreaty, notwithstanding a most terrible sea, one of the boats was launched, and eight of the best men jumped into her; but she had scarcely got to the ship's stern when she was hurled to the bottom, and every soul in her perished. The rest of the boats were soon washed to pieces on the deck. We then made a raft with the davit, capstan-bars, and some boards, and waited with resignation for Providence to assist us. The ship soon filled with water, so that we had no time to get any provisions up; the quarter-deck and poop were now the only places we could stand upon with security, the waves being mostly spent by the time they reached us, owing to their breaking over the fore part of the ship.

At four in the afternoon, perceiving the sea to be much abated, one of our people attempted to swim, and got safe on shore. There were numbers of Moors upon the rocks ready to take hold of any one, and beckoned much for us to come ashore, which, at first, we took for kindness; but they soon undeceived us; for they had not the humanity to assist any that was entirely naked, but would fly to those who had any thing about them, and strip them before they were quite out of the water, wrangling among themselves about the plunder. In the mean time the poor wretches were left to crawl up the rocks if they were able, if not, they perished unregarded. The second lieutenant and myself, with about sixty-five others, got ashore before dark, but were left exposed to

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the weather on the cold sand. To preserve ourselves from perishing of cold, we were obliged to go down to the shore, and to bring up pieces of the wreck to make a fire. While thus employed, if we happened to pick up a shirt or handkerchief, and did not give it to the Moors at the first demand, the next thing was a dagger presented to our breasts.

They allowed us a piece of an old sail, which they did not think worth carrying off: with this we made two tents, and crowded ourselves into them, sitting between one another's legs to preserve warmth, and make room. In this uneasy situation, continually bewailing our misery, and that of our poor shipmates on the wreck, we passed a most tedious night, without so much as a drop of water to refresh ourselves, excepting what we caught through our sail-cloth covering.

November 30th, at six in the morning, went down with a number of our men upon the rocks, to assist our shipmates in coming ashore, and found the ship had been greatly shattered in the night. It being now low water, many attempted to swim ashore; some arrived, but others perished. The people on board got the raft into the water, and about fifteen men placed themselves upon it. They had no sooner put off from the wreck than it overturned; most of them recovered again, but scarcely were they on, before it was a second time overturned. Only three or four got hold of it again, and all the rest perished. In the mean time, a good swimmer brought with much difficulty a rope, which I had the good fortune to catch hold of, just when he was quite spent, and had thoughts of quitting it. Some people coming to my assistance, we pulled a large rope ashore with that, and made it fast round a rock. We found this gave great spirits to the poor souls upon the wreck; for, it being hauled taugth from the upper part of the stern, made an easy descent to any who had art enough to walk or slide upon a rope, with a smaller rope fixed above to hold by. This was the means of saving a number of lives, though many were washed off by the impetuous surf, and perished. The flood coming on, raised the surf, and pre-

vented any more from coming at that time, so that the ropes could be of no further use. We then retired from the rocks; and hunger prevailing, we set about broiling some of the drowned turkeys, &c. which, with some flour mixed into a paste, and baked upon the coals, constituted our first meal upon this barbarous coast. We found a well of fresh water about half a mile off, which very much refreshed us. But we had scarcely finished this coarse repast, when the Moors, who were now grown numerous, drove us all down to the rocks to bring up empty iron-bound casks, pieces of the wreck which had the most iron about them, and other articles.

About three o'clock in the afternoon we made another meal on the drowned poultry, and finding that this was the best provision we were likely to have, some were ordered to save all they could find, others to raise a larger tent, and the rest sent down to the rocks to look for people coming ashore. The surf greatly increasing with the flood, and breaking upon the fore part of the ship, she was divided into three parts; the fore part turned keel up, the middle part soon dashed into a thousand pieces; the fore part of the poop likewise fell at this time, and about thirty men with it, eight of whom got ashore with our help, but so bruised that we despaired of their recovery. Nothing but the after part of the poop now remained above water, and a very small part of the other decks, on which our captain, and about one hundred and thirty more, remained, expecting every wave to be their last. Every shock threw some off; few or none of whom came on shore alive. During this distress, the Moors laughed uncommonly, and seemed much diverted when a wave, larger than usual, threatened the destruction of the poor wretches on the wreck. Between four and five o'clock the sea was much decreased with the ebb: the rope being still secure, the people began to venture upon it; some tumbled off and perished, but others reached the shore in safety.

About five, we beckoned as much as possible for the captain to come upon the rope, as this seemed to be as good an opportunity as any we had seen; and many

arrived in safety with our assistance. Some told us that the captain was determined to stay till all the men had quitted the wreck; however, we still continued to beckon for him, and before it was dark saw him come upon the rope. He was closely followed by a good able seaman, who did all he could to keep up his spirits and assist him in warping. As he could not swim, and had been so many hours without refreshment, with the surf hurling him violently along, he was unable to resist the force of the waves, had lost his hold of the great rope, and must inevitably have perished, had not a wave thrown him within the reach of our ropes, which he had barely sufficient sense to catch hold of. We pulled him up, and after resting a short time on the rocks, he came to himself, and walked up to the tent, desiring us to continue to assist the rest of the people in coming on shore. The villains, the Moors, would have stripped him, though he had nothing on but a plain waistcoat and breeches, if we had not plucked up a little spirit and opposed them; upon which they thought proper to desist. The people continued to come ashore, though many perished in the attempt. The Moors, at length, growing tired with waiting for so little plunder, would not suffer us to remain on the rocks, but drove us all away. I then, with the captain's approbation, went, and by signs made humble supplication to the bashaw, who was in the tent dividing the valuable plunder. He understood us at last, and gave us permission to go down, at the same time sending some Moors with us. We carried firebrands down to let the poor souls on the wreck see that we were still there in readiness to assist them. About nine at night, finding that no more men would venture upon the rope, as the surf was again greatly increased, we retired to the tent, leaving, by the account of the last man that arrived, between thirty and forty souls upon the wreck. We now thought of stowing every body in the tent, and began by fixing the captain in the middle; then made every man lie down on his side, as we could not afford them each a breadth; but, after all, many took easier lodgings in empty casks.

The next morning the weather was moderate and fair. We found the wreck all in pieces on the rocks, and the shore covered with lumber. The people upon the wreck all perished about one in the morning. In the afternoon we called a muster, and found the number of the survivors to be two hundred and twenty; so that one hundred and thirty perished on this melancholy occasion.

On the 2d of December, the weather still continued moderate. We subsisted entirely on the drowned stock, and a little pork to relish it, and the flour made into cakes; all of which we issued regularly and sparingly, being ignorant whether the Moors would furnish us with any thing, they being still very troublesome, and even wanting to rob us of the canvass which covered our tent. At two in the afternoon a black servant arrived, sent by Mr. Butler, a Dane, factor to the American Company at Saffy, a town at the distance of about thirty miles, to inquire into our condition and to offer us assistance. The man having brought pens, ink and paper, the captain sent back a letter by him. Finding there was one who offered us help, it greatly refreshed our afflicted hearts.

In the afternoon of the following day we received a letter from Mr. Butler, with some bread, and a few other necessaries. On the 4th the people were employed in picking up pieces of sails, and whatever else the Moors would permit them. We divided the crew into messes, and served the necessaries we received the preceding day. They had bread, and the flesh of the drowned stock. In the afternoon we received another letter from Mr. Butler, and one at the same time from Mr. Andrews, an Irish gentleman, a merchant at Saffy. The Moors were not so troublesome now as before, most of them going off with what they had got.

On the 5th the drowned stock was entirely consumed, and at low water the people were employed in collecting muscles. At ten in the morning Mr. Andrews arrived, bringing a French surgeon with medicines and plasters, of which some of the men, who had been dreadfully bruised, stood in great need. The following day we

served out one of the blankets of the country to every two men, and pampooses, a kind of slippers, to those who were in most want of them. These supplies were likewise brought us by Mr. Andrews. The people were now obliged to live upon muscles and bread, the Moors, who promised us a supply of cattle, having deceived us, and never returned.

The people on the 7th were still employed in collecting muscles and limpets. The Moors began to be a little civil to us, for fear the emperor should punish them for their cruel treatment to us. In the afternoon a messenger arrived from the emperor at Sallee, with general orders to the people to supply us with provisions. They accordingly brought us some lean bullocks and sheep, which Mr. Andrews purchased for us; but at this time we had no pots to make broth in, and the cattle were scarcely fit for any thing else.

In the morning of the 10th we made preparations for marching to Morocco, the emperor having sent orders for that purpose, and camels to carry the lame and the necessaries. At nine, set off with about thirty camels, having got all our liquor with us, divided into hog-heads, for the convenience of carriage on the camels. At noon, joined the crews of one of the transports, and a bomb-tender, that had been wrecked about three leagues to the northward of us. We were then all mounted upon camels, excepting the captain, who was furnished with a horse. We never stopped till seven in the evening, when they procured us two tents only, which would not contain one third of the men, so that most of them lay exposed to the dew, which was very heavy, and extremely cold. We found our whole number to be three hundred and thirty-eight, including officers, men, boys, and three women and a child, which one of the women brought ashore in her teeth.

On the 11th continued our journey, attended by a number of Moors on horseback. At six in the evening we came to our resting-place for that night, and were furnished with tents sufficient to cover all our men.

At five in the morning of the 12th, we set out as be-

fore, and, at two in the afternoon, saw the emperor's cavalcade at a distance. At three, a relation of the emperor's, named Muli Adrix, came to us, and told the captain it was the emperor's orders he should that instant write a letter to our governor at Gibraltar, to send to his Britannic majesty to inquire whether he would settle a peace with him or not. Captain Barton immediately sat down upon the grass and wrote a letter, which, being given to Muli Adrix, he went and joined the emperor again. At six in the evening came to our resting-place for the night, and were well furnished with tents, but very little provisions.

We were, the following day, desired to continue on the same spot, till the men were refreshed, and this repose they greatly needed, and we received a better supply of provisions. That morning lieutenant Harrison, commanding the soldiers belonging to lord Forbes' regiment, died suddenly in the tent. In the evening, while employed with his interment, the inhuman Moors disturbed us by throwing stones and mocking us. The next day we found that they had opened the grave and stripped the body.

On the 16th we continued our journey, came to our resting-place at four in the afternoon, pitched the tents, and served out the provisions. Here our people were ill-treated by some of the country Moors. As they were taking water from a brook, the Moors would always spit into the vessel before they would suffer them to take it away. Upon this some of us went down to inquire into the affair, but were immediately saluted with a shower of stones. We ran in upon them, beat some of them pretty soundly, put them to flight, and brought away one, who thought to defend himself with a long knife. This fellow was severely punished by the officer who had the charge of conducting us.

The two succeeding days continued our journey, and, at three in the afternoon of the 18th, arrived at the city of Morocco, without having seen a single habitation during the whole journey. Here we were insulted by the rabble, and, at five, were carried before the emperor,

surrounded by five or six hundred of his guards. He was on horseback before the gate of his palace, that being the place where he distributes justice to his people. He told captain Barton, by an interpreter, that he was neither at peace nor war with England, and he would detain us till an ambassador arrived from that country to conclude a permanent treaty. The captain then desired that we might not be treated as slaves. He answered hastily, that we should be taken care of. We were then immediately hurried out of his presence, conveyed to two old ruinous houses, shut up amidst dirt and innumerable vermin of every description. Mr. Butler being at Morocco on business, came and supplied us with victuals and drink, and procured liberty for the captain to go home with him to his lodgings. He likewise sent some blankets for the officers, and we made shift to pass the night with tolerable comfort, being very much fatigued.

At nine in the morning of the 21st, the emperor sent orders for the captain and every officer to appear before him. We immediately repaired to his palace; we remained waiting in an outer yard two hours; in the mean time he diverted himself with seeing a clumsy Dutch boat rowed about in a pond by four of our petty officers. About noon we were called before him, and placed in a line about thirty yards from him. He was sitting in a chair by the side of the pond, accompanied only by two of his chief alcaids. Having viewed us some time, he ordered the captain to come forward, and after asking him a good many questions concerning our navy, and destination of the squadron to which we had belonged, we were also called forward by two and three at a time as we stood according to our rank. He then asked most of us some very insignificant questions, and took some to be Portuguese because they had black hair, and others to be Swedes because their hair was light. He judged none of us to be English excepting the captain, the second lieutenant, the ensign of the soldiers, and myself. But assuring him we were all English, he cried *Bonno*, and gave a nod for our departure, to which we

returned a very low bow, and were glad to return to our old ruined houses again. Our total number amounted to thirty.

On the 25th, being Christmas day, prayers were read to the people as usual in the church of England. The captain this day received a present of tea and loaves of sugar from one of the queens, whose grandfather had been an English renegado.

In the afternoon of the 26th we received the disagreeable intelligence that the emperor would oblige all the English to work, like all the other Christian slaves, excepting the officers who were before him on the 21st. The next day this account was confirmed; for, at seven in the morning, an alcaid came and ordered all our people to work, excepting the sick. Upon our application, eight were allowed to stay at home every day to cook for the rest, and this office was performed by turns throughout the whole company. At four in the afternoon the people returned, some having been employed in carrying wood, some in turning up the ground with hoes, and others in picking weeds in the emperor's garden. Their victuals was prepared for them against their return.

On the 28th, all the people went to work as soon as they could see, and returned at four in the afternoon. Two of the soldiers received one hundred bastinadoes each, for behaving in a disrespectful manner while the emperor was looking at their work.

On the 30th, captain Barton received a kind message from the emperor, with permission to ride out or take a walk in his garden with his officers.

From this time the men continued in the same state of slavery till the arrival, in April, of captain Milbank, sent as an ambassador to the emperor. He concluded a treaty for the ransom of the crew of the Litchfield, together with the other English subjects in the emperor's power, and the sum stipulated to be paid for their release was one hundred and seventy thousand dollars. Our people accordingly set out for Sallee, attended by a pashaw and two soldiers on horseback. On the fourth

day of their march they had a skirmish with some of the country Moors. The dispute began in consequence of some of our men in the rear stopping at a village to buy some milk, for which, after they had drank it, the Moors demanded an exorbitant price. This our men refused to give, on which the Moors had recourse to blows, which our people returned; and others coming to their assistance, they maintained a smart battle, till the enemy became too numerous. In the mean time some rode off to call the guard, who instantly came up with their drawn scimetars, and dealt round them pretty briskly. During this interval we were not idle, and had the pleasure to see the blood trickling down a good many of their faces. The guards seized the chief man of the village, and carried him before the bashaw, who was our conductor, and who, having heard the cause, dismissed him without farther punishment, in consideration of his having been well drubbed by us.

On the 22d of April we arrived at Sallee, and pitched our tents in an old castle, from whence we soon afterwards embarked on board the Gibraltar, which landed us at Gibraltar on the 27th of June. From that place the captain and crew were put on board the Marlborough store ship, prepared expressly for their reception, and arrived in England in the month of August, 1760.

LOSS OF THE PORTUGUESE VESSEL THE ST. JAMES,

Off the Coast of Africa, in 1586.

In the month of May, 1586, intelligence was received at Goa of the loss of the admiral's ship, the St. James. The account of this disaster stated, that after doubling the cape of Good Hope, the captain, conceiving he had neither rocks nor other dangers to dread, proceeded under full sail, without observing his charts, or at least not with the attention he ought. Having a favorable wind, he made much way in a short time, but was driven out of his course towards the rocks called Bassas de India, distant about fifty leagues from the island of Madagascar, and seventy from the continent.

Perceiving they were so near these rocks, and in imminent danger of striking upon them, several of the passengers, who had frequently traversed those seas, were much alarmed. They represented to the captain, that being in the midst of the rocks, it was extremely dangerous to suffer the ship to run under full sail, particularly during the night, and in a season when tempests were very frequent. The captain, regardless of their prudent remonstrances, exerted his authority, ordered the pilots to follow his commands, adding, that the king's commission entitled him to obedience, and that his opinion ought to be taken in preference. However, between eleven and twelve o'clock the same night the vessel was driven towards the rocks, and struck without a possibility of being got off. A confused cry of distress resounded, in every direction, from a multitude composed of above five hundred men and thirty women, who, having no other prospect before their eyes but inevitable destruction, bewailed their fate with the bitterest lamenta-

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Loss of the St. James, page 101.

tions. Every effort to save the ship proved ineffectual. The admiral, Fernando Mendoza, the captain, the first pilot, and ten or twelve other persons, instantly threw themselves into the boat, saying they would seek upon the rocks a proper place for collecting the wreck of the ship, with which they might afterwards construct a vessel large enough to convey the whole of the crew to the continent. With this view they actually landed on the rock, but being unable to find a spot proper for the execution of their design, they did not think proper to return to the ship, but resolved to steer towards the African coast. Some provisions which had been thrown in haste into the boat were distributed among them; they then directed their course towards the continent of Africa, where they arrived in safety, after a voyage of seventeen days, and enduring all the horrors of famine and tempestuous weather.

Those who remained on board, finding that the boat did not return, began to despair of saving their lives. To add to their distress, the vessel parted between the two decks, and the pinnace was much damaged by the repeated shocks she sustained from the fury of the waves. The workmen, though very expert, despaired of being able to repair her, when an Italian, named Cypriano Grimaldi, leaped into her, accompanied by ninety of the crew, and, assisted by most of those who had followed him, instantly fell to work to put her into a condition to keep the sea.

Those who could not get on board the pinnace beheld her bearing away from the wreck with tears and lamentations. Several who could swim threw themselves into the sea, in the hope of overtaking her; and some were on the point of getting on board, when their more fortunate comrades, fearing they should be sunk with the weight of all those who endeavored to obtain admittance, pushed them back into the sea, and with their sabres and hatchets cut, without mercy, the hands of such as would not quit their hold. It is impossible to describe the anguish of those who remained on the floating fragments of the wreck, and witnessed this barbarous scene.

Seeing themselves cut off from every resource, their cries and lamentations would have melted the hardest heart. The situation of those in the pinnace was not much better; their great number, the want of provisions, their distance from the land, and the bad condition of the crazy bark that bore them, contributed to fill them with gloomy presentiments. Some of the most resolute, however, to prevent the anarchy and confusion which would have aggravated their misery, proposed to their companions to submit to the authority of a captain. To this they all agreed, and immediately chose a nobleman of Portuguese extraction, but born in India, to command them, investing him with absolute power. He instantly employed his authority, in causing the weakest, whom he merely pointed out with his finger, to be thrown overboard. In the number of these was a carpenter, who had assisted in repairing the pinnace; the only favor he requested was a little wine, after which he suffered himself to be thrown into the sea without uttering a word. Another, who was proscribed in the same manner, was saved by an uncommon exertion of fraternal affection. He was already seized and on the point of being sacrificed to imperious necessity, when his younger brother demanded a moment's delay. He observed that his brother was skilful in his profession, that his father and mother were very old, and his sisters not yet settled in life; that he could not be of that service to them which his brother might, and, as circumstances required the sacrifice of one of the two, he begged to die in his stead. His request was complied with, and he was accordingly thrown into the sea. But this courageous youth followed the bark upwards of six hours, making incessant efforts to get on board, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, while those who had thrown him over endeavored to keep him off with their swords. But that which appeared likely to accelerate his end proved his preservation. The young man snatched at a sword, seized it by the blade, and neither the pain, nor the exertions made by him who held it, could make him quit his grasp. The others, admiring his resolution, and moved with the proof of fraternal affection which he had dis-

played, unanimously agreed to permit him to enter the pinnace. At length, after having endured hunger and thirst, and encountered the dangers of several tempests, they landed on the coast of Africa, on the twentieth day after their shipwreck, and there met with their companions who had escaped in the first boat.

The rest of the crew and passengers left on the wreck likewise attempted to reach the land. Collecting some loose rafters and planks, they formed a kind of raft, but were overwhelmed by the first sea, and all perished, excepting two who gained the shore. Those who had reached the coast of Africa had not arrived at the end of their sufferings; they had scarcely disembarked when they fell into the hands of the Caffres, a savage and inhuman people, who stripped and left them in the most deplorable state. However, mustering up their courage and the little strength they had left, they arrived at the place where the agent of the Portuguese, at Sofala and Mozambique, resided. By him they were received with the utmost humanity, and after reposing a few days, after their fatigues, they reached Mozambique, and repaired from thence to India. Only sixty survived out of all those who had embarked in the St. James; all the rest perished, either at sea, of fatigue, or hunger. Thus the imprudence of an individual occasioned the loss of a fine vessel, and the lives of above four hundred and fifty persons.

Upon the captain's return to Europe, the widows and orphans of the unfortunate sufferers raised such loud complaints against him that he was apprehended and put in prison; but he was soon afterwards released. The former catastrophe was not a sufficient lesson for this self-sufficient and obstinate man. He undertook the command of another vessel in 1588, and had nearly lost her in the same manner, and in the same place. Fortunately, at sunrise he discovered the rocks, towards which he was running with the same imprudence as in his former voyage. But on his return from India to Portugal he was lost, together with the vessel he was on board of; thus meeting with the just punishment of his culpable obstinacy and misconduct.

LOSS OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP CENTAUR,

Of Seventy-four Guns, September 23, 1782.

AFTER the decisive engagement in the West Indies, on the glorious 12th of April, 1782, when the French fleet under count de Grasse was defeated by admiral Sir George Rodney, several of the captured ships, besides many others, were either lost or disabled, on their home-ward-bound passage, with a large convoy. Among those lost was the Centaur, of seventy-four guns, whose commander, captain Inglefield, with the master and ten of the crew, experienced a most providential escape from the general fate.

The captain's narrative affords the best explanation of the manner and means by which this signal deliverance was effected. Those only who are personally involved in such a calamity can describe their sensations with full energy, and furnish, in such detail, those traits of the heart which never fail to interest.

The Centaur (says captain Inglefield) left Jamaica in rather a leaky condition, keeping two hand-pumps going, and when it blew fresh, sometimes a spell with a chain-pump was necessary. But I had no apprehension that the ship was not able to encounter a common gale of wind.

In the evening of the 16th of September, when the fatal gale came on, the ship was prepared for the worst weather usually met in those latitudes, the main-sail was reefed and set, the top-gallant masts struck, and the mizzen-yard lowered down, though at that time it did not blow very strong. Towards midnight it blew a gale of wind, and the ship made so much water that I was obliged to turn all hands up to spell the pumps. The leak still increasing, I had thoughts to try the ship

before the sea. Happy I should have been, perhaps, had I in this been determined. The impropriety of leaving the convoy, except in the last extremity, and the hopes of the weather growing moderate, weighed against the opinion that it was right.

About two in the morning the wind lulled, and we flattered ourselves the gale was breaking. Soon after we had much thunder and lightning from the south-east, with rain, when it began to blow strong in gusts of wind, which obliged me to haul the main-sail up, the ship being then under bare poles. This was scarcely done, when a gust of wind, exceeding in violence any thing of the kind I had ever seen or had any conception of, laid the ship upon her beam ends. The water forsook the hold and appeared between decks, so as to fill the men's hammocks to leeward: the ship lay motionless, and to all appearance irrecoverably overset. The water increasing fast, forced through the cells of the ports, and scuttled in the ports from the pressure of the ship. I gave immediate directions to cut away the main and mizzen masts, hoping when the ship righted to wear her. The mizzen-mast went first, upon cutting one or two of the lanyards, without the smallest effect on the ship; the main-mast followed, upon cutting the lanyard of one shroud; and I had the disappointment to see the fore-mast and bowsprit follow. The ship upon this immediately righted, but with great violence; and the motion was so quick, that it was difficult for the people to work the pumps. Three guns broke loose upon the main-deck, and it was some time before they were secured. Several men being maimed in this attempt, every movable was destroyed, either from the shot thrown loose from the lockers, or the wreck of the deck. The officers, who had left their beds naked when the ship over-set in the morning, had not an article of clothes to put on, nor could their friends supply them.

The masts had not been over the sides ten minutes before I was informed the tiller had broken short in the rudder-head; and before the chocks could be placed, the rudder itself was gone. Thus we were as much disas-

tered as it was possible, lying at the mercy of the wind and sea: yet I had one comfort, that the pumps, if any thing, reduced the water in the hold; and as the morning came on (the 17th) the weather grew more moderate, the wind having shifted, in the gale, to north-west.

At daylight I saw two line-of-battle ships to leeward; one had lost her fore-mast and bowsprit, the other her main-mast. It was the general opinion on board the *Centaur*, that the former was the *Canada*, the other the *Glorieux*. The *Ramilies* was not in sight, nor more than fifteen sail of merchant ships.

About seven in the morning I saw another line-of-battle ship ahead of us, which I soon distinguished to be the *Ville de Paris*, with all her masts standing. I immediately gave orders to make the signal of distress, hoisting the ensign on the stump of the mizzen-mast, union downwards, and firing one of the fore-castle guns. The ensign blew away soon after it was hoisted, and it was the only one we had remaining; but I had the satisfaction to see the *Ville de Paris* wear and stand towards us. Several of the merchant ships also approached us, and those that could hailed, and offered their assistance; but depending upon the king's ship, I only thanked them, desiring, if they joined admiral Graves, to acquaint him of our condition. I had not the smallest doubt but the *Ville de Paris* was coming to us, as she appeared to us not to have suffered in the least by the storm, and having seen her wear, we knew she was under government of her helm; at this time, also, it was so moderate that the merchantmen set their top-sails: but, approaching within two miles, she passed us to windward; this being observed by one of the merchant ships, she wore and came under our stern, offering to carry any message to her. I desired the master would acquaint captain Wilkinson that the *Centaur* had lost her rudder, as well as her masts; that she made a great deal of water, and that I desired he would remain with her until the weather grew moderate. I saw the merchantman approach afterwards near enough to speak to the *Ville de Paris*, but

I am afraid that her condition was much worse than it appeared to be, as she continued upon that tack. In the mean time all the quarter-deck guns were thrown overboard, and all but six, which had overset, off the main-deck. The ship, lying in the trough of the sea, labored prodigiously. I got over one of the small anchors, with a boom and several gun carriages, veering out from the head-door by a large hawser, to keep the ship's bow to the sea; but this, with a top-gallant sail upon the stump of the mizzen-mast, had not the desired effect.

As the evening came on it grew hazy, and blew strong in squalls. We lost sight of the *Ville de Paris*, but I thought it a certainty that we should see her the next morning. The night was passed in constant labor at the pump. Sometimes the wind lulled, and the water diminished; when it blew strong again, the sea rising, the water again increased.

Towards the morning of the 18th I was informed there was seven feet water upon the keelson; that one of the winches was broken; that the two spare ones would not fit, and that the hand-pumps were choked. These circumstances were sufficiently alarming; but upon opening the after-hold to get some rum up for the people, we found our condition much more so.

It will be necessary to mention, that the *Centaur's* after-hold was inclosed by a bulk-head at the after part of the well; here all the dry provisions and the ship's rum were stowed upon twenty chaldrons of coal, which unfortunately had been started on this part of the ship, and by them the pumps were continually choked. The chain-pumps were so much worn as to be of little use; and the leathers, which, had the well been clear, would have lasted twenty days, or more, were all consumed in eight. At this time it was observed that the water had not a passage to the well, for there was so much that it washed against the orlop-deck. All the rum, twenty-six puncheons, and all the provisions, of which there was sufficient for two months, in casks, were staved, having floated with violence from side to side until there was not a whole cask remaining: even the staves that were

found upon clearing the hold were most of them broken in two pieces. In the fore-hold we had a prospect of perishing: should the ship swim, we had no water but what remained in the ground tier; and over this all the wet provisions, and butts filled with salt-water, were floating, and with so much motion that no man could with safety go into the hold. There was nothing left for us to try but bailing with buckets at the fore-hatchway and fish-room; and twelve large canvas buckets were immediately employed at each. On opening the fish-room we were so fortunate as to discover that two puncheons of rum, which belonged to me, had escaped. They were immediately got up, and served out at times in drams; and had it not been for this relief, and some lime-juice, the people would have dropped.

We soon found our account in bailing; the spare pump had been put down the fore-hatchway, and a pump shifted to the fish-room; but the motion of the ship had washed the coals so small, that they had reached every part of the ship, and the pumps were soon choked. However, the water by noon had considerably diminished by working the buckets; but there appeared no prospect of saving the ship, if the gale continued. The labor was too great to hold out without water; yet the people worked without a murmur, and indeed with cheerfulness.

At this time the weather was more moderate, and a couple of spars were got ready for shears to set up a jury fore-mast; but as the evening came on, the gale again increased. We had seen nothing this day but the ship that had lost her main-mast, and she appeared to be as much in want of assistance as ourselves, having fired guns of distress; and before night I was told her fore-mast was gone.

The Centaur labored so much, that I had scarcely a hope she could swim till morning. However, by great exertion of the chain-pumps and bailing, we held our own, but our sufferings for want of water were very great, and many of the people could not be restrained from drinking salt-water.

than suspended in water. There was no certainty that she would swim from one minute to another; and the love of life, which I believe never showed itself later in the approach to death, began now to level all distinctions. It was impossible, indeed, for any man to deceive himself with a hope of being saved upon a raft in such a sea; besides that, the ship in sinking, it was probable, would carry every thing down with her in a vortex, to a certain distance.

It was near five o'clock, when, coming from my cabin, I observed a number of people looking very anxiously over the side; and looking over myself, I saw that several men had forced the pinnace, and that more were attempting to get in. I had immediate thoughts of securing this boat before she might be sunk by numbers. There appeared not more than a moment for consideration; to remain and perish with the ship's company, to whom I could not be of use any longer, or seize the opportunity, which seemed the only way of escaping, and leave the people, with whom I had been so well satisfied on a variety of occasions that I thought I could give my life to preserve them. This, indeed, was a painful conflict, such as, I believe, no man can describe, nor any have a just idea of who has not been in a similar situation.

The love of life prevailed. I called to Mr. Rainy, the master, the only officer upon deck, desired him to follow me, and immediately descended into the boat at the after part of the chains, but not without great difficulty got the boat clear of the ship, twice the number that the boat would carry pushing to get in, and many jumping into the water. Mr. Baylis, a young gentleman fifteen years of age, leaped from the chains, after the boat had got off, and was taken in. The boat falling astern, became exposed to the sea, and we endeavored to pull her bow round to keep her to the break of the sea, and to pass to windward of the ship; but in the attempt she was nearly filled, the sea ran too high, and the only probability of living was keeping her before the wind.

It was then that I became sensible how little, if any, better our condition was than that of those who re-

remained in the ship; at best, it appeared to be only a prolongation of a miserable existence. We were, all together, twelve in number, in a leaky boat, with one of the gunwales staved, in nearly the middle of the Western ocean, without a compass, without quadrant, without sail, without great coat or cloak, all very thinly clothed, in a gale of wind, with a great sea running! It was now five o'clock in the evening, and in half an hour we lost sight of the ship. Before it was dark a blanket was discovered in the boat. This was immediately bent to one of the stretches, and under it, as a sail, we scudded all night, in expectation of being swallowed up by every wave, it being with great difficulty that we could sometimes clear the boat of the water before the return of the next great sea; all of us half drowned, and sitting, except those who bailed, at the bottom of the boat; and, without having really perished, I am sure no people ever endured more. In the morning the weather grew moderate, the wind having shifted to the southward, as we discovered by the sun. Having survived the night, we began to recollect ourselves, and to think of our future preservation.

When we quitted the ship the wind was at N. W. or N. N. W. Fayal had borne E. S. E. two hundred and fifty or two hundred and sixty leagues. Had the wind continued for five or six days, there was a probability that running before the sea we might have fallen in with some one of the Western Islands. The change of wind was death to these hopes; for, should it come to blow, we knew there would be no preserving life but by running before the sea, which would carry us again to the northward, where we must soon afterwards perish.

Upon examining what we had to subsist on, I found a bag of bread, a small ham, a single piece of pork, two quart bottles of water, and a few of French cordials. The wind continued to the southward for eight or nine days, and providentially never blew so strong but that we could keep the side of the boat to the sea: but we were always most miserably wet and cold. We kept a sort of reckoning, but the sun and stars being somewhat

hidden from us, for twenty-four hours, we had no very correct idea of our navigation. We judged, that we had nearly an E. N. E. course since the first night's run, which had carried us to the S. E. and expected to see the island of Corvo. In this, however, we were disappointed, and we feared that the southerly wind had driven us far to the northward. Our prayers were now for a northerly wind. Our condition began to be truly miserable, both from hunger and cold: for on the fifth day we had discovered that our bread was nearly all spoiled by salt-water, and it was necessary to go on an allowance. One biscuit divided into twelve morsels for breakfast, and the same for dinner; the neck of a bottle broken off, with the cork in, served for a glass, and this, filled with water, was the allowance for twenty-four hours for each man. This was done without any partiality or distinction; but we must have perished ere this, had we not caught six quarts of rain water; and this we could not have been blessed with, had we not found in the boat a pair of sheets, which by accident had been put there. These were spread when it rained, and when thoroughly wet, wrung into the kidd, with which we bailed the boat. With this short allowance, which was rather tantalizing in our comfortless condition, we began to grow very feeble, and our clothes being continually wet, our bodies were, in many places, chafed into sores.

On the 15th day it fell calm, and soon after a breeze of wind sprung up from the N. N. W. and blew to a gale, so that we ran before the sea at the rate of five or six miles an hour under our blanket, till we judged we were to the southward of Fayal, and to the westward sixty leagues: but the wind blowing strong we could not attempt to steer for it. Our wishes were now for the wind to shift to the westward. This was the fifteenth day we had been in the boat, and we had only one day's bread, and one bottle of water remaining of a second supply of rain. Our sufferings were now as great as human strength could bear, but we were convinced that good spirits were a better support than great bodily

strength: for on this day Thomas Matthews, quartermaster, the stoutest man in the boat, perished from hunger and cold: on the day before he had complained of want of strength in his throat, as he expressed it, to swallow his morsel, and in the night drank salt-water, grew delirious, and died without a groan. As it became next to a certainty that we should all perish in the same manner in a day or two, it was somewhat comfortable to reflect, that dying of hunger was not so dreadful as our imaginations had represented. Others had complained of these symptoms in their throats; some had drunk their own urine; and all but myself had drunk salt-water.

As yet despair and gloom had been successfully prohibited; and, as the evenings closed in, the men had been encouraged by turns to sing a song, or relate a story, instead of supper; but this evening I found it impossible to raise either. As the night came on it fell calm, and about midnight a breeze of wind sprang up, we guessed from the westward by the swell, but there not being a star to be seen, we were afraid of running out of our way, and waited impatiently for the rising sun to be our compass.

As soon as the dawn appeared, we found the wind to be exactly as we had wished, at W. S. W. and immediately spread our sail, running before the sea at the rate of four miles an hour. Our last breakfast had been served with the bread and water remaining, when John Gregory, quartermaster, declared with much confidence that he saw land in the S. E. We had so often seen fog-banks, which had the appearance of land, that I did not trust myself to believe it, and cautioned the people, (who were extravagantly elated,) that they might not feel the effects of disappointment; till at length one of them broke out into a most immoderate swearing fit of joy, which I could not restrain, and declared he had never seen land in his life if what he now saw was not land.

We immediately shaped our course for it, though on my part with very little faith. The wind freshened; the

boat went through the water at the rate of five or six miles an hour, and in two hours' time the land was plainly seen by every man in the boat, but at a very great distance, so that we did not reach it till ten at night. It must have been at least twenty leagues from us when first discovered; and I cannot help remarking, with much thankfulness, the providential favor shown to us in this instance.

In every part of the horizon, except where the land was discovered, there was so thick a haze that we could not have seen any thing for more than three or four leagues. Fayal, by our reckoning, bore E. by N. which course we were steering, and in a few hours, had not the sky opened for our preservation, we should have increased our distance from the land, got to the eastward, and of course missed all the island. As we approached the land our belief had strengthened that it was Fayal. The island of Pico, which might have revealed it to us, had the weather been perfectly clear, was at this time capped with clouds, and it was some time before we were quite satisfied, having traversed for two hours a great part of the island, where the steep and rocky shore refused us a landing. This circumstance was borne with much impatience, for we had flattered ourselves that we should meet with fresh water at the first part of the land we might approach; and being disappointed, the thirst of some had increased anxiety almost to a state of madness; so that we were near making the attempt to land in some places where the boat must have been dashed to pieces by the surf. At length we discovered a fishing canoe, which conducted us into the road of Fayal about midnight; but where the regulation of the port did not permit us to land till examined by the health officers; however, I did not think much of sleeping this night in the boat, our pilot having brought us some refreshments of bread, wine, and water. In the morning we were visited by Mr. Graham, the English consul, whose humane attention made very ample amends for the formality of the Portuguese. Indeed I can never sufficiently express the sense I have of his kindness and humanity,

both to myself and people; for, I believe, it was the whole of his employment for several days to contrive the best means of restoring us to health and strength. It is true, I believe there never were more pitiable objects. Some of the stoutest men belonging to the *Centaur* were obliged to be supported through the streets of *Fayal*. Mr. *Rainy*, the master, and myself, were, I think, in better health than the rest; but I could not walk without being supported; and for several days, with the best and most comfortable provisions of diet and lodging, we grew rather worse than better.

LOSS OF THE SLOOP BETSY,

On the Coast of Dutch Guiana, August 5, 1756.

On the 1st of August, 1756, says captain *Aubin*, I set sail for *Surinam*, from *Carlisle bay*, in the island of *Barbadoes*. My sloop, of about eighty tons burthen, was built entirely of cedar, and freighted by Messrs. *Roscoe* and *Nyles*, merchants of *Bridgetown*. The cargo consisted of provisions of every kind, and horses. The Dutch colony being in want of a supply of those animals, passed a law that no English vessel should be permitted to enter there, if horses did not constitute part of her cargo. The Dutch were so rigid in enforcing this condition, that if the horses chanced to die on their passage, the master of the vessel was obliged to preserve the ears and hoofs of the animals, and to swear upon entering the port of *Surinam*, that when he embarked they were alive, and destined for that colony.

The coasts of *Surinam*, *Berbice*, *Demarara*, *Oronoko*, and all the adjacent parts, are low lands, and inundated by large rivers, which discharge themselves into the sea. The bottom all along this coast is composed of a kind of mud, or clay, in which the anchors sink to the depth of three or four fathoms, and upon which the keel sometimes strikes without stopping the vessel. The sloop

being at anchor three leagues and a half from the shore in five fathoms water, the mouth of the Demarara river bearing S. S. W. and it being the rainy season, my crew drew up water from the sea for their use, which was just as sweet as good river water. The current occasioned by the trade winds, and the numerous rivers which fall into the sea, carried us at the rate of four miles an hour towards the west and north-west.

In the evening of the 4th of August, I was tacking about, between the latitude of ten and twelve degrees north, with a fresh breeze, which obliged me to reef my sails. At midnight, finding that the wind increased in proportion as the moon, then on the wane, rose above the horizon, and that my bark, which was deeply laden, labored excessively, I would not retire to rest till the weather became more moderate. I told my mate, whose name was Williams, to bring me a bottle of beer, and both sitting down, I upon a hen-coop, and Williams upon the deck, we began to tell stories to pass the time, according to the custom of mariners of every country. The vessel suddenly turned with her broadside to windward: I called to one of the seamen to put the helm a weather, but he replied it had been so for some time. I directed my mate to see if the cords were not entangled: he informed me that they were not. At this moment the vessel swung round with her head to the sea, and plunged; her head filled in such a manner that she could not rise above the surf, which broke over us to the height of the anchor stocks, and we were presently up to our necks in water; every thing in the cabin was washed away. Some of the crew, which consisted of nine men, were drowned in their hammocks, without a cry or groan. When the wave had passed, I took the hatchet that was hanging up near the fireplace, to cut away the shrouds to prevent the ship from upsetting, but in vain. She upset, and turned over again, with her masts and sails in the water; the horses rolled one over the other and were drowned, forming altogether a most melancholy spectacle.

I had but one small boat, about twelve or thirteen feet

long; she was fixed, with a cable coiled inside of her, between the pump and the side of the ship. Providentially for our preservation there was no occasion to lash her fast; but we at this time entertained no hope of seeing her again, as the large cable within her, together with the weight of the horses, and their stalls entangled one among another, prevented her from rising to the surface of the water.

In this dreadful situation, holding by the shrouds, and stripping off my clothes, I looked round me for some plank or empty box to preserve my life as long as it should please the Almighty, when I perceived my mate and two seamen hanging by a rope, and imploring God to receive their souls. I told them, that the man who was not resigned to die when it pleased the Creator to call him out of the world was not fit to live. I advised them to undress as I had done, and to endeavor to seize the first object that could assist them in preserving their lives. Williams followed my advice, stripped himself quite naked, and betook himself to swimming, looking out for whatever he could find. A moment afterwards he cried out, "Here is the boat, keel uppermost!" I immediately swam to him, and found him holding the boat by the keel. We then set to work to turn her, but in vain; at length, however, Williams, who was the heaviest and strongest of the two, contrived to set his feet against the gunwale of the boat, laying hold of the keel with his hands, and with a violent effort nearly succeeded in overturning her. I being to windward, pushed and lifted her up with my shoulders on the opposite side. At length, with the assistance of the surf, we turned her over, but she was full of water. I got into her, and endeavored by the means of a rope belonging to the rigging to draw her to the mast of the vessel. In the intervals between the waves the mast always rose to the height of fifteen or twenty feet above the water. I passed the end of the rope fastened to the boat once round the head of the mast, keeping hold of the end; each time that the mast rose out of the water, it lifted up both the boat and me; I then let go the rope, and by this expe-

dient the boat was three-fourths emptied; but having nothing to enable me to disengage her from the mast and shrouds, they fell down upon me, driving the boat and me again under water.

After repeated attempts to empty her, in which I was cruelly wounded and bruised, I began to haul the boat, filled with water, towards the vessel, by the shrouds; but the bark had sunk by this time to such a depth, that only a small part of her stern was to be seen, upon which my mate and two other seamen were holding fast by a rope. I threw myself into the water, with the rope of the boat in the mouth, and swam towards them to give them the end to lay hold of, hoping, by our united strength, that we should be able to haul the boat over the stern of the vessel; we exerted our utmost efforts, and at this moment I nearly had my thigh broken by a shock of the boat, being between her and the ship. At length we succeeded in hauling her over the stern, but had the misfortune to break a hole in her bottom in this manœuvre. As soon as my thigh was a little recovered from the blow, I jumped into her with one of the men, and stopped the leak with a piece of his coarse shirt. It was extremely fortunate for us that this man did not know how to swim; it will soon be seen what benefit we derived from his ignorance; had it not been for this we must all have perished. Being unable to swim, he had not stripped, and had thus preserved his coarse shirt, a knife that was in his pocket, and an enormous hat, in the Dutch fashion. The boat being fastened to the rigging, was no sooner cleared of the greatest part of the water than a dog of mine came to me, running along the gunwale; I took him in, thanking Providence for having thus sent provision for a time of necessity. A moment after the dog had entered, the rope broke with a jerk of the vessel, and I found myself drifting away. I called my mate and the other man, who swam to me: the former had fortunately found a small spare top-mast, which served us for a rudder. We assisted the two others to get into the boat, and soon lost sight of our ill-fated bark.

It was then four o'clock in the morning, as I judged by the dawn of day, which began to appear, so that about two hours had elapsed since we were obliged to abandon her. What prevented her from foundering sooner was my having taken on board about one hundred and fifty barrels of biscuit, as many or more casks of flour, and three hundred firkins of butter, all which substances float upon the water, and are soaked through but slowly and by degrees. As soon as we were clear of the wreck, we kept the boat before the wind as well as we could, and when it grew light I perceived several articles that had floated from the vessel. I perceived my box of clothes and linen, which had been carried out of the cabin by the violence of the waves. I felt an emotion of joy. The box contained some bottles of orange and lime water, a few pounds of chocolate, sugar, &c. Reaching over the gunwale of our boat we laid hold of the box, and used every effort to open it on the water, for we could not think of getting it into the boat, being of a size and weight sufficient to sink her. In spite of all our endeavors we could not force open the lid; we were obliged to leave it behind, with all the good things it contained, and to increase our distress we had by this effort almost filled our boat with water, and had more than once nearly sunk her.

We, however, had the good fortune to pick up thirteen onions; we saw many more, but were unable to reach them. These thirteen onions and my dog, without a single drop of fresh water, or any liquor whatever, were all that we had to subsist upon. We were, according to my computation, above fifty leagues from land, having neither mast, sails, nor oars, to direct us, nor any kind of articles besides the knife of the sailor who could not swim, his shirt, a piece of which we had already used to stop the leak in our boat, and his wide trousers. We this day cut the remainder of his shirt into strips, which we twisted for rigging, and then fell to work alternately to loosen the planks with which the boat was lined, cutting, by dint of time and patience, all round the heads of the nails that fastened them. Of these planks

we made a kind of mast, which we tied to the foremast bench; a piece of board was substituted for a yard, to which we fastened the two parts of the trousers, which served for sails, and assisted us in keeping the boat before the wind, steering with the top-mast as mentioned before.

As the pieces of plank which we had detached from the inside of the boat were too short, and were not sufficient to go quite round the edge, when the sea ran very high, we were obliged, in order to prevent the waves from entering the boat, to lie down several times along the gunwale on each side, with our backs to the water, and thus with our bodies to repel the surf, while the other, with the Dutch hat, was incessantly employed in bailing out the water; besides which the boat continued to make water at the leak, which we were unable entirely to stop.

It was in this melancholy situation, and stark naked, that we kept the boat before the wind as well as we could. The night of the first day after our shipwreck arrived before we had well completed our sail; it grew dark, and we contrived to keep our boat running before the wind, at the rate of about a league an hour. The second day was more calm; we each eat an onion, at different times, and began to feel thirst. In the night of the second day the wind became violent and variable, and sometimes blowing from the north, which caused me great uneasiness, being obliged to steer south, in order to keep the boat before the wind, whereas we could only hope to be saved by proceeding from east to west.

The third day we began to suffer exceedingly, not only from hunger and thirst, but likewise from the heat of the sun, which scorched us in such a manner, that from the neck to the feet our skin was as red and as full of blisters as if we had been burned by a fire. I then seized my dog and plunged the knife in his throat. I cannot even now refrain from weeping at the thought of it; but at the moment I felt not the least compassion for him. We caught his blood in the hat, receiving in our hands and drinking what ran over: we afterwards drank

in turn out of the hat, and felt ourselves refreshed. The fourth day the wind was extremely violent, and the sea ran very high, so that we were more than once on the point of perishing; it was on this day in particular that we were obliged to make a rampart of our bodies in order to repel the waves. About noon a ray of hope dawned upon us, but soon vanished.

We perceived a sloop, commanded by captain Southey, which, like my vessel, belonged to the island of Barbadoes, and was bound to Demarara; we could see the crew walking upon the deck, and shouted to them, but were never seen nor heard. Being obliged, by the violence of the gale, to keep our boat before the wind, for fear of foundering, we had passed her a great distance before she crossed us; she steered direct south, and we bearing away to the west. Captain Southey was one of my particular friends. This disappointment so discouraged my two seamen that they refused to endeavor any longer to save their lives. In spite of all I could say, one of them would do nothing, not even bail out the water which gained upon us; I had recourse to entreaties; fell at his knees, but he remained unmoved. My mate and I, at length, prevailed upon him, by threatening to kill him instantly with the top-mast, which we used to steer by, and to kill ourselves afterwards, to put a period to our misery. This menace made some impression on him, and he resumed his employment of bailing as before.

On this day I set the others the example of eating a piece of the dog with some onions; it was with difficulty that I swallowed a few mouthfuls; but in an hour I felt that this morsel of food had given me vigor. My mate, who was of a much stronger constitution, eat more, which gave me much pleasure; one of the two men likewise tasted it, but the other, whose name was Comings, either would not or could not swallow a morsel.

The fifth day was more calm, and the sea much smoother. At daybreak we perceived an enormous shark, as large as our boat, which followed us several hours, as a prey that was destined for him. We also

found in our boat a flying-fish, which had dropped there during the night; we divided it into four parts, which we chewed to moisten our mouths. It was on this day that, when pressed with hunger and despair, my mate, Williams, had the generosity to exhort us to cut off a piece of his thigh to refresh ourselves with the blood, and to support life. In the night we had several showers, with some wind. We tried to get some rain water by wringing the trousers which served us for a sail, but when we caught it in our mouths it proved to be as salt as that of the sea; the trousers having been so often soaked with sea-water, that they, as well as the hat, were quite impregnated with salt. Thus we had no other resource but to open our mouths and catch the drops of rain upon our tongues, in order to cool them: after the shower was over we again fastened the trousers to the mast.

On the sixth day the two seamen, notwithstanding all my remonstrances, drank sea-water, which purged them so excessively that they fell into a kind of delirium, and were of no more service to Williams and me. Both he and I kept a nail in our mouths, and often sprinkled our heads with water to cool them. I perceived myself the better for these ablutions, and that my head was more easy. We tried several times to eat of the dog's flesh, with a morsel of onion; but I thought myself fortunate if I could get down three or four mouthfuls. My mate always eat rather more than I could.

The seventh day was fine, with a moderate breeze, and the sea perfectly calm. About noon the two men who had drank sea-water grew so weak that they began to talk wildly, like people who are light-headed, not knowing any longer whether they were at sea or on shore. My mate and I were so weak too that we could scarcely stand on our legs, or steer the boat in our turns, or bail the water from the boat, which made a great deal at the leak.

In the morning of the eighth day, John Comings died, and three hours afterwards George Simpson likewise expired. The same evening, at sunset, we had the inex-

pressible satisfaction of discovering the high lands on the west point of the island of Tobago. Hope gave us strength. We kept the head of the boat towards the land all night, with a light breeze, and a current which was in our favor. Williams and I were that night in an extraordinary situation, our two comrades lying dead before us, with the land in sight, having very little wind to approach it, and being assisted only by the current, which drove strongly to the westward. In the morning we were not, according to my computation, more than five or six leagues from the land. That happy day was the last of our sufferings at sea. We kept steering the boat the whole day towards the shore, though we were no longer able to stand. In the evening the wind lulled, and it fell calm; but about two o'clock in the morning the current cast us on the beach of the island of Tobago, at the foot of a high shore, between little Tobago and Man-of-War bay, which is the easternmost part of the island. The boat soon bilged with the shock; my unfortunate companion and I crawled to the shore, leaving the bodies of our two comrades in the boat, and the remainder of the dog, which was quite putrid.

We clambered, as well as we could, on all fours, along the high coast, which rose almost perpendicularly to the height of three or four hundred feet. A great quantity of leaves had dropped down to the place where we were, from the numerous trees over our heads; these we collected, and lay down upon them to wait for daylight. When it began to dawn we sought about for water, and found some in the holes of the rocks, but it was brackish, and not fit to drink. We perceived on the rocks around us several kinds of shell-fish, some of which we broke open with a stone, and chewed them to moisten our mouths.

Between eight and nine o'clock we were perceived by a young Caraib, who was sometimes walking and at others swimming towards the boat. As soon as he had reached it he called his companions with loud shouts, making signs of the greatest compassion. His comrades instantly followed him, and swam towards us, having perceived us almost at the same time.

The oldest, who was about sixty, approached us, with the two youngest, whom we afterwards found to be his son and son-in-law. At the sight of us the tears flowed from their eyes: I endeavored by words and signs to make them comprehend that we had been nine days at sea, in want of every thing. They understood a few French words, and signified that they would fetch a boat to convey us to their hut. The old man took a handkerchief from his head and tied it round mine, and one of the young Caraihs gave Williams his straw hat; the other swam round the projecting rock and brought us a calabash of fresh water, some cakes of cassava, and a piece of broiled fish, but we could not eat. The two others took the two corpses out of the boat, and laid them upon the rock, after which all three of them hauled the boat out of the water. They then left us, with marks of the utmost compassion, and went to fetch their canoe.

About noon they returned in their canoe, to the number of six, and brought with them, in an earthen pot, some soup which we thought delicious. We took a little, but my stomach was so weak that I immediately cast it up again. Williams did not vomit at all. In less than two hours we arrived at Man-of-War bay, where the huts of the Caraihs are situated. They had only one hammock, in which they laid me, and the woman made us a very agreeable mess of herbs and broth of quatracas and pigeons. They bathed my wounds, which were full of worms, with a decoction of tobacco and other plants. Every morning the man lifted me out of the hammock, and carried me in his arms beneath a lemon tree, where he covered me with plantain leaves to screen me from the sun. There they anointed our bodies with a kind of oil to cure the blisters raised by the sun. Our compassionate hosts even had the generosity to give each of us a shirt and a pair of trousers, which they had procured from the ships that came from time to time to trade with them for turtles and tortoise shell.

After they had cleansed my wounds of the vermin, they kept me with my legs suspended in the air, and

anointed them morning and evening with an oil extracted from the tail of a small crab, resembling what the English call the soldier-crab, because its shell is red. They take a certain quantity of these crabs, bruise the ends of their tails, and put them to digest in a large shell upon the fire. It was with this ointment that they healed my wounds, covering them with nothing but plantain leaves.

Thanks to the nourishing food procured us by the Caribs, and their humane attention, I was able, in about three weeks, to support myself upon crutches, like a person recovering from a severe illness. The natives flocked from all parts of the island to see us, and never came empty handed; sometimes bringing eggs, and at others fowls, which were given with pleasure, and accepted with gratitude. We even had visitors from the island of Trinidad. I cut my name with a knife upon several boards, and gave them to different Caribs, to show them to any ships which chance might conduct to the coast. We almost despaired of seeing any arrive, when a sloop from Oronoko, laden with mules and bound to St. Pierre, in the island of Martinique, touched at the sandy point on the west side of Tobago. The Indians showed the crew a plank upon which my name was carved, and acquainted them with our situation. Upon the arrival of this vessel at St. Pierre, those on board related the circumstance. Several merchants of my acquaintance, who traded under Dutch colors, happened to be there: they transmitted the information to my owners, Messrs. Roscoe and Nyles, who instantly despatched a small vessel in quest of us. After living about nine weeks with this benevolent and charitable tribe of savages, I embarked and left them, when my regret was equal to the joy and surprise I had experienced at meeting with them.

When we were ready to depart they furnished us with an abundant supply of bananas, figs, yams, fowls, fish, and fruits; particularly oranges and lemons. I had nothing to give them as an acknowledgment of their generous treatment but my boat, which they had repaired,

and used for occasionally visiting their nests of turtles: being larger than their canoes, it was much more fit for that purpose. Of this I made them a present, and would have given them my blood. My friend, captain Young, assisted me to remunerate my benefactors. He gave me all the rum he had with him, being about seven or eight bottles, which I likewise presented to them. He also gave them several shirts and trousers, some knives, fish-hooks, sail-cloth for the boat, with needles and ropes.

At length, after two days spent in preparations for our departure, we were obliged to separate. They came down to the beach to the number of about thirty, men, women and children, and all appeared to feel the sincerest sorrow, especially the old man, who had acted like a father to me. When the vessel left the bay, the tears flowed from our eyes, which still continued fixed upon them. They remained standing in a line upon the shore till they lost sight of us. As we set sail about nine o'clock in the morning, steering north-east, and as Man-of-War bay is situated at the north-east point of the island, we were a long time in sight of each other. I still recollect the moment when they disappeared from my sight, and the profound regret which filled my heart. I feared that I should never again be so happy as I had been among them. I loved them, and will continue to love my dear Caraihs as long as I live; I would shed my blood for the first of those benevolent savages that might stand in need of my assistance, if chance should ever bring one of them to Europe, or my destiny should again conduct me to their island.

In three days we arrived at Barbadoes. I continued to have a violent oppression on my breast, which checked respiration, and was not yet able to go without crutches. We received from the whole island marks of the most tender interest, and the most generous compassion; the benevolence of the inhabitants was unbounded. The celebrated Dr. Hilery, the author of a treatise on the diseases peculiar to that island, came to see me, together with Dr. Lilihorn. They prescribed various remedies, but without effect. Both Williams and myself were

unable to speak without the greatest difficulty. Williams remained at Barbadoes, but I, being more affected, and less robust, was advised to return to Europe. In compliance with their advice I went to London, where I was attended by doctors Reeves, Akenside, Schomberg, and the most celebrated physicians of that metropolis, who gave me all the assistance within the power of their art, from which I received scarcely any relief. At length, after I had been about a week in London, Dr. Alexander Russell, on his return from Bath, heard my case mentioned. He came to see me, and with his accustomed humanity promised to undertake my cure, without any fee; but he candidly acknowledged that it would be both tedious and expensive. I replied that the generosity of the inhabitants of Barbadoes had rendered me easy on that head, entreating him to prescribe for me, and thanking him for his obliging offers.

As he had practised for a long time at Aleppo, he had there seen great numbers afflicted with the same malady as myself, produced by long thirst in traversing the deserts of Africa. He ordered me to leave town to enjoy a more wholesome air. I took a lodging at Homerton, near Hackney; there he ordered me to be bathed every morning, confining me to asses' milk as my only food, excepting a few new-laid eggs, together with moderate exercise, and a ride on horseback every day. After about a month of this regimen he ordered a goat to be brought every morning to my bedside; about five o'clock I drank a glass of her milk, quite hot, and slept upon it. He then allowed me to take some light chicken broth, with a morsel of the wing. By means of this diet my malady was in a great degree removed in the space of about five months, and I was in a state to resume any occupation I pleased; but my constitution has ever since been extremely delicate, and my stomach in particular very weak.

LOSS OF THE BRIG TYRREL.

In addition to the many dreadful shipwrecks already narrated, the following, which is a circumstantial account given by T. Purnell, chief mate of the brig Tyrrel, Arthur Cochlan, commander, and the only person among the whole crew who had the good fortune to escape, claims our particular attention.

On Saturday, June 28th, 1759, they sailed from New York to Sandy Hook, and came to an anchor, waiting for the captain's coming down with a new boat, and some other articles. Accordingly he came on board early the succeeding morning, and the boat was cleared, hoisted in, stowed and lashed. At eight o'clock A. M. they weighed anchor, sailed out of Sandy Hook, and the same day, at noon, took their departure from the highland Neversink, and proceeded on their passage to Antigua. As soon as they made sail, the captain ordered the boat to be cast loose, in order that she might be painted, with the oars, rudder, and tiller, which job he (the captain) undertook to do himself.

At four P. M. they found the vessel made a little more water than usual; but as it did not cause much additional labor at the pump, nothing was thought of it. At eight, the leak did not seem to increase. At twelve, it began to blow hard in squalls, which caused the vessel to lie down very much, whereby it was apprehended she wanted more ballast. Thereupon the captain came on deck, being the starboard watch; and close-reefed both top-sails.

At four A. M. the weather moderated—let out both reefs. At eight it became still more moderate, and they made more sail, and set the top-gallant sails; the weather was still thick and hazy. There was no further observation taken at present, except that the vessel made

more water. The captain was now chiefly employed in painting the boat, oars, rudder, and tiller.

On Monday, June 30th, at four P. M., the wind was at E. N. E., freshened very much, and blew so very hard as occasioned the brig to lie along in such a manner as caused general alarm. The captain was now earnestly entreated to put for New York, or steer for the capes of Virginia. At eight, took in top-gallant sail, and close reefed both top-sails, still making more weather. Afterwards the weather became still more moderate and fair, and they made more sail.

July 1st, at four A. M., it began to blow in squalls very hard; took in one reef in each top-sail, and continued so until eight A. M., the weather being still thick and hazy.—No observation.

The next day she made still more water, but as every watch pumped it out, this was little regarded. At four P. M. took a second reef in each top-sail, close reefed both, and down top-gallant yard; the gale still increasing.

At four A. M. the wind got round to north, and there was no likelihood of its abating. At eight, the captain, well satisfied that she was very crank and ought to have had more ballast, agreed to make for Bacon Island road, in North Carolina; and in the very act of wearing her, a sudden gust of wind laid her down on her beam ends, and she never rose again! At this time Mr. Purnell was lying in the cabin, with his clothes on, not having pulled them off since they left land. Having been rolled out of his bed, (on his chest,) with great difficulty he reached the round-house door. The first salutation he met with was from the step-ladder that went from the quarter-deck to the poop, which knocked him against the companion; (a lucky circumstance for those below, as, by laying the ladder against the companion, it served both him and the rest of the people who were in the steerage as a conveyance to windward;) having transported the two after guns forward to bring her more by the head, in order to make her hold a better wind: thus they got through the aftermost gun-port on the quarter-

deck, and being all on her broadside, every movable rolled to leeward; and as the vessel overset, so did the boat, and turned bottom upwards. Her lashings being cast loose by order of the captain, and having no other prospect of saving their lives but by the boat, Purnell, with two others, and the cabin boy, who were excellent swimmers, plunged into the water, and with great difficulty righted her, when she was brimful, and washing with the water's edge. They then made fast the end of the main-sheet to the ring in her stern-post, and those who were in the fore-chains sent down the end of the boom-tackle, to which they made fast the boat's painter, and by which they lifted her a little out of the water, so that she swam about two or three inches free, but almost full. They then put the cabin boy into her, and gave him a bucket that happened to float by, and he bailed away as quick as he could, and soon after another person got in with another bucket, and in a short time got all the water out of her. They then put two long oars that were stowed in the larboard quarter of the Tyrrel into the boat, and pulled or rowed right to windward; for, as the wreck drifted, she made a dreadful appearance in the water; and Mr. Purnell and two of the people put off from the wreck, in search of the oars, rudder and tiller. After a long while they succeeded in picking them all up, one after another. They then returned to their wretched companions, who were all overjoyed to see them, having given them up for lost.

By this time night drew on very fast. While they were rowing in the boat, some small quantity of white biscuit (Mr. Purnell supposed about half a peck) floated in a small cask out of the round-house; but before it came to hand, it was so soaked with salt water that it was almost in a fluid state; and about double the quantity of common ship-biscuit likewise floated, which was in like manner soaked. This was all the provisions that they had; not a drop of fresh water could they get; neither could the carpenter get at any of the tools to scuttle her sides, for, could this have been accomplished, they might have saved plenty of provisions and water.

By this time it was almost dark. Having got one compass, it was determined to quit the wreck, and take their chance in the boat, which was nineteen feet six inches long, and six feet four inches broad: Mr. Purnell supposes it was now about nine o'clock: it was very dark. They had run three hundred and sixty miles by their dead reckoning, on a S. E. by E. course. The number in the boat was seventeen in all; the boat was very deep, and little hopes were entertained of either seeing land or surviving long. The wind got round to westward, which was the course they wanted to steer; but it began to blow and rain so very hard, that they were obliged to keep the boat before the wind and sea in order to preserve her above water. Soon after they had put off from the wreck the boat shipped two heavy seas, one after another, so that they were obliged to keep her before the wind and sea; for had she shipped another sea, she certainly would have swamped with them.

By sunrise the next morning, July 3d, they judged that they had been running E. S. E., which was contrary to their wishes. The wind dying away, the weather became very moderate. The compass which they had saved proved of no utility, one of the people having trod upon and broken it; it was accordingly thrown overboard. They now proposed to make a sail of frocks and trousers, but they had got neither needles nor sewing-twine: one of the people however had a needle in his knife, and another several fishing lines in his pockets, which were unlaidd by some, and others were employed in ripping the frocks and trousers. By sunset they had provided a tolerable lugsail: having split one of the boat'sthwarts,(which was of yellow deal,) with a very large knife which one of the crew had in his pocket, they made a yard and lashed it together by the strands of the fore-top-gallant halliards, that were thrown into the boat promiscuously. They also made a mast of one of the long oars, and set their sails with sheets and tacks made out of the strands of the top-gallant halliards. Their only guide was the north star. They had a tolerably good breeze all night; and the whole of the next

day, July 4th, the weather continued very moderate, and the people were in as good spirits as their dreadful situation would permit.

July 5th, the wind and weather continued much the same, and they knew by the north star that they were standing in for land. The next day Mr. Purnell observed some of the men drinking salt water, and seeming rather fatigued. At this time they imagined the wind had got round to the southward, and they steered, as they thought, by the north star, to the north-west quarter; but on the 7th, the wind had got back to the northward and blew very fresh. They got their oars out the greatest part of the night; and the next day, the wind still dying away, the people labored alternately at the oars, without distinction. About noon the wind sprung up so that they lay on their oars, and, as they thought, steered about N. N. W., and continued so until about eight or nine o'clock in the morning of July 9th, when they all thought they were upon soundings, by the coldness of the water. They were in general in very good spirits. The weather continued still thick and hazy, and by the north star they found that they had been steering about north by west.

July 10.—The people had drank so much salt water, that it came from them as clear as it was before they drank it; and Mr. Purnell perceived that the second mate had lost a considerable share of his strength and spirits; and also, at noon, that the carpenter was delirious, his malady increasing every hour; about dusk he had almost overset the boat, by attempting to throw himself overboard, and otherwise behaving quite violently. As his strength, however, failed him, he became more manageable, and they got him to lie down in the middle of the boat, among some of the people. Mr. Purnell drank once a little salt water, but could not relish it; he preferred his own urine, which he drank occasionally as he made it. Soon after sunset the second mate lost his speech. Mr. Purnell desired him to lean his head on him: he died, without a groan or struggle, on the 11th of July, being the ninth day they were in the boat. In a

few minutes after, the carpenter expired, almost in a similar manner. These melancholy scenes rendered the situation of the survivors more dreadful; it is impossible to describe their feelings. Despair became general; every man imagined his own dissolution was near. They all now went to prayers; some in the Welch language, some in Irish, and others in English; then, after a little deliberation, they stripped the two dead men and hove them overboard.

The weather being now very mild, and almost calm, they turned to, cleaned the boat, and resolved to make their sail larger out of the frocks and trousers of the two deceased men. Purnell got the captain to lie down with the rest of the people, the boatswain and one man excepted, who assisted him in making the sail larger, which they had completed by six or seven o'clock in the afternoon, having made a shroud out of the boat's painter, which served as a shifting back-stay. Purnell also fixed his red flannel waistcoat at the mast head, as a signal the most likely to be seen.

Soon after this some of them observed a sloop at a great distance, coming, as they thought, from the land. This roused every man's spirits: they got out their oars, at which they labored alternately, exerting all their remaining strength to come up with her; but night coming on, and the sloop getting a fresh breeze of wind, they lost sight of her, which occasioned a general consternation; however, the appearance of the north star, which they kept on their starboard bow, gave them hopes that they stood in for land. This night one William Wathing died; he was sixty-four years of age, and had been to sea fifty years: quite worn out with fatigue and hunger, he earnestly prayed, to the last moment, for a drop of water to cool his tongue. Early the next morning Hugh Williams also died, and in the course of the day, another of the crew; entirely exhausted, they both expired without a groan.

Early in the morning of July 13th, it began to blow very fresh, and increased so much that they were obliged to furl their sail, and keep their boat before the wind and

sea, which drove them off soundings. In the evening their gunner died. The weather now becoming moderate, and the wind in the south-west quarter, they made sail, not one of them being able to row or pull an oar at any rate; they ran all this night with a fine breeze.

The next morning, July 14th, two more of the crew died, and in the evening they also lost the same number. They found they were on soundings again, and concluded the wind had got round to the north-west quarter. They stood in for the land all this night, and early on July 15th, two others died: the deceased were thrown overboard as soon as their breath had departed. The weather was now thick and hazy, and they were still certain that they were on soundings.

The cabin boy was seldom required to do any thing, and as his intellects at this time were very good, and his understanding clear, it was the opinion of Mr. Purnell that he would survive them all, but he prudently kept his thoughts to himself. The captain seemed likewise tolerably well, and to have kept up his spirits. On account of the haziness of the weather, they could not so well know how they steered in the day-time; as at night; for, whenever the north star appeared, they endeavored to keep it on their starboard bow, by which means they were certain of making the land some time or other. In the evening two more of the crew died; also, before sunrise, one Thomas Philpot, an old, experienced seaman, and very strong; he departed rather convulsed: having latterly lost the power of articulation, his meaning could not be comprehended. He was a native of Belfast, Ireland, and had no family. The survivors found it very difficult to heave his body overboard, as he was a very corpulent man.

About six or seven the next morning, July 16th, they stood in for land, according to the best of their judgment; the weather still thick and hazy. Purnell now prevailed upon the captain and boatswain of the boat to lie down in the fore part of the boat, to bring her more by the head, in order to make her hold a better wind. In the evening the cabin boy, who lately appeared so

well, breathed his last, leaving behind the captain, the boatswain, and Mr. Purnell.

The next morning, July 17th, Purnell asked his two companions if they thought they could eat any of the boy's flesh; and having expressed an inclination to try, and the boy being quite cold, he cut the inside of his thigh, a little above his knee, and gave a piece to the captain and boatswain, reserving a small piece for himself; but so weak were their stomachs that none of them could swallow a morsel of it; the body was therefore thrown overboard.

Early in the morning of the 18th, Mr. Purnell found both of his companions dead and cold! Thus destitute, he began to think of his own dissolution; though feeble, his understanding was still clear, and his spirits as good as his forlorn situation would possibly admit. By the color and coldness of the water, he knew he was not far from land, and still maintained hopes of making it. The weather continued very foggy. He lay to all this night, which was very dark, with the boat's head to the northward.

In the morning of the 19th it began to rain; it cleared up in the afternoon, and the wind died away; still Purnell was convinced he was on soundings.

On the 20th, in the afternoon, he thought he saw land, and stood in for it; but night coming on, and it being now very dark, he lay to, fearing he might get on some rocks or shoals.

July 21st, the weather was very fine all the morning, but in the afternoon it became thick and hazy. Purnell's spirits still remained good, but his strength was almost exhausted: he still drank his own water occasionally.

On the 22d, he saw some barnacles on the boat's rudder, very similar to the spawn of an oyster, which filled him with great hopes of being near to land. He unshipped the rudder, and scraping them off with his knife, found they were of a salt fishy substance, and eat them; he was now so weak, and the boat having a great motion, that he found it a difficult task to ship the rudder.

At sunrise, July 23d, he became so sure that he saw land, that his spirits were considerably raised. In the middle of this day he got up, leaned his back against the mast, and received succor from the sun, having previously contrived to steer the boat in this position. The next day he saw, at a very great distance, some kind of a sail, which he judged was coming from the land, which he soon lost sight of. In the middle of the day he got up, and received warmth from the sun as before. He stood on all night for the land.

Very early in the morning of the 25th, after drinking his morning draught, to his inexpressible joy, he saw, while the sun was rising, a sail, and when the sun was up, found she was a two-mast vessel. He was, however, considerably perplexed, not knowing what to do, as she was a great distance astern and to the leeward. In order to watch her motion better, he tacked about. Soon after this he perceived she was standing on her starboard tack, which was the same he had been standing on for many hours. He saw she approached him very fast, and he lay to, for some time, till he believed she was within two miles of the boat, but still to leeward; therefore he thought it best to steer larger, when he found she was a topsail schooner, nearing him very fast. He continued to edge down towards her, until he had brought her about two points under his lee-bow, having it in his power to spring his luff, or bear away. By this time she was within half a mile, and he saw some of the people standing forward on her deck, and waving for him to come under their lee-bow. At the distance of about two hundred yards, they hove the schooner up in the wind, and kept her so until Purnell got alongside, when they threw him a rope, still keeping the schooner in the wind. They now interrogated him very closely; by the manner the boat and oars were painted, they imagined she belonged to a man-of-war, and that they had run away with her from some of his majesty's ships at Halifax, consequently that they would be liable to some punishment if they took him up: they also thought, as the captain and boatswain were lying dead in the boat, they

might expose themselves to some contagious disorder. Thus they kept Purnell in suspense for some time. They told him they had made the land that morning from the mast-head, and that they were running along shore for Marblehead, to which place they belonged, and where they expected to be the next morning. At last they told him he might come on board; which, as he said, he could not do without assistance; when the captain ordered two of his men to help him. They conducted him aft on the quarter-deck, where they left him resting against the companion. They were now for casting the boat adrift, when Purnell told them she was not above a month old, built at New York, and if they would hoist her in, it would pay them well for their trouble. To this they agreed, and having thrown the two corpses overboard, and taken out the clothes that were left by the deceased, they hoisted her in and made sail.

Being now on board, Purnell asked for a little water; captain Castleman (for that was his name) ordered one of his sons (having two on board) to fetch him some; when he came with the water, his father looked to see how much he was bringing him, and thinking it too much, threw a part of it away, and desired him to give the remainder, which he drank, being the first fresh water he had tasted for twenty-three days. As he leaned all this time against the companion, he became very cold, and begged to go below: the captain ordered two men to help him down to the cabin, where they left him sitting on the cabin deck, leaning upon the lockers, all hands being now engaged in hoisting in and securing the boat. This done, all hands went down to breakfast, except the man at the helm. They made some soup for Purnell, which he thought very good, but at that time could eat but very little, and in consequence of his late draughts, he had broke out in many parts of his body, so that he was in great pain whenever he stirred. They made a bed for him out of an old sail, and behaved very attentive. While they were at breakfast a squall of wind came on, which called them all upon deck; during their absence, Purnell took up a stone bottle, and without

smelling or tasting it, but thinking it was rum, took a hearty draught of it, and found it to be sweet oil; having placed it where he found it, he lay down.

They still ran along shore with the land in sight, and were in great hopes of getting into port that night, but the wind dying away, they did not get in till nine o'clock the next night. All this time Purnell remained like a child; some one or other was always with him, to give him whatever he wished to eat or drink.

As soon as they came to anchor, captain Castleman went on shore, and returned on board the next morning, with the owner, John Pickett, Esq. Soon after, they got Purnell into a boat and carried him on shore; but he was still so very feeble, that he was obliged to be supported by two men. Mr. Pickett took a very genteel lodging for him, and hired a nurse to attend him; he was immediately put to bed, and afterwards provided with a change of clothes. In the course of the day he was visited by every doctor in the town, who all gave him hopes of recovering; but told him it would be some time; for the stronger the constitution, (said they,) the longer it takes to recover its lost strength. Though treated with the utmost tenderness and humanity, it was three weeks before he was able to come down stairs. He stayed in Marblehead two months, during which he lived very comfortably, and gradually recovered his strength. The brig's boat and oars were sold for ninety-five dollars, which paid all his expenses, and procured him a passage to Boston. The nails of his fingers and toes withered away almost to nothing, and did not begin to grow for many months after.

LOSS OF THE FRENCH EAST INDIAMAN THE PRINCE, BY FIRE.

By one of the Lieutenants of that Ship.

THE French East India Company's ship, The Prince, commanded by M. Morin, and bound to Pondicherry, weighed anchor on the 19th of February, 1752, from the harbor of L'Orient. She had scarcely passed the island of St. Michael, when the wind shifting, it was found impossible to double the Turk bank. The utmost efforts, and the greatest precautions, could not prevent her from striking on the bank, in such a manner that the mouths of the guns were immersed in the water. We announced our misfortune by signals of distress, when M. de Godeheu, the commander of the port of L'Orient, came on board to animate the crew by his presence and his orders. All the chests, and other articles, of the greatest value, were removed safely into smaller vessels to lighten the ship; the whole night was occupied with the most laborious exertions. At length the tide, in the morning, relieved us from our dangerous situation, and enabled us to reach the road of Port Louis: we owed the preservation of the ship entirely to the prudent directions of M. de Godeheu, and the measures adopted in consequence. The ship had sprung several leaks, but fortunately our pumps kept the water under: half the cargo was taken out of the vessel, and in about a week we returned to L'Orient, where she was entirely unloaded. She was then careened and caulked afresh. These precautions seemed to promise a successful voyage, and the misfortune we had already experienced showed the strength of the vessel, which fire alone appeared capable of destroying.

On the 10th of June, 1752, a favorable wind carried

us out of the port, but after a fortunate navigation we met with a disaster of which the strongest expressions can convey but a faint idea. In this narrative I shall confine myself to a brief detail, as it is impossible to recollect all the circumstances.

The 26th of July, 1752, being in the latitude of eight degrees thirty minutes south, and in longitude five degrees west, the wind being S. W. just at the moment of taking the observation of the meridian, I had repaired to the quarter, where I was going to command, when a man informed me that a smoke was seen to issue from the pannel of the greater hatchway.

Upon this information the first lieutenant, who kept the keys of the hold, opened all the hatchways, to discover the cause of an accident, the slightest suspicion of which frequently causes the most intrepid to tremble. The captain, who was at dinner in the great cabin, went upon deck and gave orders for extinguishing the fire. I had already directed several sails to be thrown overboard, and the hatchways to be covered with them, hoping, by these means, to prevent the air from penetrating into the hold. I had even proposed, for the greater security, to let in the water between decks, to the height of a foot; but the air, which had already obtained a free passage through the opening of the hatchways, produced a very thick smoke, that issued forth in abundance, and the fire continued gradually to gain ground.

The captain ordered sixty or eighty of the soldiers under arms to restrain the crew, and prevent the confusion likely to ensue in such a critical moment. These precautions were seconded by M. de la Touche, with his usual fortitude and prudence. That hero deserved a better opportunity of signaling himself, and had destined his soldiers for other operations more useful to his country.

All hands were now employed in getting water; not only the buckets, but likewise all the pumps were kept at work, and pipes were carried from them into the hold; even the water in the jars was emptied out. The

rapidity of the fire, however, baffled our efforts and augmented the general consternation.

The captain had already ordered the yawl to be hoisted overboard, merely because it was in the way; four men, among whom was the boatswain, took possession of it. They had no oars, but called out for some, when three sailors jumped overboard and carried them what they stood so much in need of. These fortunate fugitives were required to return; they cried out that they had no rudder, and desired a rope to be thrown them; perceiving that the progress of the flames left them no other resource, they endeavored to remove to a distance from the ship, which passed them in consequence of a breeze that sprang up.

All hands were still busy on board; the impossibility of escaping seemed to increase the courage of the men. The master boldly ventured down into the hold, but the heat obliged him to return; he would have been burned if a great quantity of water had not been thrown over him. Immediately afterwards, the flames were seen to issue with impetuosity from the great pannel. The captain ordered the boats overboard, but fear had exhausted the strength of the most intrepid. The jolly-boat was fastened at a certain height, and preparations were made for hoisting her over; but, to complete our misfortunes, the fire, which increased every moment, ascended the main-mast with such violence and rapidity as to burn the tackle; the boat pitching upon the starboard guns, fell bottom upwards, and we lost all hopes of raising her again.

We now perceived that we had nothing to hope from human aid, but only from the mercy of the Almighty. Dejection filled every mind; the consternation became general; nothing but sighs and groans were heard; even the animals we had on board uttered the most dreadful cries. Every one began to raise his heart and hands towards heaven; and in the certainty of a speedy death each was occupied only with the melancholy alternative between the two elements ready to devour us.

The chaplain, who was on the quarter-deck, gave the

general absolution, and went into the gallery to impart the same to the unhappy wretches who had already committed themselves to the mercy of the waves. What a horrid spectacle! Each was occupied only in throwing overboard whatever promised a momentary preservation; coops, yards, spars, every thing that came to hand was seized in despair and disposed of in the same manner. The confusion was extreme; some seemed to anticipate death by jumping into the sea, others, by swimming, gained the fragments of the vessel; while the shrouds, the yards, and ropes, along the side of the ship were covered with the crew who were suspended from them, as if hesitating between two extremes, equally imminent and equally terrible.

Uncertain for what fate Providence intended me, I saw a father snatch his son from the flames, embrace him, throw him into the sea then following himself, they perished in each other's embrace. I had ordered the helm to be turned to starboard; the vessel heeled, and this manœuvre preserved us for some time on that side, while the fire raged on the larboard side from stem to stern.

Till this moment, I had been so engaged that my thoughts were directed only to the preservation of the ship; now, however, the horrors of a twofold death presented themselves; but through the kindness of heaven, my fortitude never forsook me. I looked round and found myself alone upon the deck. I went into the round-house, where I met M. de la Touche, who regarded death with the same heroism that procured him success in India. "Farewell, my brother and my friend," said he, embracing me—"Why, where are you going?" replied I. "I am going, (said he,) to comfort my friend Morin." He spoke of the captain, who was overwhelmed with grief at the melancholy fate of his female cousins, who were passengers on board his ship, and whom he had persuaded to trust themselves to sea in hen-coops, after having hastily stripped off their clothes, while some of the sailors, swimming with one hand, endeavored to support them with the other.

The yards and masts were covered with men struggling with the waves around the vessel; many of them perished every moment by the balls discharged by the guns in consequence of the flames; a third species of death, that augmented the horrors by which we were surrounded. With a heart oppressed with anguish, I turned my eyes away from the sea. A moment afterwards I entered the starboard gallery, and saw the flames rushing with a horrid noise through the windows of the great cabin and the round-house. The fire approached, and was ready to consume me; my presence was then entirely useless for the preservation of the vessel, or the relief of my fellow sufferers.

In this dreadful situation I thought it my duty to prolong my life a few hours, in order to devote them to my God. I stripped off my clothes with the intention of rolling down a yard, one end of which touched the water; but it was so covered with unfortunate wretches, whom the fear of drowning kept in that situation, that I tumbled over them and fell into the sea, recommending myself to the mercy of Providence. A stout soldier who was drowning caught hold of me in this extremity; I employed every exertion to disengage myself from him, but without effect. I suffered myself to sink under the water, but he did not quit his hold; I plunged a second time, and he still held me firmly in his grasp; he was incapable of reflecting that my death would rather hasten his own than be of service to him. At length, after struggling a considerable time, his strength was exhausted in consequence of the quantity of water he had swallowed, and perceiving that I was sinking the third time, and fearing lest I should drag him to the bottom along with me, he loosed his hold. That he might not catch me again I dived, and rose a considerable distance from the spot.

This first adventure rendered me more cautious in future; I even shunned the dead bodies, which were so numerous, that, to make a free passage, I was obliged to push them aside with one hand, while I kept myself above water with the other. I imagined that each of

them was a man who would assuredly seize and involve me in his own destruction. My strength began to fail, and I was convinced of the necessity of resting, when I met a piece of the flag staff. To secure it I put my arm through the noose of the rope, and swam as well as I was able; I perceived a yard floating before me, when I approached and seized it by the end. At the other extremity I saw a young man, scarcely able to support himself, and speedily relinquished this feeble assistance that announced a certain death. The sprit-sail yard next appeared in sight; it was covered with people, and I durst not take a place upon it without asking permission, which my unfortunate companions cheerfully granted. Some were quite naked, and others in their shirts; they expressed their pity at my situation, and their misfortune put my sensibility to the severest test.

M. Morin and M. de la Touche, both so worthy of a better fate, never quitted the vessel, and were doubtless buried in its ruins. Whichever way I turned my eyes, the most dismal sights presented themselves. The main-mast, burnt away at the bottom, fell overboard, killing some, and affording to others a precarious resource. This mast I observed covered with people, and abandoned to the impulse of the waves; at the same moment I perceived two sailors upon a hen-coop with some planks, and cried out to them, "My lads, bring the planks, and swim to me." They approached me, accompanied by several others; and each taking a plank, which we used as oars, we paddled along upon the yard, and joined those who had taken possession of the main-mast.

So many changes of situation presented only new spectacles of horror. I fortunately here met with our chaplain, who gave me absolution. We were in number about eighty persons, who were incessantly threatened with destruction by the balls from the ship's guns. I saw likewise on the mast two young ladies, by whose piety I was much edified; there were six females on board, and the other four were, in all probability, already drowned or burned. Our chaplain, in this dreadful situation, melted the most obdurate hearts by his discourse

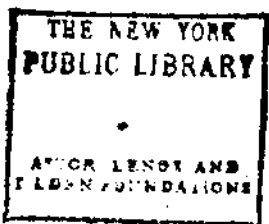
and the example he gave of patience and resignation. Seeing him slip from the mast and fall into the sea, as I was behind him, I lifted him up again. "Let me go, (said he,) I am full of water, and it is only a prolongation of my sufferings." "No, my friend, (said I,) we will die together when my strength forsakes me." In his pious company I awaited death with perfect resignation. I remained in this situation three hours, and saw one of the ladies fall off the mast with fatigue, and perish; she was too far distant for me to give her any assistance.

When I least expected it, I perceived the yawl close to us; it was then five o'clock, P. M. I cried out to the men in her that I was their lieutenant, and begged permission to share our misfortune with them. They gave me leave to come on board, upon condition that I would swim to them. It was their interest to have a conductor, in order to discover land; and for this reason my company was too necessary for them to refuse my request. The condition they imposed upon me was perfectly reasonable; they acted prudently not to approach, as the others would have been equally anxious to enter their little bark; and we should all have been buried together in a watery grave. Mustering, therefore, all my strength, I was so fortunate as to reach the boat. Soon afterwards I observed the pilot and master, whom I had left on the main-mast, follow my example; they swam to the yawl, and we took them in. This little bark was the means of saving the ten persons who alone escaped, out of nearly three hundred.

The flames still continued to consume our ship, from which we were not more than half a league distant; our too great proximity might prove pernicious, and we, therefore, proceeded a little to windward. Not long after, the fire communicated to the powder-room, and it is impossible to describe the noise with which our vessel blew up. A thick cloud intercepted the light of the sun; amidst this horrible darkness we could perceive nothing but large pieces of flaming wood projected into the air, and whose fall threatened to dash to pieces

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numbers of unhappy wretches still struggling with the agonies of death. We, ourselves, were not quite out of danger; it was not impossible but that one of the flaming fragments might reach us, and precipitate our frail vessel to the bottom. The Almighty, however, preserved us from that misfortune; but what a spectacle now presented itself! The vessel had disappeared; its fragments covered the sea to a great distance, and floated in all directions with our unfortunate companions, whose despair and whose lives, had been terminated together by their fall. We saw some completely suffocated, others mangled, half burned, and still preserving sufficient life to be sensible of the accumulated horrors of their fate.

Through the mercy of heaven, I retained my fortitude, and proposed to make towards the fragments of the wreck to seek provisions, and to pick up any other articles we might want. We were totally unprovided, and were in danger of perishing with famine; a death more tedious and more painful than that of our companions. We found several barrels, in which we hoped to find a resource against this pressing necessity, but discovered to our mortification that it was part of the powder which had been thrown overboard during the conflagration.

Night approached; but we providentially found a cask of brandy, about fifteen pounds of salt pork, a piece of scarlet cloth, twenty yards of linen, a dozen of pipe staves, and a few ropes. It grew dark, and we could not wait till daylight in our present situation, without exposing ourselves a hundred times to destruction among the fragments of the wreck, from which we had not yet been able to disengage ourselves. We therefore rowed away from them as speedily as possible, in order to attend to the equipment of our new vessel. Every one fell to work with the utmost assiduity; we employed every thing, and took off the inner sheathing of our boat for the sake of the planks and nails; we drew from the linen what thread we wanted; fortunately one of the sailors had two needles; our scarlet cloth served us for a sail, an oar for a mast, and a plank for a rudder.

Notwithstanding the darkness, our equipment was in a short time as complete as circumstances would permit. The only difficulty that remained was, how to direct our course; we had neither charts nor instruments, and were nearly two hundred leagues from land. We resigned ourselves to the mercy of the Almighty, whose assistance we implored in fervent prayers.

At length we raised our sail, and a favorable wind removed us forever from the floating corpses of our unfortunate companions. In this manner we proceeded eight days and eight nights, without perceiving land, exposed stark naked to the burning rays of the sun by day, and to intense cold by night. The sixth day, a shower of rain inspired us with the hope of some relief from the thirst by which we were tormented: we endeavored to catch the little water that fell in our mouths and hands. We sucked our sail, but having been before soaked in sea-water, it communicated the bitter taste of the latter to the rain which it received. If, however, the rain had been more violent, it might have abated the wind that impelled us, and a calm would have been attended with inevitable destruction.

That we might steer our course with the greater certainty, we consulted, every day, the rising and setting of the sun and moon; and the stars showed us what wind we ought to take. A very small piece of salt pork furnished us one meal in the twenty-four hours: and from even this we were obliged to desist on the fourth day, on account of the irritation of the blood which it occasioned. Our only beverage was a glass of brandy, from time to time; but that liquor burned our stomachs without allaying our thirst. We saw abundance of flying-fish, but the impossibility of catching them rendered our misery still more acute; we were, therefore, obliged to be contented with our provisions. The uncertainty with respect to our fate, the want of food, and the agitation of the sea, combined to deprive us of rest, and almost plunged us into despair. Nature seemed to have abandoned her functions; a feeble ray of hope alone cheered

our minds and prevented us from envying the fate of our deceased companions.

I passed the eighth night at the helm: I remained at my post more than ten hours, frequently desiring to be relieved, till at length I sank down with fatigue. My miserable comrades were equally exhausted, and despair began to take possession of our souls. At last, when just perishing with fatigue, misery, hunger, and thirst, we discovered land, by the first rays of the sun, on Wednesday, the 3d of August, 1752. Only those who have experienced similar misfortunes can form an adequate conception of the change which this discovery produced in our minds. Our strength returned, and we took precautions not to be carried away by the currents. At two P. M. we reached the coast of Brazil, and entered the bay of Tresson, in latitude six degrees.

Our first care, upon setting foot on shore, was to thank the Almighty for his favors; we threw ourselves upon the ground, and, in the transports of our joy, rolled ourselves in the sand. Our appearance was truly frightful, our figures preserved nothing human that did not more forcibly announce our misfortunes. Some were perfectly naked, others had nothing but shirts that were rotten and torn to rags, and I had fastened round my waist a piece of scarlet cloth, in order to appear at the head of my companions. We had not yet, however, arrived at the end of all our hardships; although rescued from the greatest of our dangers, that of an uncertain navigation, we were still tormented by hunger and thirst, and in cruel suspense, whether we should find this coast inhabited by men susceptible of sentiments of compassion.

We were deliberating which way we should direct our course, when about fifty Portuguese, most of whom were armed, advanced towards us, and inquired the reason of our landing. The recital of our misfortunes was a sufficient answer, at once announced our wants, and strongly claimed the sacred rights of hospitality. Their treasures were not the object of our desire, the necessaries of life were all that we wanted. Touched by our misfortunes, they blessed the power that had preserved

us, and hastened to conduct us to their habitations. Upon the way we came to a river, into which all my companions ran to throw themselves, in order to allay their thirst; they rolled in the water with extreme delight; and bathing was in the sequel one of the remedies of which we made the most frequent use, and which, at the same time, contributed most to the restoration of our health.

The principal person of the place came and conducted us to his house, about half a league distant from the place of our landing. Our charitable host gave us linen shirts and trousers, and boiled some fish, the water of which served us for broth, and seemed delicious. After this frugal repast, though sleep was equally necessary, yet we prepared to render solemn thanks to the Almighty. Hearing that, at the distance of half a league, there was a church dedicated to St. Michael, we repaired thither, singing praises to the Lord, while we presented the homage of our gratitude to Him to whom we were so evidently indebted for our preservation. The badness of the road had fatigued us, so much that we were obliged to rest in the village; our misfortunes, together with such an edifying spectacle, drew all the inhabitants around us, and every one hastened to fetch us refreshments. After resting a short time, we returned to our kind host, who, at night, furnished us with another repast of fresh fish. As we wanted more invigorating food, we purchased an ox, which we had in exchange for twenty-five quarts of brandy.

We had to go to Paraibo, a journey of fifteen leagues, barefoot, and without any hope of meeting with good provisions on the way; we therefore took the precaution of smoke-drying our meat, and added to it a provision of flour. After resting three days, we departed under an escort of three soldiers. We proceeded seven leagues the first day, and passed the night at the house of a man, who received us kindly. The next evening, a sergeant, accompanied by twenty-nine soldiers, came to meet us for the purpose of conducting and presenting us to the commandant of the fortress; that worthy officer received

us graciously, gave us an entertainment, and a boat to go to Paraibo. It was midnight when we arrived at that town; a Portuguese captain was waiting to present us to the governor, who gave us a gracious reception, and furnished us with all the comforts of life. We there reposed for three days, but being desirous of reaching Fernambuc to take advantage of a Portuguese fleet that was expected to sail every day, in order to return to Europe, the governor ordered a corporal to conduct us thither. My feet were so lacerated that I could scarcely stand, and a horse was therefore provided for me.

At length after a journey of four days, we entered the town of Fernambuc. My first business was to go, with my people, to present myself to the general, Joseph de Correa, who condescended to give me an audience; after which Don Francisco Miguel, a captain of a king's ship, took us in his boat to procure us the advantage of saluting the admiral of the fleet, Don Juan d'Acosta de Porito. During the fifty days that we remained at Fernambuc that gentleman never ceased to load me with new favors and civilities. His generosity extended to all my companions in misfortune, to some of whom he even gave appointments in the vessels of his fleet.

On the fifth of October we set sail, and arrived without any accident, at Lisbon, on the 17th of December. On the second of January, our consul, M. du Vernay, procured me a passage in a vessel bound to Morlaix. The master and myself went on board together, the rest of my companions being distributed among other ships. I arrived at Morlaix on the 2d of February. My fatigues obliged me to take a few days rest in that place, from whence I repaired on the 10th to l'Orient, overwhelmed with poverty, having lost all that I possessed in the world, after a service of twenty-eight years, and with my health greatly impaired by the hardships I had endured.

LOSS OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP PHOENIX,

Off the Island of Cuba, in the year 1780.

THE PHOENIX, of forty-four guns, captain Sir Hyde Parker, was lost in a hurricane, off Cuba, in the year 1780. The same hurricane destroyed the Thunderer, seventy-four; Stirling Castle, sixty-four; La Blanche, forty-two; Laurel, twenty-eight; Andromeda, twenty-eight; Deal Castle, twenty-four; Scarborough, twenty; Beaver's Prize, sixteen; Barbadoes, fourteen; Cameleon, fourteen; Endeavor, fourteen; and Victor, ten guns. Lieutenant Archer was first lieutenant of the PHOENIX at the time she was lost. His narrative in a letter to his mother contains a most correct and animated account of one of the most-awful events in the service. It is so simple and natural as to make the reader feel himself on board the PHOENIX. Every circumstance is detailed with feeling, and powerful appeals are continually made to the heart. It must likewise afford considerable pleasure to observe the devout spirit of a seaman frequently bursting forth, and imparting sublimity to the relation.

At sea, June 30, 1780.

MY DEAREST MADAM,

I am now going to give you an account of our last cruise in the PHOENIX; and must premise, that should any one see it beside yourself, they must put this construction on it—that it was originally intended for the eyes of a mother, and a mother only, as, upon that supposition, my feelings may be tolerated. You will also meet with a number of sea terms, which, if you don't understand, why, I cannot help you, as I am unable to give a sea description in any other words.

To begin then:—On the 2d of August, 1780, we weighed and sailed for Port Royal, bound from Pensacola, having two store-ships under convoy, and to see safe in; then cruise off the Havannah, and in the gulf of Mexico, for six weeks. In a few days we made the two sandy islands, that look as if they had just risen out of the sea, or fallen from the sky; inhabited nevertheless, by upwards of three hundred English, who get their bread by catching turtles and parrots, and raising vegetables, which they exchange with ships that pass, for clothing and a few of the luxuries of life, as rum, &c.

About the 12th we arrived at Pensacola, without any thing remarkable happening, except our catching a vast quantity of fish, sharks, dolphins, and bonettos. On the 13th sailed singly, and on the 14th had a very heavy gale of wind at north, right off the land, so that we soon left the sweet place, Pensacola, a distance astern. We then looked into the Havannah, saw a number of ships there, and knowing that some of them were bound round the bay, we cruised in the track: a fortnight, however, passed, and not a single ship hove in sight to cheer our spirits. We then took a turn or two round the gulf, but not near enough to be seen from the shore. Vera Cruz we expected would have made us happy, but the same luck still continued; day followed day, and no sail. The dollar bag began to grow a little bulky, for every one had lost two or three times, and no one had won: (this was a small gambling party entered into by Sir Hyde and ourselves; every one put a dollar into a bag, and fixed on a day when we should see a sail, but no two persons were to name the same day, and whoever guessed right first was to have the bag.)

Being now tired of our situation, and glad the cruise was almost out, for we found the navigation very dangerous, owing to unaccountable currents; so shaped our course for cape Antonio. The next day the man at the mast-head, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, called out: "A sail upon the weather bow! Ha! Ha! Mr. Spaniard, I think we have you at last. Turn out

all hands! make sail. All hands! give chase!" There was scarcely any occasion for this order, for the sound of a sail being in sight flew like wildfire through the ship, and every sail was set, in an instant, almost before the orders were given. A lieutenant at the mast-head, with a spy glass, "What is she?" "A large ship studding athwart right before the wind. P-o-r-t! Keep her away! set the studding sails ready!" Up comes the little doctor, rubbing his hands; "Ha! Ha! I have won the bag." "The devil take you and the bag; look, what's ahead will fill all our bags." Mast-head again; "Two more sail on the larboard beam!" "Archer, go up and see what you can make of them." "Upon deck there; I see a whole fleet of twenty sail coming right before the wind." "Confound the luck of it; this is some convoy or other, but we must try if we can pick some of them out." "Haul down the studding sails! Luff! bring her to the wind! Let us see what we can make of them."

About five we got pretty near them, and found them to be twenty-six sail of Spanish merchantmen, under convoy of three line-of-battle ships, one of which chased us; but when she found we were playing with her (for the old Phoenix had heels) she left chase, and joined the convoy; which they drew up into a lump, and placed themselves at the outside; but we still kept smelling about till after dark. O, for the Hector, the Albion, and a frigate, and we should take the whole fleet and convoy, worth some millions! About eight o'clock perceived three sail at some distance from the fleet; dashed in between them and gave chase, and were happy to find they steered from the fleet. About twelve, came up with a large ship of twenty-six guns. "Archer, every man to his quarters! run the lower deck guns out, and light the ship up: show this fellow our force; it may prevent his firing into us and killing a man or two." No sooner said than done. "Hoa, the ship ahoy! lower your sails, and bring to instantly, or I'll sink you." Clatter, clatter, went the blocks, and away flew all their

sails in proper confusion. "What ship is that?" "The Polly." "Whence came you!" "From Jamaica." "Where are you bound?" "To New York." "What ship is that?" "The Phoenix." Huzza, three times by the whole ship's company. An old grum fellow of a sailor standing close by me: "O, d—n your three cheers, we took you to be something else." Upon examination we found it to be as he reported, and that they had fallen in with the Spanish fleet that morning, and were chased the whole day, and that nothing saved them but our stepping in between; for the Spaniards took us for three consorts, and the Polly took the Phoenix for a Spanish frigate, till we hailed them. The other vessels in company were likewise bound to New York. Thus was I, from being worth thousands in idea, reduced to the old four-shillings six-pence again; for the little doctor made the most prize money of us all that day, by winning the bag, which contained between thirty and forty dollars; but this is nothing to what we sailors sometimes undergo.

After parting company, we steered S. S. E. to go round Antonio, and so to Jamaica, (our cruise being out,) with our fingers in our mouths, and all of us as green as you please. It happened to be my middle watch, and about three o'clock, when the man upon the fore-castle bawls out "Breakers ahead, and land upon the lee bow;" I looked out, and it was so, sure enough. "Ready about, put the helm down! Helm a lee!" Sir Hyde hearing me put the ship about, jumped upon deck. "Archer, what's the matter? You are putting the ship about without my orders!" Sir, 'tis time to go about; the ship is almost ashore, there is the land. "Good God, so it is! Will the ship stay?" Yes, sir, I believe she will, if we don't make any confusion; she is all aback—forward now? "Well, (says he,) work the ship, I will not speak a single word." The ship stayed very well. Then heave the lead! see what water we have! "Three fathom." Keep the ship away, W. N. W. "By the mark three." "This won't do, Archer." No, sir, we had better haul more to the northward; we came

S. S. E. and had better steer N. N. W. "Steady, and a quarter three." This may do, we deepen a little. "By the deep four." Very well, my lad, heave quick. "Five fathom." That's a fine fellow! another cast nimbly. "Quarter less eight." That will do, come, we shall get clear bye and bye. "Mark under water five." What's that? "Only five fathom, sir." Turn all hands up; bring the ship to an anchor, boy. Are the anchors clear? "In a moment, sir,—All clear." What water have you in the chains now? "Eight, half nine." Keep fast the anchors till I call you. "Aye, aye, sir, all fast." "I have no ground with this line." How many fathoms have you out? pass along the deep sea-line! "Aye, aye, sir." Heave away, watch! watch! bear away, veer away. "No ground, sir, with a hundred fathom." That's clever, come, Madame Phoenix, there is another squeak in you yet—all down but the watch; secure the anchors again; heave the main-top-sail to the mast; luff, and bring her to the wind!

I told you, Madam, you should have a little sea-jargon: if you can understand half of what is already said, I wonder at it, though it is nothing to what is to come yet, when the old hurricane begins. As soon as the ship was a little to rights, and all quiet again, Sir Hyde came to me in the most friendly manner, the tears almost starting from his eyes—"Archer, we ought all to be much obliged to you for the safety of the ship, and perhaps of ourselves. I am particularly so; nothing but that instantaneous presence of mind and calmness saved her; another ship's length and we should have been fast on shore; had you been the least diffident, or made the least confusion, so as to make the ship baulk in her stays, she must have been inevitably lost." Sir, you are very good, but I have done nothing that I suppose any body else would not have done, in the same situation. I did not turn all the hands up, knowing the watch able to work the ship; besides, had it spread immediately about the ship that she was almost ashore, it might have created a confusion that was better avoided. "Well," says he, "'tis well indeed."

At daylight we found that the current had set us between the Colladora rocks and cape Antonio, and that we could not have got out any other way than we did; there was a chance, but Providence is the best pilot. We had sunset that day twenty leagues to the S. E. of our reckoning by the current.

After getting clear of this scrape, we thought ourselves fortunate, and made sail for Jamaica, but misfortune seemed to follow misfortune. The next night, my watch upon deck too, we were overtaken by a squall, like a hurricane while it lasted; for though I saw it coming, and prepared for it, yet, when it took the ship, it roared, and laid her down so, that I thought she would never get up again. However, by keeping her away, and clueing up every thing, she righted. The remainder of the night we had very heavy squalls, and in the morning found the main-mast sprung half the way through: one hundred and twenty-three leagues to the leeward of Jamaica, the hurricane months coming on, the head of the main-mast almost off, and at a short allowance; well, we must make the best of it. The main-mast was well fished, but we were obliged to be very tender of carrying the sail.

Nothing remarkable happened for ten days afterwards, when we chased a Yankee man-of-war for six hours, but could not get near enough to her before it was dark, to keep sight of her; so that we lost her because unable to carry any sail on the main-mast. In about twelve days more made the island of Jamaica, having weathered all the squalls, and put into Montego bay for water; so that we had a strong party for kicking up a dust on shore, having found three men-of-war lying there. Dancing, &c. &c., till two o'clock every morning; little thinking what was to happen in four days' time: for out of the four men-of-war that were there, not one was in being at the end of that time, and not a soul alive but those left of our crew. Many of the houses where we had been so merry, were so completely destroyed, that scarcely a vestige remained to mark where they stood.

Thy works are wonderful, O God! praised be thy holy name!

September the 30th, weighed; bound for Port Royal, round the eastward of the island; the Barbadoes and Victor had sailed the day before, and the Scarborough was to sail the next. Moderate weather until October the 2d. Spoke the Barbadoes off Port Antonio in the evening. At eleven at night it began to snuffle, with a monstrous heavy bill from the eastward. Close reefed the top-sails. Sir Hyde sent for me: "What sort of weather have we, Archer!" It blows a little, and has a very ugly look; if in any other quarter but this, I should say we were going to have a gale of wind. "Aye, it looks so very often here when there is no wind at all; however, don't hoist the top-sails till it clears a little, there is no trusting any country." At twelve I was relieved; the weather had the same rough look: however, they made sail upon her, but had a very dirty night. At eight in the morning I came up again, found it blowing hard from the E. N. E. with close reefed top-sails upon the ship, and heavy squalls at times. Sir Hyde came upon deck: "Well, Archer, what do you think of it?" O, sir, 'tis only a touch of the times, we shall have an observation at twelve o'clock; the clouds are beginning to break; it will clear up at noon, or else blow very hard afterwards. "I wish it would clear up, but I doubt it much. I was once in a hurricane in the East Indies, and the beginning of it had much the same appearance as this. So take in the top-sails, we have plenty of sea-room."

At twelve, the gale still increasing, wore ship, to keep as near mid-channel, between Jamaica and Cuba, as possible; at one the gale increasing still; at two harder! Reefed the courses, and furled them; brought to under a foul mizzen stay-sail, head to the northward. In the evening no sign of the weather taking off, but every appearance of the storm increasing, prepared for a proper gale of wind; secured all the sails with spare gaskets; good rolling tackles upon the yards; squared the booms; saw the boats all made fast; new lashed the guns;

double breeched the lower deckers; saw that the carpenters had the tarpaulins and battens all ready for the hatchways; got the top-gallant-mast down upon the deck; jib-boom and sprit-sail-yard fore and aft; in fact, did every thing we could think of to make a snug ship.

The poor devils of birds now began to find the uproar in the elements, for numbers, both of sea and land kinds, came on board of us. I took notice of some, which happening to be to leeward, turned to windward, like a ship, tack and tack; for they could not fly against it. When they came over the ship they dashed themselves down upon the deck, without attempting to stir till picked up, and when let go again, they would not leave the ship, but endeavored to hide themselves from the wind.

At eight o'clock a hurricane; the sea roaring, but the wind still steady to a point; did not ship a spoonful of water. However, got the hatchways all secured, expecting what would be the consequence, should the wind shift; placed the carpenters by the main-mast, with broad axes, knowing, from experience, that at the moment you may want to cut it away to save the ship, an axe may not be found. Went to supper: bread, cheese, and porter. The purser frightened out of his wits about his bread bags; the two marine officers as white as sheets, not understanding the ship's working so much, and the noise of the lower deck guns; which, by this time, made a pretty screeching to the people not used to it; it seemed as if the whole ship's side was going at each roll. Wooden, our carpenter, was all this time smoking his pipe and laughing at the doctor; the second lieutenant upon deck, and the third in his hammock.

At ten o'clock I thought to get a little sleep; came to look into my cot; it was full of water; for every seam, by the straining of the ship, had begun to leak. Stretched myself, therefore, upon deck, between two chests, and left orders to be called, should the least thing happen. At twelve a midshipman came to me: "Mr. Archer, we are just going to wear ship, sir!" O, very well, I'll be up directly; what sort of weather have you got? "It

blows a hurricane." Went upon deck, found Sir Hyde there. "It blows damn'd hard, Archer." It does indeed, sir. "I don't know that I ever remember its blowing so hard before; but the ship makes a very good weather of it upon this tack as she bows the sea; but we must wear her, as the wind has shifted to the S. E. and we are drawing right upon Cuba; so do you go forward, and have some hands stand by; loose the lee yard-arm of the fore-sail, and when she is right before the wind, whip the clue garnet close up, and roll up the sail." Sir! there is no canvas can stand against this a moment; if we attempt to loose him, he will fly into ribands in an instant, and we may lose three or four of our people; she'll wear by manning the fore shrouds. "O, I don't think she will." I'll answer for it, sir; I have seen it tried several times on the coast of America with success. "Well, try it; if she does not wear, we can only loose the fore-sail afterwards." This was a great condescension from such a man as Sir Hyde. However, by sending about two hundred people into the fore-rigging, after a hard struggle, she wore; found she did not make so good weather on this tack as on the other; for as the sea began to run across, she had not time to rise from one sea, before another dashed against her. Began to think we should lose our masts, as the ship lay very much along, by the pressure of the wind constantly upon the yards and masts alone: for the poor mizzen-stay-sail had gone in shreds long before, and the sails began to fly from the yards through the gaskets into coach whips. My God! to think that the wind could have such force.

Sir Hyde now sent me to see what was the matter between decks, as there was a good deal of noise. As soon as I was below, one of the Marine officers calls out: "Good God! Mr. Archer, we are sinking, the water is up to the bottom of my cot." Pooh, pooh! as long as it is not over your mouth, you are well off; what the devil do you make this noise for? I found there was some water between decks, but nothing to be alarmed at: scuttled the deck, and it ran into the well; found

she made a good deal of water through the sides and decks; turned the watch below to the pumps, though only two feet of water in the well; but expected to be kept constantly at work now, as the ship labored much, with scarcely a part of her above water but the quarter-deck, and that but seldom. "Come, pump away, my boys. Carpenters, get the weather chain-pump rigged." "All ready, sir. Then man it, and keep both pumps going."

- At two o'clock the chain pump was choked; set the carpenters at work to clear it; the two head pumps at work upon deck: the ship gained upon us while our chain-pumps were idle; in a quarter of an hour they were at work again, and we began to gain upon her. While I was standing at the pumps, cheering the people, the carpenter's mate came running to me with a face as long as my arm: "O, sir! the ship has sprung a leak in the gunner's room." Go, then, and tell the carpenter to come to me, but do not speak a word to any one else. Mr. Goodinoh, I am told there is a leak in the gunner's room; go and see what is the matter, but do not alarm any body, and come and make your report privately to me. In a short time he returned; "Sir, there is nothing there, it is only the water washing up between the timbers, that this booby has taken for a leak." O, very well; go upon deck and see if you can keep any of the water from washing down below. Sir, I have had four people constantly keeping the hatchways secure, but there is such a weight of water upon the deck that nobody can stand it when the ship rolls. The gunner soon afterwards came to me, saying, "Mr. Archer, I should be glad if you would step this way into the magazine for a moment." I thought some damned thing was the matter, and ran directly. Well, what is the matter here? He answered, "The ground tier of powder is spoiled, and I want to show you that it is not out of carelessness in me in stowing it, for no powder in the world could be better stowed. Now, sir, what am I to do? If you do not speak to Sir Hyde, he will be angry with me." I could not forbear smiling to see how easy

he took the danger of the ship, and said to him, let us shake off this gale of wind first, and talk of the damaged powder afterwards.

At four, we had gained upon the ship a little, and I went upon deck, it being my watch. The second lieutenant relieved me at the pumps. Who can attempt to describe the appearance of things upon deck? If I was to write forever, I could not give you an idea of it—a total darkness all above; the sea on fire, running as it were in Alps, or Peaks of Teneriffe; (mountains are too common an idea;) the wind roaring louder than thunder, (absolutely no flight of imagination,) the whole made more terrible, if possible, by a very uncommon kind of blue lightning; the poor ship was very much pressed, yet doing what she could, shaking her sides, and groaning at every stroke. Sir Hyde upon deck, lashed to windward! I soon lashed myself alongside of him, and told him the situation of things below, saying the ship did not make more water than might be expected in such weather, and that I was only afraid of a gun breaking loose. “I am not in the least afraid of that; I have commanded her six years, and have had many a gale of wind in her; so that her iron work, which always gives way first, is pretty well tried. Hold fast! that was an ugly sea; we must lower the yards, I believe, Archer; the ship is much pressed.” If we attempt it, sir, we shall lose them, for a man aloft can do nothing; besides, their being down would ease the ship very little; the main-mast is a sprung mast; I wish it was overboard—without carrying any thing else along with it; but that can soon be done, the gale cannot last forever; it will soon be daylight now. Found by the master’s watch that it was five o’clock, though but a little after four by ours: glad it was so near daylight, and looked for it with much anxiety. Cuba, thou art much in our way! Another ugly sea; sent a midshipman to bring news from the pumps; the ship was gaining on them very much, for they had broken one of their chains, but it was almost mended again. News from the pump again. “She still gains! a heavy lee!” Back water from the

leeward, half way up the quarter deck ; filled one of the cutters upon the booms, and tore her all to pieces ; the ship lying almost on her beam-ends, and not attempting to right again. Word from below that the ship still gained on them, as they could not stand to the pumps, she lay so much along. I said to Sir Hyde :—“This is no time, sir, to think of saving the masts ; shall we cut the main-mast away ?” “Aye ! as fast as you can.” I accordingly went into the weather chains with a pole ax, to cut away the lanyards ; the boatswain went to leeward, and the carpenters stood by the mast. We were all ready, and a very violent sea broke right on board of us, carried every thing upon deck away, filled the ship with water, the main and mizzen-masts went, the ship righted, but was in the last struggle of sinking under us.

As soon as we could shake our heads above water, Sir Hyde exclaimed, “We are gone, at last, Archer ! foundered at sea !” Yes, sir, farewell, and the Lord have mercy upon us ! I then turned about to look at the ship ; and thought she was struggling to get rid of some of the water ; but all in vain, she was almost full below. “Almighty God ! I thank thee, that now I am leaving this world, which I have always considered as only a passage to a better, I die with a full hope of thy mercies through the merits of Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Savior !”

I then felt sorry that I could swim, as by that means I might be a quarter of an hour longer dying than a man who could not, and it is impossible to divest ourselves of a wish to preserve life. At the end of these reflections I thought I heard the ship thump and grinding under our feet ; it was so. Sir, the ship is ashore ! “What do you say ?” The ship is ashore, and we may save ourselves yet ! By this time the quarter-deck was full of men who had come up from below ; and the Lord have mercy upon us, flying about from all quarters. The ship now made every body sensible that she was ashore, for every stroke threatened a total dissolution of her whole frame ; found she was stern ashore, and the bow broke the sea a good deal, though it was wash-

ing clean over at every stroke. Sir Hyde cried out: "Keep to the quarter-deck, my lads, when she goes to pieces, it is your best chance!" Providentially got the fore-mast cut away, that she might not pay round broad-side. Lost five men cutting away the foremast, by the breaking of a sea on board just as the mast went. That was nothing; every one expected it would be his own fate next; looked for daybreak with the greatest impatience. At last it came; but what a scene did it show us! The ship upon a bed of rocks, mountains of them on one side, and Cordilleras of water on the other; our poor ship grinding and crying out at every stroke between them; going away by piece-meal. However, to show the unaccountable workings of Providence, that which often appears to be the greatest evil, proves to be the greatest good! That unmerciful sea lifted and beat us up so high among the rocks, that at last the ship scarcely moved. She was very strong, and did not go to pieces at the first thumping, though her decks tumbled in. We found afterwards that she had beat over a ledge of rocks, almost a quarter of a mile in extent beyond us, where if she had struck, every soul of us must have perished.

I now began to think of getting on shore, so stripped off my coat and shoes for a swim, and looked for a line to carry the end with me. Luckily could not find one, which gave me time for recollection: "This won't do for me, to be the first man out of the ship, and first lieutenant; we may get to England again, and people may think I paid a great deal of attention to myself, and did not care for any body else. No, that won't do; instead of being the first, I'll see every man, sick and well, out of her before me."

I now thought there was no probability of the ship's soon going to pieces, therefore had not a thought of instant death; took a look round with a kind of philosophic eye, to see how the same situation affected my companions, and was surprised to find the most swaggering, swearing bullies in fine weather, now the most pitiful wretches on earth, when death appeared before

them. However, two got safe; by which means, with a line, we got a hawser on shore, and made fast to the rocks, upon which many ventured and arrived safely. There were some sick and wounded on board, who could not avail themselves of this method; we therefore got a spare top-sail-yard from the chains and placed one end ashore and the other on the cabin window, so that most of the sick got ashore this way.

As I had determined, so I was the last man out of the ship; this was about ten o'clock. The gale now began to break. Sir Hyde came to me, and taking me by the hand was so affected that he was scarcely able to speak. "Archer, I am happy beyond expression to see you on the shore; but look at our poor Phoenix!" I turned about, but could not say a single word, being too full: my mind had been too intensely occupied before; but every thing now rushed upon me at once, so that I could not contain myself, and I indulged for a full quarter of an hour.

By twelve it was pretty moderate; got some nails on shore and made tents; found great quantities of fish driven up by the sea into holes of the rocks; knocked up a fire, and had a most comfortable dinner. In the afternoon made a stage from the cabin windows to the rocks, and got out some provisions and water, lest the ship should go to pieces, in which case we must all have perished of hunger and thirst; for we were upon a desolate part of the coast, and under a rocky mountain, that could not supply us with a single drop of water.

Slept comfortably this night, and the next day; the idea of death vanishing by degrees, the prospect of being prisoners, during the war, at the Havannah, and walking three hundred miles to it through the woods, was rather unpleasant. However, to save life for the present, we employed this day in getting more provisions and water on shore, which was not an easy matter, on account of decks, guns, and rubbish, and ten feet water that lay over them. In the evening I proposed to Sir Hyde to repair the remains of the only boat left, and to venture in her to Jamaica myself; and in case I arrived

safe, to bring vessels to take them all off; a proposal worthy of consideration. It was next day agreed to; therefore, got the cutter on shore, and set the carpenters to work on her; in two days she was ready, and at four o'clock in the afternoon, I embarked with four volunteers and a fortnight's provision; hoisted English colors as we put off from shore, and received three cheers from the lads left behind, and set sail with a light heart; having not the least doubt, that, with God's assistance, we should come and bring them all off. Had a very squally night, and a very leaky boat, so as to keep two buckets constantly baling. Steered her, myself, the whole night by the stars, and in the morning saw the coast of Jamaica, distant twelve leagues. At eight in the evening, arrived at Montego bay.

I must now begin to leave off, particularly as I have but half an hour to conclude; else my pretty little short letter will lose its passage, which I should not like, after being ten days, at different times, writing it; beating up with the convoy to the northward, which is a reason that this epistle will never read well; for I never sat down with a proper disposition to go on with it; but as I knew something of the kind would please you, I was resolved to finish it: yet it will not bear an overhaul; so do not expose your son's nonsense.

But to proceed—I instantly sent off an express to the Admiral, another to the Porcupine man-of-war, and went myself to Martha Bray to get vessels; for all their vessels here, as well as many of their horses, were gone to *Moco*. Got three small vessels, and set out back again to Cuba, where I arrived the fourth day after leaving my companions. I thought the ship's crew would have devoured me on my landing; they presently whisked me up on their shoulders, and carried me to the tent; where Sir Hyde was.

I must omit many little occurrences that happened on shore, for want of time; but I shall have a number of stories to tell, when I get alongside of you; and the next time I visit you, I shall not be in such a hurry to quit you as I was the last, for then I hoped my nest would

have been pretty well feathered :—But my tale is forgotten.

I found the Porcupine had arrived that day, and the lads had built a boat almost ready for launching, that would hold fifty of them, which was intended for another trial, in case I had foundered. Next day, embarked all our people that were left, amounting to two hundred and fifty; for some had died of the wounds they received in getting on shore; others of drinking rum, and others had straggled into the country. All our vessels were so full of people, that we could not take away the few clothes that were saved from the wreck; but that was a trifle since we had preserved our lives and liberty. To make short of my story, we all arrived safe at Montego bay, and shortly after at Port Royal, in the Janus, which was sent on purpose for us, and were all honorably acquitted for the loss of the ship. I was made admiral's aid de camp, and a little time afterwards sent down to St. Juan as a captain of the Resource, to bring what were left of the poor devils to Blue Fields, on the Musquito shore, and then to Jamaica, where they arrived after three months absence, and without a prize, though I looked out hard off Porto Bello and Carthage-na. Found, in my absence, that I had been appointed captain of the Tobago, where I remain his majesty's most true and faithful servant, and my dear mother's most dutiful son.

———— ARCHER.

LOSS OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP LA TRIBUNE,

Off Halifax, (Nova Scotia,) November, 1797.

LA Tribune was one of the finest frigates in his majesty's navy; mounted forty-four guns, and had recently been taken from the French by captain Williams, in the Unicorn frigate. She was commanded by captain S. Barker; on the 22d of September, 1797, sailed from Torbay, as convoy to the Quebec and Newfoundland fleets.

In latitude forty-nine degrees, fourteen minutes, longitude seventeen degrees twenty-two minutes she fell in with and spoke his majesty's ship *Experiment*, from Halifax; and lost sight of all her convoy on the 10th of October, in latitude seventy-four degrees sixteen minutes, longitude thirty-two degrees eleven minutes.

About eight o'clock in the morning of the following Thursday, they came in sight of the harbor of Halifax, and approached it very fast, with an E. S. E. wind, when captain Barker proposed to the master to lay the ship to, till they could procure a pilot. The master replied, that he had beat a forty-four gun ship into the harbor, that he had frequently been there, and there was no occasion for a pilot, as the wind was favorable. Confiding in these assurances, captain Barker went into his cabin, where he was employed in arranging some papers which he intended to take on shore with him. In the mean time, the master, placing great dependence on the judgment of a negro, named John Cosey, who had formerly belonged to Halifax, took upon himself the pilotage of the ship. By twelve o'clock, the ship had approached so near Thrum Cap shoals, that the master became alarmed, and sent for Mr. Galvin, master's mate, who was sick below. On his coming upon deck, he heard the man in the chains sing out, "by the mark five!" the black man forward at the same time crying, "steady!" Galvin got on one of the carronades to observe the situation of the ship; the master ran, in great agitation, to the wheel, and took it from the man who was steering, with the intention of wearing the ship; but before this could be effected, or Galvin was able to give an opinion, she struck. Captain Barker immediately went on deck and reproached the master with having lost the ship. Seeing Galvin likewise on deck, he addressed him, and said, "that, knowing he had formerly sailed out of the harbor, he was surprised he could stand by and see the master run the ship on shore;" to which Galvin replied, "that he had not been on deck long enough to give an opinion."

Signals of distress were instantly made, and answer-

ed by military posts and ships in the harbor, from which, as well as the dock-yard, boats immediately put off to the relief of the Tribune. The military boats, and one of those from the dock yard, with Mr. Rackum, boatswain of the Ordinary, reached the ship, but the wind was so much against the others, that, in spite of all their exertions, they were unable to get on board. The ship was immediately lightened, by throwing overboard all her guns, excepting one retained for signals, and every other heavy article, so that about half past eight o'clock in the evening, the ship began to heave, and at nine, got off the shoals. She had lost her rudder about three hours before, and it was now found, on examination, that she had seven feet of water in her hold. The chain-pumps were immediately manned, and such exertions were made, that they seemed to gain on the leaks. By the advice of Mr. Rackum, the captain ordered the best bower anchor to be let go, but this did not bring her up. He then ordered the cable to be cut; and the jib and fore top-mast stay-sail were hoisted to steer by. During this interval a violent gale, which had come on at S. E., kept increasing, and carrying the ship to the western shore. The small bower anchor was soon afterwards let go: at which time they found themselves in thirteen fathom water, and the mizzen-mast was then cut away.

It was now ten o'clock, and as the water gained fast upon them, the crew had but little hope left of saving either the ship or their lives. At this critical period, lieutenant Campbell quitted the ship, and lieutenant North was taken into the boat, out of one of the ports. From the moment at which the former left the vessel, all hopes of safety had vanished; the ship was sinking fast, the storm was increasing with redoubled violence, and the rocky shore which they were approaching, resounding with the tremendous noise of the rolling billows, presented nothing to those who might survive the loss of the ship, but the expectation of a more painful death, by being dashed against precipices, which, even in the calmest day, it is impossible to ascend. Dunlap, one

of the survivors, declared, that about half past ten, as nearly as he could conjecture, one of the men who had been below, came to him on the fore-castle, and told him it was all over. A few minutes afterwards, the ship took a lurch, like a boat nearly filled with water and going down; on which Dunlap immediately began to ascend the fore-shrouds, and at the same moment casting his eyes towards the quarter-deck, he saw captain Barker standing by the gangway, and looking into the water, and directly afterwards he heard him call for the jolly-boat. He then saw the lieutenant of marines running towards the taffrel, to look, as he supposed, for the jolly-boat, which had been previously let down with men in her; but the ship instantly took a second lurch and sank to the bottom, after which neither the captain nor any of the other officers were again seen.

The scene, before sufficiently distressing, now became peculiarly awful. More than two hundred and forty men, besides several women and children, were floating on the waves, making the last effort to preserve life. Dunlap, who has been already mentioned, gained the fore-top. Mr. Galvin, the master's mate, with incredible difficulty, got into the main-top. He was below, when the ship sank, directing the men at the chain-pump, but was washed up the hatchway, thrown into the waist, and from thence into the water, and his feet, as he plunged, struck against a rock. On ascending he swam to gain the main-shrouds, when three men suddenly seized hold of him. He now gave himself up for lost; but to disengage himself from them he made a dive into the water, which caused them to quit their grasp. On rising again he swam to the shrouds, and having reached the main-top, seated himself on an arm chest which was lashed to the mast.

From the observations of Galvin, in the main-top, and Dunlap, in the fore-top, it appears that nearly one hundred persons were hanging for a considerable time, to the shrouds, the tops, and other parts of the wreck. From the length of the night, and the severity of the storm, nature, however, became exhausted, and during the

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whole night, they kept dropping off and disappearing. The cries and groans of the unhappy sufferers, from the bruises many of them had received, and their hopes of deliverance beginning to fail, were continued through the night; but as morning approached, in consequence of the few who then survived, they became extremely feeble.

About twelve o'clock, the main-mast gave way; at that time there were, on the main-top and shrouds, about forty persons. By the fall of the mast the whole of these unhappy wretches were again plunged into the water, and ten only regained the top, which rested on the main yard, and the whole remained fast to the ship by some of the rigging. Of the ten, who thus reached the top, four only were alive when morning appeared. Ten were at that time alive on the fore-top, but three were so exhausted, and so helpless, that they were washed away before any relief arrived; three others perished, and thus only four were, at last, left alive on the fore-top.

The place, where the ship went down, was barely three times her length to the southward of the entrance into Herring Cove. The inhabitants came down in the night, to the point opposite to which the ship sank, kept up large fires, and were so near as to converse with the people on the wreck.

The first exertion that was made for their relief was by a boy thirteen years old, from Herring Cove, who ventured off in a small skiff by himself about eleven o'clock, the next day. This youth, with great labor and extreme risk to himself, boldly approached the wreck, and backed in his little boat so near to the fore-top, as to take off two of the men, for the boat could not, with safety, hold any more. And here a trait of generous magnanimity was exhibited, which ought not to pass unnoticed. Dunlap and another man, named Monro, had, throughout this disastrous night, preserved their strength and spirits in a greater degree, than their unfortunate companions, whom they endeavored to cheer and encourage when they found their spirits sinking.

Upon the arrival of the boat, these two might have stepped into it, and thus have terminated their own sufferings; for their two companions, though alive, were unable to stir; they lay exhausted on the top, wishing not to be disturbed, and seemed desirous to perish in that situation. These generous fellows hesitated not a moment to remain, themselves, on the wreck, and to save their unfortunate companions, against their will. They lifted them up, and with the greatest exertion placed them in the little skiff; the *manly boy* rowed them triumphantly to the Cove, and immediately had them conveyed to a comfortable habitation. After shaming, by his example, older persons, who had larger boats, he again put off with his skiff, but with all his efforts, he could not then approach the wreck. His example, however, was soon followed by four of the crew, who had escaped in the Tribune's jolly-boat, and by some of the boats in the Cove. With their joint exertions, the eight men were preserved, and these, with the four who had saved themselves in the jolly-boat, were the whole of the survivors of this fine ship's company.

A circumstance occurred, in which that cool thoughtlessness of danger, which so often distinguishes the British tars, was displayed in such a striking manner, that it would be inexcusable to omit it. Daniel Monro, as we have already seen, had gained the fore-top. He suddenly disappeared, and it was concluded he had been washed away, like many others. After being absent from the top about two hours, he, to the surprise of Dunlap, who was likewise on the fore-top, raised his head through the lubber-hole. Dunlap inquiring where he had been, he told him he had been cruising for a better birth; that after swimming about the wreck a considerable time, he had returned to the fore-shrouds, and crawling in on the cat-harpings, had actually been sleeping there more than an hour, and appeared greatly refreshed.

AN EXTRAORDINARY FAMINE IN THE AMERICAN SHIP PEGGY,

On her return from the Azores to New York, in 1765.

FAMINE frequently leads men to the commission of the most horrible excesses: insensible, on such occasions, to the appeals of nature and reason, man assumes the character of a beast of prey; he is deaf to every representation, and coolly meditates the death of his fellow-creature.

One of these scenes, so afflicting to humanity, was, in the year 1765, exhibited in the brigantine the Peggy, David Harrison, commander, freighted by certain merchants of New York, and bound to the Azores. She arrived without accident at Fayal, one of those islands, and having disposed of her cargo, took on board a lading of wine and spirits. On the 24th of October, of the same year, she set sail on her return to New York.

On the 29th, the wind, which had till then been favorable, suddenly shifted. Violent storms, which succeeded each other, almost without interruption, during the month of November, did much damage to the vessel. In spite of all the exertions of the crew, and the experience of the captain, the masts went by the board, and all the sails, excepting one, were torn to rags: and, to add to their distress, several leaks were discovered in the hold.

At the beginning of December, the wind abated a little, but the vessel was driven out of her course; and, destitute of masts, sails, and rigging, she was perfectly unmanageable, and drifted to and fro, at the mercy of the waves. This, however, was the smallest evil; another of a much more alarming nature soon manifested itself.

Upon examining the state of the provisions, they were found to be almost totally exhausted. In this deplorable situation, the crew had no hope of relief, but from chance.

A few days after this unpleasant discovery, two vessels were descried early one morning, and a transient ray of hope cheered the unfortunate crew of the Peggy. The sea ran so high as to prevent captain Harrison from approaching the ships, which were soon out of sight. The disappointed seamen, who were in want of every thing, then fell upon the wine and brandy, with which the ship was laden. They allotted to the captain two small jars of water, each containing about a gallon, being the remainder of their stock. Some days elapsed, during which the men, in some measure, appeased the painful cravings of hunger, by incessant intoxication.

On the fourth day, a ship was observed bearing towards them, in full sail: no time was lost in making signals of distress, and the crew had the inexpressible satisfaction to perceive that they were answered. The sea was sufficiently calm to permit the two vessels to approach each other. The strangers seemed much affected by the account of their sufferings and misfortunes, and promised them a certain quantity of biscuit; but it was not immediately sent on board, the captain alleging, as an excuse for the delay, that he had just begun a nautical observation, which he was desirous to finish. However unreasonable such a pretext appeared, under the present circumstances, the famished crew of the Peggy was obliged to submit. The time mentioned by the captain had nearly expired, when, to their extreme mortification, the latter, regardless of his promise, crowded all his sails and bore away. No language is adequate to describe the despair and consternation which then overwhelmed the crew. Enraged, and destitute of hope they fell upon whatever they had spared till then. The only animals that remained on board were a couple of pigeons and a cat, which were devoured in an instant. The only favor they showed the captain was, to reserve for him the head of the cat. He afterwards de-

clared, that however disgusting it would have been on any other occasion, he thought it, at that moment, a treat exquisitely delicious. The unfortunate men then supported their existence by living on oil, candles, and leather, and these were entirely consumed by the 28th of December.

From that day until the 13th of January, it is impossible to tell, in what manner they subsisted. Captain Harrison had been for some time unable to leave his cabin, being confined to his bed by a severe fit of the gout. On the last mentioned day, the sailors went to him in a body, with the mate at their head; the latter acted as spokesman, and after an affecting representation of the deplorable state to which they were reduced, declared that it was necessary to sacrifice one, in order to save the rest; adding, that their resolution was irrevocably fixed, and that they intended to cast lots for the victim.

The captain, a tender and humane man, could not hear such a barbarous proposition without shuddering; he represented to them that they were men, and ought to regard each other as brethren; that by such an assassination, they would forever consign themselves to universal execration, and commanded them, with all his authority, to relinquish the idea of committing such an atrocious crime. The captain was silent; but he had spoken to deaf men. They all with one voice replied, that it was indifferent to them, whether he approved of their resolution or not; that they had only acquainted him with it, out of respect, and because he would run the same risk as themselves; adding that, in the general misfortune, all command and distinction were at an end. With these words, they left him, and went upon deck, where the lots were drawn.

A negro, who was on board and belonged to captain Harrison, was the victim. It is more than probable, that the lot had been consulted only for the sake of form, and that the wretched black was proscribed, the moment the sailors first formed their resolution. They instantly sacrificed him. One of the crew tore out his liver and devoured it, without having the patience to dress it by

broiling, or in any other manner. He was soon afterwards taken ill, and died the following day in convulsions, and with all the symptoms of madness. Some of his comrades proposed to keep his body to live upon, after the negro was consumed; but this advice was rejected by the majority, doubtless on account of the malady which had carried him off. He was, therefore, thrown overboard, and consigned to the deep.

The captain, in the intervals, when he was the least tormented by the gout, was not more exempt from the attacks of hunger, than the rest of the crew, but he resisted all the persuasions of his men to partake of their horrid repast. He contented himself with the water which had been assigned to him, mixing with it a small quantity of spirits, and this was the only sustenance he took during the whole period of his distress.

The body of the negro, equally divided, and eaten with the greatest economy, lasted till the 26th of January. On the 29th, the famished crew deliberated upon selecting a second victim. They again came to inform the captain of their intention, and he appeared to give his consent, fearing lest the enraged sailors might have recourse to the lot without him. They left it with him to fix upon any method that he should think proper. The captain, summoning all his strength, wrote upon small pieces of paper, the name of each man who was then on board the brigantine, folded them up, put them into a hat, and shook them well together. The crew, meanwhile, preserved an awful silence; each eye was fixed, and each mouth was open, while terror was strongly impressed upon every countenance. With a trembling hand, one of them drew, from the hat, the fatal billet, which he delivered to the captain, who opened it and read aloud the name of DAVID FLATT. The unfortunate man, on whom the lot had fallen, appeared perfectly resigned to his fate:—"My friends, (said he to his companions,) the only favor I request of you, is, not to keep me long in pain; dispatch me as speedily as you did the negro." Then turning to the man who had performed the first execution, he added:—"It is you, I

choose to give me the mortal blow." He requested an hour to prepare himself for death, to which his comrades could only reply with tears. Meanwhile, compassion, and the remonstrances of the captain, prevailed over the hunger of the most hard-hearted. They unanimously resolved to defer the sacrifice till eleven o'clock the following morning. Such a short reprieve afforded very little consolation to FLATT.

The certainty of dying the next day made such a deep impression upon the mind, that his body, which, for above a month, had withstood the almost total privation of nourishment, sank beneath it. He was seized with a violent fever, and his state was so much aggravated by a delirium, with which it was accompanied, that some of the sailors proposed to kill him immediately, in order to terminate his sufferings. The majority, however, adhered to the resolution which had been taken, of waiting till the following morning.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 30th of January, a large fire was already made to dress the limbs of the unfortunate victim, when a sail was descried, at a distance. A favorable wind drove her towards the Peggy, and she proved to be the Susan, returning from Virginia, and bound to London.

The captain could not refrain from tears at the affecting account of the sufferings endured by the famished crew. He lost no time in affording them relief, supplying them immediately with provisions and rigging, and offered to convoy the Peggy to London. The distance from New York, their proximity to the English coast, together with the miserable state of the brigantine, induced the two captains to proceed to England. The voyage was prosperous; only two men died; all the others gradually recovered their strength. Flatt himself was restored to perfect health, after having been so near the gates of death.

THE WRECKED SEAMEN.

THE annexed thrilling sketch is extracted from the "Life of a Sailor, by a Captain in the British Navy." It relates to the exposures of the crew of the Magpie, who had taken to the boat, after their shipwreck on the coast of Cuba. The boat was upset,—the storm continues:—

"Even in this moment of peril, the discipline of the navy assumed its command. At the order from the lieutenant for the men on the keel to relinquish their position they instantly obeyed, the boat was turned over and once more the expedient was tried, but quite in vain; for no sooner had the two men begun to bale with a couple of hats, and the safety of the crew to appear within the bounds of probability, than one man declared he saw the fin of a shark. No language can convey an idea of the panic which seized the struggling seamen; a shark is at all times an object of horror to a sailor; and those who have seen the destructive jaws of this voracious fish, and their immense and almost incredible power, their love of blood, and their bold daring to obtain it, alone can form an idea of the sensations produced in a swimmer by the cry of "a shark! a shark!" Every man now struggled to obtain a moment's safety. Well they knew that one drop of blood would have been scented by the everlasting pilot-fish, the jackalls of the shark; and that their destruction was inevitable, if one only of these monsters should discover this rich repast, or be led to its food by the little rapid hunter of its prey. All discipline was now unavailing, the boat again turned keel up; one man only gained his security, to be pushed from it by others, and thus their strength began to fail from long continued exertion. However, as the enemy so much dreaded did not make its appearance, Smith once more urged them to endeavor to save themselves

by the only means left, that of the boat; but as he knew, that he would only increase their alarm by endeavoring to persuade them that sharks did not abound in these parts, he used the wisest plan of desiring those who held on by the gun-wale, to keep splashing in the water with their legs in order to frighten the monsters at which they were so alarmed. Once more had hope begun to dawn:—the boat was clear to her thwarts, and four men were in her, hard at work; a little forbearance and a little obedience, and they were safe. At this moment, when those in the water urged their messmates in the boat to continue baling with unremitting exertion, a noise was heard close to them, and about fifteen sharks came right in amongst them. The panic was ten times more dreadful than before; the boat was again upset by the simultaneous endeavor to escape the danger; and the twenty-two sailors were again devoted to destruction. At first, the sharks did not seem inclined to seize their prey, but swam in amongst the men, playing in the water, sometimes leaping about and rubbing against their victims. This was of short duration; a loud shriek from one of the men announced his sudden pain; a shark had seized him by the leg, and severed it entirely from the body. No sooner had the blood been tasted than the long dreaded attack took place; another and another shriek proclaimed a loss of limbs; some were torn from the boat to which they vainly endeavored to cling; some, it was supposed, sank from fear alone; all were in dreadful peril. Mr. Smith, even now, when of all horrible deaths the most horrible seemed to await him, gave his orders with clearness and coolness; and to the everlasting honor of the poor departed crew be it known, they were obeyed; again the boat was righted, and again two men were in her. Incredible as it may appear, still, however, it is true, that the voice of the officer was heard amidst the danger; and the survivors, actually as before, clung to the gun-wale, and kept the boat upright. Mr. Smith himself held to the stern, and cheered and applauded his men. The sharks had tasted the blood, and were not to be driven from their feast; in

one short moment, when Mr. Smith ceased splashing, as he looked into the boat to watch the progress, a shark seized both legs, and bit them off just above the knees. Human nature was not strong enough to bear the immense pain without a groan; but Mr. Smith endeavored to conceal the misfortune; nature, true to herself, resisted the endeavor, and the groan was deep and audible. The crew had long respected their gallant commander; they knew his worth and his courage:—on hearing him express his pain, and seeing him relinquish his hold to sink, two of the men grasped their dying officer, and placed him in the stern sheets. Even now, in almost insupportable agony, that gallant fellow forgot his own sufferings, and thought only of rescuing the remaining few from the untimely grave which awaited them; he told them again of their only hope, deplored their perilous state, and concluded with these words: “if any of you survive this fatal night, and return to Jamaica, tell the admiral (Sir Lawrence Halstead) that I was, in search of the pirate when this lamentable occurrence took place, tell him I hope I have always done my duty, and that I—” Here the endeavor of some of the men to get into the boat gave her a heel on one side; the men who were supporting poor Smith relinquished him for a moment, and he rolled overboard and was drowned. His last bubbling cry was soon lost amidst the shrieks of his former companions; he sank to rise no more.

At eight o'clock in the evening, the Magpie was upset; it was calculated by the two survivors, that their companions had all died by nine. The sharks seemed satisfied for the moment, and they, with gallant hearts, resolved to profit by the precious time in order to save themselves; they righted the boat, and one getting over the bows, and the other over the stern, they found themselves, although nearly exhausted, yet alive, and in comparative security; they began the work of baling, and soon lightened the boat sufficiently not to be easily upset, when both set down to rest. The return of the sharks was a signal for their return to labor. The voracious monsters endeavored to upset the boat; they swam

by its side in seeming anxiety for their prey, but after waiting sometime, they separated: the two rescued seamen found themselves free from their insatiable enemies, and, by the blessing of God, saved. Tired as they were, they continued their labor until the boat was nearly dry, when both lay down to rest, the one forward, and the other aft; so completely had fear operated on their minds, that they did not dare even to move, dreading that an incautious step might have capsized the boat. They soon, in spite of the horrors they had witnessed, fell into a sound sleep, and day had dawned before they awoke to horrible reflections, and apparently worse dangers. The sun rose clear and unclouded; the cool calm of the night was followed by the sultry calm of the morning, and heat, hunger, thirst, and fatigue, seemed to settle on the unfortunate men, rescued by Providence and their own exertions from the jaws of a horrible death. They awoke and looked at each other; the very gaze of despair was appalling; far as the eye could reach, no object could be discerned; the bright haze of the morning added to the strong refraction of light; one smooth, interminable plain, one endless ocean, one cloudless sky and one burning sun, were all they had to gaze upon. The boat lay like the ark, in a world alone! They had no oar, no mast, no sail, nothing but the bare planks and themselves, without provisions or water, food or raiment. They lay upon the calm ocean, hopeless, friendless, and miserable. It was a time of intense anxiety, their eyes rested upon each other in silent pity, not unmixed with fear. Each knew the dreadful alternative to which nature would urge them. The cannibal was, already, in their looks, and fearful would have been the first attack, on either side, for they were both brave and stout men, and equal in strength and courage.

It now being about half past six in the morning, the sun was beginning to prove its burning power, the sea was as smooth as a looking glass, and saving now and then, the slight cat's paw of air, which ruffled the face of the water for a few yards, all was calm and hushed. In vain they strained their eyes, in vain they turned

from side to side to escape the burning rays of the sun; they could not sleep, for now anxiety and fear kept both vigilant and on their guard; they dared not to court sleep, for that might have been the last of mortal repose. Once they nearly quarrelled, but, fortunately, the better feelings of humanity overcame the bitterness of despair. The foremost man had long complained of thirst, and had frequently dipped his hand into the water, and sucked the fluid; this was hastily done, for all the horrors of the night were still before them, and not unfrequently the sharp fin of a shark was seen not very far from the boat. In the midst of the excruciating torments of thirst, heightened by the salt water, and the irritable temper of the bowman, as he stamped his impatient feet against the bottom boards, and tore his hair with unfeeling indifference, he suddenly stopped the expression of rage and called out—"A sail!"

Whilst they stood watching in silence the approach of the brig, which slowly made her way through the water, and at the very instant that they were assuring each other that they were seen, and that the vessel was purposely steered on the course she was keeping, to reach them, the whole fabric of hope was destroyed in a second; the brig kept away about three points, and began to make more sail. Then was it an awful moment; their countenances saddened as they looked at each other; for in vain they hailed, in vain they threw their jackets in the air; it was evident they had never been seen, and that the brig was steering her proper course.

The time was slipping away, and if once they got abaft the beam of the brig, every second would lessen the chance of being seen, besides the sea breeze might come down, and then she would be far away, and beyond all hope in a quarter of an hour. Now was it, that the man who had been so loudly lamenting his fate, seemed suddenly inspired with fresh hope and courage; he looked attentively at the brig, then at his companion, and said, "By heaven, I'll do it, or we are lost!" "Do what?" said the shipmate. "Though," said the first man, "it is no trifle to do, after what we have seen and

known; yet I will try, for if she passes us, what can we do? I tell you, Jack, I'll swim to her; if I get safe to her, you are saved; if not, why I shall die without adding, perhaps murder, to my crimes." "What! jump overboard, and leave me all alone!" replied his companion; "look, look at that shark, which has followed us all night; why, it is only waiting for you to get into the water to swallow you, as it did perhaps half of our messmates; no, no, wait, do wait; perhaps another vessel may come; besides, I cannot swim half the distance, and I should be afraid to remain behind; think, Tom, only think of the sharks and of last night."

He jumped overboard with as much calmness as if he was bathing in security. No sooner had he begun to strike out in the direction he intended, than his companion turned towards the sharks. The first had disappeared, and it was evident they had heard the splash, and would soon follow their prey. It is hard to say, who suffered the most anxiety. The one left in the boat cheered his companion, looked at the brig, and kept waving his jacket, then turned to watch the sharks; his horror may be imagined when he saw three of these terrific monsters swim past the boat, exactly in the direction of his companion; he splashed his jacket in the water to scare them away, but they seemed quite aware of the impotency of the attack, and lazily pursued their course. The man swam well and strongly. There was no doubt he would pass within hail of the brig, provided the sharks did not interfere, and he, knowing that they would not be long in following him, kept kicking in the water and splashing, as he swam. There is no fish more cowardly, and yet more desperately savage than a shark. I have seen one harpooned twice, with a hook in his jaws, and come again to a fresh bait; yet will they suffer themselves to be scared by the smallest noise, and hardly ever take their prey without it is quite still. Generally speaking, any place surrounded by rocks where the surf breaks, although there may be no passage for a ship, will be secure from sharks. It was not until a great distance had been accomplished, that the swimmer

became apprized of his danger, and saw by his side one of the terrific creatures; still, however, he bravely swam and kicked; his mind was made up for the worst, and he had little hope of success. In the mean time the breeze had gradually freshened, and the brig passed with greater velocity through the water; every stitch of canvas was spread. To the poor swimmer, the sails seemed bursting with the breeze, and as he used his utmost endeavor to propel himself so as to cut off the vessel, the spray appeared to dash from the bow and the brig to fly through the sea. He was now close enough to hope his voice might be heard; but he hailed and hailed in vain, not a soul was to be seen on deck; the man who steered, was too intent upon his avocation to listen to the call of mercy. The brig passed, and the swimmer was every second getting further in the distance, every hope was gone, not a ray of that bright divinity remained, the fatigue had nearly exhausted him, and the sharks only waited for the first quiet moment to swallow their victim. It was in vain, he thought of returning towards the boat, for he never could have reached her, and his companion had no means of assisting him. In the act of offering up his last prayer, ere he made up his mind to float and be eaten, he saw a man looking over the quarter of the brig; he raised both his hands, he jumped himself up in the water, and by the singularity of his motions, fortunately attracted notice. A telescope soon made clear the object; the brig was hove to, a boat sent, and the man saved. The attention of the crew was then awakened to the Magpie's boat; she was soon alongside, and thus, through the bold exertions of as gallant a fellow as ever breathed, both were rescued from their perilous situation.



THE LOSS OF THE PEGGY.

On the 28th of September, 1785, the *Peggy*, commanded by captain Knight, sailed from the harbor of Waterford, Ireland, for the port of New York, in America.

Here it is necessary to observe, that the *Peggy* was a large unwieldy Dutch-built ship, about eight hundred tons burden, and had formerly been in the Norway and timber trade, for which, indeed, she seemed, from her immense bulk, well calculated. There being no freight in readiness for America, we were under the necessity of taking in ballast: which consisted of coarse gravel and sand, with about fifty casks of stores, fresh stock, and vegetables, sufficient to last during the voyage; having plenty of room, and having been most abundantly supplied by the hospitable neighborhood, of which we were about to take our leave.

We weighed anchor, and with the assistance of a rapid tide and pleasant breeze, soon gained a tolerable offing: we continued under easy sail the remaining part of the day, and towards sunset, lost sight of land.

September 29th, made the old head of Kingsale; the weather continued favorable, we shortly came within sight of cape Clear, from whence we took our departure from the coast of Ireland.

Nothing material occurred for several days, during which time we traversed a vast space of the Western ocean.

October 12th, the weather now became hazy and squally; all hands turned up to reef top-sails, and strike top-gallant-yards. Towards night, the squalls were more frequent, indicating an approaching gale;—we accordingly clued, reefed top-sails, and struck top-gallant-masts; and having made all snug aloft, the ship weathered the night very steadily.

On the 13th, the crew were employed in setting up the

rigging, and occasionally pumping, the ship having made much water, during the night. The gale increasing as the day advanced, occasioned the vessel to make heavy rolls, by which an accident happened, which was near doing much injury to the captain's cabin. A puncheon of rum, which was lashed on the larboard side of the cabin, broke loose, a sudden jerk having drawn asunder the cleets to which it was fastened. By its velocity, it stove in the state-rooms, and broke several utensils of the cabin furniture. The writer of this, with much difficulty, escaped with whole limbs: but not altogether unhurt, receiving a painful bruise on the right foot: having, however, escaped from the cabin, the people on deck were given to understand that the rum was broken loose. The word rum soon attracted the sailors' attention, and this cask being the ship's only stock, they were not tardy (as may be supposed) in rendering their assistance to double lash, what they anticipated—the delight of frequently splicing the mainbrace therewith, during their voyage.

On the 14th, the weather became moderate, and the crew were employed in making good the stowage of the stores in the hold, which had given way during the night; shaking reefs out of the top-sails, getting up the top-gallant masts and yards, and rigging out studding-sails. All hands being now called to dinner, a bustle and confused noise took place on deck. The captain (who was below) sent the writer of this, to discover the cause thereof, but before he could explain, a voice was crying out in a most piteous and vociferous tone. The captain and chief mate jumped on deck, and found the crew had got the cook laid on the windlass, and were giving him a most severe cobbing with a flat piece of his own firewood. As soon as the captain had reached forward, he was much exasperated with them for their precipitate conduct, in punishing without his knowledge and permission; and having prohibited such proceedings in future cases, he inquired the cause of their grievance. The cook, it seems, having been serving out fresh water to dress vegetables for all hands, had inadvertently used

it for some other purpose, and boiled the greens in a copper of salt water, which rendered them so intolerably tough, that they were not fit for use; consequently the sailors had not their expected garnish, and a general murmur taking place, the above punishment was inflicted.

A steady breeze ensued, all sails filled and the ship made way, with a lofty and majestic air: and at every plunge of her bows, which were truly Dutch-built, rose a foam of no small appearance.

During four days, the weather continued favorable, which flattered the seamen with a speedy sight of land.

On the 19th, we encountered a very violent gale, with an unusual heavy sea;—the ship worked greatly, and took in much water through her seams; the pumps were kept frequently going. At mid-day, while the crew were at dinner, a tremendous sea struck the ship right aft, which stove in the cabin windows, upset the whole of the dinner, and nearly drowned the captain, mate, and myself, who was at that time holding a dish on the table, while the captain was busily employed in carving a fine goose, which, much to our discomfiture, was entirely drenched by the salt-water. Some of the coops were washed from the quarter-deck, and several of the poultry destroyed.

In consequence of the vessel's shipping so great a quantity of water, the pumps were doubly manned, and soon gained on her. The gale had not in the least abated during the night. The well was plumbed, and there was found to be a sudden and alarming increase of water. The carpenter was immediately ordered to examine the ship below, in order to find the cause of the vessel's making so much water. His report was, she being a very old vessel, her seams had considerably opened by her laboring so much; therefore, could devise no means, at present, to prevent the evil. He also reported the mizzen-mast to be in great danger.

The heel of the mizzen-mast being stepped between decks, (a very unusual case, but probably it was placed there in order to make more room for stowage in the

after-hold,) was likely to work from its step, and thereby might do considerable damage to the ship.

The captain now held a consultation with the officers, when it was deemed expedient to cut the mast away, without delay: this was accordingly put into execution the following morning, as soon as the day made its appearance. The necessary preparations having been made, the carpenter began hewing at the mast, and quickly made a deep wound. Some of the crew were stationed ready to cut away the stays and lanyards, whilst the remaining part were anxiously watching the momentary crash which was to ensue; the word being given to cut away the weather-lanyards, as the ship gave a lee-lurch, the whole of the wreck of the mast plunged, without further injury, into the ocean.

The weather still threatening a continuance, our principal employ was at the pumps, which were kept continually going. The sea had now risen to an alarming height, and frequently struck the vessel with great violence. Towards the afternoon, part of the starboard bulwark was carried away by the shock of a heavy sea, which made the ship broachto, and before she could answer her helm again, a sea broke through the fore-chains, and swept away the caboose and all its utensils from the deck: fortunately for the cook, he was assisting at the pumps at the time, or he inevitably must have shared the same fate as his galley.

Notwithstanding the exertions of the crew, the water gained fast, and made its way into the hold, which washed a great quantity of the ballast through the timber-holes into the hull, by which the suckers of the pumps were much damaged, and they thereby frequently choked. By such delays the leaks increased rapidly. We were under the necessity of repeatedly hoisting the pumps on deck, to apply different means which were devised to keep the sand from entering, but all our efforts proved ineffectual, and the pumps were deemed of no further utility. There was now no time to be lost; accordingly it was agreed that the allowance of fresh water should be lessened to a pint a man; the casks

were immediately hoisted from the hold, and lashed between decks. As the water was started from two of them, they were sawed in two, and formed into buckets, there being no other casks on board fit for that purpose; the whips were soon applied, and the hands began baling at the fore and after hatchways, which continued without intermission the whole of the night, each man being suffered to take one hour's rest, in rotation.

The morning of the 22d, presented to our view a most dreary aspect,—a dismal horizon encircling—not the least appearance of the gale abating—on the contrary, it seemed to come with redoubled vigor—the ballast washing from side to side of the ship at each roll, and scarce a prospect of freeing her. Notwithstanding these calamities, the crew did not relax their efforts. The main-hatchway was opened, and fresh buckets went to work; the captain and mate alternately relieving each other at the helm. The writer's station was to supply the crew with grog, which was plentifully served to them every two hours. By the motion of the ship, the buckets struck against the combings of the hatchways with great violence, and in casting them into the hold to fill, they frequently struck on the floating pieces of timber which were generally used as chocks in stowing the hold. By such accidents, the buckets were repeatedly stove, and we were under the necessity of cutting more of the water casks to supply their place. Starting the fresh water overboard was reluctantly done, particularly as we now felt the loss of the caboose, and were under the necessity of eating the meat raw, which occasioned us to be very thirsty. Night coming on, the crew were not allowed to go below to sleep; each man, when it came to his turn, stretched himself on the deck.

October 23. Notwithstanding the great quantity of water baled from the vessel, she gained so considerably, that she had visibly settled much deeper in the water. All hands were now called aft, in order to consult on the best measures. It was now unanimously resolved to make for the island of Bermuda, it being the nearest land. Accordingly we bore away for it, but had not

sailed many leagues before we found that the great quantity of water in the vessel had impeded her steerage so much that she could scarcely answer her helm; and making a very heavy lurch, the ballast shifted, which gave her a great list to the starboard, and rendered it very difficult to keep a firm footing on deck. The anchors which were stowed on the larboard bow were ordered to be cut away, and the cables, which were on the orlop deck, to be hove overboard in order to right her; but all this had a very trifling effect, for the ship was now become quite a log.

The crew were still employed in bailing; one of whom, in preventing a bucket from being stove against the combings, let go his hold, and fell down the hatchway; with great difficulty he escaped being drowned or dashed against the ship's sides. Having got into a bucket which was instantly lowered, he was providentially hoisted on deck without any injury.

During the night, the weather became more moderate, and on the following morning, (October 25,) the gale had entirely subsided, but left a very heavy swell. Two large whales approached close to the ship. They sported around the vessel the whole of the day, and after dusk, disappeared.

Having now no further use of the helm, it was lashed down, and the captain and mate took their spell at the buckets. My assistance having been also required, a boy of less strength, whose previous business was to attend the cook, now took my former station of serving the crew with refreshments. This lad had not long filled his new situation of drawing out rum from the cask, before he was tempted to taste it, which having repeatedly done, he soon became intoxicated, and was missed on deck for some time. I was sent to look for him. The spigot I perceived out of the cask, and the liquor running about, but the boy I could not see for some time; however looking down the lazeretto, (the trap-door of which was lying open,) I found him fast asleep. He had luckily fallen on some sails which were stowed there, or he must have perished.

On the 26th and 27th of October, the weather continued quite clear, with light baffling winds. A man was constantly kept aloft to look out for a sail. The rest of the crew were employed at the whips.

On the 28th, the weather began to lower, and appeared inclined for rain. This gave some uneasiness, being apprehensive of a gale. The captain therefore directed the carpenter to overhaul the long-boat, caulk her, and raise a streak, which orders were immediately complied with; but when he went to his locker for oakum, he found it plundered of nearly the whole of his stock—all hands were therefore set to picking, by which means he was soon supplied.

It was totally clear on the 29th, with a fresh breeze, but the ship heeled so much that her gunwale at times was under water, and the crew could scarcely stand on deck. All hands were now ordered to assemble aft, when the captain in a short address, pointed out the most probable manner by which they could be saved. All agreed in opinion with him, and it was resolved that the long-boat should be hoisted out as speedily as possible, and such necessaries as could be conveniently stowed, to be placed in her. Determined no longer to labor at the buckets, the vessel, which could not remain above water many hours after we had ceased bailing, was now abandoned to her fate.

I now began to reflect on the small chance we had of being saved—twenty-two people in an open boat—upwards of three hundred miles from the land, in a boisterous climate, and the whole crew worn out with fatigue! The palms of the crew's hands were already so flayed it could not be expected that they could do much execution with the oars; while thus reflecting on our perilous situation, one of our oldest seamen, who at this moment was standing near me, turned his head aside to wipe away a tear; I could not refrain from sympathizing with him, my heart was already full; the captain perceiving my despondency bade me be of good cheer, and called me a young lubber.

The boat having been hoisted out, and such necessa-

ries placed in her as were deemed requisite, one of the hands was sent aloft to lash the colors downwards to the main-top-mast shrouds; which having done, he placed himself on the crosstrees, to look around him, and almost instantly hallooed out,—“A sail.” It would be impossible to describe the ecstatic emotions of the crew: every man was aloft, in order to be satisfied; though a minute before, not one of the crew was able to stand upright.

The sail was on our weather-bow, bearing right down on us with a smart breeze. She soon perceived us, but hauled her wind several times, in order to examine our ship. As she approached nearer she clearly perceived our calamitous situation, and hastened to our relief.

She proved to be a Philadelphia schooner, bound to cape Francois, in St. Domingo. The captain took us all on board in the most humane and friendly manner, and after casting our boat adrift, proceeded on his voyage. When we perceived our ship from the vessel on which we were now happily on board, her appearance was truly deplorable.

The captain of the schooner congratulated us on our fortunate escape, and expressed his surprise that the ship should remain so long on her beam ends, in such a heavy sea, without capsizing. We soon began to distance the wreck, by this time very low in the water, and shortly after lost sight of her.

The evening began to approach fast, when a man loosing the main-top-sail, descried a sail directly in the same course on our quarter. We made sail for her, and soon came within hail of her. She proved to be a brig from Glasgow, bound to Antigua. It was now determined, between the captains, that half of our people should remain in the schooner, and the captain, mate, eight of the crew, and myself, should get on board the brig. On our arrival at Antigua we met with much kindness and humanity.

LOSS OF THE HALSEWELL EAST INDIAMAN.

THE Halsewell East Indiaman, of seven hundred and fifty-eight tons burthen, Richard Pierce, Esq. commander, having been taken up by the Directors to make her third voyage to coast and bay, fell down to Gravesend the 16th of November, 1785, and there completed her lading. Having taken the ladies and other passengers on board at the Hope, she sailed through the Downs on Sunday, January the 1st, 1786, and the next morning, being abreast of Dunnose, it fell calm.

The ship was one of the finest in the service, and supposed to be in the most perfect condition for her voyage; and the commander a man of distinguished ability and exemplary character. His officers possessed unquestionable knowledge in their profession; the crew, composed of the best seamen that could be collected, was as numerous as the establishment admits. The vessel likewise contained a considerable body of soldiers, destined to recruit the forces of the company in Asia.

The passengers were Miss Eliza Pierce, and Miss Mary Anne Pierce, daughters of the commander; Miss Amy Paul, and Miss Mary Paul, daughters of Mr. Paul, of Somersetshire, and relations of captain Pierce; Miss Elizabeth Blackburne, daughter of captain B. likewise in the service of the East India company: Miss Mary Haggard, sister to an officer on the Madras establishment; Miss Ann Mansell, a native of Madras, but of European parents, who had received her education in England; and John George Schutz, Esq. returning to Asia, where he had long resided, to collect a part of his fortune which he had left behind.

On Monday, the 2d of January, at three P. M. a breeze springing up from the south, they ran in shore to land the pilot. The weather coming on very thick in the evening, and the wind baffling, at nine they were obliged to anchor in eighteen fathoms water. They

furled their top-sails, but were unable to furl their courses, the snow falling thick and freezing as it fell.

Tuesday, the 3d, at four o'clock A. M. a violent gale came on from E. N. E. and the ship driving, they were obliged to cut their cables and run out to sea. At noon, they spoke with a brig to Dublin, and having put their pilot on board of her, bore down channel immediately. At eight in the evening, the wind freshening, and coming to the southward, they reefed such sails as were judged necessary. At ten, it blew a violent gale at south, and they were obliged to carry a press of sail to keep the ship off the shore. In this situation, the hause-plugs, which, according to a recent improvement, were put inside, were washed in, and the hause-bags washed away, in consequence of which they shipped a great quantity of water on the gun-deck.

Upon sounding the well, they found that the vessel had sprung a leak, and had five feet of water in her hold; they clued up the main top-sail, hauled up the main-sail, and immediately attempted to furl both, but failed in the attempt. All the pumps were set to work, on the discovery of the leak.

Wednesday the 4th, at two A. M. they endeavored to wear the ship, but without success. The mizzen-mast was instantly cut away, and a second attempt made to wear, which succeeded no better than the former. The ship having now seven feet of water in her hold, and the leak gaining fast on the pumps, it was thought expedient for the preservation of the ship, which appeared to be in immediate danger of foundering, to cut away the main-mast. In its fall, Jonathan Moreton, coxswain, and four men, were carried overboard by the wreck and drowned. By eight o'clock, the wreck was cleared, and the ship got before the wind. In this position she was kept about two hours, during which the pumps reduced the water in the hold two feet.

At ten in the morning the wind abated considerably, and the ship labored extremely, rolled the fore top-mast over on the larboard side, which, in the fall, tore the fore-sail to pieces. At eleven, the wind came to the west-

ward, and the weather clearing up, the Berry-Head was distinguished, at the distance of four or five leagues. Having erected a jury main-mast, and set a top-gallant-sail for a main-sail, they bore up for Portsmouth, and employed the remainder of the day in getting up a jury mizzen-mast.

On Thursday the 5th, at two in the morning, the wind came to the southward, blew fresh, and the weather was very thick. At noon, Portland was seen, bearing north by east, distant about two or three leagues. At eight at night, it blew a strong gale at south; the Portland lights were seen bearing north-west, distant four or five leagues, when they wore ship and got her head to the westward. Finding they lost ground on that tack, they wore her again, and kept stretching to the eastward, in the hope of weathering Peverel Point, in which case they intended to have anchored in Studland bay. At eleven, they saw St. Alban's Head, a mile and a half to the leeward, upon which they took in sail immediately, and let go the small bower anchor, which brought up the ship at a whole cable, and she rode for about an hour, and then drove. They now let go the sheet anchor, and wore away a whole cable; the ship rode about two hours longer when she drove again.

In this situation the captain sent for Mr. Henry Meriton, the chief officer, and asked his opinion concerning the probability of saving their lives. He replied with equal candor and calmness, that he apprehended there was very little hope, as they were then driving fast on shore, and might expect every moment to strike. It was agreed that the boats could not then be of any use, but it was proposed that the officers should be confidentially requested, in case an opportunity presented itself, of making it serviceable, to reserve the long boat for the ladies and themselves, and this precaution was accordingly taken.

About two, in the morning of Friday the 6th, the ship still driving, and approaching the shore very fast, the same officer again went into the cuddy where the captain then was. Captain Pierce expressed extreme anxiety

ety for the preservation of his beloved daughters, and earnestly asked Mr. Meriton, if he could devise any means of saving them. The latter expressed his fears that it would be impossible, adding, that their only chance would be to wait for the morning, upon which the captain lifted up his hands in silent distress.

At this moment the ship struck with such violence, as to dash the heads of those who were standing in the cuddy against the deck above them, and the fatal blow was accompanied by a shriek of horror, which burst at the same instant from every quarter of the ship.

The seamen, many of whom had been remarkably inattentive and remiss in their duty during a great part of the storm, and had actually skulked into their hammocks, leaving the working of the pump, and the other labors required by their situation, to the officers, roused to a sense of their danger, now poured upon the deck, to which the utmost endeavors of their officers could not keep them while their assistance might have been useful. But it was now too late; the ship continued to beat upon the rocks, and soon bilged, falling with her broadside towards the shore. When the ship struck, several of the men caught hold of the ensign staff, under the apprehension of her going to pieces immediately.

At this critical juncture, Mr. Meriton offered his unhappy companions the best advice that possibly could be given. He recommended that they should all repair to that side of the ship which lay lowest on the rocks, and take the opportunities that might then present themselves of escaping singly to the shore. He then returned to the round-house, where all the passengers and most of the officers were assembled. The latter were employed in affording consolation to the unfortunate ladies, and with unparalleled magnanimity, suffering their compassion for the amiable companions of their own danger, and the dread of almost inevitable destruction. At this moment what must have been the feelings of a father—of such a father as captain Pierce?

The ship had struck on the rocks near Seacombe, on the island of Purbeck, between Peverel-point and St.

Alban's Head. On this part of the shore the cliff is of immense height, and rises almost perpendicularly. In this particular spot the cliff is excavated at the base, presenting a cavern ten or twelve yards in depth, and equal in breadth to the length of a large ship. The sides of the cavern are so nearly upright as to be extremely difficult of access, and the bottom of it is strewed with sharp and uneven rocks which appear to have been rent from above by some convulsion of nature. It was at the mouth of this cavern that the unfortunate vessel lay stretched almost from side to side, and presented her broadside to the horrid chasm. But, at the time the ship struck it was too dark to discover the extent of their danger, and the extreme horror of their situation.

The number in the round-house was now increased to nearly fifty, by the admission of three black women and two soldier's wives, with the husband of one of the latter, though the sailors, who had demanded entrance to get a light, had been opposed and kept out by the officers. Captain Pierce was seated on a chair, or some other movable, between his two daughters, whom he pressed alternately to his affectionate bosom. The rest of the melancholy assembly were seated on the deck, which was strewed with musical instruments, and the wreck of furniture, boxes, and packages.

Here Mr. Meriton, after having lighted several wax candles, and all the glass lanthorns he could find, likewise took his seat, intending to wait till daylight, in the hope that it would afford him an opportunity of effecting his own escape, and also rendering assistance to the partners of his danger. But, observing that the ladies appeared parched and exhausted, he fetched a basket of oranges from some part of the round-house, with which he prevailed on some of them to refresh themselves.

On his return he perceived a considerable alteration in the appearance of the ship. The sides were visibly giving way, the deck seemed to heave, and he discovered other evident symptoms that she could not hold together much longer. Attempting to go forward to look out, he instantly perceived that the ship had separated in the

middle and that the fore-part had changed its position, and lay rather farther out towards the sea. In this emergency he determined to seize the present moment, as the next might have been charged with his fate, and to follow the example of the crew and the soldiers, who were leaving the ship in numbers, and making their way to a shore, with the horrors of which they were yet unacquainted.

To favor their escape an attempt had been made to lay the ensign-staff from the ship's side to the rocks, but without success, for it snapped to pieces before it reached them. By the light of a lanthorn, however, Mr. Meriton discovered a spar, which appeared to be laid from the ship's side to the rocks, and upon which he determined to attempt his escape. He accordingly lay down upon it, and thrust himself forward, but soon found that the spar had no communication with the rock. He reached the end and then slipped off, receiving a violent contusion in his fall. Before he could recover his legs, he was washed off by the surge, in which he supported himself by swimming till the returning wave dashed him against the back of the cavern. Here he lay hold of a small projection of the rock, but was so benumbed that he was on the point of quitting it, when a seaman, who had already gained a footing, extended his hand and assisted him till he could secure himself on a little shelf of the rock, from which he clambered still higher till he was out of the reach of the surf.

Mr. Rogers, the third mate, remained with the captain and the ladies nearly twenty minutes after Mr. Meriton had left the ship. The latter had not long quitted the round house, before the captain inquired what was become of him, and Mr. Rogers replied, that he had gone upon deck to see what could be done. A heavy sea soon afterwards broke over the ship, upon which the ladies expressed great concern at the apprehension of his loss. Mr. Rogers proposed to go and call him, but this they opposed, fearful lest he might share the same fate.

The sea now broke in at the fore part of the ship, and reached as far as the main-mast. Captain Pierce and

Mr. Rogers then went together, with a lamp, to the stern gallery, where, after viewing the rocks, the captain asked Mr. Rogers if he thought there was any possibility of saving the girls. He replied, he feared not; for they could discover nothing but the black surface of the perpendicular rock, and not the cavern which afforded shelter to those who had escaped. They then returned to the round house, where captain Pierce again seated himself between his two daughters, struggling to suppress the parental tear which then started into his eye.

The sea continuing to break in very fast, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Schutz, and Mr. M'Manus, a midshipman, with a view to attempt their escape, made their way to the poop. They had scarcely reached it, when a heavy sea breaking over the wreck, the round house gave way, and they heard the ladies shriek at intervals, as if the water had reached them; the noise of the sea at other times drowned their voices.

Mr. Brimer had followed Mr. Rogers to the poop, where, on the coming of the fatal sea, they jointly seized a hen-coop, and the same wave which whelmed those who remained below in destruction, carried him and his companion to the rock, on which they were dashed with great violence, and miserably bruised.

On this rock were twenty-seven men; but it was low water, and being convinced that, upon the flowing of the tide, they must all be washed off, many endeavored to get to the back or sides of the cavern beyond the reach of the returning sea. Excepting Mr. Rogers and Mr. Brimer, scarcely more than six succeeded in this attempt. Of the remainder, some experienced the fate they sought to avoid, others perished in endeavoring to get into the cavern.

Mr. Rogers and Mr. Brimer, however, having reached the cavern, climbed up the rock, on the narrow shelves of which they fixed themselves. The former got so near to his friend, Mr. Meriton, as to exchange congratulations with him; but between these gentlemen, there were about twenty men, none of whom could stir but at the most imminent hazard of his life. When

Mr. Rogers reached this station, his strength was so nearly exhausted, that had the struggle continued a few minutes longer he must inevitably have perished.

They soon found that though many who had reached the rocks below, had perished in attempting to ascend, yet that a considerable number of the crew, seamen, soldiers, and some of the inferior officers, were in the same situation with themselves. What that situation was, they had still to learn. They had escaped immediate death; but they were yet to encounter a thousand hardships for the precarious chance of escape. Some part of the ship was still discernible, and they cheered themselves in this dreary situation, with the hope that it would hold together till day break. Amidst their own misfortunes, the sufferings of the females filled their minds with the acutest anguish; every returning sea increased their apprehensions for the safety of their amiable and helpless companions.

But, alas! too soon were these apprehensions realized. A few minutes after Mr. Rogers had gained the rock, a general shriek, in which the voice of female distress was lamentably distinguishable, announced the dreadful catastrophe! In a few moments, all was hushed, excepting the warring winds and the dashing waves. The wreck was whelmed in the bosom of the deep, and not an atom of it was ever discovered. Thus perished the *Halsewell*, and with her, worth, honor, skill, beauty, and accomplishments!

This stroke was a dreadful aggravation of wo to the trembling and scarcely half-saved wretches, who were clinging about the sides of the horrid cavern. They felt for themselves, but they wept for wives, parents, fathers, brothers, sisters,—perhaps lovers!—all cut off from their dearest, fondest hopes!

Their feelings were not less agonized by the subsequent events of that ill-fated night. Many who had gained the precarious stations on the rocks, exhausted with fatigue, weakened by bruises, and benumbed with cold, quitted their hold, and falling headlong, either upon the rocks below, or into the surf, perished beneath the

feet of their wretched associates, and by their dying groans and loud acclamations, awakened terrific apprehensions of a similar fate in the survivors.

At length, after three hours of the keenest misery, the day broke on them, but, far from bringing with it the expected relief, it served only to discover to them all the horrors of their situation. They were convinced, that had the country been alarmed by the guns of distress, which they continued to fire several hours before the ship struck, but, which, from the violence of the storm, were unheard, they could neither be observed by the people above, as they were completely ingulphed in the cavern, and overhung by the cliff; nor was any part of the wreck remaining to indicate their probable place of refuge. Below, no boat could live to search them out, and had it been possible to acquaint those who were willing to assist them, with their exact situation, they were at a loss to conceive how any ropes could be conveyed into the cavern to facilitate their escape.

The only method, that afforded any prospect of success, was to creep along the side to its outer extremity, to turn the corner on a ledge scarcely as broad as a man's hand, and to climb up the almost perpendicular precipices, nearly two hundred feet in height. In this desperate attempt, some succeeded, while others, trembling with terror, and exhausted with bodily and mental fatigue, lost their precarious footing, and perished.

The first men who gained the summit of the cliff were the cook, and James Thompson, a quarter-master. By their individual exertions they reached the top, and instantly hastened to the nearest house, to make known the situation of their fellow-sufferers. Eastington, the habitation of Mr. Garland, steward, or agent, to the proprietors of the Purbeck quarries, was the house at which they first arrived. That gentleman immediately assembled the workmen under his direction, and with the most zealous humanity exerted every effort for the preservation of the surviving part of the crew of the unfortunate ship.

Mr. Meriton had, by this time, almost reached the

edge of the precipice. A soldier, who preceded him, stood upon a small projecting rock, or stone, and upon the same stone Mr. Meriton had fastened his hands to assist his progress. Just at this moment the quarrymen arrived, and seeing a man so nearly within their reach they dropped a rope, of which he immediately laid hold. By a vigorous effort to avail himself of the advantage, he loosened the stone, which giving way, Mr. Meriton must have been precipitated to the bottom, had not a rope been lowered to him at the instant, which he seized, while in the act of falling, and was safely drawn to the summit.

The fate of Mr. Brimer was peculiarly severe. He had been married only nine days before the ship sailed, to the daughter of Captain Norman, of the Royal Navy, came on shore, as it has been observed, with Mr. Rogers, and, like him, got up the side of the cavern. Here he remained till the morning, when he crawled out; a rope was thrown him, but he was either so benumbed with the cold as to fasten it about him improperly, or so agitated as to neglect to fasten it at all. Whatever was the cause, the effect proved fatal; at the moment of his supposed preservation he fell from his stand, and was unfortunately dashed to pieces, in sight of those who could only lament the deplorable fate of an amiable man and skilful officer.

The method of affording help was remarkable, and does honor to the humanity and intrepidity of the quarrymen. The distance from the top of the rock to the cavern, over which it projected, was at least one hundred feet: ten of these formed a declivity to the edge, and the remainder was perpendicular. On the very brink of this precipice stood two daring fellows, with a rope tied round them, and fastened above to a strong iron bar fixed into the ground. Behind these, in like manner, stood others, two and two. A strong rope, likewise properly secured, passed between them, by which they might hold, and support themselves from falling. Another rope, with a noose ready fixed, was then let down below the cavern, and the wind blowing hard, it was sometimes forced

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AS OF LEGACY AND
FELDMAN FOUNDATIONS

under the projecting rock, so that the sufferers could reach it without crawling to the edge. Whoever laid hold of it, put the noose round his waist, and was drawn up with the utmost care and caution by their intrepid deliverers.

In this attempt, however, many shared the fate of the unfortunate Mr. Brimer. Unable, through cold, perturbation of mind, weakness, or the inconvenience of the stations they occupied, to avail themselves of the succor that was offered them, they were precipitated from the stupendous cliff, and either dashed to pieces on the rocks, or falling into the surge, perished in the waves.

Among these unhappy sufferers, the death of a drummer was attended with circumstances of peculiar distress. Being either washed off the rocks by the sea, or falling into the surf, he was carried by the returning waves beyond the breakers. His utmost efforts to regain them were ineffectual, he was drawn further out to sea, and being a remarkably good swimmer, continued to struggle with the waves, in the view of his commiserating companions, till his strength was exhausted, and he sank,—to rise no more!

It was late in the day when all the survivors were carried to a place of safety, excepting William Trenton, a soldier, who remained on his perilous stand till the morning of Saturday, the 7th, exposed to the united horrors of extreme personal danger, and the most acute disquietude of mind.

The surviving officers, seamen, and soldiers, being assembled at the house of their benevolent deliverer, Mr. Garland, they were mustered, and found to amount to 74, out of more than 240, which was nearly the number of the crew and passengers when she sailed through the Downs. Of the rest, it is supposed that fifty or more sank with the Captain and the ladies in the round house, and that upwards of seventy reached the rocks, but were washed off, or perished in falling from the cliffs. All those who reached the summit survived, excepting two or three, who expired while being drawn up, and a black who died a few hours after he was brought to

the house. Many, however, were so miserably bruised, that their lives were doubtful, and it was a considerable time before they perfectly recovered their strength.

The benevolence and generosity of the master of the Crown Inn, at Blanford, deserves the highest praise. When the distressed seamen arrived at that town he sent for them all to his house, and having given them the refreshment of a comfortable dinner, he presented each man with half a crown to help him on his journey.

LOSS OF THE NOTTINGHAM GALLEY, OF LONDON.

THE Nottingham Galley, of and from London, of 120 tons, ten guns, fourteen men, John Dean, commander, having taken in cordage in England, and butter, cheese, &c. in Ireland, sailed for Boston in New-England, the 25th of September, 1710. Meeting with contrary winds and bad weather, it was the beginning of December, when we first made land to the eastward of Piscataqua, and proceeding southward for the bay of Massachusetts, under a hard gale of wind at northeast, accompanied with rain, hail and snow; having no observation for ten or twelve days, we, on the 11th, handed all our sails, excepting our fore-sail and maintop sail double reefed, ordering one hand forward to look out. Between eight and nine o'clock, going forward myself, I saw the breakers ahead, whereupon I called out to put the helm hard to starboard, but before the ship could wear, we struck upon the east end of the rock, called Boon Island, four leagues to the Eastward of Piscataqua.

The second or third sea heaved the ship alongside of it; running likewise so very high, and the ship laboring so excessively, that we were not able to stand upon deck; and though it was not distant above thirty or forty yards, yet the weather was so thick and dark, that we could not see the rock, so that we were justly thrown into con-

sternation at the melancholy prospect of immediately perishing in the sea. I presently called all hands down to the cabin, where we continued a few minutes, earnestly supplicating the mercy of heaven; but knowing that prayers, alone, are vain, I ordered all up again to cut the masts by the board, but several were so oppressed by the terrors of conscience that they were incapable of any exertion. We, however went upon deck, cut the weathermost shrouds, and the ship heeling toward the rocks, the force of the sea soon broke the masts, so that they fell towards the shore.

One of the men went out on the bowsprit, and returning, told me he saw something black ahead, and would venture to go on shore, accompanied with any other person: upon which I desired some of the best swimmers (my mate and one more) to go with him, and if they gained the rock, to give notice by their calls, and direct us to the most secure place. Recollecting some money and papers that might be of use, also ammunition, brandy, &c., I then went down and opened the place in which they were; but the ship bilging, her decks opened, her back broke, and her beams gave way, so that the stern sank under water. I therefore hastened forward to escape instant death, and having heard nothing of the men who had gone before, concluded that they were lost. Notwithstanding, I was under the necessity of making the same adventure upon the foremast, moving gradually forward betwixt every sea, till at last quitting it, I threw myself with all the strength I had, toward the rock; but it being low water, and the rock extremely slippery, I could get no hold, and tore my fingers, hands, and arms, in the most deplorable manner, every sea fetching me off again, so that it was with the utmost peril and difficulty that I got safe on shore at last. The rest of the men ran the same hazards, but through the mercy of Providence we all escaped with our lives.

After endeavoring to discharge the salt water and creeping a little way up the rock, I heard the voices of the three men above mentioned, and by ten o'clock we all met together, when, with grateful hearts, we returned

thanks to Providence for our deliverance from such imminent danger. We then endeavored to gain shelter to the leeward of the rock, but found it so small and inconsiderable, that it would afford none, (being about one hundred yards long and fifty broad,) and so very craggy that we could not walk to keep ourselves warm, the weather still continuing extremely cold, with snow and rain.

As soon as day light appeared I went toward the place where we came on shore, not doubting but that we should meet with provisions enough from the wreck for our support, but found only some pieces of the masts and yards among some old junk and cables heaped together, which the anchors had prevented from being carried away, and kept moving about the rock at some distance. Part of the ship's stores with some pieces of plank and timber, old sails, canvas, &c. drove on shore, but nothing eatable, excepting three small cheeses which we picked up among the rock-weed.

We used our utmost endeavors to get fire, having a steel and flint with us, and also by a drill, with a very swift motion; but having nothing which had not been water-soaked, all our attempts proved ineffectual.

At night we stowed ourselves under our canvas, in the best manner possible, to keep each other warm. The next day the weather clearing a little, and inclining to a frost, I went out, and perceiving the main land, I knew where we were, and encouraged my men with the hope of being discovered by fishing shallops, desiring them to search for and bring up any planks, carpenter's tools, and stores they could find, in order to build a tent and a boat. The cook then complained that he was almost starved, and his countenance discovering his illness, I ordered him to remain behind with two or three more the frost had seized. About noon the men acquainted me that he was dead; we therefore laid him in a convenient place for the sea to carry him away. None mentioned eating him, though several, with myself, afterwards acknowledged that they thought of it.

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ASTOR LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

After we had been in this situation two or three days, the frost being very severe, and the weather extremely cold, it affected most of our hands and feet to such a degree as to take away the sense of feeling, and render them almost useless; so benumbing and discoloring them as gave us just reason to apprehend mortification. We pulled off our shoes, and cut off our boots; but in getting off our stockings, many, whose legs were blistered, pulled off skin and all, and some, the nails of their toes. We then wrapped up our legs and feet as warmly as we could in oakum and canvas.

Now we began to build our tent in a triangular form, each side being about eight feet, covered it with the old sails and canvas that came on shore, having just room for each to lie down on one side, so that none could turn, unless all turned, which was about every two hours, when notice was given. We also fixed a staff to the top of our tent, upon which, as often as the weather would permit, we hoisted a piece of cloth in the form of a flag, in order to discover ourselves to any vessel that might approach.

We then commenced the building of our boat with planks and timber belonging to the wreck. Our only tools were the blade of a cutlass, made into a saw with our knives, a hammer, and a caulking mallet. We found some nails in the clefts of the rock, and obtained others from the sheathing. We laid three planks flat for the bottom, and two up each side, fixed to stanchions and let into the bottom timbers, with two short pieces at each end, and one breadth of new Holland duck round the sides to keep out the spray of the sea. We caulked all we could with oakum drawn from the old junk, and in other places filled up the spaces with long pieces of canvas, all of which we secured in the best manner possible. We found also some sheet lead and pump-leather, which proved of use. We fixed a short mast and square sail, with seven paddles to row, and a longer one to steer with. But our carpenter, whose services were now most wanted, was, on account of illness, scarcely capable of affording us either assistance or advice; and all

the rest, excepting myself and two others, were so benumbed and feeble as to be unable to move. The weather, too, was so extremely cold, that we could seldom stay out of the tent more than four hours in the day, and some days we could do nothing at all.

When we had been upon the rock about a week, without any kind of provisions, excepting the cheese above-mentioned, and some beef bones, which we eat, after beating them to pieces, we saw three boats, about five leagues from us, which, as may easily be imagined, rejoiced us not a little, believing that the period of our deliverance had arrived. I directed all the men to creep out of the tent and halloo together, as loud as their strength would permit. We likewise made all the signals we could, but in vain, for they neither heard nor saw us. We, however, received no small encouragement from the sight of them, as they came from the south-west; and the wind being at north-east when we were cast away, we had reason to suppose that our distress might have been made known by the wreck driving on shore, and to presume that they had come out in search of us, and would daily do so when the weather should permit. Thus we flattered ourselves with the pleasing but delusive hope of deliverance.

Just before we had finished our boat, the carpenter's axe was cast upon the rock, by which we were enabled to complete our work, but then we had scarcely strength sufficient to get her into the water.

About the 21st of December, the boat being finished, the day fine, and the water smoother than I had yet seen since we came there, we consulted who should attempt to launch her; I offered myself as one to venture in her; this was agreed to, as I was the strongest, and therefore the fittest to undergo the extremities to which we might possibly be reduced. My mate also offered himself, and desiring to accompany me, I was permitted to take him, together with my brother and four more. Thus commending our enterprize to Providence, all that were able came out, and with much difficulty, got our poor patched-up boat to the water-side. The surf run-

ing very high, we were obliged to wade very deep to launch her, upon which I and another got into her. The swell of the sea heaved her along the shore and upset upon us, whereby we again narrowly escaped drowning. Our poor boat was staved to pieces, our enterprise totally disappointed, and our hopes utterly destroyed.

What heightened our afflictions, and served to aggravate our miserable prospects, and render our deliverance less practicable, we lost, with our boat, both our axe and hammer, which would have been of great use to us if we should afterwards have attempted to construct a raft. Yet we had reason to admire the goodness of God in producing our disappointment for our safety; for, that afternoon, the wind springing up, it blew so hard, inasmuch that, had we been at sea in that imitation of a boat, we must, in all probability, have perished, and those left behind, being unable to help themselves, must doubtless soon have shared a similar fate.

We were now reduced to the most melancholy and deplorable situation imaginable; almost every man but myself was weak to an extremity, nearly starved with hunger and perishing with cold; their hands and feet frozen and mortified; large and deep ulcers in their legs; the smell of which was highly offensive to those who could not creep into the air, and nothing to dress them with but a piece of linen that was cast on shore. We had no fire: our small stock of cheese was exhausted, and we had nothing to support our feeble bodies but rock-weed and a few muscles, scarce and difficult to be procured, at most not above two or three for each man a day; so that our miserable bodies were perishing, and our disconsolate spirits overpowered by the deplorable prospect of starving, without any appearance of relief. To aggravate our situation, if possible, we had reason to apprehend, lest the approaching springtide if accompanied with high winds, should entirely overflow us. The horrors of such a situation it is impossible to describe; the pinching cold and hunger; extremity of weakness and pain; racking and horrors of conscience in many; and the prospect of a certain, painful, and lingering

death, without even the most remote views of deliverance! This is, indeed, the height of misery; yet such alas! was our deplorable case: insomuch that the greater part of our company were ready to die of horror and despair.

For my part, I did my utmost to encourage myself, exhort the rest to trust in God, and patiently await their deliverance. As a slight alleviation of our fate, Providence directed towards our quarters a sea-gull, which my mate struck down and joyfully brought to me. I divided it into equal portions, and though raw, and scarcely affording a mouthful for each, yet we received and eat it thankfully.

The last method of rescuing ourselves we could possibly devise, was to construct a raft capable of carrying two men. This proposal was strongly supported by a Swede, one of our men, a stout, brave fellow, who, since our disaster, had lost the use of both his feet by the frost. He frequently importuned me to attempt our deliverance in that way, offering himself to accompany me, or, if I refused, to go alone. After deliberate consideration we resolved upon a raft, but found great difficulty in clearing the fore-yard, of which it was chiefly to be made, from the junk, as our working hands were so few and weak.

This done, we split the yard, and with the two parts made side-pieces, fixing others, and adding some of the lightest planks we could find, first spiking, and afterwards making them firm. The raft was four feet in breadth. We fixed up a mast, and out of two hammocks that were driven on shore we made a sail, with a paddle for each man, and a spare one in case of necessity. This difficulty being thus surmounted, the Swede frequently asked me whether I designed to accompany him, giving me to understand, that if I declined, there was another ready to offer himself for the enterprise.

About this time we saw a sail come out of Piscataqua river, about seven leagues to the westward. We again made all the signals we could, but the wind being north-west, and the ship standing to the eastward, she was

presently out of sight, without ever coming near us, which proved an extreme mortification to our hopes. The next day, being moderate, with a small breeze toward the shore in the afternoon, and the raft being wholly finished, the two men were very anxious to have it launched; but this was as strenuously opposed by the mate, because it was so late, being two in the afternoon. They, however, urged the lightness of the nights, begged me to suffer them to proceed, and I at length consented. They both got upon the raft, when the swell, rolling very high, soon overset them, as it did our boat. The Swede not daunted by this accident, swam on shore, but the other being no swimmer, continued some time under water; as soon as he appeared, I caught hold of and saved him, but he was so discouraged that he was afraid to make a second attempt. I desired the Swede to wait for a more favorable opportunity, but he continued resolute, begged me to go with him, or help him to turn the raft, and he would go alone.

By this time another man came down and offered to adventure; when they were upon the raft, I launched them off, they desiring us to go to prayers, and also to watch what became of them. I did so, and by sunset judged them half-way to the mainland and supposed that they might reach the shore by two in the morning. They, however, probably fell in with some breakers, or were overset by the violence of the sea and perished; for, two days afterwards, the raft was found on shore, and one man dead about a mile from it, with a paddle fastened to his wrist; but the Swede, who was so very forward to adventure, was never heard of more.

We, who were left on the desolate island, ignorant of what had befallen them, waited daily for deliverance. Our expectations were the more raised by a smoke we observed, two days afterwards in the woods, which was the signal appointed to be made if they arrived safely. This continued every day, and we were willing to believe that it was made on our account, though we saw no appearance of any thing toward our relief. We supposed that the delay was occasioned because they were

not able to procure a vessel so soon as we desired, and this idea served to bear up our spirits and to support us greatly.

Still our principal want was that of provision, having nothing to eat but rock weed, and a very few muscles; indeed, when the spring-tide was over, we could scarcely get any at all. I went myself as no other person was able, several days at low water, and could find no more than two or three apiece. I was frequently in danger of losing my hands and arms, by putting them so often into the water after the muscles, and when obtained, my stomach refused them, and preferred rockweed.

Upon our first arrival we saw several seals upon the rocks, and supposing they might harbor there in the night, I walked round at midnight, but could never meet with any thing. We saw likewise, a great number of birds, which perceiving us daily there, would never lodge upon the rock, so that we caught none.

This disappointment was severe, and tended to aggravate our miseries still more; but it was particularly afflicting to a brother I had with me, and another young gentleman, neither of whom had before been at sea, or endured any kind of hardship. They were now reduced to the last extremity, having no assistance but what they received from me.

Part of a green hide, fastened to a piece of the main-yard, being thrown up by the sea, the men importuned me to bring it to the tent, which being done, we minced it small and swallowed it.

About this time I set the men to open junk, and when the weather would permit I thatched the tent with the rope yarn in the best manner I was able, that it might shelter us the better from the extremities of the weather. This proved of so much service as to turn two or three hours rain, and preserve us from the cold, pinching winds which were always very severe upon us.

Toward the latter part of December, our carpenter, a fat man, and naturally of a dull, heavy, phlegmatic disposition, aged about forty-seven, who, from our first coming on shore, had been constantly very ill, and lost

the use of his feet, complained of excessive pain in his back, and stiffness in his neck. He was likewise almost choked with phlegm, for want of strength to discharge it, and appeared to draw near his end. We prayed over him, and used our utmost endeavors to be serviceable to him in his last moments; he showed himself sensible, though speechless, and died that night. We suffered the body to remain till morning, when I desired those who were most able, to remove it; creeping out myself to see whether Providence had sent us any thing to satisfy the excessive cravings of our appetites. Returning before noon, and not seeing the dead body without the tent, I inquired why they had not removed it, and received for answer, they were not all of them able; upon which, fastening a rope to the body, I gave the utmost of my assistance, and with some difficulty we dragged it out of the tent. But fatigue, and the consideration of our misery, so overcame my spirits, that being ready to faint, I crept into the tent, and was no sooner there, than, to add to my trouble, the men began to request my permission to eat the dead body, the better to support their lives.

This circumstance was, of all the trials I had encountered, the most grievous and shocking:—to see myself and company, who came hither laden with provisions but three weeks before, now reduced to such a deplorable situation; two of us having been absolutely starved to death, while, ignorant of the fate of two others, the rest, though still living, were reduced to the last extremity, and requiring to eat the dead for their support.

After mature consideration of the lawfulness or sinfulness, on the one hand, and absolute necessity on the other, judgment and conscience were obliged to submit to the more prevailing arguments of our craving appetites. We, at length, determined to satisfy our hunger, and support our feeble bodies with the carcass of our deceased companion. I first ordered his skin, head, hands, feet, and bowels, to be buried in the sea, and the body to be quartered, for the convenience of drying and carriage, but again received for answer, that none of

them being able, they intreated I would perform that labor for them. This was a hard task; but their incessant prayers and entreaties at last prevailed over my reluctance, and by night I had completed the operation.

I cut part of the flesh into thin slices, and washing it in salt water, brought it to the tent and obliged the men to eat rock-weed with it instead of bread. My mate and two others refused to eat any that night, but the next morning they complied, and earnestly desired to partake with the rest.

I found that they all eat with the utmost avidity, so that I was obliged to carry the quarters farther from the tent, out of their reach, lest they should injure themselves by eating too much, and likewise expend our small stock too soon.

I also limited each man to an equal portion, that they might not quarrel or have cause to reflect on me or one another. This method I was the more obliged to adopt, because, in a few days, I found their dispositions entirely changed, and that affectionate, peaceable temper they had hitherto manifested, totally lost. Their eyes looked wild and staring, their countenances fierce and barbarous. Instead of obeying my commands, as they had universally and cheerfully done before, I now found even prayers and entreaties vain and fruitless; nothing was now to be heard but brutal quarrels, with horrid oaths and imprecations, instead of that quiet submissive spirit of prayer and supplication they had before manifested.

This, together with the dismal prospect of future want, obliged me to keep a strict watch over the rest of the body, lest any of them, if able, should get to it, and if that were spent we should be compelled to feed upon the living, which we certainly must have done, had we remained in that situation a few days longer.

The goodness of God now began to appear, and to make provision for our deliverance, by putting it into the hearts of the good people on the shore, to which our raft was driven, to come out in search of us, which they did on the 2d of January, in the morning.

Just as I was creeping out of the tent I saw a scallop half way from the shore, standing directly toward us. Our joy and satisfaction, at the prospect of such speedy and unexpected deliverance, no tongue is able to express, nor thought to conceive.

Our good and welcome friends came to an anchor to the south-west, at the distance of about one hundred yards, the swell preventing them from approaching nearer; but their anchor coming home obliged them to stand off till about noon, waiting for smoother water upon the flood. Meanwhile our passions were differently agitated; our expectations of deliverance, and fears of miscarriage, harried our weak and disordered spirits strangely.

I gave them an account of all our miseries, excepting the want of provisions, which I did not mention, lest the fear of being constrained by the weather to remain with us, might have prevented them from coming on shore. I earnestly entreated them to attempt our immediate deliverance, or at least to furnish us if possible, with fire, which, with the utmost hazard and difficulty they at last accomplished, by sending a small canoe, with one man, who, after great exertion, got on shore.

After helping him up with his canoe, and seeing nothing to eat, I asked him if he could give us fire:—he answered in the affirmative, but was so affrighted by my thin and meagre appearance that, at first, he could scarcely return me an answer. However, recollecting himself, after several questions asked on both sides, he went with me to the tent, where he was surprised to see so many of us in such a deplorable condition. Our flesh was so wasted, and our looks were so ghastly and frightful, that it was really a very dismal spectacle.

With some difficulty we made a fire, after which, determining to go on board myself with the man, and to send for the rest, one or two at a time, we both got into the canoe; but the sea immediately drove us against the rock with such violence that we were upset, and being very weak, it was a considerable time before I could recover myself, so that I had again a very narrow escape

from drowning. The good man with great difficulty got on board without me, designing to return the next day with better conveniences, if the weather should permit.

It was an afflicting sight to observe our friends in the shallop, standing away for the shore without us. But God, who orders every thing for the best, doubtless had designs of preservation in denying us the appearance of present deliverance: for the wind coming about to south-east, it blew so hard that the shallop was lost, and the crew with extreme difficulty, saved their lives. Had we been with them it is more than probable that we should all have perished, not having strength sufficient to help ourselves.

When they had reached the shore they immediately sent an express to Portsmouth, in Piscataqua, where the good people made no delay in hastening to our deliverance as soon as the weather would allow. To our great sorrow, and as a farther trial of our patience, the next day continued very stormy, and though we doubted not but the people on shore knew our condition, and would assist us as soon as possible, yet our flesh being nearly consumed, being without fresh water, and uncertain how long the unfavorable weather might continue, our situation was extremely miserable. We, however, received great benefit from our fire, as we could both warm ourselves and broil our meat.

The next day, the men being very importunate for flesh, I gave them rather more than usual, but not to their satisfaction. They would certainly have eaten up the whole at once, had I not carefully watched them, with the intention of sharing the rest next morning, if the weather continued bad. The wind, however, abated that night, and early next morning a shallop came for us, with my much esteemed friends captain Long and captain Purver, and three other men, who brought a large canoe, and in two hours got us all on board, being obliged to carry almost all of us upon their backs from the tent to the canoe, and fetch us off by two or three at a time.

When we first came on board the shallop, each of us eat a piece of bread, and drank a dram of rum, and most of us were extremely sea-sick: but after we had cleansed our stomachs and tasted warm nourishing food, we became so exceeding hungry and ravenous, that had not our friends dieted us, and limited the quantity for two or three days, we should certainly have destroyed ourselves with eating.

Two days after our coming on shore, my apprentice lost the greater part of one foot; all the rest recovered their limbs, but not their perfect use; very few, excepting myself, escaping without losing the benefit of fingers or toes, though otherwise all were in perfect health.

LOSS OF THE FRENCH SHIP DROITS DE L'HOMME.

On the 5th of January, 1797, returning home on leave of absence from the West Indies, in the Cumberland letter of marque, for the recovery of my health, saw a large man-of-war off the coast of Ireland, being then within four leagues of the mouth of the river Shannon. She hoisted English colors, and decoyed us within gun-shot, when she substituted the tri-colored flag, and took us. She proved to be les Droits de L'Homme, of 74 guns, commanded by the *ci devant* baron, now citizen La Crosse, and had separated from a fleet of men-of-war, on board of which were twenty thousand troops, intended to invade Ireland. On board of this ship was General Humbert, who afterwards effected a descent in Ireland (in 1799) with nine hundred troops and six hundred seamen.*

On the 7th of January, went into Bantry Bay to see if any of the squadron were still there, and on finding none, the ship proceeded to the southward. Nothing

* Sir Edward Pellew has since told me that the official account from France, on which he has received head money, amounted to one thousand seven hundred and fifty souls at the time of the shipwreck.

extraordinary occurred until the evening of the 13th, when two men-of-war hove in sight, which afterwards proved to be the Indefatigable and Amazon frigates. It is rather remarkable that the captain of the ship should inform me, that the squadron which was going to engage him was Sir Edward Pellew's, and declared, as was afterwards proved by the issue, that "he would not yield to any two English frigates, but would sooner sink his ship with every soul on board." The ship was then cleared for action, and we English prisoners, consisting of three infantry officers, two captains of merchantmen, two women, and forty-eight seamen and soldiers, were conducted down to the cable tier at the foot of the foremast.

The action began with opening the lower deck ports, which, however, were soon shut again, on account of the great sea, which occasioned the water to rush in to such a degree that we felt it running on the cables. I must here observe, that the ship was built on a new construction, considerably longer than men-of-war of her rate, and her lower deck, on which she mounted thirty-two pounders French, equal to forty pounders English, was two feet and a half lower than usual. The situation of the ship, before she struck on the rocks, has been fully represented by Sir Edward Pellew, in his letter of the 17th of January, to Mr. Nepean: the awful task is left for me to relate what ensued.

At about four in the morning, a dreadful convulsion, at the foot of the foremast, roused us from a state of anxiety for our fate to the idea that the ship was sinking!—It was the fore-mast that fell over the side; in about a quarter of an hour an awful mandate from above was re-echoed from all parts of the ship: *Pauvres Anglais! pauvres Anglais! Montez bien vite, nous sommes tous perdus!*—"Poor Englishmen! poor Englishmen! come on deck as fast as you can, we are all lost!" Every one rather flew than climbed. Though scarcely able to move before, from sickness, yet I now felt an energetic strength in all my frame, and soon gained the upper deck, but what a sight! dead, and wounded, and living,

intermingled in a state terrible beyond description : not a mast standing, a dreadful loom of the land, and breakers all around us. The Indefatigable, on the starboard quarter, appeared standing off, in a most tremendous sea, from the Penmark Rocks, which threatened her with instant destruction. To the great humanity of her commander, those few persons who survived the shipwreck, are indebted for their lives, for had another broadside been fired, the commanding situation of the Indefatigable must have swept off, at least, a thousand men.— On the starboard side was seen the Amazon, within two miles, just struck on shore. Our own fate drew near. The ship struck and immediately sunk ! Shrieks of horror and dismay were heard from all quarters, while the merciless waves tore from the wreck many early victims. Day-light appeared, and we beheld the shore lined with people, who could render us no assistance. At low water, rafts were constructed, and the boats were got in readiness to be hoisted out. The dusk arrived, and an awful night ensued. The dawn of the day brought with it still severer miseries than the first, for the wants of nature could scarcely be endured any longer, having been already near thirty hours without any means of subsistence, and no possibility of procuring them. At low water a small boat was hoisted out, and an English captain and eight sailors succeeded in getting to the shore. Elated at the success of these men, all thought their deliverance at hand, and many launched out on their rafts, but, alas ! death soon ended their hopes.

Another night renewed our afflictions. The morning of the third, fraught with still greater evils, appeared ; our continual sufferings made us exert the last effort, and we, English prisoners, tried every means to save as many of our fellow-creatures as lay in our power.— Larger rafts were constructed, and the largest boat was got over the side. The first consideration was to lay the surviving wounded, the women, and helpless men, in the boat, but the idea of equality so fatally promulgated among the French, destroyed all subordination,

and nearly one hundred and twenty having jumped into the boat, in defiance of their officers, they sank her.—The most dreadful sea that I ever saw, seemed at that fatal moment to aggravate the calamity; nothing of the boat was seen for a quarter of an hour, when the bodies floated in all directions; then appeared, in all their horrors, the wreck, the shores, the dying and the drowned! Indefatigable in acts of humanity, an adjutant-general, Renier, launched himself into the sea, to obtain succor from the shore, and perished in the attempt.

Nearly one half of the people had already perished, when the horrors of the fourth night renewed all our miseries. Weak, distracted, and destitute of every thing, we envied the fate of those whose lifeless corpses no longer wanted sustenance. The sense of hunger was already lost, but a parching thirst consumed our vitals. Recourse was had to urine and salt water, which only increased our want; half a hogshead of vinegar indeed floated up, of which each had half a wine glass: it afforded a momentary relief, yet soon left us again in the same state of dreadful thirst. Almost at the last gasp, every one was dying with misery, and the ship, now one third shattered away from the stern, scarcely afforded a grasp to hold by, to the exhausted and helpless survivors.

The fourth day brought with it a more serene sky, and the sea seemed to subside, but to behold, from fore to aft, the dying in all directions, was a sight too shocking for the feeling mind to endure. Almost lost to a sense of humanity, we no longer looked with pity on those whom we considered only as the forerunners of our own speedy fate, and a consultation took place, to sacrifice some one to be food for the remainder. The die was going to be cast, when the welcome sight of a man-of-war brig renewed our hopes. A cutter speedily followed, and both anchored at a short distance from the wreck. They then sent their boats to us, and by means of large rafts, about one hundred, out of four hundred, who attempted it, were saved by the brig that evening. Three hundred and eighty were left to endure another night's

misery, when, dreadful to relate, above one half were found dead the next morning!

I was saved about ten o'clock, on the morning of the 18th, with my two brother officers, the Captain of the ship, and General Humbert. They treated us with great humanity on board the cutter, giving us a little weak brandy and water every five or six minutes, and after that, a basin of good soup. I fell on the locker in a kind of trance for nearly thirty hours, and swelled to such a degree as to require medical aid to restore my decayed faculties. Having lost all our baggage, we were taken to Brest almost naked, where they gave us a rough shift of clothes, and in consequence of our sufferings, and the help we afforded in saving many lives, a cartel was fitted out by order of the French government to send us home, without ransom or exchange. We arrived at Plymouth on the 7th of March following.

To that Providence, whose great workings I have experienced in this most awful trial of human afflictions, be ever offered the tribute of my praise and thanksgiving.

LOSS OF THE EARL OF ABERGAVENNY EAST INDIAMAN.

THE universal concern occasioned by the loss of the Earl of Abergavenny, has induced us to lay before our readers an accurate statement of this melancholy disaster, chiefly collected from the accounts which were given at the India-House, by Cornet Burgoyne, of his majesty's eighth regiment of light dragoons, who had the command of the troops on board the above vessel, and by the fourth officer of the ship, (who were among the few who fortunately escaped from the wreck,) and from the best information afterwards received.

On Friday, February the 1st, the Earl of Abergavenny, East-Indiaman, captain Wadsworth, sailed from Portsmouth, in company with the royal George, Henry Addington, Wexford, and Bombay Castle, under convoy of his majesty's ship Weymouth, captain Draper.

The Earl of Abergavenny was engaged in the company's service for six voyages, and this was the fourth on which she was proceeding.

Her company consisted of

Seamen, &c.	160
Troops, King's and Company's	159
Passengers at the Captain's table . . .	40
Ditto, at the Third Mate's	11
Chinese	32

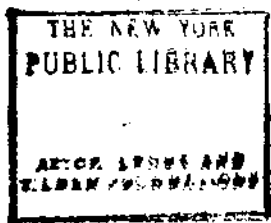
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In going through the Needles, they unfortunately separated from the convoy. The fleet, in consequence, lay to nearly the whole of the next day; but seeing nothing of the Weymouth, proceeded under moderate sail towards the next port, in hopes of being joined by the convoy. On the 5th, the convoy not appearing, it was deemed expedient to wait her arrival in Portland Roads, particularly as the wind had become rather unfavorable, having shifted several points from the N. E. Captain Clarke of the Wexford, being senior-commander, and consequently commodore, made the signal for those ships that had taken Pilots on board, to run into the Roads.

The Earl of Abergavenny having at about half past three, P. M. got a pilot on board, bore up for Portland Roads with a steady wind, when on a sudden the wind slackened, and the tide setting in fast, drove her rapidly on the Shambles. The nearer she approached, the less she was under management; and being at last totally ungovernable, was driven furiously on the rocks, off the Bill of Portland, about two miles from the shore. She remained on the rocks nearly an hour, beating incessantly with great violence, the shocks being so great, that the officers and men could scarcely keep their footing on the deck. At four P. M. the shocks became less violent, and in about a quarter of an hour she cleared the rocks. The sails were immediately set, with an intention to run for the first port, as the ship made much water; but the leak increased so fast that the ship would not obey the helm. In this situation, it was con-

Loss of the Abergeenny, page 223.





sidered necessary to fire signal guns of distress. Twenty were fired: the danger did not, however, appear to those on board sufficient to render it necessary for the ship's boats to be hoisted out at this moment, as the weather was moderate, and the ship in sight of the fleet and shore.

The leak increased fast upon the pumps at five, P. M. Soon after striking, the hand pumps started above six inches, and shortly after the water increased from six to eight feet in spite of every exertion at the pumps. All endeavors to keep the water under were found in vain, and night setting in rendered the situation of all on board melancholy in the extreme; the more so, as it was then ascertained that the ship had received considerable damage in her bottom, immediately under the pumps. All hands took their turn at the pumps, alternately bailing at the fore-hatchway. At eight o'clock their situation became still more dreadful, when it was found impossible to save the ship, which was eventually sinking fast, and settling into the water. Signal guns were again discharged incessantly. The purser, with the third officer, Mr. Wadsworth, and six seamen, were sent on shore, in one of the ship's boats, to give notice to the inhabitants of the distressed state of the ship and crew. At this time a pilot boat came off, and Mr. Evan's with his daughter, Mr. Routledge, Mr. Taylor, a cadet, and Miss Jackson, passengers, embarked for the shore, notwithstanding a dreadful sea, which threatened them with almost instant destruction.

For a few moments the general attention of the crew was diverted in observing the boats leave the ship; but these unfortunate people were soon reminded of their own approaching fate, by a heavy swell, which baffled almost every attempt to keep the ship above water. Every one seemed assured of his fate, and notwithstanding the unremitting attention of the officers, confusion commenced on board, as soon as it was given out that the ship was sinking. At ten, P. M. several sailors intreated to be allowed more liquor, which being refused, they attacked the spirit-room, but were repulsed by the

officers, who never once lost sight of their character, or that dignity so necessary to be preserved on such an occasion, but continued to conduct themselves with the utmost fortitude to the last. One of the officers, who was stationed at the door of the spirit-room, with a brace of pistols to guard against surprise in so critical a moment, at which post he remained even while the ship was sinking, was much importuned by a sailor, while the water poured in on all sides, to grant him some liquor. The man said he was convinced "it would be all one with them in an hour hence." The officer, however, true to his trust in this perilous moment, had courage enough to repulse the man, and bid him go to his duty with his fellow-comrades, observing, "that if it was God's will they should perish, they should die like men."

At half past ten the water had got above the orlop-deck, in spite of the endeavors of the officers and crew who behaved in the most cool and exemplary manner. All on board were now anxiously looking out for boats from the shore, many wishing they had taken refuge in those that had already left the ship, as their destruction on board appeared inevitable. The utmost exertions became necessary to keep the ship above water till the boats came off from the shore. Unfortunately in the general distress and agony of the moment, the ship's boats were not hoisted out, when every soul on board might possibly have been saved. At eleven o'clock, a fatal swell gave the ship a sudden shock: she gave a surge, and sank almost instantaneously, two miles from Weymouth beach; with scarcely five minutes warning, she went down by the head in twelve fathom water, after a heavy heel, when she righted and sank with her masts and rigging standing. Many clung to loose spars, and floated about the wreck, but the majority took refuge in the shrouds. The severe shock of the ship going down, made several let go their hold, whilst others, by the velocity of the ship's descent, had not power to climb sufficiently fast to keep above the water. The Halsewell East Indiaman was wrecked within a few miles from this spot.

When the hull of the ship touched the ground, about one hundred and eighty persons were supposed to be in the tops and rigging: their situation was terrible beyond description: the yards only were above water, and the sea was breaking over them, in the dead of a cold and frosty night. In about half an hour their spirits were revived, by the sound of several boats beating against the waves at a short distance: but, alas! how vain their hopes, when on hailing the boats, not one of them came to their assistance. The sound of them died away, and they were again left to the mercy of the rude waves. By twelve o'clock their numbers had much decreased: the swell had swept off some, whilst others were, from the piercing cold, unable longer to retain their hold. Every moment they perceived some friend floating around them, for awhile, then sinking into the abyss to rise no more.

About this time a sloop was discovered; she had fortunately heard the signal guns, and came to an anchor close by the ship. The weather was moderate, and those who had survived were now promised a speedy delivery. The sloop's boat was immediately manned, and proceeded to the rigging that remained above water, when every person was taken off. The boat returned three times, taking twenty each return. Nothing could be more correct than the conduct of the crew on this occasion: they coolly got into the boat, one by one and those only as they were named by their officers. When it was supposed that every one was brought off, and the boat was about to depart for the last time, a person was observed in one of the tops: he was hailed but did not answer. Mr. Gilpin, the fourth officer, (whose extraordinary exertions on this occasion, as well as throughout the whole of this unfortunate affair, entitled him to the highest commendation,) returned to the wreck, and there found a man in an inanimate state, exhausted from the severe cold. He most humanely brought him down on his back, and took him to the boat; the man proved to be sergeant Heart of the 22d regiment. Every possible care was taken of him, but to no effect: he died

about twelve hours after he had landed. The sloop having now, as was supposed, taken on board all the survivors of the ship, returned to Weymouth. She had not however, proceeded far, before it was perceived that Mr. Baggot, the chief officer, was close astern. The sloop immediately lay to for him; but this noble spirited young man, although certain of securing his own life, disregarded his own safety, on perceiving Mrs. Blair, an unfortunate fellow passenger, floating at some distance from him. He succeeded in coming up with her, and sustained her above water, while he swam towards the sloop; but just as he was on the point of reaching it, a swell came on, and his strength being totally exhausted, he sank and never rose again. The unfortunate Mrs. Blair sank after him, and this generous youth thus perished in vain. It was nearly two o'clock, before the sloop weighed anchor from the wreck, but the wind being favorable she soon reached the port. On mustering those who had landed, it appeared that only one hundred and fifty-five persons had reached the shore out of four hundred and two who had embarked!

The greatest attention was paid to the unfortunate sufferers by the mayor and aldermen as well as the principal inhabitants of Weymouth; and the purser was immediately dispatched to the India House with the melancholy intelligence.

At daylight, February the 6th, the top-masts of the ship were seen from Weymouth. During the time the passengers and crew remained in the tops she appeared to have sunk eight feet, and was considerably lower in the morning; it was therefore conjectured, that she had sunk on a mud-bank. The Greyhound cutter was immediately stationed to guard the wreck, and the boats from the Rover succeeded in stripping the masts of the rigging. On the 7th her decks had not been blown up, and she appeared to remain in exactly the same state in which she had sunk. Her sinking so steadily is attributed to the great weight of her cargo, her floorings consisting chiefly of earthen ware. The cargo of the ship was estimated at two hundred thousand pounds, besides

which she had on board dollars to the amount of two hundred and seventy-five thousand ounces, and is supposed to have been one of the richest ships that ever sailed for India. She was of the largest tonnage, and inferior only to the Ganges in the service, being at least fifteen hundred tons burthen, and built for the China trade.

About eighty officers and seamen were saved, eleven passengers, fifteen Chinese, five out of thirty-two cadets and forty-five recruits. The captain was drowned. He was nephew to captain Wadsworth, who formerly commanded the Earl of Abergavenny, and was considered one of the first navigators in the service. He was on his third voyage as captain, and, painful to relate, perished with his ship, disdaining to survive the loss of so valuable a charge: his conduct throughout the distressing scene, has been spoken of in terms of the highest praise. It is an extraordinary fact that he felt such an unaccountable depression of spirits, that he could not be persuaded to go through the usual ceremony of taking leave of the court of directors on the day appointed; and it was not till the Wednesday following, which was specially fixed for that purpose, that he yielded to the wishes of his friends, and reluctantly attended the court! He was a man of remarkably mild manners; his conduct was, in every instance, so well tempered, that he was known among his shipmates, by the title of "the Philosopher." As soon as the ship was going down, Mr. Baggot, the chief officer, went on the quarter deck, and told him, "that all exertions were now in vain; the ship was rapidly sinking." Captain Wadsworth, who, no doubt, expected it, steadfastly looked him in the face, and, at last, with every appearance of a heart-broken man, faintly answered: "Let her go! God's will be done." These were the last words he uttered; from that instant he was motionless. In a few moments the ship sank, and many who were climbing the shrouds endeavored to save him, but without success. In this endeavor Mr. Gilpin was foremost, and made several unsuccessful attempts, at the evident risk of his own life.

LOSS OF THE CATHARINE, VENUS AND PIEDMONT TRANSPORTS; AND THREE MERCHANT SHIPS.

The miseries of war are in themselves great and terrible, but the consequences which arise indirectly from it, though seldom known and little adverted to, are no less deplorable. The destruction of the sword sometimes bears only an inconsiderable proportion to the havoc of disease, and, in the pestilential climates of the western colonies, entire regiments, reared in succession, have as often fallen victims to their baneful influence:

To prosecute the war with alacrity, it had been judged expedient to transport a strong body of troops on foreign service, but their departure was delayed by repeated adversities, and at length the catastrophe which is about to be related ensued.

On the 15th of November, 1795, the fleet, under convoy of Admiral Christian's squadron, sailed from St. Helen's. A more beautiful sight than it exhibited cannot be conceived; and those who had nothing to lament in leaving their native country, enjoyed the spectacle as the most magnificent produced by the art of man, and as that which the natives of this island contemplate with mingled pride and pleasure.

Next day, the wind continued favorable, carried the fleet down the channel; and as the Catharine transport came within sight of the isle of Perbeck, Lieutenant Jenner, an officer on board, pointed out to another person, the rocks where the Halsewell and so many unfortunate individuals had perished. He and Cornet Burns, had been unable to reach Southampton until the Catharine had sailed, therefore they hired a boy to overtake her; and on embarking at St. Helen's, the former ex-

pressed his satisfaction, in a letter to his mother, that he had been so fortunate as to do so.

On Tuesday, the 17th, the fleet was off Portland, standing to the westward; but the wind shifting and blowing a strong gale at south-south-west, the admiral, dubious whether they could clear the channel, made a signal for putting into Torbay, which some of the transports were then in sight of. However, they could not make the bay; the gale increased, and a thick fog came on; therefore the admiral thought it expedient to alter his design, and about five in the afternoon made a signal for standing out to sea. Of the circumstances relative to the Catharine, a more detailed account has been preserved than respecting the other vessels of the fleet; and they are preserved by a female, with whose name we are unacquainted, in these words.

“The evening of the 17th was boisterous and threatening; the master said he was apprehensive that we should have bad weather; and when I was desired to go on deck and look at the appearance of the sky, I observed that it was troubled and red, with great heavy clouds flying in all directions, and with a sort of dull mist surrounding the moon. On repeating this to the other passengers, two of whom had been at sea before, they said we should certainly have a stormy night, and indeed it proved so very tempestuous, that no rest was to be obtained. Nobody, however, seemed to think that there was any danger, though the fog was so thick that the master could see nothing by which to direct his course; but he thought that he had sufficient sea-room.

“The fatigue I had suffered from the tossing of the ship, and the violence with which she continued to roll, had kept me in bed. It was about ten o'clock in the morning of the 18th, when the mate looked down into the cabin and cried, ‘save yourselves if you can.’

“The consternation and terror of that moment cannot be described; I had on a loose dressing gown, and wrapping it round me I went up, not quite on deck, but to the top of the stairs, from whence I saw the sea break mountain high against the shore. The passengers and soldiers

seemed thunder-struck by the sense of immediate and inevitable danger, and the seamen, too conscious of the hopelessness of any exertion, stood in speechless agony, certain of meeting in a few moments that destruction which now menaced them.

While I thus surveyed the scene around me in a kind of dread which no words can figure, Mr. Burns, an officer of dragoons, who had come up in his shirt, called to Mr. Jenner and Mr. Stains for his cloak; nobody, however, could attend to any thing in such a moment but self preservation.

Mr. Jenner, Mr. Stains and Mr. Dodd the surgeon, now passed me, their countenances sufficiently expressing their sense of the situation in which we all were. Mr. Burns spoke cheerfully to me; he bade me take good courage, and Mr. Jenner observed, there was a good shore near, and all would do well.

These gentlemen then went to the side of the ship, with the intention, I believe, of seeing whether it was possible to get on shore. The master of the vessel alone remained near the companion; when suddenly a tremendous wave broke over the ship, and struck me with such violence, that I was stunned for a moment, and, before being able to recover myself, the ship struck with a force so great as to throw me from the stairs into the cabin, the master being thrown down near me. At the same instant, the cabin, with a dreadful crash, broke in upon us, and planks and beams threatened to bury us in ruins. The master, however, soon recovered himself, he left me to go again upon deck, and I saw him no more.

A sense of my condition lent me strength to disengage myself from the boards and fragments by which I was surrounded, and I once more got upon the stairs, I hardly know how. But what a scene did I behold! The masts were all lying across the shattered remains of the deck, and no living creature appeared on it; all was gone, though I knew not then that they were gone forever. I looked forward to the shore, but there I could see nothing except the dreadful surf that broke against it, while behind the ship, immense black waves rose like tremendous

ruins. I knew that they must overwhelm her, and thought that there could be no escape for me.

Believing, then, that death was immediate and unavoidable, my idea was to regain my bed in the cabin, and there, resigning myself to the will of God, await the approaching moment. However, I could not reach it, and for awhile was insensible; then the violent striking and breaking up of the wreck again roused me to recollection; I found myself near the cabin windows, and the water was rising around me. It rapidly increased, and the horrors of drowning were present to my view; yet do I remember seeing the furniture of the cabin float about. I sat almost enclosed by pieces of the wreck, and the water now reached my breast.

The bruises I had received made every exertion extremely difficult, and my loose gown was so entangled among the beams and fragments of the ship, that I could not disengage it. Still the desire of life, the hope of being welcomed on shore, whither I thought my friends had escaped, and the remembrance of my child, all united in inspiring me with courage to attempt saving myself. I again tried to loosen my gown, but found it impossible, and the wreck continued to strike so violently, and the ruins to close so much more around me, that I now expected to be crushed to death. As the ship drifted higher on the stones, the water rather lessened as the waves went back, but on their return, continued to cover me, and I once or twice lost my breath, and for a moment, my recollection. When I had power to think, the principle of self-preservation still urged me to exertion.

The cabin now broke more and more, and through a large breach I saw the shore very near. Amidst the tumult of the raging waves I had a glimpse of the people, who were gathering up what the sea drove towards them; but I thought they could not see me, and from them I despaired of assistance.—Therefore I determined to make one effort to preserve my life. I disengaged my arms from the dressing gown, and, finding myself able to move, I quitted the wreck, and felt myself on the ground. I attempted to run, but was too feeble to save myself from

a raging wave, which overtook and overwhelmed me: Then I believed myself gone; yet, half suffocated as I was, I struggled very much, and I remember that I thought I was very long dying. The waves left me; I breathed again, and made another attempt to get higher upon the bank, but, quite exhausted, I fell down and my senses forsook me.

By this time I was observed by some of the people on the bank, and two men came to my assistance. They lifted me up; I once more recovered some faint recollection; and, as they bore me along, I was sensible that one of them said the sea would overtake us; that he must let me go and take care of his own life. I only remember clinging to the other and imploring him not to abandon me to the merciless waves. But I have a very confused idea of what passed, till I saw the boat, into which I was to be put to cross the Fleet water; I had then just strength to say, for God's sake do not take me to sea again.

I believe the apprehension of it, added to my other sufferings, tended to deprive me of all further sensibility, for I have not the least recollection of any thing afterwards until roused by the remedies applied to restore me in a farmhouse whither I was carried. There I heard a number of women around me, who asked a great number of questions which I was unable to answer. I remember hearing one say I was a French woman; another say that I was a negro, and indeed I was so bruised, and in such a disfigured condition, that the conjectures of these people are not surprising.

When recovering some degree of confused recollection, and able to speak, I begged that they would allow me to go to bed. This, however, I did not ask with any expectation of life, for I was now in such a state of suffering, that my only wish was to be allowed to lie down and die in peace.

Nothing could exceed the humanity of Mr. Abbot, the inhabitant of Fleet-farm-house, nor the compassionate attention of his sister, Miss Abbot, who not only afforded me immediate assistance, but continued for some days to attend me with such kindness and humanity, that I

shall always remember it with the sincerest gratitude."

The unfortunate sufferer who gives the preceding account, was tended with great humanity by Mr. Bryer, while a wound in her foot, and the dangerous bruises she had received, prevented her from quitting the shelter she first found under the roof of Mr. Abbot, at Fleet. As soon as she was in a condition to be removed to Weymouth, Mr. Bryer, a surgeon there, received her into his own house, where Mrs. Bryer assisted in administering to her recovery such benevolent offices of consolation as her deplorable situation admitted. Meantime the gentlemen of the south battalion of the Gloucester Militia, who had done every thing possible towards the preservation of those who were the victims of the tempest, now liberally contributed to alleviate the pecuniary distresses of the survivors. None seemed to have so forcible a claim on their pity as this forlorn and helpless stranger; and she alone, of forty souls, except a single ship-boy, survived the wreck of the Catharine. There perished, twelve seamen, two soldiers' wives, twenty-two dragoons and four officers, Lieutenant Stains, Mr. Dodd of the hospital-staff, Lieutenant Jenner, the representative of an ancient and respectable family in Gloucestershire, aged thirty-one, and Cornet Burns, the son of an American loyalist of considerable property who was deprived of every thing for his adherence to the British government.—Having no dependence but on the promises of government to indemnify those who had suffered on that account he, after years of distress and difficulty, obtained a cornetcy in the 26th regiment of dragoons, then going to the West Indies, and was thus lost in his twenty-fourth year. This officer had intended embarking in another transport, and actually sent his horse on board, when finding the Catharine more commodious, he gave her the preference, while the other put back to Spithead in safety. The mangled remains of Lieutenant Jenner were two days afterwards found on the beach and interred with military honors.

But the Catharine was not the only vessel which suffered in the tempest. Those, who on shore had listened to it raging on the preceding evening, could not avoid

feeling the most lively alarm for the consequences; and early in the morning on the 18th of November, several pilots and other persons assembled on the promontory called the Look-out at Weymouth. Thence they too evidently discovered the distress and danger of many of the transports.

Soon after, a lieutenant of the navy, residing at Weymouth, applied to the major of a militia regiment, for a guard to be sent to the Chisell Bank, as a large ship, supposed to be a frigate, was on shore. This was immediately granted, and the major himself marched along with a captain's guard.

The violence of the wind was so great, that the party could with difficulty reach the place of their destination. There they found a large merchantman, the *Æolus*, laden with timber for government, on shore. Lieutenant Mason of the navy, and his brother, a midshipman, perished in her, and a number of men who would probably have been saved had they understood the signals from shore. The men of Portland, who crowded down to the scene of desolation, meant to express, by throwing small pebbles at them, that they should remain on board, (to make them hear was impossible,) because they foresaw the ship would drive high on the bank. Should that be the case, they might soon leave her without hazard; and accordingly those who continued on board were saved, though many of them were dreadfully bruised.

Not far from the same place, the *Golden Grove*, another merchantman, was stranded, and in her Dr. Stevens and Mr. Burrows of St. Kits, were lost.

Lieutenant colonel Ross, who was also there, escaped on shore. These two vessels had struck against a part of the Passage-house, almost on the same spot where a French frigate, the *Zenobia*, had gone to pieces in 1763.

But the scene of distress was infinitely greater about four miles to the westward, where, as already related, the *Catharine* was wrecked. Along with her, nearly opposite to the villages of Fleet and Chickerell, the *Piedmont* and *Venus*, two transports, and soon after, the *Thomas*, a merchantman, shared the same fate.

One hundred and thirty-eight soldiers of the 63d regiment, under the command of captain Barcroft, were on board the Piedmont; also lieutenant Ash, and Mr. Kelly, surgeon of the same regiment. Of all these, only sergeant Richardson, eleven privates, and four seamen, survived the catastrophe; all the rest perished.

Captain Barcroft's life had been passed in the service. While yet a very young man, he served in America during the war between England and her colonies; and being then taken prisoner, was severely treated. On commencement of the war which has so many years desolated Europe, he raised a company in his native country, and served with it on the Continent during the campaign of 1794. Under a heavy fire of the enemy, he was one of the last men who retreated with it along a single plank, knee-deep in water, from the siege of Nimeguen. In a few months after the disastrous retreat on the Continent, in the winter 1794, he was ordered to the West Indies, and, in the outset of his voyage, perished in the tempest.

Of the few who reached the shore from the Piedmont, there was scarce one who was not dreadfully bruised, and some had their limbs broken. An unfortunate veteran of the 63d, though his leg was shockingly fractured, had sufficient resolution to creep for shelter under a fishing boat which lay inverted on the further side of the bank. There his groans were unheard until a young gentleman, Mr. Smith, a passenger in the Thomas, who had himself been wrecked, and was now wandering along the shore, discovered him. In this ship, the Thomas, bound to Oporto, the master, Mr. Brown, his son, and all the crew, except the mate, three seamen, and Mr. Smith, were lost. The last was on his way to Lisbon; but his preservation was chiefly in consequence of his remaining on board after all the rest had left the ship, or were washed away by the waves. She had then drifted high on the bank, when he leaped out of her and reached the ground.

Though weak and encumbered by his wet clothes, he gained the opposite side of the bank, but on gazing on

the dreary beach around him, he considered himself cast away on an uninhabited coast. At length he observed a fishing boat, and approaching it, heard the groans of the unfortunate old soldier, whom he attempted to relieve. But alone he found himself unable to fulfil his intention, and it was a considerable time before he observed any means of assistance near. At last, perceiving a man at some distance, he hastened to him, eagerly inquiring whether a surgeon could be procured for a poor creature with a broken limb, who lay under the boat. Probably the man showed little alacrity, for Mr. Smith found it necessary to purchase his good offices by a gift of half a guinea, which he imagined would induce him to seek what was so much required. But the man pocketing the half-guinea with the greatest composure, said he was a king's officer, and must see what bales of goods were driven on shore; then telling Mr. Smith there was a ferry about four miles off, by which he might get to Weymouth. The youth was thus disappointed of his humane design, and the soldier died in that deplorable condition before any other aid attained him.

In the *Thomas*, the vessel to which Mr. Smith belonged, he witnessed scenes not less distressing. Mr. Brown the master of the vessel, was carried away by an immense wave just as he was stripping off his clothes to endeavor to save himself. His son exclaiming, "Oh my father! my poor father!" instantly followed. The bodies of both were afterwards found and interred at Wyke.

Of ninety-six persons on board the *Venus*, only Mr. John Darley of the hospital staff, sergeant-major Hearne, twelve soldiers, four seamen and a boy were saved. Mr. Darley escaped by throwing himself from the wreck at a moment when it drifted high on the stones; he reached them without broken limbs, but, overtaken by the furious sea, he was carried back, not so far, however, that he was incapable of regaining the ground. Notwithstanding the weight of his clothes and his exhausted state, he got to the top of the bank, but there the power of farther

exertion failed, and he fell. While lying in this situation, trying to recover breath and strength, a great many people from the neighboring villages passed him; they had crossed the Fleet-water in the hopes of sharing the plunder of the vessels which the lower inhabitants of the coast are too much accustomed to consider their right.

Mr. Darley seems to have been so far from meeting with assistance from those who were plundering the dead, without thinking of the living, that although he saw many boats passing and repassing the Fleet-water, he found great difficulty in procuring a passage for himself and two or three fellow-sufferers who had now joined him. But having passed it he soon met with Mr. Bryer, to whose active humanity all the sufferers were eminently indebted.

Before the full extent of this dreadful calamity was known at Weymouth, the officers of the South Gloucester Militia, with equal humanity, were devising how they might best succor the survivors, and perform the last duties to the remains of those who had perished. On the morning of the 19th of November, one of them, accompanied by Mr. Bryer of Weymouth, rode to the villages where those who had escaped from the various wrecks had found a temporary shelter. In a house at Chickereil, they found sergeant Richardson and eleven privates of the 63d regiment; two of the latter had fractured limbs, and almost all the rest either wounds or bruises. In other houses the sufferers had been received, and were as comfortably accommodated as circumstances would admit.

The gentlemen then crossed the Fleet-water to the beach, and there, whatever idea was previously formed of it, the horror of the scene infinitely surpassed expectation; no celebrated field of carnage ever presented, in proportion to its size, a more awful sight than the Chisell Bank now exhibited. For about two miles it was strewed with the dead bodies of men and animals, with pieces of wreck and piles of plundered goods, which groups of people were carrying away, regardless of the sight of

drowned bodies that filled the new spectators with sorrow and amazement.

On the mangled remains of the unfortunate victims, death appeared in all its hideous forms. Either the sea or the people who had first gone down to the shore, had stripped the bodies of the clothes which the sufferers had wore at the fatal moment. The remnants of the military stock, the wristbands, or collar of a shirt, or a piece of blue pantaloons, were all the fragments left behind.

The only means of distinguishing the officers was the different appearance of their hands from those of men accustomed to hard labor; but some were known by the description given of them by their friends or by persons who were in the vessels along with them. The remains of captain Barcroft were recognised by the honorable scars he had received in the service of his country; and his friends and relatives, as well as those of several others had the satisfaction of learning that their bodies were rescued from the sea, and interred with military honors.

Early in the morning of the 20th of November, a lieutenant of the militia regiment who had been appointed to superintend the melancholy office of interment, repaired to the scene of destruction. But from the necessary preliminaries of obtaining the authority of a magistrate to remove the bodies, not more than twenty-five were buried that day. The bodies of captain Barcroft, lieutenant Sutherland, Cornet Graydon, lieutenant Ker and two women, were then selected to be put into coffins. Next day, those of lieutenant Jenner and Cornet Burns, being found, were distinguished in the like manner.

The whole number of dead found on the beach, amounted to two hundred and thirty-four; so that the duty of interment was so heavy and fatiguing, that it was not until the twenty-third that all the soldiers and sailors were deposited. Of these there were two hundred and eight, and they were committed to the earth as decently as circumstances would admit, in graves dug on the Fleet side of the beach, beyond the reach of the sea, where a pile of stones was raised on each, to mark where they lay. Twelve coffins were sent to receive

the bodies of the women, but nine only being found, the supernumerary ones were appointed to receive the remains of the officers.

Two wagons were next sent to the Fleet-water to receive the coffins, in which the shrouded bodies of seventeen officers and nine women had been placed, and on the 24th were carried to the church-yard at Wyke, preceded by a captain, subaltern and fifty men of the Gloucester Militia, and attended by the young gentleman before mentioned, Mr. Smith, as chief mourner. The officers were interred in a large grave, north of the church-tower, with military honors, and lieutenant Ker in a grave on the other side of the tower. The remains of the nine women, which had been deposited in the church during the ceremony, were next committed to the earth.

Two monuments have been erected in commemoration of the unfortunate sufferers, the first bearing the following inscription:—

“To the memory of Captain Ambrose William Barcroft, Lieutenant Harry Ash, and Mr. Kelly, surgeon of the 63d regiment of Light Infantry; of Lieutenant Stephen Jenner, of the 6th West-India regiment; Lieutenant Stains of the 2d West India regiment; and two hundred and fifteen soldiers and seamen and nine women, who perished by shipwreck on Portland Beach, opposite the villages of Langton, Fleet, and Chickerell, on Wednesday the 18th day of November, 1795.”

On the second monument is inscribed,

“Sacred to the memory of Major John Charles Ker, Military Commandant of Hospitals in the Leeward Islands, and to that of his son, Lieutenant James Ker, of the 40th regiment of foot, who both departed this life on the 18th of November, 1795, the first aged forty and the latter fourteen years.”

The fate of both was truly deplorable, and is a melancholy example of the uncertainty of human affairs.

They were embarked in the Venus transport, and left Portsmouth the 16th of November, with a fleet full of troops, destined to the West Indies, under the command of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

A storm having arisen on the 17th which lasted till the next day, many of the ships were lost, and the Venus wrecked on Portland Beach.

The major's body could not be found, although it is possible it may have been among the many others which were driven ashore and buried in this church-yard.

His son's corpse was recognised and lies interred under this stone, which was raised by his brother, John William Ker, Esq.

WRECK OF THE BRITISH SHIP SIDNEY:

On a reef of rocks in the South Sea.

The Sidney left Port Jackson, on the coast of New Holland, on the 12th of April, 1806, bound to Bengal. Intending to proceed through Dampier's Straits, her course was directed as nearly as possible in the track of Captain Hogan, of the Cornwallis, which, as laid down in the charts, appeared a safe and easy passage. But, on the 20th of May, at one, A. M., we ran upon a most dangerous rock, or shoal, in 3 20 south latitude, and 146 50 east longitude, and as this reef is not noticed in any map or chart, it appears that we were its unfortunate discoverers.

On Sunday, 25 fathoms of water were found over the taffrail, and six fathoms over the larboard gangway; only nine feet on the starboard side, and 12 feet over the bows. One of the boats was immediately got out with a bower-anchor; but on sounding, at the distance of ten fathoms from the ship, no ground could be found with sixty fathoms of line.

When she struck it must have been high water, for at that time there was no appearance of any reef or breaker; but as the water subsided, the shoal began to show itself, with a number of small black rocks. The ship had been striking very hard, and began to yield forward.—At three, A. M. there were six feet water in the hold,

and increasing rapidly; at five, the vessel was settling aft, and her top-sides parting from the floor-heads.

Upon consultation with my officers, it was our unanimous opinion that the ship was gone beyond recovery, and that no exertions could avail for her safety. We therefore employed all hands in getting the boats ready to receive the crew, who were 108 in number. Eight bags of rice, six casks of water, and a small quantity of salted beef and pork, were put into the long-boat as provisions for the whole; the number of the people prevented us from taking a larger stock, as the three boats were barely sufficient to receive us all with safety.

We remained with the Sidney until five, P. M. on the twenty-first of May, when there were three feet of water on the orlop-deck; therefore we now thought it full time to leave the ship to her fate, and seek our safety in the boats. Accordingly, I embarked in the long-boat with Mr. Trounce, second officer, and seventy-four Lascars; Mr. Robson and Mr. Halkart, with sixteen Lascars, were in the cutter, and the jolly-boat was allotted to fifteen Dutch Malays, and one Sepoy.

Being desirous to ascertain the position of the reef, which could be done by making the Admiralty Islands, our course was shaped thither, steering north by east and half east. During the night, it blew fresh, and the long-boat having made much water, we were obliged to lighten her, by throwing a great deal of lumber, and two casks of water, overboard. The three boats kept close in company, the long-boat having the jolly-boat in tow.

Finding, at day-light, that the cutter sailed considerably better, I directed Mr. Robson that the jolly-boat might be taken in tow by her. But the wind increasing as the morning advanced, and a heavy swell rising, the jolly-boat, while in tow by the cutter, sank at ten o'clock, and all on board, to the number of sixteen, perished. It was lamentable to witness the fate of these unhappy men, and the more so, as it was not in our power to render them the smallest assistance.

The Admiralty Islands were seen at noon of the 22d, bearing N. N. E. three or four leagues distant, and as we

had run about fifty-eight miles in the boats, upon a N. by E. half E. course, the situation of the shoal where the Sidney struck was accurately ascertained, and will be found as above laid down.

From the Admiralty Islands, we continued standing to the westward, and on the 25th, made a small island, on which, from its appearance, I was induced to land in quest of a supply of water. Therefore Mr. Robson, myself, and twenty of our best hands, armed with heavy clubs, brought from New Caledonia, (our fire-arms being rendered useless from exposure to the rain) landed through a high surf, to the utmost astonishment of the inhabitants.

As far as might be judged, they had never before seen people of our complexion. The men were tall and well made, wearing their hair plaited and raised above the head; they had no resemblance to Malays or Caffres;—and excepting their color, which was of a light copper, they had the form and features of Europeans. They were entirely naked. We also saw a number of women, who were well formed, and had mild and pleasing features.

We were received on the beach by about twenty natives, who immediately supplied each of us with a cocoa-nut. We succeeded in making them understand that we wanted water, on which they made signs for us to accompany them to the interior of the island; on compliance, after walking about a mile, they conducted us into a thick jungle, and, as their number was quickly increasing, I judged it imprudent to proceed further.—Thus returning to the beach, I was alarmed to find that one hundred and fifty, or more, of the natives had assembled, armed with spears eight or ten feet long. One of them, an old man of venerable appearance, and who seemed to be their chief, approached and threw his spear at my feet, expressive, as I understood, of his wish that we should part with our clubs in like manner. Perceiving, at this time, that a crowd of women had got hold of the stern-fast of the cutter, and were endeavoring to haul her on shore from the grapnel, we hastily tried to

gain the boat. The natives followed us closely; some of them pointed their spears at us as we retreated, and some were thrown, though happily without effect; and to us they seemed to be very inexpert in the management of their weapons. On my getting into the water, three or four of the natives followed me, threatening to throw their spears, and when I was within reach of the boat, one of them made a thrust, which was prevented from taking effect by Mr. Robson, who warded off the weapon. When we had got into the boat, and were putting off, they threw, at least, two hundred spears, none of which struck, excepting one, which gave a severe wound to my cook, entering immediately above the jaw, and passing through his mouth.

Having escaped this perilous adventure we pursued our course, and got as far as Dampier's Straits, in as favorable circumstances as our situation could well admit. But the Lascars, now being within reach of land, became impatient to be put on shore. It was in vain that I exhorted them to persevere; they would not listen to argument, and expressed their wish rather to meet with immediate death on shore, than to be starved to death in the boats. Yielding to their importunity, I at length determined to land them on the northwest extremity of the island of Ceram, from whence they might travel to Amboyna in two or three days. Being off that part of the island on the ninth of June, Mr. Robson volunteered to land a portion of the people in the cutter, to return to the long-boat, and the cutter to be then given up to such further portion of the crew as chose to join the party first landed. Accordingly he went ashore with the cutter, but to my great mortification, after waiting two days, there was no appearance of his return or of the cutter.

We concluded that the people had been detained either by the Dutch or the natives. Yet as the remaining part of the Lascars were desirous to be landed, we stood in with the long-boat, and put them on shore near the point where we supposed the cutter to have landed her people.

Our number in the long-boat were now reduced to seventeen, consisting of Mr. Trounce, Mr. Halkart, my-

self and fourteen Lascars and others. Our stock of provision was two bags of rice and one gang cask of water, with which we conceived we might hold out until reaching Bencoolen, whither we determined to make the best of our way. The allowance to each man we fixed as one tea-cupful of rice and a pint of water daily, but we soon found it necessary to make a considerable reduction.

Proceeding through the straits of Bantam, we met in our course several Malay prows, none of which took notice of us excepting one, which gave chase for a day, and would have come up with us had we not got off under cover of a very dark night. Continuing onwards, we passed through the strait of Saypay, where we caught a large shark. Our spirits were much elated by this valuable prize, which we lost no time in getting on board; and having kindled a fire in the bottom of the boat, it was roasted with all expedition. Such was the keenness of our appetite, that although the shark must have weighed one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty pounds, not a vestige of it remained at the close of the day. But we were afflicted on the following day with the most violent complaint of the stomach and bowels, which reduced us exceedingly, and left us languid and spiritless, insomuch that we now despaired of safety.

On the second of July, I lost an old and faithful servant, who died from want of sustenance; and on the fourth, we made Java head; at the same time catching two large boobies, which afforded all hands a most precious and refreshing meal. At midnight of the ninth, we came to off Pulo Penang, on the west coast of Sumatra; but at daylight, when endeavoring to weigh our anchor and run close in shore, we were so much exhausted that our united strength proved insufficient to get it up.

On a signal of distress being made, a sanpan with two Malays came off, and as I was the only person in the long-boat who had sufficient strength to move, I accompanied them on shore. However, I found myself so weak on landing that I fell to the ground, and it was

necessary to carry me to an adjacent house. Such refreshments as could be procured were immediately sent off to the long-boat, and we recruited so rapidly, that in two days we found ourselves in a condition to proceed on our voyage. Having weighed anchor on the 12th of July, we set sail, and on the 19th, arrived off the island of Bencoolen.

Here I met with an old friend, captain Chauvet of the *Perseverance*, whose kindness and humanity I shall ever remember and gratefully acknowledge. On the day subsequent to my arrival, I waited on Mr. Parr the resident, from whom I received every attention.

Leaving Bencoolen on the 17th of August, in the *Perseverance*, I arrived at Penang on the 27th, where I was agreeably surprised to meet my late chief-mate, Mr. Robson, who, along with the Lascars, had landed at Ceram. They reached Amboyna in safety, where they were received by the Dutch governor, Mr. Cranstoun, with a humanity and benevolence that reflect honor on his character. He supplied them with whatever their wants required. Mr. Robson was accommodated at his own table, and, on leaving Amboyna, he furnished him money for himself and his people, for the amount of which he refused to take any receipt or acknowledgment. He also gave Mr. Robson letters to the governor-general of Batavia, recommending him to his kind offices. Such honorable conduct from the governor of a foreign country, and with which we were at war, cannot be too widely promulgated. From Amboyna, Mr. Robson embarked in the *Pallas*, a Dutch frigate, for Batavia, which on the passage thither was captured by his majesty's ships *Greyhound* and *Harriet*, and brought to Prince of Wales' island.

From Penang I sailed to Bengal with the *Paruna*, captain Denison, and arrived safely in Calcutta in the beginning of May, 1806.

LOSS OF THE RAMILLIES IN THE ATLANTIC OCEAN.

ADMIRAL (afterwards Lord) Graves having requested leave to return to England in 1782, was appointed by lord Rodney to command the convoy sent home with the numerous fleet of merchantmen from the West Indies in the month of July. He accordingly hoisted his flag on board the Ramillies, of seventy-four guns, and sailed on the 25th from Blue Fields, having under his orders the Canada and Centaur of seventy-four guns each, the Pallas frigate of thirty-six guns, and the following French ships, taken by lord Rodney and Sir Samuel Hood, out of the armament commanded by the count de Grasse, viz. the Ville de Paris, of one hundred and ten guns; the Glorieux and Hector, of seventy-four guns each; the Ardent, Caton, and Jason, of six guns each. Those which were originally British ships had been in so many actions, and so long absent from England, as to have become extremely out of condition, while that of the prizes was still more deplorable, and the following authentic account of the various disasters which attended this distressed convoy will be found equally melancholy and interesting.

Soon after the fleet had sailed, the officers of the Ardent united in signing such a representation of her miserable plight as induced admiral Graves to order her back to Port Royal; and the Jason, by not putting to sea with the convoy, from want of water, never joined him at all. The rest proceeded, and after those vessels that were bound for New York had separated, the whole convoy was reduced to ninety-two or three sail.

On the 8th of September the Caton springing a leak, made such alarming complaints, that the admiral directed her and the Pallas, also became leaky, to bear away immediately, and keep company together, making for

Halifax, which then bore N. N. W. and was but eighty-seven leagues distant.

The afternoon of the 16th of September showing indications of a gale and foul weather from the south-east quarter, every preparation was made on board the flagship for such an event, not only on account of her own safety, but also as an example to the rest of the fleet. The admiral collected the ships about six o'clock, and brought to under his mainsail on the larboard tack, having all his other sails furled, and his top-gallant yards and masts lowered down.

The wind soon increasing, blew strong from the E. S. E. with a very heavy sea, and about three o'clock in the morning of the 17th flew suddenly round to the contrary point, blowing most tremendously, and accompanied with rain, thunder, and lightning; the *Ramillies* was taken by the lee, her main-sail thrown back, her main-mast went by the board, and mizzen-mast half way up; the fore-top mast fell over the starboard bow, the fore-yard broke in the slings, the tiller snapped in two, and the rudder was nearly torn off. Thus was this capital ship, from being in perfect order, reduced, within a few minutes, to a mere wreck, by the fury of the blast and the violence of the sea, which acted in opposition to each other. The ship was pooped, the cabin, where the admiral lay, was flooded, his cot-bed jerked down by the violence of the shock and the ship's instantaneous revulsion, so that he was obliged to pull on his boots half leg deep in water, without any stockings, to huddle on his wet clothes, and repair upon deck. On his first coming thither, he ordered two of the lieutenants to examine into the state of the affairs below, and to keep a sufficient number of people at the pumps, while he himself and the captain kept the deck, to encourage the men to clear away the wreck, which, by its constant swinging backwards and forwards by every wave against the body of the ship, had beaten off much of the copper from the starboard side, and exposed the seams so much to the sea that the decayed oakum washed out, and the whole frame became at once exceedingly porous and leaky.

At dawn of day they perceived a large ship lying under their lee, upon her side, water-logged, her hands attempting to wear her by first cutting away the mizzen-mast, and then her main-mast; hoisting her ensign, with the union downwards in order to draw the attention of the fleet; but to no purpose, for no succor could be given, and she very soon went down head foremost, the fly of her ensign being the last thing visible. This was the Dutton, formerly an East Indiaman, and then a store-ship, commanded by a lieutenant of the navy, who in his agitation, leaped from her deck into the sea; but, as might be expected, was very soon overwhelmed by its billows. Twelve or thirteen of the crew contrived, however, to slide off one of the boats, and running with the wind, first endeavored to reach a large ship before them, which, not being able to fetch, and afraid of filling if they attempted to haul up for the purpose, they made up for another ship more to the leeward, who fortunately descrying them, threw a number of ropes, by the help of which these desperate fellows scrambled up her sides, and fortunately saved their lives. Out of ninety four or five sail, seen the day before, scarcely twenty could now be counted; of the ships of war, there were discerned the Canada, half hull down upon the lee-quarter, having her main-top-mast and mizzen-mast gone, the main-top damaged, the main-yard aloft, and the main-sail furled; the Centaur was far to windward, without masts, bowsprit, or rudder; and the Glorieux without foremast, bowsprit, or main-top-mast. Of these the two latter perished with all their crews, excepting the captain of the Centaur, and a few of his people, who contrived to slip off her stern into one of the boats unnoticed, and thus escaped the fate of the rest of the crew.

The Ville de Paris appeared to have received no injury, and was commanded by a most experienced seaman, who had made twenty-four voyages to and from the West Indies, and had, therefore, been pitched upon to lead the ship through the gulf; nevertheless she was afterwards buried in the ocean with all on board her,

consisting of above eight hundred people. Of the convoy, besides the Dutton, before mentioned, and the British Queen, seven others were discovered without masts or bowsprits; eighteen lost masts, and several others had foundered.

In the course of this day the Canada crossed upon and passed the Ramillies; some of the trade attempted to follow the Canada, but she ran at such a rate that they soon found it to be in vain, and then returned towards the flag-ship; the Ramillies had at this time six feet water in her hold, and the pumps would not free her, the water having worked out the oakum, and her beams amid-ship being almost drawn from their clamps.

The admiral, therefore, gave orders for all the buckets to be manned, and every officer to help towards freeing the ship; the mizzen-top-sail was set upon the fore-mast, the main-top-gallant-sail on the stump of the mizzen-mast, and the tiller shipped. In this condition, by bearing away, she scudded on at so good a rate that she held pace with some of the merchantmen.

The day having been spent in bailing and pumping, without materially gaining on the water, the captain, in the name of the officers, represented to the admiral the necessity of parting with the guns for the relief of the ship, but he objected, that there would then be left no protection for the convoy. At length, however, after great difficulty, he consented to their disposing of the fore-castle and after-most quarter-deck guns, together with some of the shot, and other articles of very great weight. The ensuing night was employed in bailing and endeavoring to make the pumps useful, for the ballast, by getting into the well, had choked and rendered them useless, and the chains had broken every time they were repaired. The water had risen to seven feet in the hold. The wind from the westward drove a vast sea before it, and the ship being old, strained most violently.

On the morning of the 18th, nothing could be seen of the Canada, she having pushed on at her greatest speed for England. The frame of the Ramillies having opened

during the night, the admiral was prevailed upon, by the renewed and pressing remonstrances of the officers, although with great reluctance, to let six of the forward-most and four of the aftermost guns of the main-deck to be thrown overboard, together with the remainder of those on the quarter-deck; and the ship still continuing to open very much, he ordered tarred canvas and hides to be nailed fore and aft from under the sills of the ports on the main-deck under the fifth plank above, or within the water-ways, and the crew, without orders, did the same on the lower deck. Her increasing complaints requiring still more to be done, the admiral directed all the guns on the upper deck, the shot, both on that and the lower deck, and various heavy stores to be thrown overboard; a leakage in the light room of the grand magazine having almost filled the ship forward, and there being eight feet water in the magazine, every gentleman was compelled to take his turn at the whips, or in handling the buckets. The ship was besides frapped from the fore-mast to the mainmast.

Notwithstanding their utmost efforts the water still gained on them; the succeeding night, the wind blowing very hard, with extremely heavy squalls, a part of the orlop-deck fell into the hold; the ship herself seemed to work excessively, and to settle forward.

On the morning of the 19th, under these very alarming circumstances, the admiral commanded both the bower-anchors to be cut away, all the junk to be flung overboard, one sheet and one bower cable to be reduced to junk and served the same way, together with every remaining ponderous store that could be got at, and all the powder in the grand magazine (it being damaged;) the cutter and pinnace to be broken up and tossed overboard, the skidders having already worked off the side; every soul on board was now employed in bailing. One of the pumps was got up, but to no purpose, for the shot-lockers being broken down, some of the shot, as well as the ballast, had fallen into the well; and as the weather moderated a little, every thing was made ready to heave the lower deck guns into the sea, the admiral be-

ing anxious to leave nothing undone for the relief of the ship.

When evening approached, there being twenty merchant ships in sight, the officers united in beseeching him to go into one of them, but this he positively refused to do, deeming it, as he declared, unpardonable in a commander-in-chief to desert his garrison in distress; that his living a few years longer was of very little consequence, but that, by leaving his ship at such a time, he should discourage and slacken the exertions of the people, by setting a very bad example. The wind lulling somewhat during the night; all hands bailed the water, which, at this time, was six feet fore and aft.

On the morning of the 20th, the admiral ordered the the spare and stream anchors to be cut away, and within the course of the day all the lower deck guns to be thrown overboard. When evening came, the spirits of the people in general, and even of the most courageous, began to fail, and they openly expressed the utmost despair, together with the most earnest desire of quitting the ship, lest they should founder in her. The admiral hereupon advanced and told them, that he and their officers had an equal regard for their own lives, and that the officers had no intention of deserting either them or the ship; that, for his part, he was determined to try one night more in her; he, therefore, hoped and entreated they would do so too, for there was still room to imagine, that one fair day, with a moderate sea, might enable them, by united exertions, to clear and secure the well against the encroaching ballast which washed into it; that if this could be done, they might be able to restore the chains to the pumps, and use them; and that their hands enough might be spared to raise jury-masts, with which they might carry the ship to Ireland; that her appearance alone, while she could swim, would be sufficient to protect the remaining part of her convoy; above all, that as every thing that could be thought of had now been done for her relief, it would be but reasonable to wait the effect. He concluded with assuring them, that he would make the signal directly for the trade to lie by

them during the night, which he doubted not they would comply with.

This temperate speech had the desired effect; the firmness and confidence with which he spoke, and their reliance on his seamanship and judgment, as well as his constant presence and attention to every accident, had a wonderful effect upon them; they became pacified, and returned to their duty and their labors. Since the first disaster, the admiral had, in fact, scarcely ever quitted the deck; this they had all observed, together with his diligence in personally inspecting every circumstance of distress. Knowing his skill and experience, they placed great confidence in them; and he instantly made, according to his promise, a signal for all the merchantmen.

At this period, it must be confessed, there was great reason for alarm, and but little for hope; for all the anchors and guns, excepting one, together with every other matter of weight, had been thrown overboard, and yet the ship did not seem at all relieved. The strength of the people was, likewise, so nearly exhausted, having had no sleep since the first fatal stroke, that one half of the crew were ordered to bail and the other to repose; so that, although the wind was much abated, the water still gained upon them, in spite of all their efforts, and the ship rolled and worked most prodigiously in a most unquiet sea.

At three in the morning of the 21st, being the fourth night, the well being quite broken in, the casks, ballast and remaining shot rushed together and destroyed the cylinders of the pumps; the frame and carcass of the ship began to give way in every part, and the whole crew exclaimed that it was impossible to keep her any longer above water.

In this extremity, the admiral resolved within himself not to lose a moment in removing the people whenever daylight should arrive, but told the captain not to communicate any more of his design than that he intended to remove the sick and lame at day-break; and for this purpose he should call on board all the boats of the merchantmen. He, nevertheless, gave private orders to the

captain, while this was doing, to have all the bread brought upon the quarter-deck, with a quantity of beef, pork, and flour, to settle the best distribution of the people according to the number of the trade-ships that should obey their signal, and to allow an officer to each division of them; to have the remaining boats launched, and as soon as the sick were disposed of, to begin to remove the whole of the crew, with the utmost despatch, but without risking too many in a boat.

Accordingly at dawn, the signal was made for the boats of the merchantmen, but nobody suspected what was to follow, until the bread was entirely removed and the sick gone. About six o'clock, the rest of the crew were permitted to go off, and between nine and ten, there being nothing further to direct and regulate, the admiral himself, after shaking hands with every officer, and leaving his barge for their better accommodation and transport, quitted forever the *Ramillies*, which had then nine feet of water in her hold. He went into a small leaky boat, loaded with bread, out of which both him and the surgeon who accompanied him were obliged to bail water all the way. He was in his boots, with his surtout over his uniform, and his countenance as calm and as composed as ever. He had, at going off, desired a cloak, a cask of flour and a cask of water, but could get only the flour, and he left behind all his stock, wines, furniture, books and charts, which had cost him upwards of one thousand pounds, being unwilling to employ even a single servant in saving or packing up what belonged to himself alone, in a time of such general calamity, as to appear better in that respect than any of the crew.

The admiral rowed for the *Belle*, Captain Forster, being the first of the trade that had borne up to the *Ramillies* the preceding night in her imminent distress, and by his anxious humanity set such an example to his brother traders as had a powerful influence upon them—an influence which was generally followed by sixteen others.

By three o'clock, most of the crew were taken out, at which time the *Ramillies* had thirteen feet of water in her hold, and was evidently foundering in every part; at

half past four the captain, and first and third lieutenants, left her, with every soul excepting the fourth lieutenant, who staid behind only to execute the admiral's orders for setting fire to her wreck when finally deserted. The carcass burned rapidly, and the flames quickly reaching the powder which was filled in the after-magazine, and had been lodged very high; in thirty-five minutes the decks and upper works blew up with a horrid explosion and cloud of smoke, while the lower part of the hull was precipitated to the bottom of the ocean.

All this time the admiral, in the *Belle*, stood for the wreck to see his last orders executed, as well as to succor any boats that might be too full of men, the swell of the sea being prodigious, although the weather had been moderate ever since noon of the foregoing day. There were, however, at intervals, some squalls, with threats of the weather soon becoming violent. It was not long before they were realized, for within two hours after the last of the crew were put on board their respective ships, the wind rose to a great height, and so continued, with intermission, for six or seven successive days, so that no boat could, during that time, have lived in the water. On such a small interval depended the salvation of more than six hundred lives! Indeed, during the four days immediately preceding this catastrophe, it blew such a strong gale, and such a heavy sea followed the *Ramillies*, that it was always necessary to keep her with the wind upon her quarter, with seldom more than the sprit-sail hoisted upon her foremast, and at times with no sail at all, in which state she would run at the rate of six miles an hour. Whenever the main-top-galant-sail was set on the stump of the mizzen-mast she commonly griped so much, as to render the steerage very difficult, and yet this had been carried, whenever it could be, in order to keep pace with the merchantmen, the slowest of which went nearly as fast under their bare poles.

Even in running thus, the *Ramillies* rolled prodigiously, and as she grew lighter every day her motion became the more uneasy, so that the men could scarcely stand to

their work or keep their legs without something to lay hold by. There was no such thing as real repose for them when sitting or lying down upon deck, nor steadiness enough to eat or drink with any security; no meat could be dressed, nor did any man or officer go into bed. Until the afternoon of the 20th, there was no venturing to bring her to, even for a boat to come on board; but notwithstanding this desperate condition, when some were hourly dropping through fatigue and want of sleep, and the decks were covered with water, the whole of the crew behaved with the utmost obedience, attention and sobriety, and omitted no possible exertion for the preservation of the ship.

Upon their separation taking place, the officers, who were distributed with portions of the crew among the Jamaica-men, had orders respectively to deliver them to the first man-of-war or tender they should meet with, and to acquaint the Secretary of the Admiralty, by the earliest opportunity, of their proceedings. A pendant was hoisted on board the Belle, by way of distinction, that she might, if possible, lead the rest. Some of the trade kept with her, and others made the best of their way, apprehensive lest they should soon fall short of provisions, as they had so many more to feed.

The Silver-Eel transport, which had sailed from Bluefields with the invalids of Sir George Rodney's fleet, and was under the command of a lieutenant of the navy, had been ordered to keep near the Ramillies. That ship was accordingly at hand on the 21st of September, the day of her destruction, and in consequence of several deaths on the passage had room enough for the reception of all who were now ailing or maimed, and was therefore charged with them, being properly fitted for their accommodation.

The Silver-Eel parted from the admiral in latitude 42 48 N. and longitude 45 19 W. after seeing the Ramillies demolished, and being ordered to make for the first port, ran into Falmouth the 6th of October, on the afternoon of which day, one of the trade-ships, with a midshipman and sixteen of the crew of the Ramillies, reached Plymouth sound. Another of the same convoy, having

on board another part of the crew, with the captain and first lieutenant, anchored in the same place before daylight the next morning. The *Canada*, however, having exerted her utmost speed, had, prior to all these, on the 4th of the same month, got to Portsmouth, where she spread the news of the dispersion of this miserable fleet, which being conveyed to France, her privateers immediately put to sea in hopes of making prizes of them. Some of the Jamaica-men, with part of the crew of the *Ramilies*, fell into their hands; two of the *West Indiamen* were captured in sight of the *Belle*, but she herself with the admiral and thirty-three of his crew, arrived safe, though singly, on the 10th of October, in Cork harbor, where was the *Myrmidon* frigate. The Admiral immediately hoisted his flag on board the latter, and sailing with the first fair wind, arrived, on the 17th, in Plymouth Sound, apparently in good health, but with a settled oppression upon his breast, from having been so long and so dreadfully exposed upon the deck of the *Ramilies* in the horrid night when she was first overtaken by the storm; nor could he remove that complaint for upwards of six months. He brought away with him nothing but a few of his private papers, the rest of his effects having shared the same fate as the ship.

It was calculated that by the destruction of the fleet, upwards of twenty one thousand and five hundred persons perished. The loss of property has been estimated by the British Government to be upwards of £20,000,000. The gale, which continued for six days, was the most tremendous one on record

PRESERVATION OF NINE MEN,

IN A SMALL BOAT, SURROUNDED BY ISLANDS OF ICE.

We sailed from Plymouth under convoy of H. B. Majesty's ship *St. Alban's*, and two other ships of war, to-

gether with a fleet of merchantmen bound to the Mediterranean, having a fresh gale at north-east.

The wind still continuing, we kept company with the fleet until reaching 120 leagues to the westward; then judging ourselves clear of privateers, we proceeded on our voyage. But before gaining 300 leagues, on the 17th of March, we came up with an English-built ship of about 200 tons, carrying twelve guns, and sailing under a jury main-mast. On our approach she hoisted English colors; and, on being hailed, told us she belonged to London, and was now bound from Virginia homewards, which seemed probable, as many tame fowl were on board; and a red bird flew from her to us.

Our captain seeing the vessel disabled, desired her to bring to; saying, if any thing was wanted on board, we should hoist out our boat and carry it thither; but this was obstinately refused; the captain declared, that our boat should not approach, and unless we kept further off, he would fire into us. This induced suspicion on our part, wherefore we ran up with the vessel, and commanded her to bring to. On this she fired, and engaged us from eleven in the morning until six in the evening; then, being much damaged, she struck, and called to us to save the lives of the crew. But this request came too late, for the wind increasing, raised a great sea, which forced our ship under a reefed main-sail, whence we could not hoist out our boat, without endangering our own lives. However, by means of a light which she carried, we kept close to her, intending to hoist the boat out when it became practicable. But towards midnight her light became very low; and by a loud cry, which was heard about one o'clock, we judged that she foundered.

When the vessel struck she told us that she had fourteen Frenchmen on board, whence we conjectured her to be an English Virginia-man taken by the French; and that she had lost her main-mast in the engagement. We followed her chasing and fighting, about thirty leagues; and when she struck we were in 45 50 north latitude.

Our booty being thus lost, we made the best of our way to Newfoundland, being bound thither on a fishing

voyage. One trouble, however, seldom comes alone, and so it happened to us; for on the 26th of March, we saw some shattered ice, at four in the afternoon, which was supposed to be the harbor ice now broken up. We were now in 46 50 north latitude, and conceived ourselves fifty leagues, though it afterwards proved seventy, from the land. The wind being at east, the top-sails were handed; and we stood northward, under our courses, hoping to get clear of the ice before night. But finding rather more than less, we tacked to the Southward, which was found unproductive of any change. Therefore, for further security, the fore-sail was furled, and the ship brought to under the mainsail, as night approached, and as there was a dead wind, so that we could lie off on either tack; we trusted if we should fall in with the greater ice, to meet with the less shocks.

About eight or nine o'clock, we discovered a field of ice, of which we ran foul, notwithstanding our exertions to keep clear of it; and although we hung cables, coils of rope, hoops and such things, over the ship to defend her, she struck so hard, that at eleven she bilged, whence we had much difficulty to keep her afloat till day-light, by two pumps going, and bailing at three hatch-ways.

At the approach of day, our men were much fatigued, the water increased, and against noon the hold was half full. No one knew what to advise another, and all began to despair of their lives: we continued pumping, though to little purpose, and concluded, that if now were our appointed time, we must submit patiently to it.

But amidst this disaster, it pleased God to put it into the thoughts of some us, that several might be preserved in the boat, upon which the captain was entreated to hoist her out, and commit a few of us there.

The captain answered, that, although God could work wonders, it was improbable that so small a boat should preserve us; that it was but living a few days longer in misery; and, seeing God had cast this calamity to his lot, he was resolved to take his chance, and die with his men.

Nevertheless, being much importuned, he ordered the boat out, and William Saunders and five others in her;

and, that the men might not suspect their design it was given out that the boat should go ahead to tow the ship clear of the ice. How likely that was the reader may judge, there being but one oar, all the rest were broken by defending the ship from the ice. However, the purpose advanced.

The boat being out, and finding no effect produced in towing the ship, fell a-stern, intending to take in the captain and as many as it could safely carry, while some were preparing necessaries for a miserable voyage. A compass, and other things ready, were conveyed into it.

The captain, doctor and several others, having got out at the cabin windows and galleries, I, amongst the rest, endeavored to escape at the gallery, intending likewise, if possible, to get into the boat; but being discovered by the men, they took small arms, and kept off the boat, resolving, as they could not preserve all, that the whole should perish together.

This design being frustrated, every one, except myself and William Langmead, got into the ship again; but we were so low that we could not recover ourselves. No person coming to relieve us, we were at length forced to let go our hold, and trust to the mercy of those in the boat, who seeing us swimming towards them, hove out a rope and took us in.

We were now eight in number in the boat; and, willing to save our captain, lay hovering about the ship till night; but the men persisting in their resolution, fired at the boat and kept her off. We began to seek shelter as night approached; and, having gone among the shattered ice, made our boat fast to a small lump, and drove with it; and as we came foul of great ice, we removed and made fast to another piece, and so continued during the remainder of the night. Looking around in the morning, the ship was seen about three leagues to the eastward in the same position as we had left her, whereon a consultation was held, whether or not we should return and make another attempt to save the captain, and as many more as possible. This proposal, however, was negatived, every one alleging that the men would

either fire on us, or inconsiderately crowd into the boat and sink her; therefore it was resolved to make the best of our way to the shore. But I, considering how little it would tend to my honor to save my life, and see my captain perish, endeavored to persuade them that the ship still swam buoyant, that I hoped the leak was stopped, and that we might proceed on our voyage; but this was unavailing. When I saw myself unable to prevail thus, I desired them to row up and set me on that part of the ice next the ship, whence I should walk to her, and die with my commander.

This being unanimously agreed to, we rowed up to the ice; but when we reached it, I was loth to get out. However, on calling the captain to us, Mr. John Maddick came first, and after him the doctor and some others, which the captain perceiving, came also.

The captain having left the ship, the multitude crowded so eagerly after him that we had like to have spoiled all; but by chance the boat was got off, and twenty-one people in her and hanging to her sides. Some were forced to slip; others perished on the ice, not being able to return to the ship, where the rest were lost.

On the 25th of March, we took a miserable farewell of our distressed brethren, the heart of every one being so overloaded with his own misery as to have little room to pity another. Next, on considering what course to follow, we resolved to make for the shore.

Our only provision was a small barrel of flour, and a five gallon rundlet of brandy, which had been thrown overboard, and was taken up by us. We also took up an old chest, which stood us in good stead, for having but one oar, and our ship's handspikes, and a hatchet being by chance in the boat, we could split the chest, and nail it to the handspikes, which were our oars. Nails we had only by drawing them from different parts of the boat; and the rest of the chest was used to kindle a fire. It also happened that our main tarpauling, which had been newly tarred, was put into the boat. Of it we made a main-sail; and of an old piece of canvas, that had been a sail to a yawl, we made a fore-sail. In this

condition we turned towards the shore, and observing the surrounding ice lie north and south, we steered north, and in the morning were clear of it.

Having now got into the ocean, and the wind being still easterly, we hoisted our sail, and steered W. N. W. about fourteen leagues, when we fell in with another field of ice. Attempting to sail through it, we were enclosed by many great islands, which drove so fast together, that we were forced to haul up our boat on the ice, otherwise we should have perished.

Here we lay eleven days without once seeing the sea. As the ice was thick, we caught as many seals as we chose, for they were in great abundance. Our fire-herth was made of the skin, and the fat melted so easily, that we could boil the lean with it.

But by lying so long in this cold region, the men began to complain of their feet; and our boat being too small to afford room for all, there was always a hideous cry among us of hurting each other, though for this there was no remedy. We kept watch six and six, both for the convenience of room, and to guard against the ice breaking under our boat, which often happened, and then it was necessary to launch, or carry her to a place which we thought strong enough to bear her weight.

In eleven days we saw the sea, and, with great difficulty, got out the boat. We sailed about ten or twelve leagues N. N. W. as before, when we were again enclosed; and this was repeated five several times. The last ice, however, was worse than any before, and although it was so thick that we could not force the boat through it, yet it was not so solid as to bear the weight of a man; therefore, notwithstanding we daily saw enough seals, we could take none of them.

It fortunately happened, that when we parted from the hard ice, we had seven seals in store, and one that we took dead, which was consumed without consulting how it had died.

We were next reduced to short allowance, having only one among us to serve two days, which, with about three ounces of flour, mixed with water, and boiled in

the fat of the seal, was all our provision. At length we were obliged to share both feet and skin, each of us allowing a little fat to make a fire. But being constrained to eat the whole, skin and bone also, scarcely boiled, injured our stomachs so much, that some of our number died, and I myself suffered severely.

On getting clear of the loose ice, if the wind was so adverse as to prevent our rowing, we made fast the boat to an island of ice until better weather. Although this sheltered us, we were often in great danger, from the islands driving foul of us, so that it was wonderful we escaped.

We drank the ice mixed with brandy; and our provisions, with good management, lasted until our coming ashore, for it pleased God to save some of us by taking others to himself. Our companions began to die two or three in a day, until we were at last reduced to nine.

The feet of several who died were bit in such a manner by the frost, that, on stripping them, which was done to give the clothes to the survivors, their toes came away with the stockings. The last who died was the boatswain, who lived until the day before we saw land.

Our compass was broken by the last field of ice through which we passed, and soon after we lost our water-bucket, which was used for bailing. Our course was directed by the sun in the day-time, and the stars by night.

Though many other accidents befel us, it pleased the Lord to bring us safe to land, after passing twenty-eight days in the boat.

On the 24th of April, we arrived at Baccalew, and thence repaired to the bay of Verds, in Newfoundland, where we found three men providing for a fishing voyage, who carried us to their house, and gave us such things as they had. But they being indifferently stored, and unable to maintain us, we determined to go to St. John's, notwithstanding some of us were so much frost-bit, as to be obliged to be carried to the boat. Before getting to cape St. Francis, however, the wind veered to the southwest, which compelled us to row all night. In-

the morning we reached Portugal Cove, where to our unspeakable joy, some men were found preparing for the summer's fishing. They showed us so much compassion as to launch a boat, and tow us over to Belleisle, and there we were courteously received. All were so weak that we were carried ashore on men's shoulders; and we were besides so disfigured with hunger, cold, and the oil of seals, that people could hardly recognise us as men, except for the shape. At Belleisle we remained ten days, when, being somewhat recruited, we went to St. John's. Thus, in all this extremity, God miraculously preserved nine out of ninety-six that were in the ship.

LOSS OF THE ÆNEAS TRANSPORT.

THE Æneas transport sailed with three hundred and forty-seven souls on board, including a party of men belonging to the 100th regiment of foot, as also some officers, together with several women and children. About four in the morning of the 23d of October, 1805, the vessel struck violently on a rock, and received such damage that her total wreck soon became evident to all on board. For the first few minutes after this alarming occurrence, the women and children clung to their husbands and fathers; but in a short time, a prodigious wave swept not less than two hundred and fifty of those miserable people into the ocean. The rock whereon the vessel had struck, speedily forced its way through the decks, and then it appears, from her parting, thirty-five of the survivors were driven on a small island before eight in the morning, about a quarter of a mile distant, but when she had entirely gone to pieces.

The narrative of these events was collected from one of the survivors, a soldier of the 100th regiment, who could give no correct account of how he and the others got ashore, but he supposed they were floated in by part of the wreck. He remembered to have observed one of

the boys endeavoring to save major Bertram, whose arm was broken by some timber, and he was on the point of sinking; he held him up as long as his strength permitted; but to save his own life, was forced to let go his hold, and the major perished.

The thirty-five men who gained the shore, consisted of part of the regiment, two of whom were officers, lieutenant Dawson and ensign Faulkner, and seven sailors. Immediately on landing, the wind unfortunately changed, so that not an article of any kind was saved from the wreck. Mr. Faulkner was aware of the real situation they had reached, judging the main-land, which they saw about a mile distant, to be Newfoundland, and that they were about three hundred miles distant from the town of St. John's.

After passing one night on the little island, they constructed a raft, by means of which, thirty of them arrived on the main-land. Previous to this, however, four survivors of the shipwreck had died, among whom was the poor fellow who had endeavored to save major Bertram. Another, who had both his legs broken, was missing, as he had crawled away from his comrades, that he might die in quiet. But, eight days afterwards, he was found alive, though in a shocking state, as his feet were frozen off. Yet he survived all this, and reached Quebec at a future period. Most of the party set out, leaving three behind them, who were unable to walk from bruises, and directed their course towards the rising sun; but when the first day had elapsed, lieutenant Dawson became incapable of keeping up with the remainder; and two soldiers staid to attend him. These three toiled onwards without any food, except the berries which they found; and lieutenant Dawson was then unable to stand, unless supported. On reaching the banks of a river, one of the soldiers attempted to carry him across on his back; but having waded up to the neck, he was obliged to return; and lay him down on the bank. There Mr. Dawson, entreated his faithful attendants to make the best of their way, and leave him to his fate; and at the same time, affectionately squeezing

their hands, he entreated them to inform his father of his melancholy end. Here the soldier, who was one of them, and who related these affecting incidents, burst into a flood of tears before he could proceed. "We staid with him," said he, "until we did not know whether he was alive or dead."

The two survivors continued wandering in a weak and feeble state for twelve days longer, making twenty-six in all from the period of their shipwreck, and subsisting on what they could find on a barren and inhospitable land. But after the first four or five days, they suffered no hunger, for, as they themselves said, their misfortunes were so great as to banish its influence, and to deprive them of the sense of feeling. The snow besides was so deep during the last two days, as to prevent them from getting the berries as usual.

At last they were found by a man belonging to a hunting party, who, little suspecting to see human beings in that desolate region, took them, at a distance, for deer, and had concealed himself behind a fallen tree, with his gun pointed towards one of them, when his dog, leaping towards them, began to bark, and showed his error. When they related their shipwreck, and the sufferings they had endured, tears stole down the cheeks of the huntsman, and, taking the moccasins from his feet, gave them to the poor miserable creatures. He invited them to his hunting-cabin, saying it was only a mile off, though the real distance was at least twelve miles; but, by degrees, he enticed them to proceed, and at length they gained it. On approaching the hut, four or five men came out with long, bloody knives in their hands, when the narrator, turning to his comrade, exclaimed, "After all we have escaped, are we brought here to be butchered and ate up?" But they soon discovered their mistake, for the men had been cutting up some deer, the fruit of their chase, and the appearance of the unfortunate soldiers quickly excited sentiments of pity in their breast, they produced a bottle of rum wherewith they were refreshed.

Every possible comfort was ministered by the hunters

to the unfortunate wanderers, and, from the accounts and description given to them, they set out in quest of the others. They luckily succeeded in finding the man who remained the first day on the island, and also the other two who were unable to leave the shore.

Those two men who had accompanied lieutenant Dawson, appeared to have made but little progress during twenty-six days of travelling, for they were discovered in a place not very remote from whence they set out. Thus, involved among the woods, they must have returned over the same ground that they had passed.

Those whom the huntsman first met endeavored to make them understand where they might find the remains of lieutenant Dawson, and ensign Faulkner, and his party, but they could speak too vaguely of where they had themselves been, to give any pointed directions on the subject. But two of the latter were found by a man on another hunting excursion, about ninety miles distant, apparently lifeless; though on being carried to an adjacent settlement they recovered. Of the whole thirty-five who survived the wreck of the transport, accounts could be heard only of these five.

Ensign Faulkner was a strong, active, enterprising man, and fully capable of adopting whatever means could be devised for preservation. Both he and lieutenant Dawson, who was scarce more than seventeen years of age, were of the greatest promise. While the transport lay about three miles from Portsmouth, they are said to have swum to the ship, when the former climbed up her side, but the latter was nearly exhausted.

A brig from Port, which touched at Newfoundland, carried five of the survivors from thence to Quebec; and when they arrived there in the barrack-square, a most affecting scene ensued. Men and women eagerly flocked around them, with anxious inquiries for some friend or brother who was on board the ill-fated vessel. But all they could answer was, "If you do not see him here, be assured he has perished; for, of three hundred and forty-seven souls, we five Irish lads and two sailors are all that remain alive." The tears and exclamations following these words can scarce be described.

LOSS OF THE NAUTILUS SLOOP OF WAR,

On a rock in the Archipelago.

A MISUNDERSTANDING having originated between the court of Great Britain and the Ottoman Porte, a powerful squadron was ordered to proceed to Constantinople, for the purpose of enforcing compliance with rational propositions. The object, however, proved abortive; and the expedition terminated in a way which did not enhance the reputation of these islands in the eyes of the Turks.

Sir Thomas Louis, commander of the squadron sent to Dardanelles, having charged captain Palmer with despatches of the utmost importance for England, the Nautilus got under weigh at daylight on the third of January, 1807. A fresh breeze from north-east carried her rapidly out of the Hellespont, passing the celebrated castles in the Dardanelles, which severely galled the British. Soon afterwards she passed the island of Tenedos, off the north end of which, two vessels of war were seen at anchor; they hoisted Turkish colors, and in return the Nautilus showed those of Britain. In the course of this day, many of the other islands abounding in the Greek Archipelago came in sight, and in the evening, the ship approached the island of Negropont, lying in 38 30 north latitude, and 24 8 east longitude; but now the navigation became more intricate, from the increasing number of islands, and from the narrow entrance between Negropont and the island of Andros.

The wind still continued to blow fresh, and as night was approaching, with the appearance of being dark and squally, the pilot, who was a Greek, wished to lie to until morning, which was done accordingly; and at daylight the vessel again proceeded. His course was shaped for the island Falconera, in a track which has

been so elegantly described by Falconer, in a poem as far surpassing the uncouth productions of modern times, as the Ionian temples surpassed those flimsy structures contributed to render the fame of the originals eternal. This island, and that of Anti Milo, were made in the evening, the latter distant fourteen or sixteen miles from the more extensive island of Milo, which could not then be seen, from the thickness and haziness of the weather.

The pilot never having been beyond the present position of the Nautilus, and declaring his ignorance of the further bearings, now relinquished his charge, which was resumed by the captain. All possible attention was paid to the navigation; and captain Palmer, after seeing Falconera so plainly, and anxious to fulfil his mission with the greatest expedition, resolved to stand on during the night. He was confident of clearing the Archipelago by morning, and himself pricked the course from the chart which was to be steered by the vessel. This he pointed out to his coxswain, George Smith, of whose ability he entertained a high opinion. Then he ordered his bed to be prepared, not having had his clothes off for the three preceding nights, and having scarce had any sleep from the time of leaving the Dardanelles.

A night of extreme darkness followed, with vivid lightning constantly flashing in the horizon; but this circumstance served to inspire the captain with a greater degree of confidence; for being enabled by it to see so much further at intervals, he thought, that should the ship approach any land, the danger would be discovered in sufficient time to be avoided.

The wind continued still increasing; and though the ship carried but little sail, she went at the rate of nine miles an hour, being assisted by a lofty following sea, which with the brightness of the lightning, made the night particularly awful. At half past two in the morning, high land was distinguished, which those who saw it supposed to be the island of Cerigotto, and thence thought all safe, and that every danger had been left behind. The ship's course was altered to pass the island, and she continued on her course until half past four, at

the changing of the watch, when the man on the lookout exclaimed, "breakers ahead!" and immediately the vessel struck with a most tremendous crash. Such was the violence of the shock, that people were thrown from their beds, and, on coming upon deck, were obliged to cling to the cordage. All was now confusion and alarm; the crew hurried on deck, which they had scarce time to do when the ladders below gave way, and indeed left many persons struggling in the water, which already rushed into the under part of the ship. The captain it appeared had not gone to bed, and immediately came on deck when the Nautilus struck; there having examined her situation, he immediately went round, accompanied by his second lieutenant, Mr. Nesbit, and endeavored to quiet the apprehensions of the people. He then returned to his cabin, and burnt his papers and private signals. Meantime every sea lifted up the ship, and then dashed her with irresistible force on the rocks; and in a short time, the crew were obliged to resort to the rigging, where they remained an hour, exposed to the surges incessantly breaking over them. There they broke out into the most lamentable exclamations, for their parents, children, and kindred, and the distresses they themselves endured. The weather was so dark and hazy, that the rocks could be seen only at a very small distance, and in two minutes afterwards the ship had struck.

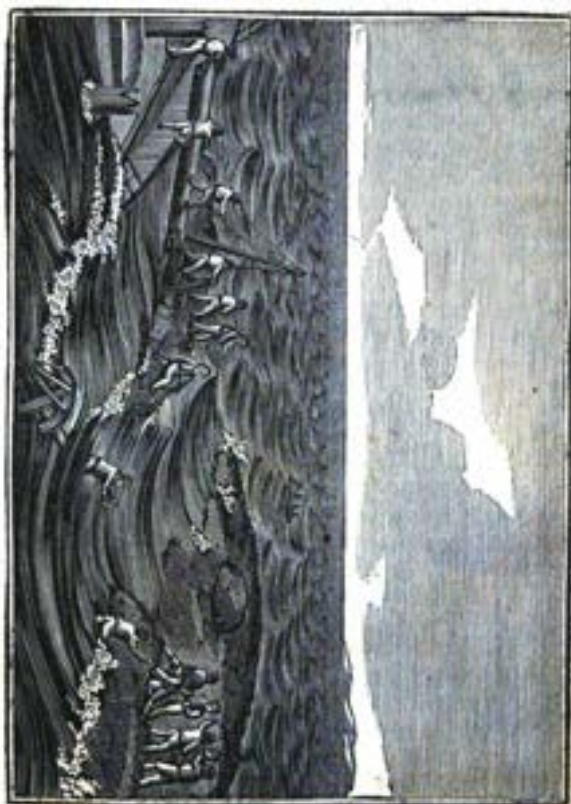
At this time the lightning had ceased, but the darkness of the night was such, that the people could not see the length of the ship from them; their only hope rested in the falling of the main-mast, which they trusted would reach a small rock, which was discovered very near them. Accordingly, about half an hour before daybreak, the main-mast gave way, providentially falling towards the rock, and by means of it they were enabled to gain the land.

The struggles and confusion to which this incident gave birth, can better be conceived than described; some of the crew were drowned, one man had his arm broke, and many were cruelly lacerated; but captain Palmer

refused to quit his station, while any individual remained on board; and not until the whole of his people had gained the rock, did he endeavor to save himself. At that time, in consequence of remaining by the wreck, he had received considerable personal injury, and must infallibly have perished, had not some of the seamen ventured through a tremendous sea to his assistance. The boats were staved in pieces; several of the people endeavored to haul in the jolly-boat, which they were incapable of accomplishing.

The hull of the vessel being interposed, sheltered the shipwrecked crew a long time from the beating of the surf; but as she broke up, their situation became more perilous every moment, and they soon found that they should be obliged to abandon the small portion of the rock, which they had reached, and wade to another, apparently somewhat larger. The first lieutenant, by watching the breaking of the seas, had got safely thither, and it was resolved by the rest to follow his example. Scarce was this resolution formed, and attempted to be put into execution, when the people encountered an immense quantity of loose spars, which were immediately washed into the channel which they had to pass; but necessity would admit of no alternative. Many in crossing between the two rocks were severely wounded; and they suffered more in this undertaking than in gaining the first rock from the ship. The loss of their shoes was now felt in particular, for the sharp rocks tore their feet in a dreadful manner, and the legs of some were covered with blood.

Daylight beginning to appear, disclosed the horrors by which those unfortunate men were surrounded. The sea was covered with the wreck of their ill fated ship; many of their unhappy comrades were seen floating away on spars and timbers; and the dead and dying were mingled together without a possibility of the survivors affording assistance to any that might still be rescued. Two short hours had been productive of all this misery, the ship destroyed and her crew reduced to a situation of despair. Their wild and affrighted



Loss of the Nautilus, page 272.

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ASTOR LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

looks indicated the sensations by which they were agitated; but on being recalled to a sense of their real condition, they saw that they had nothing left but resignation to the will of Heaven.

The shipwrecked mariners now discovered that they were cast away on a coral-rock almost level with the water, about three or four hundred yards long, and two hundred broad. They were at least twelve miles from the nearest islands, which were afterwards found to be those of Cerigotto and Pera, on the north end of Candia, about thirty miles distant. At this time it was reported that a small boat, with several men, had escaped; and although the fact was true, the uncertainty of her fate induced those on the rock to confide in being relieved by any vessel accidentally passing in sight of a signal of distress they had hoisted on a long pole; the neighboring islands being too distant.

The weather had been extremely cold, and the day preceding the shipwreck, ice had lain on the deck; now, to resist its inclemency, a fire was made, by means of a knife and a flint preserved in the pocket of one of the sailors; and with much difficulty, some damp powder, from a small barrel washed on shore, was kindled. A kind of tent was next made, with pieces of old canvass, boards, and such things as could be got about the wreck, and the people were thus enabled to dry the few clothes they had saved. But they passed a long and comfortless night, though partly consoled with the hope of their fire being descried in the dark, and taken for a signal of distress. Nor was this hope altogether disappointed.

When the ship first struck, a small whale-boat was hanging over the quarter, into which, an officer, George Smith, the coxswain, and nine men, immediately got, and lowering themselves into the water, happily escaped. After rowing three or four leagues against a very high sea, and the wind blowing hard, they reached the small island of Pera. This proved to be scarce a mile in circuit, and containing nothing but a few sheep and goats, belonging to the inhabitants of Cerigo, who come in the summer months to carry away their young.

They could find no fresh water, except a small residue from rain in the hole of a rock, and that was barely sufficient though most sparingly used. During the night, having observed the fire above-mentioned, the party began to conjecture that some of their shipmates might have been saved, for until then, they had deemed their destruction inevitable. The coxswain, impressed with this opinion, proposed again hazarding themselves in the boat for their relief, and, although some feeble objections were offered against it, he continued resolute to his purpose, and persuaded four others to accompany him.

About nine in the morning of Tuesday, the second day of the shipwreck, the approach in the little whale-boat was descried by those on the rock; all uttered an exclamation of joy, and in return, the surprise of the coxswain and his crew to find so many of their shipmates still surviving is not to be described. But the surf ran so high as to endanger the safety of the boat, and several of the people imprudently endeavored to get into it. The coxswain tried to persuade captain Palmer to come to him, but he steadily refused, saying, "No, Smith, save your unfortunate shipmates, never mind me." After some little consultation, he desired him to take the Greek pilot on board, and make the best of his way to Cerigotto, where the pilot said there were some families of fishermen, who doubtless would relieve their necessities.

But it appeared as if Heaven had ordained the destruction of this unfortunate crew, for, soon after the boat departed, the wind began to increase, and dark clouds gathering around, excited among those remaining behind, all their apprehensions for a frightful storm. In about two hours it commenced with the greatest fury; the waves rose considerably, and soon destroyed the fire. They nearly covered the rock, and compelled the men to fly to the highest part for refuge, which was the only one that could afford any shelter. There, nearly ninety people passed a night of the greatest horror; and the only means of preventing themselves from being swept away by the surf, which every moment broke

over them, was by a small rope fastened round the summit of the rock, and with difficulty holding on by each other.

The fatigues which the people had previously undergone, added to what they now endured, proved too overpowering to many of their number; several became delirious; their strength was exhausted, and they could hold on no longer. Their afflictions were still further aggravated by an apprehension that the wind, veering more to the north, would raise the sea to their present situation, in which case a single wave would have swept them all into oblivion.

The hardships which the crew had already suffered were sufficient to terminate existence, and many had met with deplorable accidents. One in particular, while crossing the channel between the rocks at an unsuitable time, was dashed against them so as to be nearly scalped, and exhibited a dreadful spectacle to his companions. He lingered out the night, and next morning, expired. The more fortunate survivors were but ill prepared to meet the terrible effects of famine; their strength enfeebled, their bodies unsheltered, and abandoned by hope. Nor were they less alarmed for the fate of their boat. The storm came on before she could have reached the intended island, and on her safety, their own depended. But the scene which daylight presented was still more deplorable. The survivors beheld the corpses of their departed shipmates, and some still in the agonies of death. They were themselves altogether exhausted, from the sea's all night breaking over them, and the inclemency of the weather, which was such, that many, among whom was the carpenter, perished from excessive cold.

But this unfortunate crew had now to suffer a mortification, and to witness an instance of inhumanity, which leaves an eternal stain of infamy on those who merit the reproach. Soon after day broke, they observed a vessel with all sail set, coming down before the wind, steering directly for the rock. They made every possible signal of distress which their feeble condition ad-

mitted, nor without effect, for they were at last seen by the vessel, which bore to and hoisted out her boat. The joy which this occasioned may be easily conceived, for nothing short of immediate relief was anticipated; and they hastily made preparations for rafts to carry them through the surf, confident that the boat was provided with whatever might administer to their necessities. Approaching still nearer, she came within pistol-shot, full of men dressed in the European fashion, who after having gazed at them a few minutes, the person who steered, waved his hat to them and then rowed off to his ship. The pain of the shipwrecked people at this barbarous proceeding was acute, and heightened even more, by beholding the stranger vessel employed the whole day in taking up the floating remains of that less fortunate one which had so lately borne them.

Perhaps the abandoned wretches guilty of so unfeeling an act may one day be disclosed, and it would surely excite little compassion to learn that they suffered that retribution which such inhuman conduct merits. That people dressed in the habit of Englishmen, though belonging to a different nation, could take advantage of misery instead of relieving it, will scarce seem creditable at the present day, were not some instances of a similar nature related elsewhere than in these volumes.

After this cruel disappointment, and bestowing an anathema which the barbarity of the strangers deserved, the thoughts of the people were, during the remainder of the day, directed towards the return of the boat; and being disappointed there also, their dread that she had been lost was only further confirmed. They began to yield to despondency, and had the gloomy prospect of certain death before them. Thirst then became intolerable; and in spite of being warned against it by instances of the terrific effects ensuing, some in desperation resorted to salt water. Their companions had soon the grief of learning what they would experience by following their example; in a few hours, raging madness followed, and nature could struggle no longer.

Another awful night was to be passed, yet the weather being considerably more moderate, the sufferers entertained hopes that it would be less disastrous than the one preceding; and to preserve themselves from the cold, they crowded close together and covered themselves with their few remaining rags. But the ravings of their comrades who had drunk salt water, were truly horrible; all endeavors to quiet them, were ineffectual, and the power of sleep lost its influence. In the middle of the night they were unexpectedly hailed by the crew of the whale-boat; but the only object of the people on the rock was water; they cried out to their shipmates for it, though in vain. Earthen vessels only could have been procured, and these would not bear being conveyed through the surf. The coxswain then said they should be taken off the rock by a fishing-vessel in the morning, and with this assurance they were forced to be content. It was some consolation to know that the boat was safe, and that relief had so far been obtained.

All the people anxiously expected morning, and, for the first time since being on the rock, the sun cheered them with its rays. Still the fourth morning came and no tidings either of the boat or vessel. The anxiety of the people increased, for inevitable death from famine, was staring them in the face. What were they to do for self-preservation? The misery and hunger which they endured, were extreme; they were not ignorant of the means whereby other unfortunate mariners in the like situation had protracted life, yet they viewed them with disgust. Still when they had no alternative, they considered their urgent necessities and found them affording some excuse. Offering prayers to Heaven for forgiveness of the sinful act, they selected a young man who had died the preceding night, and ventured to appease their hunger with human flesh.

Whether the people were relieved is uncertain; for towards evening, death had made hasty strides among them, and many brave men drooped under their hardships. Among these were the captain and first lieutenant, two meritorious officers; and the sullen silence now

preserved by the survivors, showed the state of their internal feelings. Captain Palmer was in the twenty-sixth year of his age; amidst his endeavors to comfort those under his command, his companions in misfortune, his personal injuries were borne with patience and resignation, and no murmurs escaped his lips; his virtuous life was prematurely closed by the overwhelming severities of the lamentable catastrophe he had shared.

During the course of another tedious night, many suggested the possibility of constructing a raft which might carry the survivors to Cerigotto; and the wind being favorable, might enable them to reach that island. At all events, attempting this seemed preferable to remaining on the rock to expire of hunger and thirst. Accordingly, at daylight they prepared to put their plan in execution. A number of the larger spars were lashed together, and sanguine hopes of success entertained. At length the moment of launching the raft arrived, but it was only to distress the people with new disappointments, for a few moments sufficed for the destruction of a work on which the strongest of the party had been occupied hours. Several from this unexpected failure became still more desperate, and five resolved to trust themselves on a few small spars slightly lashed together, and on which they had scarce room to stand. Bidding their companions adieu, they launched out into the sea, where they were speedily carried away by unknown currents, and vanished forever from sight.

Towards the same afternoon, the people were again rejoiced by the sight of the whale-boat, and the coxswain told them that he had experienced great difficulty in prevailing on the Greek fishermen of Cerigotto to venture in their boats, from dread of the weather. Neither would they permit him to take them unaccompanied by themselves; he regretted what his comrades had endured, and his grief at not being able yet to relieve them, but encouraged them with hopes, if the weather remained fine, that next day the boats might come. While the coxswain spoke this, twelve or fourteen men imprudently plunged from the rock into the sea, and very nearly

reached the boat. Two, indeed, got so far as to be taken in; one was drowned, and the rest providentially recovered their former station. Those who thus escaped could not but be envied by their companions, while they reproached the indiscretion of the others, who, had they reached the boat, would without all doubt have sunk her, and thus unwittingly consigned the whole to irremediable destruction.

The people were wholly occupied in reflections on the passing incidents; but their weakness increased as the day elapsed; one of the survivors described himself as feeling the approach of annihilation, that his sight failed, and his senses became confused; that his strength was exhausted, and his eyes turned towards the setting sun, under the conviction that he should never see it rise again. Yet on the morning he survived, and he was surprised that Providence willed it should still be so, as several strong men had fallen in the course of the night. While the remainder were contemplating their forlorn condition, and judging this the last day of their lives, the approach of the boats was unexpectedly announced. From the lowest ebb of despair, they were now elated with the most extravagant joy; and copious draughts of water, quickly landed, refreshed their languid bodies. Never before did they know the blessings which the single possession of water could afford; it tasted more delicious than the finest wines.

Anxious preparations were made for immediate departure from a place, which had been fatal to so many unhappy sufferers. Of one hundred and twenty-two persons on board the Nautilus when she struck, fifty-eight had perished. Eighteen were drowned, it was supposed, at the moment of the catastrophe, and one in attempting to reach the boat; five were lost on the small raft, and thirty-four died of famine. About fifty now embarked in our fishing vessels, and landed the same evening at the island of Cerigotto, making altogether sixty-four individuals, including those who escaped in the whale-boat. Six days had been passed on the rock, nor had the people, during that time, received any as-

sistance, excepting from the human flesh of which they had participated

The survivors landed at a small creek in the island of Cerigotto, after which they had to go to a considerable distance before reaching the dwellings of their friends. Their first care was to send for the master's mate, who had escaped to the island of Pori, and had been left behind when the whale-boat came down to the rock. He and his companions had exhausted all the fresh water, but lived on the sheep and goats, which they caught among the rocks, and had drank their blood. There they had remained in a state of great uncertainty concerning the fate of those who had left them in the boat.

Though the Greeks could not aid the seamen in the care of their wounds, they treated them with great care and hospitality; but medical assistance being important, from the pain the sufferers endured, and having nothing to bind up their wounds but shirts which they tore into bandages, they were eager to reach Cerigo. The island of Cerigotto, where they had landed, was a dependency on the other, about fifteen miles long, ten broad, and of a barren and unproductive soil, with little cultivation. Twelve or fourteen families of Greek fishermen dwelt upon it, as the pilot had said, who were in a state of extreme poverty. Their houses, or rather huts, consisting of one or two rooms on the same floor, were, in general, built against the side of a rock; the walls composed of clay and straw, and the roof supported by a tree in the centre of the dwelling. Their food was a coarse kind of bread, formed of boiled pease and flour, which was made into a kind of paste for the strangers, with once or twice a bit of kid; and that was all which they could expect from their deliverers. But they made a liquor from corn, which having an agreeable flavor, and being a strong spirit, was drank with avidity by the sailors.

Cerigo was about twenty-five miles distant, and there, it was also said, an English consul resided. Eleven days elapsed, however, before the crew could leave Cerigotto, from the difficulty of persuading the Greeks to adventure to sea, in their frail barks, during tempestuous

weather. The wind at last proving fair, with a smooth sea, they bade a grateful adieu to the families of their deliverers, who were tenderly affected by their distresses, and shed tears of regret when they departed. In six or eight hours, they reached Cerigo, where they were received with open arms. Immediately on arrival, they were met by the English vice-consul, Signor Manuel Caluci, a native of the island, who devoted his house, bed, credit, and whole attention to their service; and the survivors unite in declaring their inability to express the obligations under which he laid them. The governor, commandant, bishop, and principal people, all showed equal hospitality, care, and friendship, and exerted themselves to render the time agreeable; insomuch that it was with no little regret that these shipwrecked mariners thought of forsaking the island.

After the people had remained three weeks at Cerigo, they learnt that a Russian ship of-war lay at anchor off the Morea, about twelve leagues distant, being driven in by bad weather, and immediately sent letters to her commanding officer, narrating their misfortunes, and soliciting a passage to Corfu. The master of the Nautilus determined to make the most of the opportunity, took a boat to reach the Russian vessel; but he was at first so unfortunate as to be blown on the rocks in a heavy gale of wind, where he nearly perished, and the boat was staved in pieces. However, he luckily got to the ship, and after some difficulty, succeeded in procuring the desired passage for himself and his companions to Corfu. Her commander, to accommodate them, came down to Cerigo, and anchored at a small port called St. Nicholas, at the eastern extremity of the island. The English embarked on the 5th, but, owing to contrary winds, did not sail until the 15th of February, when they bade farewell to their friends. They next touched at Zante, another small island, abounding in currants and olives; the oil from the latter of which constitutes the chief riches of the people. After remaining there four days, they sailed for Corfu, where they arrived on the 2d of March, 1807, nearly two months after the date of their shipwreck.

LOSS OF HIS B. MAJESTY'S SHIP AMPHION.

THE Amphion frigate, Captain Israel Pellow, after having cruised some time in the North Seas, had at length received an order to join the squadron of frigates commanded by Sir Edward Pellow. She was on her passage, when a hard gale of wind occasioning some injury to the fore-mast, obliged her to put back into Plymouth, off which place she then was. She accordingly came into the Sound, anchored there on the 19th, and went up into harbor the next morning.

On the 22d, at about half past four P. M., a violent shock, as of an earthquake, was felt at Stone-house, and extended as far off as the Royal hospital and the town of Plymouth. The sky towards the Dock appeared red, like the effect of a fire; for near a quarter of an hour, the cause of this appearance could not be ascertained, though the streets were crowded with people running different ways in the utmost consternation.

When the alarm and confusion had somewhat subsided, it first began to be known that the shock had been occasioned by the explosion of the Amphion. Several bodies and mangled remains were picked up by the boats in Harmoaze; and their alacrity on this occasion was particularly remarked and highly commended. The few who remained alive of the crew were conveyed, in a mangled state, to the Royal Hospital. As the frigate was originally manned from Plymouth, the friends and relations of her unfortunate ship's company mostly lived in the neighborhood. It is dreadful to relate what a scene took place—arms, legs and lifeless trunks, mangled and disfigured by gunpowder, were collected and deposited at the hospital, having been brought in sacks to be owned. Bodies still living, some with the loss of limbs, others having expired as they were being conveyed thither; men, women and children, whose sons, husbands, and fathers were among the unhappy number, flocking

round the gates, entreating admittance. During the first evening nothing was ascertained concerning the cause of this event, though numerous reports were instantly circulated. The few survivors, who, by the following day, had, in some degree, regained the use of their senses, could not give the least account. One man who was brought alive to the Royal Hospital, died before night, another before the following morning; the boatswain and one of the sailors appeared likely, with great care, to do well. Three or four men who were at work in the tops, were blown up with them, and falling into the water, were picked up with very little hurt. These, with the two before mentioned, and one of the sailors, wives, were supposed to be the only survivors, besides the captain and two of the lieutenants.

The following particulars were, however, collected from the examination of several persons before Sir Richard King, the port-admiral, and the information procured from those, who saw the explosion from the Dock.

The first person known to have observed any thing was a young midshipman in the Cambridge guard-ship, lying not far distant from the place where the *Amphion* blew up; who having a great desire to observe every thing relative to a profession into which he had just entered, was looking through a glass at the frigate, as she lay along side of the sheer-hulk, and was taking in her bowsprit. She was lashed to the hulk; and the *Yarmouth*, an old receiving ship, was lying on the opposite side, quite close to her, and both within a few yards of the Dock-yard jetty. The midshipman said, that the *Amphion* suddenly appeared to rise altogether, upright from the surface of the water, until he nearly saw the keel; the explosion then succeeded; the masts seemed to be forced up into the air, and the hull instantly to sink. All this passed in the space of two minutes.

The man who stood at the Dock-yard stairs, said, that the first he heard of it was a kind of hissing noise, and then followed the explosion, when he beheld the masts blown up into the air. It was very strongly reported that several windows were broken in the Dock by the

explosion, and that in the Dock-yard, much mischief was done by the *Amphion's* guns going off when she blew up; but though the shock was felt as far off as Plymouth, and at Stone-house, enough to shake the windows, yet it is a wonderful and miraculous fact, that surrounded as she was in the harbor, with ships close along-side of the jetty, and lashed to another vessel, no damage was done to any thing but herself. It is dreadful to reflect, that owing to their intention of putting to sea the next day, there were nearly one hundred men, women and children, more than her complement on board, taking leave of their friends, besides the company who were at two dinners given in the ship, one of which was by the captain.

Captain Israel Pellow, and captain William Swaffield, of his Majesty's ship *Overysse*, who was at dinner with him and the first lieutenant, were drinking their wine; when the first explosion threw them off their seats, and struck them against the carlings of the upper deck, so as to stun them. Captain Pellow, however, had sufficient presence of mind to fly to the cabin-windows, and seeing the two hawsers, one slack in the bit and the other taut, threw himself with an amazing leap, which he afterwards said, nothing but his sense of danger could have enabled him to take, upon the latter, and by that means saved himself from the general destruction, though his face had been badly cut against the carlings, when he was thrown from his seat. The first lieutenant saved himself in the same manner, by jumping out of the window, and by being also a remarkably good swimmer; but captain Swaffield, being, as it was supposed, more stunned, did not escape. His body was found on the twenty-second of October, with his skull fractured, appearing to have been crushed between the sides of the vessels.

The sentinel at the cabin door happened to be looking at his watch; how he escaped no one can tell, not even himself. He was, however, brought on shore, and but little hurt; the first thing he felt was, that his watch was dashed out of his hands, after which he was no longer

sensible of what happened to him. The boatswain was standing on the cat-head; the bowsprit had been stepped for three hours; the gammoning and every thing on; and he was directing the men in rigging out the jib-boom, when suddenly he felt himself driven upwards and fell into the sea. He then perceived that he was entangled in the rigging, and had some trouble to get clear; when being taken up by a boat belonging to one of the men of war, they found that his arm was broken. One of the surviving seamen declared to an officer of rank, that he was preserved in the following truly astonishing manner:—He was below at the time the *Amphion* blew up, and went to the bottom of the ship; he recollected that he had a knife in his pocket, and taking it out, cut his way through the companion of the gun-room, which was already shattered with the explosion; then letting himself up to the surface of the water, he swam unhurt to the shore. He showed his knife to the officer, and declared he had been under water full five minutes.

It was likewise said, that one of the sailor's wives had a young child in her arms; the fright of the shock made her take such fast hold of it, that though the upper part of her body alone remained, the child was found alive, locked fast in her arms, and likely to do well.

Mr. Spry, an auctioneer who had long lived in great respectability at Dock, with his son and god-son, had gone on board to visit a friend, and were all lost.

About half an hour before the frigate blew up, one of her lieutenants, and lieutenant Campbell of the marines, and some of the men got into the boat at the dock-yard stairs, and went off to the ship. Lieutenant Campbell had some business to transact at the Marine barracks in the morning, and continuing there some time, was engaged by the officers to stay to dinner and spend the evening with them. Some persons, however, who had, in the interval, come from the *Amphion*, informed lieutenant Campbell there were some letters on board for him. As they were some which he was extremely anxious to receive, he left the barracks about half an hour before dinner to fetch them, intending to return immediately;

but while he was on board, the ship blew up. He was a young man universally respected and lamented by the corps, as well as by all who knew him. One of the lieutenants who lost his life was the only support of an aged mother and sister, who, at his death, had neither friend nor relation left to comfort and protect them. The number of people who were afterwards daily seen at Dock, in deep mourning for their lost relatives, was truly melancholy.

Captain Pellow was taken up by the boats and carried to the Commissioner Fanshaw's house, in the dock-yard, very weak with the exertions he had made, and so shocked with the distressing cause of them, that he at first appeared scarcely to know where he was, or to be sensible of his situation. In the course of a day or two, when he was a little recovered, he was removed to the house of a friend, Dr. Hawker of Plymouth.

Sir Richard King had given a public dinner in honor of the coronation. Captain Charles Rowley, of the *Unite* frigate, calling in the morning, was engaged to stay, and excused himself from dining, as he had previously intended, on board the *Amphion*.

Captain Darby of the *Bellerophon*, was also to have dined with captain Pellow, and had come round in his boat from Cawsand Bay; but having to transact some business concerning the ship with Sir Richard King, it detained him half an hour longer at Stone-house than he expected. He had just gone down to the beach, and was stepping into the boat to proceed up to Harmoaze when he heard the fatal explosion. Captain Swaffield was to have sailed the next day, so that the difference of twenty four hours would have saved that much lamented and truly valuable officer. His brother, Mr. J. Swaffield, of the Pay-Office, being asked to the same dinner, had set off with him from Stone-house, but before he had reached the Dock, a person came after him upon business, which obliged him to return, and thus saved him from sharing his brother's untimely fate.

Many conjectures were formed concerning the cause of this catastrophe. Some conceived it to be owing to

neglect, as the men were employed in drawing the guns, and contrary to rule, had not extinguished all the fires, though the dinners were over. This, however, the first lieutenant declared to be impossible, as they could not be drawing the guns, the key of the magazine hanging, to his certain knowledge, in his cabin, at the time. Some of the men likewise declared that the guns were drawn in the Sound, before they came to Harmaoze. It was also insinuated, that it was done intentionally, as several of the bodies were afterwards found without clothes, as if they had prepared to jump overboard before the ship could have time to blow up. As no mutiny had ever appeared in the ship, it seems unlikely that such a desperate plot should have been formed, without any one who survived, having the least knowledge of it. It is, besides, a well-known fact, that in almost every case of shipwreck, where there is a chance of plunder, there are wretches so destitute of the common feelings of humanity as to hover round the scene of horror, in hopes, by stripping the bodies of the dead, and seizing whatever they can lay their hands on, to benefit themselves.

It was the fore-magazine which took fire; had it been the after one, much more damage must have ensued. The moment the explosion was heard, Sir Richard arose from dinner, and went in his boat on board the hulk, where the sight he beheld was dreadful; the deck covered with blood, mangled limbs and entrails blackened with gunpowder, the shreds of the Amphion's pendant and rigging hanging about her, and pieces of her shattered timbers strewed all around. Some people at dinner in the Yarmouth, though at a very small distance, declared that the report they heard did not appear to be louder than the firing of a cannon from the Cambridge, which they imagined it to be, and had never risen from dinner, till the confusion upon deck led them to think that some accident had happened.

At low water, the next day, about a foot and a half of one of the masts appeared above water; and for several days, the dock-yard men were employed in collecting the shattered masts and yards, and dragging out what they

could procure from the wreck. On the twenty-ninth, part of the fore-chains was hauled, shattered and splintered, also the head and cut-water.

On the 3rd of October, an attempt was made to raise the *Amphion*, between the two frigates, the *Castor* and *Iphigenia*, which were accordingly moored on each side of her; but nothing could be got up, excepting a few pieces of the ship, one or two of her guns, some of the men's chests, chairs, and part of the furniture of the cabin. Some bodies floated out from between decks, and among the rest a midshipman's. These, and all that could be found, were towed round by boats through Stone-house bridge, up to the Royal Hospital stairs, to be interred in the burying-ground. The sight for many weeks was truly dreadful; the change of tide washing out the putrid bodies, which were towed round by the boats when they would scarcely hold together.

Bodies continued to be found so late as the 30th of November, when the *Amphion* having been dragged round to another part of the dock-yard jetty, to be broken up, the body of a woman was washed out from between decks. A sack was also dragged up, containing gunpowder, covered over at the top with biscuit, and this in some measure confirmed an idea which had before gained ground, that the gunner had been stealing powder to sell, and had concealed what he could get out by degrees, in the above manner; and that, thinking himself safe on a day when every one was entertaining his friends, he had carelessly been among the gunpowder without taking the necessary precautions. As he was said to have been seen at Dock very much in liquor in the morning, it seems probable that this might have been the cause of a calamity as sudden as it was dreadful.

LOSS OF THE HELEN MCGREGOR.

The following is a description, by a passenger, of one of the most fatal steam-boat disasters that has ever occurred on the western waters.

“On the morning of the 24th of February, 1830, the Helen M'Gregor stopped at Memphis, on the Mississippi river, to deliver freight, and land a number of passengers, who resided in that section of Tennessee. The time occupied in so doing could not have exceeded three quarters of an hour. When the boat landed, I went ashore to see a gentleman with whom I had some business. I found him on the beach, and after a short conversation, I returned to the boat. I recollect looking at my watch as I passed the gang-way. It was half past eight o'clock. A great number of persons were standing on what is called the boiler-deck, being that part of the upper deck situated immediately over the boilers. It was crowded to excess, and presented one dense mass of human bodies. In a few minutes we sat down to breakfast in the cabin. The table, although extending the whole length of the cabin, was completely filled, there being upwards of sixty cabin passengers, among whom were several ladies and children. The number of passengers on board, deck and cabin united, was between four and five hundred. I had almost finished my breakfast, when the pilot rang his bell for the engineer to put the machinery in motion. The boat having just shoved off, I was in the act of raising my cup to my lips, the tingling of the pilot bell yet on my ear, when I heard an explosion, resembling the discharge of a small piece of artillery—the report was perhaps louder than usual in such cases, for an exclamation was half uttered by me that the gun was well loaded, when the rushing sound of steam, and the rattling of glass in some of the cabin windows, checked my speech and told too well what had occurred. I almost involuntarily bent my head and body down to the floor—a vague idea seemed to shoot across my mind that more than one boiler might burst, and that by assuming this posture, the destroying matter would pass over without touching me.

The general cry of “a boiler has burst” resounded from one end of the table to the other; and, as if by a simultaneous movement, all started on their feet. Then commenced a general race to the ladies' cabin, which lay more

towards the stern of the boat. All regard to order or deference to sex seemed to be lost in the struggle for which should be first and farthest removed from the dreaded boilers. The danger had already passed away! I remained standing by the chair on which I had been previously sitting. Only one person or two staid in the cabin with me. As yet no more than half a minute had elapsed since the explosion; but, in that brief space how had the scene changed! In that "drop of time" what confusion, distress and dismay! An instant before, and all were in the quiet repose of security—another, and they were overwhelmed with alarm and consternation. It is but justice to say that in this scene of terror, the ladies exhibited a degree of firmness worthy of all praise. No screaming, no fainting; their fears, when uttered, were for their husbands and children, not for themselves.

I advanced from my position to one of the cabin-doors, for the purpose of inquiring who were injured, when just as I reached it, a man entered at the opposite one, both his hands covering his face, and exclaiming "Oh God, Oh God! I am lost! I am ruined!" He immediately began to tear off his clothes. When stripped, he presented a most shocking and afflicting spectacle; his face was entirely black—his body without a particle of skin. He had been flayed alive. He gave me his name, and place of abode—then sank in a state of exhaustion and agony on the floor. I assisted in placing him on a mattress taken from one of the berths, and covered him with blankets. He complained of heat and cold as at once oppressing him. He bore his torments with manly fortitude, yet a convulsive shriek would occasionally burst from him. His wife, his children, were his constant theme; it was hard to die without seeing them—"it was hard to go without bidding them one farewell!" Oil and cotton were applied to his wounds; but he soon became insensible to earthly misery. Before I had done attending to him, the whole floor of the cabin was covered with unfortunate sufferers. Some bore up under the horrors of their situation with a degree of resolution amounting to heroism. Others were wholly overcome by the sense

of pain, the suddenness of the disaster, and the near approach of death, which even to them was evident—whose pangs they already felt. Some implored us, as an act of humanity, to complete the work of destruction, and free them from present suffering. One entreated the presence of a clergyman to pray by him, declaring he was not fit to die. I inquired; none could be had. On every side were to be heard groans and mingled exclamations of grief and despair.

To add to the confusion, persons were every moment running about to learn the fate of their friends and relatives, fathers, sons, brothers; for, in this scene of un-mixed calamity, it was impossible to say who were saved, or who had perished. The countenances of many were so much disfigured as to be past recognition. My attention, after some time, was particularly drawn towards a poor fellow who lay unnoticed on the floor, without uttering a single word of complaint. He was at a little distance removed from the rest. He was not much scalded, but one of his thighs was broken, and a principal artery had been severed, from which the blood was gushing rapidly. He betrayed no displeasure at the apparent neglect with which he was treated—he was perfectly calm. I spoke to him; he said “he was very weak; but felt himself going—it would soon be over.” A gentleman ran for one of the physicians; he came, and declared that if expedition were used, he might be preserved by amputating the limb; but that, to effect this, it would be necessary to remove him from the boat. Unfortunately, the boat was not sufficiently near to run a plank ashore. We were obliged to wait until it could be close-hauled. I stood by him calling for help; we placed him on a mattress, and bore him to the guards; there we were detained some time, from the cause I have mentioned. Never did any thing appear to me so slow as the movement of those engaged in hauling the boat.

I knew and he knew, that delay was death—that life was fast ebbing. I could not take my gaze from his face, there all was coolness and resignation. No word or gesture indicative of impatience escaped him. He

perceived by my loud, and perhaps angry tone of voice, how much I was excited by what I thought the barbarous slowness of those around; he begged me not to take so much trouble; that they were doing their best. At length we got him on shore. It was too late; he was too much exhausted, and died immediately after the amputation.

So soon as I was relieved from attending on those in the cabin, I went to examine that part of the boat where the boiler had burst. It was a complete wreck—a picture of destruction. It bore ample testimony of the tremendous force of that power which the ingenuity of man has brought to his aid. The steam had given every thing a whitish hue—the boilers were displaced—the deck had fallen down—the machinery was broken and disordered. Bricks, dirt, and rubbish, were scattered about. Close by the bowsprit was a large rent through which, I was told, the boiler after exploding, had passed out, carrying one or two men in its mouth. Several dead bodies were lying around; their fate had been an enviable one compared with that of others; they could scarcely have been conscious of a pang ere they had ceased to be. On the starboard wheel-house lay a human body, in which life was not yet extinct, though apparently, there was no sensibility remaining. The body must have been thrown from the boiler deck, a distance of thirty feet. The whole of the forehead had been blown away; the brains were still beating. Tufts of hair, shreds of clothing, and splotches of blood might be seen in every direction. A piece of skin was picked up by a gentleman on board, which appeared to have been peeled off by the force of the steam; it extended from the middle of the arm down to the tips of the fingers, the nails adhering to it. So dreadful had been the force that not a particle of the flesh adhered to it; the most skilful operator could scarcely have effected such a result. Several died from inhaling the steam or gas, whose skin was almost uninjured.

The number of lives lost will, in all probability, never be distinctly known. Many were seen flung into the

river, most of whom sank to rise no more. Could the survivors have been kept together until the list of passengers was called, the precise loss would have been ascertained; that, however, though it had been attempted, would, under the circumstances, have been next to impossible.

Judging from the crowd which I saw on the boiler-deck immediately before the explosion, and the statement which I received as to the number of those who succeeded in swimming out, after they were cast into the river, I am inclined to believe that between fifty and sixty must have perished.

The cabin passengers escaped, owing to the peculiar construction of the boat. Just behind the boilers were several large iron posts, supporting, I think, the boiler deck; across each post was a large circular plate of iron of between one and two inches in thickness. One of those posts was placed exactly opposite the head of the boiler which burst, being the second one on the starboard side. Against this plate, the head struck, and penetrated to the depth of an inch, then broke and flew off at an angle, entering a cotton-bale to the depth of a foot. The boiler-head was in point blank range with the breakfast-table in the cabin, and had it not been obstructed by the iron post must have made a clear sweep of those who were seated at the table.

To render any satisfactory account of the cause which produced the explosion, can hardly be expected from one who possesses no scientific or practical knowledge on the subject, and who previously thereto was paying no attention to the management of the boat. The captain appeared to be very active and diligent in attending to his duty. He was on the boiler-deck when the explosion occurred; was materially injured by that event, and must have been ignorant of the mismanagement, if any there was.

From the engineer alone, could the true explanation be afforded; and, if indeed it was really attributable to negligence, it can scarcely be supposed he will lay the blame on himself. If I might venture a suggestion in

relation thereto, I would assign the following causes:— That the water in the starboard boilers had become low, in consequence of that side of the boat resting upon the ground during our stay at Memphis; that, though the fires were kept up some time before we shoved off, the head which burst had been cracked for a considerable time; that the boiler was extremely heated, and the water thrown in when the boat was again in motion, was at once converted into steam, and the flues not being sufficiently large to carry it off as quickly as it was generated, nor the boiler-head of a strength capable of resisting its action, the explosion was a natural result.”

LOSS OF THE SHIP BEVERLY.

THE ship *Beverly*, captain Moore, bound to Valparaiso, was burnt at sea, on the 13th November, 1826. She was upwards of seven hundred tons burthen, owned by Israel Thorndike, of Boston, and the value of the ship and cargo was estimated at one hundred and eighteen thousand dollars.

On the 13th of November, latitude 6, 26, longitude 27, 2, at half past three, P. M., the ship was discovered to be on fire in the fore peak, and every exertion was made to extinguish it, for three hours, but without success. From the inflammable nature of the cargo, (which consisted of tar, rosin, pitch, turpentine, linseed-oil, spirits and cabinet furniture,) the fire spread with alarming rapidity. They succeeded in getting out the boats, into which the officers and crew were divided, and in a few minutes left her, having previously taken in a quantity of provisions. They lay-by to the windward, until about ten o'clock, when the ship had burnt to the water's edge, and then shaped their course for the coast of Brazil. Finding their progress retarded by waiting for each other, they mutually agreed to separate, on the third day after leaving the ship. There were nine in the pinnace, fifteen in the long-boat, and six in the whale-

boat, making a total of thirty persons cast adrift on the open ocean.

On the 3d of December, the pinhace landed at Paraibo, three weeks after abandoning the ship. Captain Moore stated that while he was in the boat, he had fine weather, and with the aid of a sail, averaged over ninety miles a day, using the oars but once during the passage. He computed the distance run by the boat at nearly sixteen hundred miles. The fire originated through the carelessness of the cook, who went below with a lantern, and it is supposed took the candle out. The flames spread so rapidly, that he had his clothes and skin burnt, before he could be extricated, and finally died of his wounds in the boat.

One of the boys, who arrived with captain Moore in the pinnace, after having escaped the perils of "fire and flood," was so unfortunate as to have one of his legs bit off by a shark, while bathing, soon after he landed.

LOSS OF THE FRANCES MARY.

THE Frances Mary was a new ship, of about four hundred tons burthen, commanded by captain Kendall, and bound from New Brunswick to Liverpool, laden with timber. We publish the following particulars of this dreadful disaster as related by captain Kendall.

Sailed from St. Johns, N. B., January 18, 1826. February 1, strong gales from the W. N. W.; carried away the main-topmast and mizzen-mast head; hove to, got boat's sails in the main rigging, to keep the ship to the wind. At 11, P. M., shipped a heavy sea, which washed away the caboose, jolly-boat, and disabled five men. February 2d, cleared away the wreck and made sail before the wind; strong breezes. February 5, 11, A. M., strong gales, with a heavy sea; clewed up the sails and hove to, head to the southward; shipped a sea, which carried away the long-boat, companion, tiller, the best bower-chain, unshipped the rudder, and

washed a man overboard, who was afterwards saved. At 10. P. M. another heavy sea struck us, which stove in our stern. Cut away our foremast and both bower anchors, to keep the ship to the wind. Employed in getting what provision we could, by knocking out the bow-port; saved fifty pounds of bread and five pounds of cheese, which we stowed in the maintop. Got the master's wife and female passenger up, whilst we were clearing away below, lightening the ship; most of the people slept in the top. At daylight, found Patrick Conney hanging by his legs to the cat-harpins, dead from fatigue; committed his body to the deep.

February 6, at 8, A. M., saw a strange sail standing towards us; made signals of distress,—stranger spoke us, and remained in company twenty-four hours, but gave us no assistance; the American making an excuse that the sea was running too high. Made a tent of spare canvass on the forecastle—put the people on an allowance of a quarter of a biscuit a day. February 8, saw a brig to leeward—strong gales. February 9, 10, A. M., observed the same vessel to windward—made the signal of distress; stranger bore up and showed American colors. February 10, she spoke us, asking how long we had been in that situation, and what we intended to do, if we intended leaving the ship? Answered yes. He then asked if we had any rigging? Answered yes. Night coming on, and blowing hard, saw no more of the stranger. Suffered from hunger and thirst.

On the 11th, saw a large ship to the northward—did not speak her; wore head to the northward. At this time all our provisions were out; suffered much from hunger, having received no nourishment for nine days. February 12, departed this life, James Clark, seaman;—read prayers, and committed his body to the deep. We were at this time on a half gill of water a day, and suffered much from hunger. During the whole period of being on the wreck we were wet from top to toe. February 22, John Wilson, seaman, died at 10, A. M.; preserved the body of the deceased, cut him up in quarters, washed them overboard, and hung them up on pins.

February 23, J. Moore died, and was thrown overboard, having eaten part of him, such as the liver and heart. From this date to Saturday, 5th of March, the following number perished from hunger, viz. Henry Davis, a Welsh boy, Alex. Kelley, seaman, John Jones, apprentice boy, nephew of the owner, James Frier, cook, Daniel Jones, seaman, John Hutchinson, seaman, and John Jones, a boy—threw the last named overboard, his blood being bitter.

James Frier was working his passage home, under a promise of marriage to Ann Saunders, the female passenger who attended on the master's wife, and who, when she heard of Frier's death, shrieked a loud yell, then snatching a cup from Clerk, the mate, cut her late intended husband's throat and drank his blood! insisting that she had the greatest right to it. A scuffle ensued, but the heroine got the better of her adversary, and then allowed him to drink one cup to her two.

February 26, on or about this day an English brig hove in sight; hoisted the ensign downward; stranger hauled his wind towards us, and hauled his foresail up when abreast of us; kept his course about one mile distant—set his foresail, and we soon lost sight of him—fresh breeze with a little rain—the sea quite smooth, but he went off, having shown English colors. Had he at this time taken us off the wreck, much of the subsequent dreadful sufferings would have been spared us.

March 7. His B. M. ship Blonde came in sight, and to our relief, in latitude 44, 43, north, longitude 31, 57, west. Words are quite inadequate to express our feelings, as well as those which Lord Byron and our deliverers most evidently possessed, when they had come to rescue six of their fellow-creatures, two of them females, from a most awful, lingering, but certain death. It came on to blow during the night a fresh gale, which would no doubt have swept us all overboard. Lieutenant Gambier came in the ship's cutter to bring us from the wreck. He observed to us, "You have yet, I perceive, fresh meat." To which we were compelled to reply, "No, sir, it is part of a man, one of our unfortunate

crew,—it was our intention to put ourselves on an allowance even of this food, this evening, had not you come to our relief.” The master’s wife, who underwent all the most horrid sufferings which the human understanding can imagine, bore them much better than could possibly have been expected. She is now, although much emaciated, a respectable, good-looking woman, about twenty-five years of age, and the mother of a boy seven years old. But what must have been the extremity of want to which she was driven, when she ate the brains of one of the apprentices, saying it was the most delicious thing she ever tasted; and it is still more melancholy to relate, that the person, whose brains she was thus forced by hunger to eat, had been three times wrecked before, but was providentially picked up by a vessel, after being twenty-two days on the wreck, water-logged: but in the present instance, he perished, (having survived similar sufferings for a space of twenty-nine days,) and then became food for his remaining ship-mates!

Ann Saunders, the other female, had more strength in her calamity than most of the men. She performed the duty of cutting up and cleaning the dead bodies, keeping two knives for the purpose in her monkey jacket; and when the breath was announced to have flown, she would sharpen her knives, bleed the deceased in the neck, drink his blood, and cut him up as usual. From want of water, those who perished drank their own urine and salt water. They became foolish, and crawled upon their hands round the deck when they could, and died, generally, raving mad!

After floating about the ocean for some months, this ill-fated vessel was fallen in with by an English ship, and carried into Jamaica, where she was refitted, and again sent to sea. The putrid remains of human bodies, which had been the only food of the unfortunate survivors, was found on board the vessel.

LOSS OF THE SHIP ALBION.

THE following account of this melancholy shipwreck was given by Henry Cammyer, first mate of the vessel.

We sailed from New York on the first of April, 1822, in the ship *Albion*, of four hundred and forty-seven tons, with a crew, including officers, of twenty-five in number, besides twenty-three cabin, and six steeage passengers; making in the whole fifty-four persons, only nine of whom now live to relate the melancholy tale. For the first twenty days, we continued our voyage with moderate and favorable weather; and at about half past one o'clock, in the afternoon of Sunday the 21st, we made the land. The Fastnet rock bore by compass, E. N. E., distant about three leagues. At two, made cape Clear, bearing east and by north, distance about two leagues. Thick and foggy, blowing fresh, and heavy squalls from the southward. Ship heading up E. S. E., carrying all prudent sail, to crowd the ship off the land. The gale increasing, shortened sail occasionally. At four o'clock, then under double reefed topsails, foresail, and mainsail, carried away the foreyard, and split the foretopsail. Got the pieces of the yard down, and prepared to get another yard up. Gale increasing, about half past four, took in the mainsail and mizzen-topsail, and set the main-trysail. Night coming on, cleared the decks for working ship. At half past eight, gale still increasing, with a high sea. Slipped a heavy sea, which threw the ship on her beam-ends, and carried away the mainmast by the deck, the head of the mizzen-mast, and fore-topmast, and swept the decks clear of every thing, including boats, caboose house, bulwarks, and compasses, and stove in all the hatches, state rooms, and bulwarks in the cabin, which was nearly filled with water. At the same moment, six of the crew and one cabin passenger, Mr. A. B. Convers, of Troy, N. Y., were swept overboard.

The ship being unmanageable, and the sea making a complete breach over her, we were obliged to lash ourselves to the pumps, and being in total darkness, without correct compasses, could not tell how the ship's head lay. The axes being swept away, had no means of clearing the wreck. About one o'clock, made the light of the Old Head of Kinsale, but could not ascertain how it bore; and at two, found the ship embayed. The captain, anticipating our melancholy fate, called all the passengers up, who had not before been on deck. Many of them had received considerable injury when the sea first struck her, and were scarcely able to come on deck; others had been incessantly assisting at the pumps; and it is an interesting fact, that Miss Powell, an amiable young lady, who was on board, was desirous to be allowed to take her turn. One gentleman, who had been extremely ill during the passage, Mr. William Everhart, of Chester, Penn., was too feeble to crawl to the deck without assistance, but strange to say, he was the only cabin passenger who was saved.

Our situation at that moment, is indescribable, and I can scarcely dwell upon, much less attempt to detail, its horrors. About three o'clock, the ship struck on a reef, her upper works beat in over the rocks, and in about half an hour after coming in over the first reef, she parted midships, and her quarter-deck drifted in on the top of the inside ledge, immediately under the cliffs. Up to the period of her parting, nearly twenty persons were clinging to the wreck, among whom were two females, Mrs. Pye, and Miss Powell. Captain Williams had, with several others, been swept away soon after she struck; a circumstance which may be attributed to the very extraordinary exertions which he used, to the last moment, for the preservation of the lives of the unfortunate passengers and crew.

A short time before she parted, myself and six of the crew got away from the vessel. After gaining a rock in a very exhausted state, I was washed off, but, by the assistance of Providence, was enabled, before the return of the sea, to regain it; and before I could attempt to

climb the cliff, which was nearly perpendicular, I was obliged to lie down, to regain a little strength, after the severe bruises and contusions I had received on the body and feet. One of the passengers, colonel Augustine J. Prevost, reached the rock with me alive, but was, together with one of the stewards, washed off and drowned.

Some of the passengers were suffocated on deck and in the fore rigging, and some must have been destroyed by an anchor which was loose on the forecastle before the ship parted. It is scarcely possible to describe the devastation which followed. The entire cargo, consisting of cotton, rice, turpentine, and beeswax, together with a quantity of silver and gold, to a large amount, was in all directions beaten to pieces by the severity of the sea, without a possibility of saving it.

Very soon after we got upon the cliffs, my poor shipmates and myself found our way to a peasant's cottage. Early in the morning, Mr. James B. Gibbens, of Ballin-spittle, came to me from the wreck, where he had been since five o'clock, endeavoring to save some of the lives. He most humanely sent Mr. Everhart, Mr. Raymond, the boy, and myself, to his house, about a mile from the spot, where we experienced the kindest and most hospitable attention. The remaining survivors were taken home by Mr. Purcell, steward of Thomas Rochfort, Esq. of Garretstown, where every attention was paid to them. Coffins were provided by Mr. Purcell, according to the orders of Mr. Rochfort, and the bodies that were found, were interred at Templetrine churchyard, about four miles from Kinsale and one from the fatal spot. The Rev. Mr. Evanson kindly officiated on the occasion. On Tuesday, I went to Kinsale to note a protest, and then first met Mr. Mark, the consul for the United States, who happened to be at Kinsale at that time on other business. He came over and gave directions for clothing the sufferers, who were destitute of every thing.

Unremitting exertions were used daily for the recovery of the goods and specie, but without success, as none of the cargo, and but a small part of the materials of the

vessel, were saved, together with property in specie to the amount of about five thousand pounds.

The following is a correct list of the crew and passengers.

Crew. John Williams, captain, drowned; Henry Cammyer, first mate, saved; Edward Smith, second mate, drowned; William Hyate, boatswain, saved; Alexander Adams, carpenter, Harman Nelson, Harman Richardson, Henry Whittrell, William Trisserly, James Wiley, Robert McLellan, and Thomas Goodman, drowned; John Simson, John Richards, Francis Bloom, and Ebenezer Warner, saved; Samuel Wilson and William Snow, boys, drowned; William Dockwood, drowned, body found and interred; Hierom Raymond, saved; Lloyd Potter, Samuel Penny, stewards, and Francis Isaac, boy, blacks, all drowned; Thomas Hill and Adam Johnson, cooks, blacks, both drowned, bodies found and interred.

Cabin Passengers. W. Everhart, Esq., of Chester, Penn., saved; lieutenant-colonel Augustine J. Prevost, major William Gough, of the 68th regiment; Rev. G. R. G. Hill, last from Jamaica; Nelson Ross, of Troy, N. Y.; William H. Dwight, of Boston; Mr. Beynon, of London; professor Fisher, of New-Haven college; Mr. William Proctor, of New York; Mr. and Mrs. Hyde Clark, Mrs. Pye and Miss Powell, of Canada, daughter of Judge Powell, all drowned, found and interred; Mr. A. B. Convers, of Troy, N. Y., and madame Gardiner and son, of Paris, drowned; (madame G.'s body was found and interred;) five French gentlemen, names unknown, (except Mr. Victor Millicent,) drowned, found and interred.

Steerage Passengers. Stephen Chase, of Canada, saved; Mrs. Mary Brereton, and Mary Hunt, drowned, found and interred; Mr. Harrison, carpenter, Mr. Baldwin, cotton spinner, from Yorkshire, England, and Dr. Carver, a veterinary surgeon, drowned.

Four bodies were also found and interred that could not be recognised.

The following account of the wreck of the Albion was

communicated to the editor of the Village Record, of Chester, Pennsylvania, by William Everhart, Esq., after his return to the United States. Mr. Everhart, it will be recollected, was the only cabin passenger who was saved, out of twenty-three persons. As his statement affords some additional particulars of the disaster that may be interesting, we publish it entire.

Mr. Everhart says, that up to the 21st of April, the voyage had been prosperous and pleasant for the season, though he had himself suffered much from sea-sickness, and was almost constantly confined to his room. The storm of the day, it was supposed, was over; they were near to the coast, and all hands flattered themselves that in a short time, they should reach their destined harbor; but, about nine o'clock in the evening, a heavy sea struck the ship, swept several seamen from the deck, carried away her masts, and stove in her hatchways, so that every wave which passed over her, ran into the hold without any thing to stop it,—the railings were carried away, and the wheel which aided them to steer. In short, that fatal wave left the Albion a wreck. She was then about twenty miles from the shore, and captain Williams steadily and coolly gave his orders; he cheered the passengers and crew with the hope that the wind would shift, and before morning blow off shore. The sea was very rough, and the vessel unmanageable; and the passengers were obliged to be tied to the pumps, that they might work them. All who could do no good on deck, retired below, but the water was knee deep in the cabin, and the furniture floating about, rendered the situation dangerous and dreadful.

All night long, the wind blew a gale, directly on shore, towards which the Albion was drifting, at the rate of about three miles an hour. The complete hopelessness of their situation was known to few except captain Williams. The coast was familiar to him; and he must have seen in despair and horror, throughout the night, the certainty of their fate. At length, the ocean, dashing and roaring upon the precipice of rocks, told them that their hour was come. Captain Williams summoned all

on deck, and briefly told them that the ship must soon strike; it was impossible to preserve her. Mr. Everhart says, that he was the last that left the cabin. Professor Fisher was behind, but he is confident that he never came on deck, but perished below. Some, particularly the females, expressed their terror in wild shrieks. Major Gough, of the British army, remarked, that "death, come as he would, was an unwelcome messenger, but that they must meet him like men." Very little was said by the others; the men waited the expected shock in silence. General Lefevre Desnouettes, during the voyage, had evidently wished to remain without particular observation; and to prevent his being known, besides taking passage under a feigned name, had suffered his beard to grow during the whole voyage. He had the misfortune, before the ship struck, to be much bruised, and one of his arms was broken, which disabled him from exertion if it could have been availing. It is not possible to conceive the horrors of their situation.

The deadly and relentless blast impelling them to destruction; the ship a wreck; the raging of the billows against the precipice, on which they were driving, sending back from the caverns and the rocks, the hoarse and melancholy warnings of death, dark, cold, and wet! In such a situation the stoutest heart must have quaked in utter despair. When there is a ray of hope, there may be a corresponding buoyance of spirit. When there is any thing to be done, the active man may drown the sense of danger while actively exerting himself; but here there was nothing to do but to die! Just at the gray of dawn the Albion struck.

The perpendicular precipice of rocks is nearly two hundred feet in height; the sea beating for ages against it has worn large caverns in its base, into which the waves rushed violently, sending back a deep and hollow sound, then, running out in various directions, formed whirlpools of great violence. For a perch or two from the precipice, rocks rise out of the water, broad at bottom and sharp at top; on one of these, the Albion first struck, the next wave threw her further on the rock, the

third further still, until, nearly balanced, she swung round, and her stern was driven against another, near in shore. In this situation, every wave making a complete breach over her, many were drowned on deck. A woman, Mr. Everhart could not distinguish who, fell near him and cried for help. He left his hold and raised her up,—another wave came, but she was too far exhausted to sustain herself, and sank on the deck. Fifteen or sixteen corpses, at one time, Mr. Everhart thought, lay near the bows of the ship.

Perceiving now that the stern was higher out of water, and the sea had less power in its sweep over it, Mr. Everhart went aft. He now perceived that the bottom had been broken out of the ship. The heavy articles must have sunk, and the cotton and lighter articles were floating around, dashed by every wave against the rocks. Presently the ship broke in two, and all those who remained near the bow were lost. Several from the stern of the ship had got on the side of the precipice, and were hanging by the crags as well as they could. Although weakened by previous sickness and present suffering, Mr. Everhart made an effort and got upon the rock and stood upon one foot, the only hold that he could obtain. He saw several around him, and among the rest, colonel Prevost, who observed, on seeing him take his station, "here is another poor fellow." But the waves, rolling heavily against them, and often dashing the spray fifty feet above their heads, gradually swept those who had taken refuge one by one away; and one poor fellow losing his hold, grasped the leg of Mr. Everhart, and nearly pulled him from his place. Weak and sick as he was, Mr. Everhart stood several hours on one foot on a little crag, the billows dashing over him, and he benumbed with cold.

As soon as it was light, and the tide ebbd so as to render it possible, the people descended the rocks as far as they could, and dropped him a rope, which he fastened around his body, and was drawn out to a place of safety. Of twenty-three cabin passengers, he alone escaped! Mr. Everhart mentions numerous instances of

the kindness shewn by the people to the survivors. A sailor was drawn ashore naked, and one of the peasants, although a cold rain was falling, took the shirt from his own back, and put it on that of the sufferer. Mr. Everhart himself was taken to the hospitable mansion of Mr. James B. Gibbens, where he lay for several weeks exceedingly ill, receiving the kindest attention. "They could not have treated me more tenderly," said Mr. Everhart, "if I had been a brother."

The attentions paid the survivors, were in the style of true Irish hospitality. Such disinterested kindness exalts the human character, and is calculated to have not a limited effect, but will prove of national advantage.

This terrible wreck and loss of lives, and on the part of Mr. Everhart, such a miraculous preservation, excited the public sensibility throughout Europe and America. When he landed at Liverpool, it was difficult for him to get along the streets, the people crowded around in such numbers to see the only passenger saved from the wreck of the Albion.

LOSS OF THE SHIP LOGAN BY FIRE.

THE ship Logan, captain Bunker, was struck by lightning and consumed, on her passage from Savannah to Liverpool, on the 19th December, 1832. The following account of this dreadful accident was furnished by the captain.

The Logan left Tybee on the 16th December, with a fair wind from south, which continued blowing a heavy gale from westward until the 19th, on which day, at forty-five minutes past one o'clock, P. M., she was struck by lightning, which descended the starboard pump; from thence it passed up the after-hatchway and went off. It was immediately observed that the ship was on fire, and the crew commenced breaking out cotton from the main hatchway, for the purpose of extinguishing it. In the course of half an hour, got into the lower hold, and ou

the starboard side of the pump-well, found the cotton on fire. They commenced throwing on water and heaving the cotton overboard, first cutting the bales in pieces. After working in this way for some time, and heaving overboard eight or ten bales, it was found that the fire was raging between decks on the larboard side; they then left the lower hold, and commenced breaking out between decks, and in a short time broke out twenty or thirty bales; but the smoke became so suffocating as to oblige the hands to leave the hold and close the hatches.

It was now night, and the ship was under close reefed topsails; after all the hatches were closed up, the upper decks began to grow hot: with the determination, therefore, to save the ship and cargo if possible, holes were cut around the pumps and capstan, and water poured down, which was continued all night. At daylight, found that all the upper deck, from the mainmast to the after-hatch, was on fire, and in some places the deck had burnt through. The main hatches were taken off, and about one hour was spent in heaving down water, when the smoke became so dense that the men could stand it no longer. The hatches were then closed for the last time, and they continued throwing water through the holes that were cut, the fire still gaining so fast that no hope was left of saving the ship.

The long-boat was now ordered out, and 60 gallons of water and what provision could be obtained, put on board, when the officers and crew, 16 in number, embarked in her, (being in lat. 33 N. long. 66 W.) having saved nothing but a chronometer and quadrant, and what clothes they stood in. The nearest land was the island of Bermuda, which bore about S. E., 100 miles distant, which they endeavored to reach, but the wind blowing heavy from W. S. W., could not fetch it, but drifted to the eastward of it, when they fortunately fell in with the Grand Turk, and were rescued from a watery grave, after having been in the boat five days, most of which time it was blowing a gale. Captain Madigan kindly took them on board, and treated them with every attention which their distressed situation required.

LOSS OF THE SHIP MARGARET,

Of Salem, wrecked at sea on the 21st of May, 1810. The following account was published by captain Fairfield, after his arrival at Marblehead.

We sailed from Naples, homeward bound, on the 10th of April, with a crew, including officers, of fifteen in number, together with thirty-one passengers, making forty-six in all, men and boys. We passed through the Gut of Gibraltair the 22d of April; nothing of moment occurred until Sunday, 20th May, when in latitude 40, north, longitude 39, 30, west, having strong breezes of wind at S. E. and E. S. E. and rainy weather; at 10 A. M. took in royals, top-gallant studding-sails, fore and mizzen top-gallant-sails, jibs, stay-sails, and main-sail; at meridian, wind and weather continued as before-mentioned; at one P. M., on the 21st, the foretopmast studding sail halyards parted; the studding-sail fell overboard, filled with water, and carried away the studding-sail boom; we took in lower studding-sail spanker, and mizzen top-sail, by which time it became squally, and we immediately clewed down fore and main top-sail, and let fly the sheets—the wind shifted in an instant from E. S. E. to S. W., and although the helm was hard to weather, we could not get the ship before the wind, but was instantly hove on her beam ends. Every person on board the ship being at this time on deck, reached either the bottom or side of the ship, and held on. We secured an axe, and immediately cut away the weather lanyard of the shrouds, masts, and long-boat, which being done the ship righted, being full of water, her hatches off, chests, water-casks, &c., drifting amongst the wreck; the guns, anchors, caboose, and every article on deck, we hove overboard to lighten the ship, and endeavored to clear the wreck of spars, rigging, &c., which lay beating against her to windward; but our efforts were in vain, the starboard lanyards of the shrouds being deep

under water, and fast to the ship, and the sea making a continual breach over her: during this time the long-boat lay beating among the wreck of spars, &c., bottom up, the pinnace being wrecked entirely to pieces except her keel, and about three streaks of the boards of her bottom lay in the same situation as the long-boat, and the stern boat lying at a small distance from the ship, full of water, with her gunwales torn off, butts started, and stern about half stove in. It was with the utmost difficulty that we bailed her out, and kept her so far free as to enable us to get a rope fast to the long-boat, by which we hauled her alongside the ship, turned her over and found her to be badly stove, her gunwales and stem broken entirely off, her wood-ends and garboard streak open, and large holes in her bottom, so that we found it impossible to bail her out, and we were under the necessity of upsetting her again in the sea, with the hope of being able to stop a part of the holes in her bottom, which we in part effected by driving the butts together and by putting canvass, &c., into the largest holes in her bottom; after which we turned her over again, and by continual bailing with every bucket, &c., which we could procure, we were enabled to keep her from sinking, still keeping under the lee of the ship. By this time it was about 7 P. M.; when the boat being hauled near to the ship for the purpose of getting canvass and oakum to stop the leak, as many men as could reach the long-boat jumped into her, and finding the boat would be again sunk if we remained so near the ship, we were obliged to veer the boat to leeward of the ship at the distance of fifteen or twenty fathoms, being twelve in number in the boat. We had not been in this situation but a short time, before one man jumped from the ship into the sea and made for the boat; we took him in, but finding that all on board were determined to pursue the same plan, we were obliged to veer the boat further off. We stated to those on board the ship our situation, which was also evident to them, as it required all our exertions to keep the boat from sinking. During the night, we lay with a rope fast from the ship to the boat, and under

her lee, when the people on board the ship being exceedingly anxious to get into the boat, (which had they effected we should all have been inevitably lost,) kept hauling the boat towards them; we then bent on another rope, and veered out as they hauled; but finding they were determined to sink the boat by getting into her, we were obliged (after stating repeatedly to them our situation) to tell them, that provided they persisted in getting into the boat, we should be obliged, though very reluctantly, to cut the rope and leave them; after which they desisted from hauling the boat towards the ship. At this time, we were thirteen in number in the long-boat, and two men in the stern-boat lying under the lee of the ship, continually bailing to keep her from sinking, which augmented our number to more than could with any degree of safety attempt to leave the ship, in the long-boat, in the shattered condition she was then in.

Monday morning,—moderate breezes and sea tolerably smooth; at which time the people on the wreck were about half of them on the taffrel rail, and the remainder on the bowsprit and windlass, every other part of her being under water continually. They kept entreating us to take them into the boat; we then told them our determination was to continue by the ship while she kept together, and that the boat was not in a situation to leave them, unless they attempted to come into her; but if any of them once made the attempt, we should be under that necessity, notwithstanding our wretched situation, having no compass, quadrant, or any instrument whatever by which we could direct our course, nor a single drop of fresh water in the boat, and two men continually bailing; all of which circumstances were known to them.

About this time, casks of brandy and sundry other articles of the cargo were drifting from the wreck; amongst which we picked up the mizzen top-gallant sail, two spars, five oars, one cask of oil, one drowned pig, and one goat, one bag of bread, and they hove us a gallon keg of brandy from the ship; we then fixed a sail for the boat from the mizzen top-gallant sail, It being

now about 11, A. M. the people on the wreck were again determined to get into the boat, and began by jumping into the sea. Seeing their intention, we veered the boat further from the ship and they again returned to her, after which we repeated to them our determination to continue by them so long as the ship held together, but if any other person attempted to come into the boat, we should that instant leave them, notwithstanding our desperate situation. At this time they had secured on the wreck, two quadrants, two compasses, one hogshead of water, bread, flour, and a plenty of provisions, as they frequently informed us; but they would not spare us any of these articles unless we consented to come alongside the ship with the boat, which had we done, we should have been sunk in an instant, as they were prepared to jump, having oars, chests, &c., ready for the purpose on the taffrel rail. Notwithstanding they knew our determination and the impossibility of our taking them into the boat, they still persisted in trying to get into her, and one of them jumped into the sea and made for the small boat, which lay veered to the leeward of the ship, which he reached; but finding we would not take him into the long-boat, he returned to the ship with the small boat. As they were now all determined to pursue the same plan, we were under the painful necessity of cutting the rope by which we were fast to the ship, and row and sail from them for the preservation of our lives, in the hope of falling in with some vessel to relieve us, which was almost the only hope we had left, being about four hundred miles distant from the nearest land, and in the desperate situation before stated. At this time, it was about meridian, with moderate wind from the southward and westward; we made our course as nearly east as possible, for the island of Corvo or Flores, and the last we saw of the ship she was lying in the same situation as when we parted from her. We continued our course to the eastward, having the winds variable from S. S. E. to N. W., and two men constantly bailing; steering in the night by the stars, when to be seen, and in dark cloudy weather by the heaving of the sea, and in

the daytime, by judging from the bearing of the sun, when to be seen, and when not, by the best of our judgment. For four days we continued in this situation without seeing any vessel; but on Saturday, 26th of May, at one P. M., to our great joy we espied a sail, which proved to be the brig *Poacher*, of Boston, captain James Dunn, from Alicant, who took us on board and treated us with every attention and civility.

As nothing was afterwards heard of the vessel, all that remained on the wreck, (thirty-one in number,) undoubtedly perished.

BURNING OF THE KENT.

THE *Kent*, captain Henry Cobb, a fine new ship of one thousand three hundred and fifty tons, bound to Bengal and China, left the Downs on the 19th of February, with twenty officers, three hundred and forty-four soldiers, forty-three women, and sixty-six children, belonging to the thirty-first regiment; with twenty private passengers, and a crew (including officers) of one hundred and forty-eight men, on board.

On the night of Monday, the 28th of February, 1827, when the *Kent* was in latitude 47 degrees 30 minutes, longitude 10 degrees, a violent gale blew from the west, and gradually increased during the following morning. The rolling of the vessel became tremendous about midnight, so that the best fastened articles of furniture in the principal cabins were dashed about with violence, and the main-chains were thrown at every lurch under water.

It was a little before this period, that one of the officers of the ship, with the well-meant intention of ascertaining that all was fast below, descended with two of the sailors into the hold, where they carried with them, for safety, a light in the patent lantern; and seeing that the lamp burned dimly, the officer took the precaution to hand it up the orlop-deck to be trimmed. Having after-

wards discovered one of the spirit casks to be adrift, he sent the sailors for some billets of wood to secure it; but the ship in their absence having made a heavy lurch, the officer unfortunately dropped the light; and letting go his hold of the cask in his eagerness to recover the lantern, it suddenly stove, and the spirits communicating with the lamp, the whole place was instantly in a blaze.

It so happened that the author went into the cuddy to observe the state of the barometer, when he received from captain Spence, the captain of the day, the alarming information that the ship was on fire in the after hold.

As long as the devouring element appeared to be confined to the spot where the fire originated, and which we were assured was surrounded on all sides by water casks, we ventured to cherish hopes that it might be subdued; but, no sooner was the light blue vapor that at first arose succeeded by volumes of thick dingy smoke, which speedily ascended through all the four hatchways, rolling over every part of the ship, than all farther concealment became impossible, and almost all hope of preserving the vessel was abandoned. "The flames have reached the cable tier," was exclaimed by some individuals, and the strong pitchy smell that pervaded the deck confirmed the truth of the exclamation.

In these awful circumstances, captain Cobb, with an ability and decision of character that seemed to increase with the imminence of the danger, resorted to the only alternative now left him, of ordering the lower deck to be scuttled, the combing of the hatches to be cut, and the lower ports to be opened, for the free admission of the waves.

These instructions were speedily executed by the united efforts of the troops and seamen: but not before some of the sick soldiers, one woman, and several children, unable to gain the upper deck, had perished. On descending to the gun-deck with colonel Fearon, captain Bray, and one or two other officers of the 31st regiment, to assist in opening the ports, I met, staggering towards the hatchway, in an exhausted and nearly senseless

state, one of the mates, who informed us that he had just stumbled over the dead bodies of some individuals who must have died from suffocation, to which it was evident that he himself had almost fallen a victim. So dense and oppressive was the smoke, that it was with the utmost difficulty we could remain long enough below to fulfil captain Cobb's wishes; which were no sooner accomplished than the sea rushed in with extraordinary force, carrying away in its resistless progress to the hold, the largest chests, bulk-heads, &c.

On the one hand stood death by fire, on the other, death by water: the dilemma was dreadful. Preferring always the more remote alternative, the unfortunate crew were at one moment attempting to check the fire by means of water; and when the water became the most threatening enemy, their efforts were turned to the exclusion of the waves, and the fire was permitted to rage with all its fury.

The scene of horror that now presented itself, baffles all description. The upper deck was covered with between six and seven hundred human beings, many of whom, from previous sea-sickness, were forced on the first alarm to flee from below in a state of absolute nakedness, and were now running about in quest of husbands, children or parents.

While some were standing in silent resignation, or in stupid insensibility to their impending fate, others were yielding themselves up to the most frantic despair. Some on their knees were earnestly imploring, with significant gesticulations and in noisy supplications, the mercy of Him, whose arm, they exclaimed, was at length outstretched to smite them; others were to be seen hastily crossing themselves, and performing the various external acts required by their peculiar persuasion, while a number of the older and more stout-hearted sailors suddenly took their seats directly over the magazine, hoping, as they stated, that by means of the explosion, which they every instant expected, a speedier termination might thereby be put to their sufferings.

Captain Cobb, with great forethought, ordered the

deck to be scuttled forward, with a view to draw the fire in that direction, knowing that between it and the magazine were several tiers of water casks; while he hoped that the wet sails, &c., thrown into the after-hold, would prevent it from communicating with the spirit-room abaft.

Several of the soldiers' wives and children, who had fled for temporary shelter into the after-cabins on the upper deck, were engaged in praying and in reading the scriptures with the ladies, some of whom were enabled, with wonderful self-possession, to offer to others those spiritual consolations, which a firm and intelligent trust in the Redeemer of the world appeared at this awful hour to impart to their own breasts.

All hope had departed! the employment of the different individuals indicated utter despair of rescue—one was removing a lock of hair from his writing desk to his bosom—others were awaiting their fate in stupor—some with manly fortitude—others bewailing it with loud and bitter lamentation—and part were occupied in prayer and mutual encouragement.

It was at this appalling instant, when "all hope that we should be saved was taken away," that it occurred to Mr. Thompson, the fourth mate, to send a man to the foretop, rather with the ardent wish than the expectation, that some friendly sail might be discovered on the face of the waters. The sailor, on mounting, threw his eyes round the horizon for a moment—a moment of unutterable suspense—and waving his hat, exclaimed, "A sail on the lee-bow!" The joyful announcement was received with deep-felt thanksgiving, and with three cheers upon deck. Our flags of distress were instantly hoisted, and our minute guns fired: and we endeavored to bear down under our three topsails and foresail upon the stranger, which afterwards proved to be the *Cambria*, a small brig of two hundred tons burden, captain Cook, bound to Vera Cruz, having on board twenty or thirty Cornish miners, and other agents of the Anglo-Mexican company.

While captain Cobb, colonel Fearon, and major Mac-

gregor of the 31st regiment, were consulting together, as the brig was approaching us, on the necessary preparations for getting out the boats, &c., one of the officers asked major Macgregor in what order it was intended the officers should move off? to which the other replied, "Of course, the funeral order;" which injunction was instantly confirmed by colonel Fearon, who said, "Most undoubtedly the juniors first—but see that any man is cut down who presumes to enter the boats before the means of escape are presented to the women and children."

Arrangements having been considerably made by captain Cobb for placing in the first boat, previous to letting it down, all the ladies, and as many of the soldiers' wives as it could safely contain, they hurriedly wrapt themselves up in whatever article of clothing could be most conveniently found; and I think about two, or half past two o'clock, a most mournful procession advanced from the after cabins to the starboard cuddy-port, outside of which the cutter was suspended. Scarcely a word was heard—not a scream was uttered—even the infants ceased to cry, as if conscious of the unspoken and unspeakable anguish that was at this instant rending the hearts of the parting parents—nor was the silence of voices in any way broken, except in one or two cases, when the ladies plaintively entreated to be left behind with their husbands. But on being assured that every moment's delay might occasion the sacrifice of human life, they successively suffered themselves to be torn from the tender embrace, and with a fortitude which never fails to characterize and adorn their sex on occasions of overwhelming trial, were placed, without a murmur, in the boat, which was immediately lowered into a sea so tempestuous, as to leave us only "to hope against hope" that it should live in it for a single moment. Twice the cry was heard from those on the chains that the boat was swamping. But He who enabled the apostle Peter to walk on the face of the deep, and was graciously attending to the silent but earnest aspirations of those on board, had decreed its safety.

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Burning of the Kent East Indiaman, page 315.

After one or two unsuccessful attempts to place the little frail bark fairly upon the surface of the water, the command was at length given to unhook; the tackle at the stern was in consequence immediately cleared; but the ropes at the bow having got foul, the sailor there found it impossible to obey the order. In vain was the axe applied to the entangled tackle. The moment was inconceivably critical; as the boat, which necessarily followed the motion of the ship, was gradually rising out of the water, and must, in another instant, have been hanging perpendicularly by the bow, and its helpless passengers launched into the deep, had not a most providential wave suddenly struck and lifted up the stern, so as to enable the seaman to disengage the tackle; and the boat being dexterously cleared from the ship, was seen after a little while battling with the billows; now raised, in its progress to the brig, like a speck on their summit, and then disappearing for several seconds, as if engulfed "in the horrid vale" between them.

Two or three soldiers, to relieve their wives of a part of their families, sprang into the water with their children, and perished in their endeavors to save them. One young lady, who had resolutely refused to quit her father, whose sense of duty kept him at his post, was near falling a sacrifice to her filial devotion, not having been picked up by those in the boats, until she had sunk five or six times. Another individual, who was reduced to the frightful alternative of losing his wife, or his children, hastily decided in favor of his duty to the former. His wife was accordingly saved, but his four children, alas! were left to perish. A fine fellow, a soldier, who had neither wife nor child of his own, but who evinced the greatest solicitude for the safety of those of others, insisted on having three children lashed to him, with whom he plunged into the water; not being able to reach the boat, he was drawn again into the ship with his charge, but not before two of the children had expired. One man fell down the hatchway into the flames, and another had his back so completely broken as to have been observed quite doubled falling overboard.

The numerous spectacles of individual loss and suffering were not confined to the entrance upon the perilous voyage between the two ships. One man, who fell between the boat and brig, had his head literally crushed fine—and some others were lost in their attempts to ascend the sides of the Cambria.

When the greater part of the men had been disposed of, the gradual removal of the officers commenced, and was marked by a discipline the most rigid, and an intrepidity the most exemplary: none appearing to be influenced by a vain and ostentatious bravery, which in cases of extreme peril, affords rather a presumptive proof of secret timidity than of fortitude; nor any betraying unmanly or unsoldier-like impatience to quit the ship; but with the becoming deportment of men neither paralyzed by, nor profanely insensible to, the accumulating dangers that encompassed them, they progressively departed in the different boats with their soldiers;—they who happened to proceed first, leaving behind them an example of coolness that could not be unprofitable to those who followed.

Every individual was desired to tie a rope round his waist. While the people were busily occupied in adopting this recommendation, I was surprised, I had almost said amused, by the singular delicacy of one of the Irish recruits, who in searching for a rope in one of the cabins, called out to me that he could find none except the cordage belonging to an officer's cot, and wished to know whether there would be any harm in his appropriating it to his own use.

Again: As an agreeable proof too, of the subordination and good feeling that governed the poor soldiers in the midst of their sufferings, I ought to state that toward the evening, when the melancholy group who were passively seated on the poop, exhausted by previous fatigue, anxiety and fasting, were beginning to experience the pain of intolerable thirst, a box of oranges was accidentally discovered by some of the men, who with a degree of mingled consideration, respect, and affection, that could hardly have been expected at such a moment,

refused to partake of the grateful beverage, until they had afforded a share of it to their officers.

The spanker-boom of so large a ship as the Kent, which projects, I should think, sixteen or eighteen feet over the stern, rests on ordinary occasions about nineteen or twenty feet above the water; but in the position in which we were placed, from the great height of the sea, and consequent pitching of the ship, it was frequently lifted to a height of not less than thirty or forty feet from the surface.

To reach the rope, therefore, that hung from its extremity, was an operation that seemed to require the aid of as much dexterity of hand as steadiness of head. For it was not only the nervousness of creeping along the boom itself, or the extreme difficulty of afterwards seizing on and sliding down by the rope, that we had to dread, and that occasioned the loss of some valuable lives, by deterring the men from adopting this mode of escape: but as the boat, which one moment was probably under the boom, might be carried the next, by the force of the waves, fifteen or twenty yards from it, the unhappy individual, whose best calculations were thus defeated, was generally left swinging for some time in mid-air, if he was not repeatedly plunged several feet under water, or dashed with dangerous violence against the sides of the returning boat—or, what not unfrequently happened, was forced to let go his hold of the rope altogether. As there seemed, however, no alternative, I did not hesitate, notwithstanding my comparative inexperience and awkwardness in such a situation, to throw my leg across the perilous stick; and with a heart extremely grateful that such means of deliverance, dangerous as they appeared, were still extended to me; and more grateful still that I had been enabled, in common with others, to discharge my honest duty to my sovereign and to my fellow-soldiers; I proceeded, after confidently committing my spirit, the great object of my solicitude, into the keeping of Him who had formed and redeemed it, to creep slowly forward, feeling at every step the increased difficulty of my situation. On getting

nearly to the end of the boom, the young officer whom I followed and myself were met with a squall of wind and rain, so violent as to make us fain to embrace closely the slippery stick, without attempting for some minutes to make any progress, and to excite our apprehension that we must relinquish all hope of reaching the rope. But our fears were disappointed, and after resting for awhile at the boom-end, while my companion was descending to the boat, which he did not find until he had been plunged once or twice over head in the water, I prepared to follow; and instead of lowering myself, as many had imprudently done, at the moment when the boat was inclining towards us—and consequently being unable to descend the whole distance before it again receded—I calculated that while the boat was retiring, I ought to commence my descent, which would probably be completed by the time the returning wave brought it underneath; by which means I was, I believe, almost the only officer or soldier who reached the boat without being either severely bruised or immersed in the water. But my friend colonel Fearon had not been so fortunate; for after swimming for some time, and being repeatedly struck against the side of the boat, and at one time drawn completely under it, he was at last so utterly exhausted, that he must instantly have let go his hold of the rope and perished, had not one in the boat seized him by the hair of the head and dragged him into it, almost senseless and alarmingly bruised.

Captain Cobb, in his immovable resolution to be the last, if possible, to quit his ship, and in his generous anxiety for the preservation of every life entrusted to his charge, refused to seek the boat, until he again endeavored to urge onward the few still around him, who seemed struck dumb and powerless with dismay. But finding all his entreaties fruitless, and hearing the guns, whose tackle was burst asunder by the advancing flames, successively exploding in the hold, into which they had fallen—this gallant officer, after having nobly pursued, for the preservation of others, a course of exertion that has been rarely equalled either in its duration

or difficulty, at last felt it right to provide for his own safety, by laying hold on the topping-lift, or rope that connects the driver-boom with the mizzen-top, and thereby getting over the heads of the infatuated men who occupied the boom, unable to go either backward or forward, and ultimately dropping himself into the water.

LOSS OF THE SHIP BOSTON.

AN unusual degree of sensation was excited in Boston, on the first of June, by the melancholy tidings of the loss of the packet ship Boston. This strong and elegant ship—one of the finest packets that belonged to this country—was struck by lightning in the Gulf stream, six days out from Charleston, and burnt to the water's edge. We present the details below, as furnished by captain Mackay.

"On Tuesday, the 25th of May, lat. 39, 31, long. 63, 46, commenced with fresh breeze and squally weather—at 2 P. M., heavy rain which continued until about sunset—at 8 P. M., forked lightning in the south-west, and dark and heavy clouds rising from the westward—at 9, the wind hauled to the westward—at 10 P. M., a heavy cloud began to rise in the south-west—at half past 10, sharp lightning, clewed up the topgallant sails, and hauled the mainsail up—at 11, heavy thunder and sharp lightning; the second flash struck the ship, burst the main-royal from the gaskets and burnt it; knocked down the steward and Isaac Hopkins, a sailor, and filled the ship full of electric fluid. We examined the ship immediately, to ascertain if the masts were injured, or the lightning had passed through the deck; but the mast appeared uninjured, a bright complaisance resting on each royal-mast head. We single reefed the main-top sail, and were about to hand the mainsail, when we ascertained that the ship was on fire. We immediately cleared the main and after hatchways, to get at the fire, heaving the cotton overboard and cutting holes in the

deck, plying water in every direction—but all in vain; the cotton in the main-hold was on fire, fore and aft, on both sides, burning like tinder. Our only alternative was to clear away the boats and get them out, part of the crew and passengers at work keeping the fire down as much as possible by drawing and heaving water, the scuppers being stopped up; we stove water casks over holes cut in the deck and in the main-hatchway, starting the water, but all to no good purpose, for before we could get the long-boat over the ship's side, the fire had burst through the deck and out the larboard side of the ship. The flames raged with such violence and consumed the vessel so quick, that nothing could be saved from the wreck. We got about forty gallons of water, and provisions sufficient, on a short allowance, to keep the passengers and crew alive for three weeks—almost every thing else was burnt up in the ship, even the money, watches, and clothes—all destroyed. At 3, A. M., the main and mizzen-masts were burnt off below deck, and the masts fell into the water; at half past 3, the passengers and crew were all in the boats; the flames had then reached the forecastle, and the ship was one complete flame of fire, fore and aft. The passengers had exerted themselves to the utmost to assist us. The officers had with unwearied exertion, coolness and persevering activity done all that men could do. The ship's crew worked like horses and behaved like men; but all would not do. About three hours time had changed one of the best ships that ever swam to a complete volcano, and cast twenty-three persons adrift on the open ocean.

“The cabin passengers were admiral Sir Isaac Coffin and servant, Dr. William Boag, and his sister Miss Ansell Boag, Mr. Neil McNeil, and Mr. Samuel S. Osgood. It was then raining, and every person was drenched through with water; in this situation the constitution of Miss Boag, the only lady-passenger, soon gave way. This amiable young lady's firmness of conduct at the first alarm of fire, and during the whole scene, is worthy of the highest praise. To the divine will of her God

she submitted without a murmur, and at 11 o'clock on Wednesday, she died in the arms of her brother, in the boat, thanking him in the most affectionate manner for his kindness, giving her blessing to us all. On the following day, she was buried with the church service, our situation not admitting of the corpse being kept longer in the boat. We remained in the boats near the fire of the wreck two days, and at three o'clock P. M. on Thursday, were taken on board the brig *Idas*, of Liverpool, N. S. from Demarara, bound to Halifax, captain Joseph Barnaby, who with his officers and crew treated us with every kindness and attention. We remained on board the brig two days, when, Sunday morning, May 30th, falling in with the brig *Camilla*, captain Robert B. Edes, he was good enough to offer us a passage to Boston, and received us on board his vessel."

Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, after landing from the brig *Camilla*, authorized his agent to present captain Mackay with a check for five hundred dollars; and subsequently sent him an elegant gold watch, to replace one which he had lost by the destruction of the ship.

LOSS OF THE WHALE SHIP ESSEX.

This vessel sailed from Nantucket on a whaling voyage, commanded by captain Pollard. On the 13th of November, 1820, they were among the whales, and the three boats were lowered down. They succeeded in capturing a young whale, but the mate's boat got stove, and returned to the ship to be repaired. Shortly after, a whale of the largest class, probably the dam of the one they had just taken, struck the ship, knocked part of the false keel off, just abreast of the main channels.

The animal then remained for some time alongside, endeavoring to clasp the ship within her jaws, but could not accomplish it. She then turned, went round the stern, and came up on the other side; and went away ahead about a quarter of a mile. Then suddenly

turning, she came at the ship with tremendous velocity, head on. The vessel was going at the rate of five knots, but such was the force with which she struck the ship, which was under the cat-head, that the vessel had stern-way, at the rate of three or four knots. The consequence was, that the sea rushed into the cabin windows, every man on deck was knocked down, and, worse than all, the bows were completely stove in. In a few minutes, the vessel filled and went on her beam ends.

At this unhappy juncture, the captain and second mate were both fast to a whale; but on beholding the awful catastrophe that had taken place, immediately cut from the fish and made for the ship. As soon as the captain got on board, he gave orders for cutting away the masts, which was accordingly done, and the vessel righted;—the upper deck was then scuttled, and some water and bread were procured for the two boats, in which they were compelled to remain, as all thoughts of saving the ship were given up. In expectation of falling in with some vessel, they remained by the wreck, making sails, &c., but were finally compelled to abandon it, and stood away to the southward, in hopes of getting the variable winds, and experiencing fine weather; but the wind being constantly from the east and south-east, they made much lee-way and were prevented from keeping to the southward. They continued beating about in this way for thirty days, when they made an island, which they took for Ducie's island, at which place the boats remained one week; but the island affording hardly any nourishment, and in fact, exhibiting nothing but sterility, they resolved on venturing for the coast; leaving behind them three men who preferred remaining there, rather than to venture across the ocean in an open boat.

After a series of disasters, a part of the crew finally reached Valparaiso. Captain Downes, of the U. S. frigate *Macedonian*, on becoming acquainted with the particulars, resolved to rescue the three unfortunate men, who were left behind on the island. Accordingly he fitted out a schooner, at an expense of a thousand dollars,

and sent her in search for them. She was out, however, but one month, and returned dismasted. The ship *Surrey*, captain Raine, lying at Valparaiso, was on the eve of sailing for New Holland, and as Ducie's island was not far from her track, captain Downes offered her commander three hundred dollars, to call there and take off the men.

On Thursday, the 5th of April, captain Raine, considering himself within a short distance of Ducie's island, which is laid down in Norie's epitome to be in lat. 24 degrees 40 minutes S. and long. 124 deg. 17 minutes W., kept a good look out. About 2, P. M., land was perceived, which turned out to be an island in lat. 24 deg. 26 minutes. As the vessel neared the land, they discharged a gun, and shortly after, the three poor men were seen to issue from the woods. The boats were presently lowered, captain Raine taking one himself. On approaching the shore, it was found not only dangerous, but utterly impracticable to land; of which circumstance they were informed, in weak and tremulous voices, by the almost starved and nearly worn out creatures themselves, who could scarcely, from the miserable plight they were in, articulate a syllable. One poor fellow summoned up courage enough to plunge into the waves, and with great difficulty reached the boat: he said, one of the others only could swim.

After warily backing the boat as near the rocks as possible, amidst a heavy surf, the other two men succeeded in getting on board, much bruised and lacerated by the repeated falls; which object was no sooner effected, when each devoutly expressed his gratitude to that benign Being who had so wonderfully preserved them from sharing in the destruction to which most of their unhappy shipmates had fallen victims. They had been on the island four months, living on wild berries, resembling a cherry, sometimes killing a sea-gull by throwing stones, and no fresh water but when it rained, which was very seldom. On the island they discovered the name of the ship *Elisabeth*, of London, carved on a tree, and a cave, with eight human skeletons, lying together.

LOSS OF THE ISABELLA, OFF HASTINGS, ENGLAND.

The details below were furnished by one of the passengers, in a letter to a friend, dated

EASTBOURNE, March 15, 1833.

This wreck is still visible; she was a fine ship of 340 tons, and offers an awful evidence of the power of nature over the noblest works of art. My heart still sickens with dismay at the recollection of the dreadful trials I have passed through. I have not before had health and strength enough to give you an outline of the particulars, and, even now, I tremble as they pass in review before me.

All our valuable furniture, plate, books, manuscripts, outfit and necessaries had been put on board the *Isabella* in the docks, when she dropped down to Gravesend, where I joined her on the evening of Saturday the 16th of February, with my wife and three children, a girl of eighteen months, and two boys of four and six years. We were opposed by contrary winds, and put our pilot on shore on Monday evening. On Tuesday, the wind freshened into a gale; and the dreadful enervating sickness usually attending these scenes, dispossessed my wife and myself of all energy and strength. The wind was now directly against us, and every hour increasing its fearful power; but our captain, full of intrepidity and confidence, determined to proceed, although he left behind a fleet of perhaps an hundred sail. As night closed, the tempest raged yet more fearfully. Our gallant ship was but as a feather on the wave's surface, and all was fearfully dark as any night in the black catalogue of tempests; the wind right ahead; there was equal peril now in advancing or receding; the captain, however, gave his orders with as much precision as if he were exhibiting in a state pageant. The loud voice of

the speaking-trumpet was the only sound that could be heard amid the wild roar of contending elements. Between three and four o'clock, our captain entered the cabin: he spoke little. I saw the distressed workings of his mind, and one or two questions constituted all the interruptions I offered. He took brandy and water, threw off his saturated dress, and having sat a little in dry clothes, retired.

From this time, the ship seemed to me to labor and strain more than before, and the hurricane to drive and lay down the ship lower on her side; but as the captain was taking rest, I had fancied more security, and had lain myself on the floor of the cabin in the hope of getting also some repose. I had been lying down I suppose thirty minutes, when I thought I heard or felt the keel of the ship drag. I had been, to this time, sick to death. I was exhausted and listless, almost lifeless, when the dreadful suspicion and announcement of "shore," alarmed me; I was ill no more. I jumped up, and was rushing through the cabin to mention my fears, when the ship beat twice on a rock, and I heard the cry of "The ship has struck!" I called the captain. The dreadful shock and loud cries of alarm, combined to summon all on deck, excepting the ladies and the poor children, who had been roused, at last, by the general crash, and these I would not allow to leave their berths lest they might interrupt the exertions making above. Here, indeed, was redoubled energy. The rudder was unshipped when we first struck, and was abandoned. Now was the loud cry for the speaking-trumpet—now for the axes, which for a time could not be found. I asked if there were no guns to fire signals of distress? No guns. No rockets to let off to acquaint the coast-guard with our condition? No rockets. It was manifest our captain had been, as Napoleon said of Massena, a spoiled child of fortune! Always happy and successful in his adventures, his voyages deservedly fortunate, had superseded all contemplation of disaster. Every effort was now made, by manœuvring the sails, to force the ship once more to sea, and made in vain—we were constrained to wait until daylight ena-

bled us to appreciate our real situation, and procure for us, from the shore, the necessary assistance.

It is difficult to judge of distance on water, but I believe we lay nearly half a mile from the beach. Every succeeding wave raised the ship several feet, and subsiding, we beat with tremendous violence on the rock. An immense quantity of bricks had been shipped in lieu of ballast; between these and the rock, the ship's bottom might represent the metal works between the anvil and the hammer, and strange it would have been had it not severely suffered. Every wave was a fearful mountain, while the hurricane momentarily threatened to shiver us into atoms. Such a storm has not been felt on these shores during the last fifty years. As the ungoverned state of the rudder was now breaking up all within its range, the binnacles were removed below for security, and the rudder lashed to the boom; but the cords were soon rent asunder like threads. After lying in this situation nearly two hours, sometimes fancying we saw boats approaching to our assistance, sometimes that we saw lights as signals, the dawn at length assured us we were descried from the shore, where we saw a general activity corresponding to the peril of our unhappy condition. Not a boat could, however, venture to put out through the frightful surf, and I own I felt little hopes of relief while the elements continued their frightful ravages. The shore was now lined with spectators, but their sympathy could avail us nothing. While this was our condition without, within the ship all was devastation. At each new concussion something was strained and gave way. Bedsteads, lamps, tables and trunks were hurled from side to side with frightful noise, which made the females believe, in spite of our assurances, the ship was breaking up. But now beamed suddenly forth in our extremity, the dawn of our deliverance. We had watched a team laboring along the beach conveying to windward a boat. It was launched, and, in the same moment, manned. It was the God-like life-boat, equipped with the most intrepid crew that ever deserved their country's gratitude. In half an hour of unequalled struggles they were alongside, and boarded us; and now, indeed, I saw countenances

where the glad gleam of joy endeavored to penetrate through a mass of suffering and despair; but we had scarcely interchanged congratulations, when I was told the boat had left the ship. I could not believe it. I ran aloft and found it true. I felt I had now a duty to perform to my family, and I asked the captain, if the boat were dismissed, what could be his plan? I represented that as our rudder was useless, he could have no command of the ship if she floated with the coming flood; and if her bottom was pierced, of which there could be no doubt, we must expect that if she dipped into deep water, she would fill and go down, and all would inevitably perish—that it would be impossible, in her present crippled state, to work her into any port, and I submitted, therefore, that our safety should be consulted above all things. Our captain firmly answered, our safety was his principal duty and first care; that I might rely on his word, that he would not hazard our lives; and that if the ship was not in a condition to leave the shore, he would not attempt it. I own I returned to my family with a heavy heart to announce the fearful experiment.

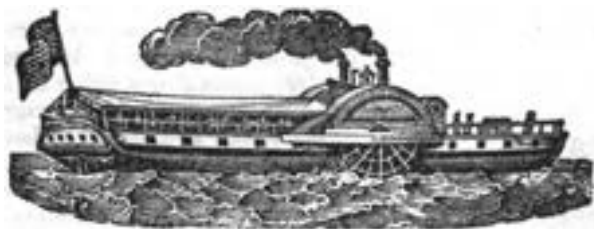
The flood-tide was rolling in, and the trumpet of our vigilant captain was again in full activity. After many mighty workings, an awful blast drove us over the reef, and hurried us to sea. Hope beamed again, but it was found that the ship had made five feet of water in ten minutes. The signal of distress was hoisted, and every possible effort made to put the ship's head to the shore, but without the assistance of her rudder, she was wholly unmanageable, and very soon became water-logged. I now caught the captain's eye; he motioned me, and gave the dreadful intelligence that the ship was sinking, and I must prepare my wife and children for any event! I asked how long it might be before she would go down? He said, "Some time yet." Without making any communication, I conveyed my family on deck, and watched the progress of the ship visibly made in sinking. Efforts were again made to put the ship about, but they were fruitless.

Happily for our safety, the life-boat, better acquainted

with the distressing features of disaster, had kept hovering around. I had grieved at its dismissal, but now suddenly heard it hailing the captain to let go the remaining anchor. After dragging a little, it held on, and threw her stern round; but the ship was water-logged, and made little progress. She was now so low that every wave rolled in one side and discharged itself on the other. We had thrown out a line to the boat, but it had quickly snapped, and we threw others, in the hope of keeping them at a short distance. As it appeared we must in a few seconds go down, I was preparing cords for the safety of my family, when a squall, a hundred times more frightful than any that had yet assailed us, gave hopes, and the crew cried out, "Now—now the masts must go." But still they stood, to our great danger and annoyance. The ship had, however, felt the impulse received from the last blast, and been impelled forward;—and now a shock succeeded which gave the glad, auspicious tidings of shore. The men clasped their hands, and looked towards Heaven with emotions of gratitude. The last nearly overwhelming gale had lifted us forward, and proved our deliverance; and now the exertions of the crew of the boat were increased tenfold, and they were quickly under our stern. Our intrepid captain, lashing himself for security, jumped over the ship's side, and, though overwhelmed by every wave, called aloud for the children first. I had taken them below, lest the fall of the masts should injure them. I flew down, and in an instant my eldest son was in the arms of the captain.—The life-boat was now riding on the brink of the wave, and now was lost in the abyss; but as she was descending my son was caught as the captain loosed his arm, by a dozen eager arms raised for his safety. The second boy met with more facility, and the infant was thrown and caught, when the whole crew, with generous sympathy, cried out, "Now the mother." The mother was soon with her children, and seemed to us protected by these our worldly saviors from destruction. The other females were then handed down, with a youth of fourteen, and I next followed, in agonizing anxiety to share with

those I felt dearer to me than life, the yet remaining perils.

Lifted sometimes mountains high, sometimes hidden from all view in the depths into which we descended, we at last reached the shore. The people upon the beach rushed into the surf to receive us, and braved its perils for our security. The boat was soon lighted, and a cart stood ready to convey us to an adjoining house, where dry clothing was soon exchanged for garments long saturated with brine. The captain and crew were left on the wreck with one passenger, and two hours elapsed before the boat could succeed in extricating these from the dangers assailing them. For a considerable period, the sea had been covered with floating packages, carried by the storm and tide many miles along the beach, but at night-fall, began the active work of plunder, and that which had resisted other violence was soon conveyed away from observation.



LOSS OF THE ROTHSAV CASTLE STEAMER.

The Rothsay Castle was a steam-packet which formerly traded on the Clyde. She belonged to the line of steamers which sailed from Liverpool to Beaumaris and Bangor, and was furnished with one engine only. She was commanded by Lieut. Atkinson. At ten o'clock, on the — of August, 1831, the vessel was appointed to sail from the usual place, George's Pierhead, but a casual

delay took place in starting, and it was eleven o'clock before she had got every thing in readiness. Whilst taking passengers on board, a carriage arrived at the Pierhead for embarkation. It belonged to M. W. Foster, Esq. of Regent's Park, London, who, with his wife and servant, were conveyed in it to the packet, and took their passage at the same time. They were all subsequently drowned, a little dog which accompanied them being the only survivor of this unfortunate group. When the steamer left the Pierhead, her deck was thronged with passengers. The captain, crew, musicians, &c. amounted to fifteen, in addition to whom, it was supposed by persons who saw the vessel sail, that one hundred and ten or one hundred and twenty souls were on board. The majority of the passengers consisted of holiday and family parties, chiefly from country places; and in one of these companies, who came on a journey of pleasure from Bury, the hand of death committed a merciless devastation. It consisted of twenty-six persons; in the morning, joyous with health and hilarity, they set out upon the waves, and when the shades of that evening approached, every soul but two saw his last of suns go down.

The weather was not particularly boisterous at the time she sailed. A severe storm, however, had raged in the morning, and must have agitated the water on the Banks more than usual. The wind, too, blew strongly from the north-west, and the vessel had to contend with the tide, which began to flow soon after she passed the rock. When the steamer arrived off the floating-light, which is stationed about fifteen miles from Liverpool, the roughness of the sea alarmed many of the passengers. One of the survivors stated, that Mr. Tarry, of Bury, who, with his family, consisting of himself, his wife, their five children and servant, was on board, being, in common with others, greatly alarmed for his own safety and the safety of those dear to him, went down to the cabin, where the captain was at dinner, and requested him to put back. His reply was, "I think there is a great deal of fear on board, and very little danger. If we were to turn back with passengers, it would never do—we should

have no profit." To another gentleman who urged him to put back, he is reported to have said very angrily, "I'm not one of those that turn back." He remained in the cabin two whole hours, and peremptorily refused to comply with the repeated requests made to him by the more timid of his passengers, to return to Liverpool; observing that if they knew him, they would not make the request. Before dinner, his behavior had been unexceptionable; but after he had dined, a very striking difference was observed in his conduct. He became violent in his manner, and abusive in his language to the men. When anxiously questioned by the passengers, as to the progress the vessel was making, and the time at which she was likely to reach her destination, he returned trifling, and frequently very contradictory answers. During the early part of the voyage, he had spoken confidently of being able to reach Beaumaris by seven o'clock; but the evening wore away, night came on, and the vessel was still a considerable distance from the termination of her voyage. It was near twelve o'clock, when they arrived at the mouth of the Menai strait, which is about five miles from Beaumaris. The tide, which had been running out of the strait, and which had, consequently, for some time previous retarded the steamer's progress towards her destination, was just on the turn. The vessel, according to the statement of two of the seamen and one of the firemen saved, had got round the buoy on the north end of the Dutchman's bank, and had proceeded up the river as far as the tower on Puffin island; when suddenly the steam got so low that the engine would not keep her on her proper course. When asked why there was not steam on, the fireman said, that a deal of water had been finding its way into the vessel all day, and that sometime before she got into the strait, the bilge-pumps were choked. The water in the hold then overflowed the coals; so that, in renewing the fires, a deal of water went in with the coals, and made it impossible to keep the steam up. It was the duty of the fireman to give notice of this occurrence; but he seems not to have mentioned it to the captain. The vessel,

which had evidently come fair into the channel, though there was no light on the coast to guide her, now drifted with the ebb-tide and north-west wind, towards the Dutchman's bank, on the north point of which she struck, her bows sticking fast in the sand. Lieut. Atkinson immediately ordered the man at the helm to put the helm a-starboard. The man refused to do so; but put it to port. The mate perceiving this, ran aft, took the helm from the man, and put it to starboard again. In the meantime, the captain and some of the passengers got the jib up. No doubt he did this intending to wear her round and bring her head to the northward; but, in the opinion of nautical men, it could not make the least difference which way her head was turned, as she was on a lee shore, and there was no steam to work her off. The captain also ordered the passengers first to run aft, in the hope, by removing the pressure from the vessel's stem, to make her float: this failing to produce the desired effect, he then ordered them to run forward. All the exertions of the captain, the crew and passengers united, were unavailing. The ill-fated vessel stuck still faster in the sands, and all gave themselves up for lost. The terror of the passengers became excessive. Several of them urged the captain to hoist lights, and make other signals of distress; but he positively refused to do so, assuring the passengers that there was no danger, and telling them several times, that the packet was afloat and doing well, and on her way; when the passengers knew perfectly well that she was sticking fast in the sand, and her cabins rapidly filling with water. Doubtless the unfortunate man was perfectly aware of the imminence of the danger; but we may charitably suppose that he held such language for the purpose of preventing alarm which might be fatal. The alarm-bell was now rung with so much violence that the clapper broke, and some of the passengers continued to strike it for some time with a stone. The bell was heard, it is said, at Beaumaris, but, as there was no light hoisted on the mast of the steamer, (a fatal neglect!) those who heard the signal were, of course, ignorant whence it proceeded.

The weather, at this awful moment, was boisterous, but perfectly clear. The moon, though slightly overcast, threw considerable light on the surrounding objects. But a strong breeze blew from the north-west, the tide began to set in with great strength, and a heavy sea beat over the bank on which the steam-packet was now firmly and immovably fixed.

We cannot describe the scene which followed. Certain death seemed now to present itself to all on board, and the most affecting scenes were exhibited. The females, in particular, uttered the most piercing shrieks; some locked themselves in each other's arms, while others, losing all self-command, tore off their caps and bonnets, in the wildness of despair. A Liverpool pilot, who happened to be in the packet, now raised his voice and exclaimed, "It is all over—we are all lost!" At these words there was a universal despairing shriek.—The women and children collected in a knot together, and kept embracing each other, keeping up, all the time, the most dismal lamentations. When tired with crying, they lay against each other, with their heads reclined, like inanimate bodies. The steward of the vessel and his wife, who was on board, lashed themselves to the mast, determined to spend their last moments in each other's arms. Several husbands and wives also met their fate locked in each other's arms; whilst parents clung to their beloved children,—several mothers, it is said, having perished with their dear little ones firmly clasped in their arms. A party of the passengers, about fifteen or twenty, lowered the boat and crowded into it. It was impossible for any open boat to live in such a sea, even though not overloaded, and she immediately swamped and went to the bottom, with all who had made this last hopeless effort for self-preservation.

For some time the vessel, though now irrecoverably lost, continued to resist the action of the waves, and the despairing souls on board still struggled with their doom. But hope had forever fled; the packet was beaten and tossed about by the tumultuous waters with a violence which threatened to dash her into fragments at every

shock, and the sea now made a continual breach over her. The decks were repeatedly swept by the boiling ocean, and each billow snatched its victims to a watery grave. The unfortunate captain and his mate were among the first that perished. About thirty or forty passengers were standing upon the poop clinging to each other in hopeless agony, and occasionally uttering the most piteous ejaculations. Whilst trembling thus upon the brink of destruction, and expecting every moment to share the fate which had already overtaken so many of their companions in misery, the poop was discovered to give way; another wave rolled on with impetuous fury, and the hinder part of the luckless vessel, with all who sought safety in its frail support, was burst away from its shattered counterpart, and about forty wretched beings hurried through the foaming flood into an eternal world.

' Then rose from sea to sky the wild farewell,
Then shrieked the timid and stood still the brave. '

Those who retained any degree of sensibility endeavored to catch at whatever was floating within their reach, with the vain hope of prolonging their lives, though it was certain that life could only lengthen their sufferings. Many grasped, with frantic despair, at the slightest object they could find, but were either too weak to retain their hold, or were forced to relinquish their grasp by the raging of the surge. The rudder was seized by eight of the sinking creatures at the same time, and some of them were ultimately preserved. The number of those who clung to the portion of the wreck which remained upon the bank, gradually grew thinner and thinner, as they sunk under their fatigues, or were hurled into the deep by the remorseless waves. At length, about an hour and a half from the time when she struck, the remnant of the *Rothsay Castle* disappeared from the bosom of the ocean, and the remainder of her passengers and crew were precipitated into the foaming abyss.

LOSS OF THE BRIG SALLY.

AUGUST 8, 1767, while in latitude 25, having a strong gale of wind, the brig Sally was laid-to under her main-stay-sail till ten o'clock the next morning, when she was hove on her beam-ends, and in less than five minutes turned keel upwards, so that they had only time to cut away the lanyards of her main-mast. There were on board, Anthony Tabry, master; Humphrey Mars, mate; Joseph Sherver, Samuel Bess, John Burna, mariners, who were drowned; six other mariners, viz. Peter Toy, Daniel Cultan, John Davis, Alexander Landerry, Peter Mayes, and William Hammon, having got hold of the top-mast, which floated alongside, tied it to the stern, and supported themselves by it, till about five o'clock in the evening, when the cabin boy swam to the hull and threw them a rope, by which they got on the bottom of the vessel, where they were still in a dismal plight; the first want that invaded them was drink, this drove away all thought of meat. The main-mast, with all the rigging, the lanyards having been cut away, came up alongside, from which they got the wreath, (a square hoop which binds the head of the mast,) with which, and a bolt of a foot long, they went to work on her bottom; in the mean time keeping their mouths moist, as well as they could, by chewing the stuff of her bottom, she not having any barnacles, being lately cleaned, and some lead which was on her bow, and drinking their own water; in four days time Peter Toy died, raving for drink, whose body they threw off the vessel the next day. In this manner did they work for six days, without meat, drink, or sleep, nor daring to lie down for fear of falling off the vessel; the sixth day they got a hole in the brig, where they found a barrel of bottled beer; this they drank very greedily; they soon got another parcel, when one of them put the others on an allowance. The eleventh day of their being on the wreck, they got a bar-

rel of pork, which they were obliged to eat raw. As to sleep, as soon as they got a hole through the vessel's bottom, they pulled out a great number of staves and shingles, and made a platform in the same place, but so small was it, that when they wanted to turn, they were obliged to wait till the sea hoisted the vessel, and when she fell again with the sea, they were almost froze to death. Thus did these poor miserable fellows live for thirteen or fourteen days; after they got the pork, they made a kind of net with a hoop, some shingles, and ropes, which they got from the mast; this they let into the sea, with some pork, and caught a few small fish, which, with two or three mice they caught on board the brig, afforded them several most delicious repasts, raw as they were; this lasted but a few days, as they could not catch any more; when they were obliged to return to their pork, which was become quite putrid by the salt water getting to it. To their great joy, on the 1st of September, in latitude 26, 15, longitude 70, 10, at four o'clock in the afternoon, they could just perceive a vessel to windward of them, which seemed to stand some time for them, but soon put about and stood from them; it was then they despaired, as that morning they had drunk the last bottle of their beer, and that one was all they had; for that day they worked hard to get at the casks of water in the hold, but they were so far from them, that they could not have got at them in a long time. About sun half an hour high, the vessel stood for them, and came so near that they perceived a piece of canvass, that they on the wreck supported on a piece of board, bore down for it, and about seven or eight o'clock took them on board; she was the brig Norwich, captain Robert Noyes. Thus were they relieved when death stared them in the face, by a captain who used them very kindly, gave them food and clothes, as their own were rotted off their backs, washed their sores, and gave them plasters, as they were almost raw from head to foot with the heat of the sun and salt water, which, in many places had eaten holes in their flesh.

SUFFERINGS OF EPHRAIM HOW.

On the 25th of August, 1676, Mr. Ephraim How, of New-Haven, in New-England, with his two eldest sons; one Mr. Augur; Caleb Jones, son to Mr. William Jones, one of the magistrates of New-Haven; and a boy; six persons in all, set sail from New-Haven for Boston, in a small ketch, of about seventeen tons.

Having despatched his business there, he sailed for New-Haven on the 10th of September, but was forced back to Boston by contrary winds. Here Mr. How was seized with a violent flux, which continued nearly a month; many being at that time sick, and some dying of the same.

Being in some degree restored to health, he again sailed from Boston, October 10. They went with a fair wind as far as cape Cod; but on a sudden, the weather became very tempestuous, so that they could not pass the cape, but were driven off to sea, where they were in great danger, experiencing terrible storms, with outrageous wind and seas.

His eldest son fell sick and died about the 21st; soon after, his other son was taken ill and died also. This was a bitter cup to the poor father, for these youths were the only assistants in working the vessel. Soon after Caleb Jones died, so that half the company were now no more.

Mr. How continued in a very sickly and weak state, yet was necessitated to stand at the helm twenty-four and thirty-six hours together. During this time, the sea was so boisterous as frequently to break over the vessel, so that if he had not been lashed fast he must have been washed overboard. In this extremity, he was at a loss in his own thoughts, whether he should persist in endeavoring to make for the New-England shore, or bear away for the southern islands. Upon his proposing the question to Mr. Augur, they determined, according to the custom of some in those times, to decide this difficult

case by casting lots. They did so, and it fell upon New-England.

Nearly about the 7th of November, they lost their rudder, so that now their only dependence was upon Providence. In this deplorable state they drove up and down for a fortnight longer. During the last six weeks, the poor infirm Mr. How was hardly ever dry, nor had he the benefit of warm food above thrice or thereabouts!

At length, about the 21st of November, early in the morning the vessel was driven on the tailings of a ledge of rocks, where the sea broke violently. Looking out, they saw a dismal, rocky island to the leeward, upon which, if Providence had not by the breakers given them timely warning, they had been dashed to pieces. They immediately let go an anchor, and got out the boat, and the sea became calm. The boat proving leaky, and they being in great terror, they took but little out of the ketch, but got on shore as they could.

Here they could discover neither man nor beast. It was a small, rocky, desolate island, near cape Sable, the southern extremity of Nova Scotia. They now appeared to be in great danger of being starved to death, but the storm returning, beat so violently upon the vessel, as it still lay at anchor, that it was stove to pieces, and several things floated to the shore.

The following articles were all they had towards their future support:—a cask of gunpowder, which received no damage from the water; a barrel of wine; half a barrel of molasses; several useful articles towards building a tent: all the above drifted from the wreck: besides which they had fire-arms and shot; a pot for boiling; and most probably other things not mentioned in the narrative.

Their tent was soon erected, for the cold was now getting severe, but new and great distresses attended them, for though they had arms and ammunition, there were seldom any fowls to be seen, except crows, ravens, and seagulls. These were so few, that they could seldom shoot more than one at a time. Many times half a fowl, with the liquor it was boiled in, served for a meal for all

three. Once they lived five days without any sustenance, but did not feel themselves pinched with hunger as at other times; which they esteemed a special favor of Heaven unto them.

When they had lived in this miserable condition twelve weeks, Mr. How's dear friend and companion, Mr. Augur, died, about the middle of February, 1677; so that he had none left to converse with but the lad, who likewise departed on the 2d of April.

Mr. How was now the sole inhabitant of this desolate spot, during April, May, and June, and saw fishing vessels every now and then, sailing by; some of which came even nearer to the island than that which at last took him off. He used all the means in his power to make them acquainted with his distress; but they either did not see him, or were afraid to approach close to the island, lest some of those Indians should be quartered there, who were at that time in hostility against the English, viz., the North-east Indians, who held out after the death of the famous Philip, king of the Wompanoags.

At length a vessel belonging to Salem, in New-England, providentially passed by, and seeing this poor fellow, they sent their boat on shore, and took him away. He had been on the island more than seven months, and above a quarter of a year by himself. On the 18th of July, he arrived at Salem, and at last returned to his family at New-Haven. They for a twelvemonth had supposed him dead; by which it appears he did not get home till the end of August, or perhaps later.

LOSS OF THE TRANSPORT HARPOONER.

THE hired transport Harpooner was lost, near Newfoundland, in November, 1818; she had on board three hundred and eighty-five men, women and children, including the ship's company. The passengers consisted of detachments of several regiments, with their families,

who were on their way to Quebec. On Saturday evening, November 10th, a few minutes after nine o'clock, the second mate on watch called out, "the ship's aground;" at which she slightly struck on the outermost rock of St. Shotts, in the island of Newfoundland. She beat over, and proceeding a short distance, she struck again, and filled; encircled among rocks, the wind blowing strong, the night dark, and a very heavy sea rolling, she soon fell over on her larboard beam end; and, to heighten the terror and alarm, a lighted candle communicated fire to some spirits in the master's cabin, which, in the confusion, was with difficulty extinguished.

The ship still driving over the rocks, her masts were cut away, by which some men were carried overboard. The vessel drifted over, near the high rocks, towards the main. In this situation, every one became terrified: the suddenness of the sea rushing in, carried away the berths and stanchions between decks, when men, women and children were drowned, and many were killed by the force with which they were driven against the loose baggage, casks, and staves, which floated below. All that possibly could, got upon deck, but from the crowd and confusion that prevailed, the orders of the officers and masters to the soldiers and seamen were unavailing; death stared every one in the face; the ship striking on the rocks, as though she would instantly upset. The shrieking and pressing of the people to the starboard side was so violent, that several were much hurt. About eleven o'clock, the boats on the deck were washed overboard by a heavy sea: but even from the commencement of the disaster, the hopes of any individual being saved were but very small.

From this time, until four o'clock the next morning, all on the wreck were anxiously praying for the light to break upon them. The boat from the stern was in the meanwhile lowered down, when the first mate and four seamen, at the risk of their lives, pushed off to the shore. They with difficulty effected a landing upon the main land, behind a high rock, nearest to where the stern of the vessel had been driven. The log-line was thrown

from the wreck, with a hope that they might lay hold of it; but darkness, and the tremendous surf that beat, rendered it impracticable. During this awful time of suspense, the possibility of sending a line to them by a dog occurred to the master; the animal was brought aft, and thrown into the sea with a line tied round his middle, and with it he swam towards the rock upon which the mate and seamen were standing. It is impossible to describe the sensations which were excited at seeing this faithful dog struggling with the waves; and on reaching the summit of the rock repeatedly dashed back again by the surf into the sea; until at length, by unceasing exertions, he effected a landing. One end of the line being on board, a stronger rope was hauled and fastened to the rock.

At about six o'clock in the morning of the 11th, the first person was landed by this means; and afterwards, by an improvement in rigging the rope, and placing each individual in slings, they were with greater facility extricated from the wreck; but during this passage, it was with the utmost difficulty that the unfortunate sufferers could maintain their hold, as the sea beat over them, and some were dragged to the shore in a state of insensibility. Lieutenant Wilson was lost, being unable to hold on the rope with his hands; he was twice struck by the sea, fell backwards out of the slings, and after swimming for a considerable time amongst the floating wreck, by which he was struck on the head, he perished. Many who threw themselves overboard, trusting for their safety to swimming, were lost; they were dashed to pieces by the surf on the rocks, or by the floating pieces of the wreck.

The rope, at length, by constant working, and by swinging across the sharp rock, was cut in two: and there being no means of replacing it, the spectacle became more than ever terrific; the sea beating over the wreck with great violence, washed numbers overboard; and at last the wreck, breaking up at the stern from midships and forecastle, precipitated all that remained into one common destruction.

The parting of the ship was noticed by those on shore,

and signified with the most dreadful cry of "Go forward!" It is difficult to paint the horror of the scene; children clinging to their parents for help; parents themselves struggling with death, and stretching out their feeble arms to save their children, dying within their grasp.

The total number of persons lost was two hundred and eight, and one hundred and seventy-seven were saved.

Lieutenant Mylrea, of the 4th Veteran Battalion, one of the oldest subalterns in the service, and then upwards of seventy years of age, was the last person who quitted the wreck; when he had seen every other person either safe, or beyond the power of assistance, he threw himself on to a rock, from which he was afterwards rescued.

Among the severest sufferers, was the daughter of surgeon Armstrong, who lost on this fatal night her father, mother, brother, and two sisters.

The rock which the survivors were landed upon, was about one hundred feet above the water, surrounded at the flowing of the tide. On the top of this rock they were obliged to remain during the whole of the night, without shelter, food, or nourishment, exposed to wind and rain, and many without shoes. The only comfort that presented itself was a fire, which was made from pieces of the wreck that had been washed ashore.

At daylight on the morning of the 12th, at low water, their removal to the opposite land was effected, some being let down by a rope, others slipping down a ladder to the bottom. After they crossed over, they directed their course to a house or fisherman's shed, distant a mile and a half from the wreck, where they remained until the next day; the proprietor of this miserable shed not having the means of supplying relief to so considerable a number as took refuge, a party went over land to Trepassy, about fourteen miles distant, through a marshy country, not inhabited by any human creature. This party arrived at Trepassy, and reported the event to Messrs. Jackson, Burke, Sims, and the Rev. Mr. Brown, who immediately took measures for alleviating the dis-

tressed, by despatching men with provisions and spirits, and to assist in bringing all those forward to Trepassy who could walk.

On the 13th, in the evening, the major part of the survivors (assisted by the inhabitants, who, during the journey carried the weak and feeble upon their backs) arrived at Trepassy, where they were billeted, by order of the magistrate, proportionably upon each house.

There still remained at St. Shotts, the wife of a sergeant of the Veteran Battalion; with a child, of which she was delivered on the top of the rocks shortly after she was saved. A private, whose leg was broken, and a woman severely bruised by the wreck, were also necessarily left there.

Immediately after the arrival at Trepassy, measures were adopted for the comfort and refreshment of the detachments, and boats were provided for their removal to St. John's, where they ultimately arrived in safety.

LOSS OF THE BRIG POLLY.

THE Brig Polly, of one hundred and thirty tons burthen, sailed from Boston, with a cargo of lumber and provisions, on a voyage to Santa Croix, on the 12th of December, 1811, under the command of Capt. W. L. Cazneau—with a mate, four seamen and a cook; Mr. I. S. Hunt, and a negro girl of nine years of age, passengers. Nothing material happened until the 15th, when they had cleared cape Cod, the shoal of Georges, and nearly, as they supposed, crossed the gulf stream, when there came on a violent gale from the south-east, in which the brig labored very hard, which produced a leak that so gained on the pumps as to sound nearly six feet,—when about midnight she was upset, and Mr. Hunt washed overboard! Not having any reason to hope for her righting, by much exertion the weather-lanyards were cut away, the deck load having been before thrown over, and the lashings all gone; in about half an hour,

the mainmast went by the board, and soon after, the foremast, when she righted, though full of water, a dreadful sea making a fair breach over her from stem to stern.— In this situation the night wore away, and daylight found all alive except the passengers, and upon close search, the little girl was found clinging to the skylight, and so saved from drowning in the cabin. The glass and grating of the skylight having gone away, while on her beam ends, the little girl was drawn through the openings, but so much chilled that she survived but a few hours. In this situation they remained, without fire, as near as the captain can recollect, twelve days, when the cook, an Indian from Canton, near Boston, suggested the operation of rubbing two sticks together, which succeeded. Very fortunately, the caboose did not go overboard with the deck load: this was got to windward, a fire kindled, and some provisions cooked, which was the first they had tasted, except raw pork, for the whole time. They now got up a barrel of pork, part of a barrel of beef, and one half barrel of beef. A small pig had been saved alive, which they now dressed, not having any thing to feed it with. But at this time no apprehension was entertained of suffering for meat, there being several barrels stowed in the run, and upwards of one hundred under deck. With this impression, the people used the provisions very imprudently, till they discovered that the stern-post was gone, and the gale continuing for a long time, the barrels had stove, and their contents were all lost forever.

There happened to be a cask of water lashed on the quarter-deck, which was saved, containing about thirty gallons; all the rest was lost. This lasted about eighteen days, when the crew were reduced to the necessity of catching what rain they could, and having no more. At the end of forty days, the meat was all gone, and absolute famine stared them in the face. The first victim to this destroyer was Mr. Paddock, the mate, whose exquisite distress seemed to redouble the sufferings of his companions. He was a man of a robust constitution, who had spent his life in the Bank fishing, had suffered many

hardships and appeared the most capable of standing the shocks of misfortune of any of the crew. In the meridian of life, being about thirty-five years old, it was reasonable to suppose that, instead of the first, he would have been the last to have fallen a sacrifice to cold and hunger: but Heaven ordered it otherwise—he became delirious, and death relieved him from his sufferings the fiftieth day of his shipwreck. During all this time, the storms continued, and would often overwhelm them so as to keep them always drenched with sea-water, having nothing to screen them, except a temporary kind of cabin which they built up of boards between the windlass and nighthead on the larboard side of the forecastle. The next who sunk under this horrid press of disasters was Howes, a young man of about thirty, who likewise was a fisherman by profession, and tall, spare, and as smart and active a seaman as any aboard. He likewise died delirious and in dreadful distress, six days after Paddock, being the fifty-sixth day of the wreck. It was soon perceived that this must evidently be the fate of all the survivors in a short time, if something was not done to procure water. About this time, good luck, or more probably, kind Providence, enabled them to fish up the tea-kettle, and one of the captain's pistols; and necessity, the mother of invention, suggested the plan of distillation. Accordingly, a piece of board was very nicely fitted to the mouth of the boiler, a small hole made in it, and the tea-kettle, bottom-upwards, fixed to the upper side of the board, the pistol-barrel was fixed to the nose of the kettle and kept cool by the constant application of cold water. This completely succeeded, and the survivors, without a doubt, owe their preservation to this simple experiment. But all that could be obtained by this very imperfect distillation, was a scanty allowance of water for five men; yet it would sustain life and that was all. The impression that there was meat enough under the deck, induced them to use every exertion to obtain it; but by getting up pieces of bone, entirely bare of meat and in a putrid state, they found that nothing was left for them but to rely on Heaven for food, and be

contented with whatever came to hand, till relief should come. Their only sustenance now, was barnacles gathered from the sides of the vessel which were eaten raw that the distilling might not be interrupted, which would give them no more than four wine glasses of water each per day. The next food which they obtained was a large shark caught by means of a running bow-line. This was a very great relief and lasted some time. Two advantages arose from this signal interposition of kind Providence; for while they lived upon their shark, the barnacles were growing larger and more nutritive. They likewise found many small crabs among the sea-weed which often floated around the wreck, which were very pleasant food. But from the necessity of chewing them raw and sucking out the nourishment, they brought on an obstinate costiveness, which became extremely painful and probably much exasperated by the want of water.

On the 15th of March, according to their computation, poor Moho, the cook, expired, evidently from want of water, though with much less distress than the others and in the full exercise of his reason: he very devoutly prayed and appeared perfectly resigned to the will of the God who afflicted him. Their constant study was directed to the improvement of their still, which was made much better by the addition of the other pistol barrel, which was found by fishing with the grain they made by fixing nails into a piece of a stave. With this barrel they so far perfected the still as to obtain eight junk bottles full of water in twenty-four hours. But from the death of Moho to the death of Johnson, which happened about the middle of April, they seemed to be denied every kind of food. The barnacles were all gone, and no friendly gale wafted to their side the sea-weed from which they could obtain crabs or insects. It seemed as if all hope was gone forever, and they had nothing before them but death, or the horrid alternative of eating the flesh of their dead companion. One expedient was left, that was to try to decoy a shark, if happily there might be one about the wreck, by part of the corpse of their shipmate! This succeeded, and they caught

a large shark, and from that time had many fish till their happy deliverance. Very fortunately, a cask of nails which was on deck, lodged in the lea-scuppers while on their beam ends: with these they were enabled to fasten the shingles on their cabin, which by constant improvement, had become much more commodious, and when reduced to two only, they had a better supply of water.

They had now drifted above two thousand miles, and were in latitude 28 North, and longitude 13 West, when to their unspeakable joy they saw three ships bearing down upon them. The ships came as near as was convenient, and then hailed, which captain Cazneau answered with all the force of his lungs. The ship which hailed, proved to be the *Fame*, of Hull, captain Featherstone, bound from Rio Janeiro home. It so happened that the three captains had dined together that day and were all on board the *Fame*. Humanity immediately sent a boat, which put an end to the dreadful thralldom of captain Cazneau and Samuel Badger, the only surviving persons who were received by these humane Englishmen with exalted sensibility. Thus was ended the most shocking catastrophe which our naval history has recorded for many years, after a series of distresses from December 15th to the 20th of June, a period of one hundred and ninety-one days! Every attention was paid to the sufferers that generosity warmed with pity and fellow-feeling could dictate, on board the *Fame*. They were cherished, comforted, fed, clothed and nursed until the 9th of July, when they fell in with captain Perkins, of the brig *Dromo*, in the chops of the channel of England, who generously took them on board and carefully perfected the work of goodness begun by the generous Englishmen, and safely landed them in Kennebunk.

It is natural to inquire how they could float such a vast distance upon the most frequented part of the Atlantic and not be discovered all this time? They were passed by more than a dozen sail, one of which came so near them that they could distinctly see the people on

deck and on the rigging looking at them: but to the inexpressible disappointment of the starving and freezing men, they stifled the dictates of compassion, hoisted sail, and cruelly abandoned them to their fate.

THE LOSS OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP, QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

THE queen Charlotte was, perhaps, one of the finest ships in the British navy. She was launched in 1790, and her first cruise was with the fleet fitted out against Spain, in consequence of the dispute respecting Nootka sound. Lord Howe, who was the commander and chief of the fleet, was then on board of her; and she also bore his lordship's flag on the first of June. After which she was sent to the Mediterranean, and was the flag-ship of the commander-in-chief on that station. In March, 1800, she was despatched by that nobleman to reconnoitre the island of Cabrera, about thirty leagues from Leghorn, then in the possession of the French, and which it was his lordship's intention to attack. On the morning of the 17th, the ship was discovered to be on fire, at the distance of three or four leagues from Leghorn. Every assistance was promptly forwarded from the shore, but a number of boats, it appears, were deterred from approaching the wreck, in consequence of the guns, which were shotted, and which, when heated by the fire, discharged their contents in every direction.

The only consolation that presents itself under the pressure of so calamitous a disaster is, that it was not the effect either of treachery or wilful neglect, as will appear by the following official statement of the carpenter:—

“Mr. John Braid, carpenter of the queen Charlotte, reports, that twenty minutes after 6 o'clock in the morning, as he was dressing himself he heard throughout the ship a general cry of “fire.” On which he immediately

ran up the after-ladder to get upon deck, and found the whole half-deck, the front bulk-head of the admiral's cabin, the main-mast's coat, and boat's covering on the booms, all in flames; which, from every report and probability, he apprehends was occasioned by some hay, which was lying under the half-deck, having been set on fire by a match in a tub, which was usually kept there for signal guns.—The main-sail at this time was set, and almost entirely caught fire; the people not being able to come to the clue garnets on account of the flames.

“He immediately went to the fore-castle, and found lieutenant Dundas and the boatswain encouraging the people to get water to extinguish the fire. He applied to Mr. Dundas, seeing no other officer in the forepart of the ship (and being unable to see any on the quarter-deck, from the flames and smoke between them) to give him assistance to drown the lower-decks, and secure the hatches, to prevent the fire falling down. Lieutenant Dundas accordingly went down himself, with as many people as he could prevail upon to follow him: and the lower-deck ports were opened, the scuppers plugged, the main and fore-hatches secured, the cocks turned, and water drawn in at the ports, and the pumps kept going by the people who came down, as long as they could stand at them.

“He thinks that by these exertions the lower-deck was kept free from fire, and the magazines preserved for a long time from danger; nor did lieutenant Dundas, or he, quit this station, but remained there with all the people who could be prevailed upon to stay, till several of the middle-deck guns came through that deck.

“About nine o'clock, lieutenant Dundas and he, finding it impossible to remain any longer below, went out at the fore-most lower deck port, and got upon the fore-castle; on which he apprehends there were then about one hundred and fifty of the people drawing water, and throwing it as far aft as possible upon the fire.

“He continued about an hour on the fore-castle; and finding all efforts to extinguish the flames unavailing, he

jumped from the jib-boom, and swam to an American boat approaching the ship, by which he was picked up and put into a Tartan, then in the charge of lieutenant Stewart, who had come off to the assistance of the ship.

(Signed)

“JOHN BRAID.”

Leghorn, March 18, 1800.

Captain Todd remained upon deck, with his first lieutenant, to the last moment, giving orders for saving the crew, without thinking of his own safety. Before he fell a sacrifice to the flames, he had time and courage to write down the particulars of this melancholy event, for the information of lord Keith, of which he gave copies to different sailors, entreating them, that whoever should escape might deliver it to the admiral.

Thus fell victims to perhaps a too severe duty, the captain and his first lieutenant, at a time when they still had it in their power to save themselves; but self-preservation is never a matter of consideration in the exalted mind of a British naval officer, when the safety of his crew is at stake.

Lord Keith and some of the officers were providentially on shore at Leghorn, when the dreadful accident occurred. Twenty commissioned and warrant officers, two servants and one hundred and forty-two seamen, are the whole of the crew that escaped destruction out of nearly nine hundred souls on board, that for nearly four hours exerted every nerve to avoid that dreadful termination which too surely awaited them.

LOSS OF THE AMPHITRITE CONVICT SHIP.

THE following particulars of the loss of this vessel are copied from a letter dated Boulogne-sur-mer, September 1, 1833.

The shocking event which is announced by the title to this letter, has, I assure you, filled the town with dismay, and must lead to a most narrow and rigid investigation. I cannot attempt to describe the afflictions not

only of the English, but the French, at this most distressing event, and I only express the general opinion when I say that the British public demands that an inquiry be instituted into the conduct of all parties concerned in this deplorable affair.

The Amphitrite convict ship sailed for New South Wales from Woolwich on the 25th of August. Captain Hunter was the commander; Mr. Forrester the surgeon; and there were one hundred and eight female convicts, twelve children, and a crew of sixteen persons. The captain was part owner of the vessel. When the ship arrived off Dungeness, the gale of the 29th began. On Friday morning the captain hove the ship to, the gale being too heavy to sail. The vessel was about three miles to the east from Boulogne harbor on Saturday at noon, when they made land. The captain set the top-sail and main-foresail in hopes of keeping her off shore.

From three o'clock she was in sight of Boulogne, and certainly the sea was most heavy and the wind extremely strong; but no pilot boat went out to her, and no life-boats or other assistance were dispatched. I observed her from three o'clock till about half past four in the afternoon, when she came round into Boulogne harbor and struck on the sands. By four o'clock it was known that it was a British ship, but some said it was a brig; others said it was a merchant vessel, though all said it was English.

It appears from the statement of three men who have been saved out of the crew—all the rest having perished—that the captain ordered the anchor to be let go, in hopes of swinging round with the tide.

In a few minutes after the vessel had gone aground, multitudes rushed to the beach, and a brave French sailor, named Pierre Henin, who has already received the thanks of the Humane society, of London, addressed himself to the captain of the port, and said that he was resolved to go alone, and to reach the vessel, in order to tell the captain that he had not a moment to lose, but must, as it was low water, send all his crew and passengers on shore.

You will recollect that up to the time of her running aground no measure was adopted, and the captain was not warned from shore of her danger.

As soon as she had struck, however, a pilot-boat, commanded by Francois Heuret, who has on many occasions shown much courage and talent, was dispatched, and by a little after five came under her bows. The captain of the vessel refused to avail himself of the assistance of Heuret and his brave companions, and when a portion of the crew proposed going on shore the captain prevented them. Two of the men saved, state that they knew the boat was under the bows, but that the rest were below making up their bundles. The crew could then have got on shore and all the unfortunate women and children.

When the French boat had gone, the surgeon sent for Owen, one of the crew, and ordered him to get out the long-boat. This was about half past five. The surgeon discussed the matter with his wife and with the captain. They were afraid of allowing the prisoners to go on shore. The wife of the surgeon is said to have proposed to leave the convicts there, and to go on shore without them.

In consequence of the discussion, no long-boat was sent out. Three of the convict women told Owen, that they heard the surgeon persuaded the captain not to accept the assistance of the French boat, on account of the prisoners who were on board.

Let us now return to Pierre Henin. The French pilot-boat had been refused by the surgeon and captain—the long-boat had been put out, through a discussion as to saving the convicts—and it was now nearly six o'clock. At that time Henin went to the beach, stripped himself, took a line, swam naked for about three quarters of an hour or an hour, and arrived at the vessel at a little after seven. On reaching the right side of the vessel, he hailed the crew, and said, "Give me a line to conduct you on land, or you are lost, as the sea is coming in." He spoke English plain enough to be heard. He touched the vessel and told them to speak to the cap-

tain. They threw (that is, some of the crew, but not the surgeon or captain) two lines, one from the stern and one from the bow. The one from the stern he could not seize—the one from the bow he did. He then went towards the shore, but the rope was stopped. This was, it is believed, the act of the surgeon and captain. He (Henin) then swam back, and told them to give him more rope to get on shore. The captain and surgeon would not. They then tried to haul him in, but his strength failed and he got on shore.

You perceive, then, that up to this moment also the same obstacle existed in the minds of the captain and surgeon. They did not dare, without authority, to land the convicts, and rather than leave them on board, or land them without such authority, they perished with them.

The female convicts, who were batted down under the hatches, on the vessel's running aground, broke away the half deck hatch, and frantic, rushed on deck. Of course they entreated the captain and surgeon to let them go on shore in the long-boat, but they were not listened to, as the captain and surgeon did not feel authorized to liberate prisoners committed to their care.

At seven o'clock the flood tide began. The crew seeing that there were no hopes, clung to the rigging. The poor one hundred and eight women and twelve children remained on deck, uttering the most piteous cries. The vessel was about three quarters of a mile English from the shore, and no more. Owen, one of the three men saved, thinks that the women remained on deck in this state about an hour and a half. Owen and four others were on the spars, and thinks they remained there three quarters of an hour, but, seeing no hope of being saved, he took to swimming, and was brought in a state of insensibility to the hotel. Towsey, another of the men saved, was on a plank with the captain. Towsey asked who he was? He said "I am the captain," but the next moment he was gone. Rice, the third man, floated ashore on a ladder. He was in the aft when the other men took to the raft. When the French pilot-boat row-

ed away, after being rejected by the captain, he (Rice) saw a man waving his hat on the beach, and remarked to the captain that a gentleman was waving to them to come on shore. The captain turned away and made no answer. At that moment the women all disappeared, the ship broke in two.

These are the facts of this awful case. The French Marine Humane society immediately placed hundreds of men on the beach; and the office, or lodging, being close to the shore, as soon as the corpses were picked up they were brought to the rooms, where I assisted many of my countrymen in endeavoring to restore them to life. Our efforts were fruitless, except in the cases of the three men, Owen, Rice, and Towsey. I never saw so many fine and beautiful bodies in my life. Some of the women were the most perfectly made; and French and English wept together at such a horrible loss of life in sight of—ay, and even close to, the port and town. Body after body has been brought in. More than sixty have been found; they will be buried to-morrow. But alas! after all our efforts, only three lives have been saved out of one hundred and thirty-six.

LOSS OF THE LADY OF THE LAKE.

THE ship *Lady of the Lake*, sailed from Belfast, on the 8th of April 1833, bound to Quebec, with two hundred and thirty passengers. The following particulars were furnished by captain Grant.

On the 11th May, in latitude 46. 50, north, and longitude 47. 10, west, at five A. M., steering per compass W. S. W. with a strong wind at N. N. E. we fell in with several pieces of ice; at eight, A. M. the ice getting closer, I judged it prudent to haul the ship out to the eastward under easy sail to avoid it; while endeavoring to pass between two large pieces, a tongue under water in the lee ice struck our starboard bow and stove it entirely in. We immediately wore the ship round, expect-

ing to get the leak out of the water, but did not succeed; the ship now filling fast, the mate, with seven or eight of the crew, got into the stern-boat—after getting bread, beef, compass, &c. &c. we pulled away to the north-west—the scene that then took place is beyond description; after getting the long-boat out, the passengers crowded into her with such mad desperation, that she was twice upset alongside, drowning about eighty of them. I now attempted to save my own life and succeeded in getting the boat clear of the ship half full of water, with thirty-three souls in her, without oars, sails, or a mouthful of provisions. The last time I saw the brig, (the ice coming between her and us) she was sunk up to the tops, and about thirty of the passengers in the main-top-mast rigging. We then tried to pull after the other boat, with the bottom boards and thwarts, but got beset with the ice. We now expected a worse fate than those who were in the vessel, viz. to perish with cold and hunger. The next morning the wind changed to the westward and we got clear of most of the ice. We then pulled to the eastward, in the faint hope of some vessel picking us up, and at noon saw a brig lying to under her two top-sails—at four got on board of her, and found the crew just leaving her, the brig in the same state as our own, sinking. We, however, got some provisions out of her, and there being a boat lying on her decks, I got part of the passengers out of our own boat into it. In the course of the night it came on to blow from the south-west and the other boat foundered. All that now remained alive, to the best of my belief or knowledge, out of a crew and passengers of two hundred and eighty, is myself, one seaman, two boys, nine male passengers and two female, fifteen in all. At noon on the 14th, we fell in with the master and mate of the brig *Harvest Home*, of Newcastle, the vessel we had previously been on board of; and on the evening of the same day both got on board of a loaded brig bound to St. Johns, Newfoundland, after we had been seventy-five hours in an open boat, half-dressed, wet, and frost bitten; next morning, I, with the remainder of the crew

and passengers, left the brig and was kindly received on board the ship *Amazon*, of Hull, bound to Quebec, where we arrived in safety.

LOSS OF THE BRITISH BRIG JESSE.

THE following are the particulars respecting the wreck of the British ship or brig *Jesse*, captain Gilmour, under very distressing circumstances:—

The *Jesse*, timber laden, left St. John's, Newfoundland, on the 14th of May, 1835, for Belfast, and on the 17th, encountered a heavy gale, which strained the vessel, and occasioned her to make a great deal of water. No danger was apprehended till the 25th of May, when a tremendous gale sprang up from the North and East, and the ship was hove to under close reefed maintopsail and storm trysail—all hands pumping, but the water still gained on her and she shipped some heavy seas.

On Sunday, 24th of May, although all hands were at the pumps, the leaks still increased; at half past eleven, A. M., had reached the cabin floor. A few buckets of bread were got out of the cabin, also a barrel of bread and a cask of water, all of which were hoisted into the maintop. The captain ordered the long-boat to be cleared. On Monday, the vessel began to break up rapidly, and the cargo to float out; about nine, P. M., the foremast fell through the bottom, until brought up by the lower yard resting on the rail. About half an hour afterwards, the mainmast got out of the step, and shortly after, was carried away a few feet above the deck; by this accident, the provisions secured in the foretop were lost.

The captain and crew, fifteen in number, with six steerage passengers, then embarked in the long-boat, with about five gallons of water, a few pieces of salt beef, and a little bread so saturated with salt water, that it was of the consistency of pap; a dog was also taken into the boat, which, in the sequel, they killed, and the

flesh devoured, after drinking his blood, which afforded them great relief.

The compass was unfortunately broken in putting it into the boat, so that they had nothing to steer by, but the stars and the sun. This occurred in lat. 41 30 N. long. 25 20 W.—cape Rae being about four hundred and fifty miles distant. From the time of leaving the ship, until the Saturday following, May 30, the boat was kept before the wind, a heavy sea running all the time, which threatened to swamp the long-boat.

On this day, James Savage, seaman, became insane and jumped overboard, all efforts to save him were unavailing. Shortly after, James Robinson, seaman, expired, and on the next day, William Robinson, the cook, also died. On Monday, Mrs. McCartney, passenger, and her two infant children, expired, exhausted with their sufferings; on Tuesday, Samuel Nugent, a passenger, James Scott, apprentice, and William Savage, apprentice, died.

On Wednesday, at three, P. M., saw a sail to the E. N. E. which proved the Ythan, of New-Castle, captain W. Davidson, who received the survivors, twelve in number, on board. Hugh Macanelly, seaman, died shortly after, and on Thursday, 4th of June, John Mullin, seaman. On the Wednesday following, 10th of June, Charles Stevens, Robert Jones, J. McKnabb, were put on board the Wansbeck, captain Young. The remainder have since arrived; two have been sent to the hospital, and the others are still in a weak state, from their sufferings. The whole of those who died, drank salt water to excess, and became insane before death ensued.

The following is a list of the survivors:—Capt. Gilgour, W. Kelley, first mate, Hugh Smith, second do., John McKnabb, carpenter, Charles Stevens, R. Jones, Alexander Stuart, seaman, and Andrew Closs, apprentice; Samuel McCartney, husband and father of the female and children who died in the boat, and Margaret Crouch passengers. McCartney has since been taken to the marine hospital, in a very exhausted state, as have two of the crew.

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Give him strong drink, would he would
That sinking in despair
And signa good to find his blood
That great with grief and care
Then let him buss and creep carmine
With swamps flowing over
Like he forget his love and motto
And since his grip no more
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