The mere mention of Port Royal, Jamaica, conjures up images of wanton lust, debauchery, greed, and notorious pirates of the high seas who roamed the streets of the port town in the mid- to late seventeenth century to dispose of their plundered loot. The historic accounts are replete with the tales of their episodes, but is this the true story of Port Royal? The fact that the famous port had the misfortune of being largely destroyed in an earthquake on June 7 in 1692 (corresponding to May 26 in the current Gregorian calendar) only served to exacerbate its reputation as the “wickedest city in the world.” In that day, such a destructive act could only be the just retribution of God for the lifestyle of the people of the town, which was compared to the biblical city of Sodom.

A number of historic events and circumstances interacted to make Port Royal the boom town of the late seventeenth century. The first significant event was the influence of the Puritan merchants of London on Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Realm, leading him to send out an English force to capture Hispaniola so that the English could have a trading base in the middle of the Spanish New World. Failing miserably in this attempt, the English forces under the command of General William Penn and Admirable Robert Venables chose to take Jamaica as a consolation to ward off the wrath of Lord Cromwell. Soon after the capture of Jamaica in 1655, the English navy ships returned to England, leaving the island largely undefended against any reconquest attempt by the Spanish. The solution to the dilemma was for Governor Edward D’Oley to invite the “Brethren of the Coast” to make Port Royal their home port in 1657 (Dunn 1973:153). The pirates who made up the Brethren were the descendants of cattle-hunting buccaneers who had taken to a life of piracy as a result of depredations by the Spanish. Most of the brotherhood’s activities were aimed at the hated Spaniards, who ran them out of Hispaniola. During the time when the pirates were invited to Port Royal, they were centered on the small island of Tortuga off the northeast coast of Hispaniola.
Coinciding with the arrival of the pirates, who became legal English-sanctioned privateers with letters of marque from the governor of Jamaica, a campaign was initiated against Spanish shipping and coastal towns. It can safely be said that the presence of the pirate/privateer ships and the constant attack on Spanish ships and coastal towns kept Spain on a defensive footing, preventing the organization of a successful offensive to retake the island. Now England had a large land mass in the center of the Spanish New World from which it could either attack Spanish ships and towns or carry on entrepôt trade with any of the many Spanish colonial towns desperately in need of manufactured goods.

Port Royal prospered with privateers present alongside the merchants who provided the outlet for their plunder. The combination of the two groups led to unprecedented growth in size, population, and economic status. It is clear that the merchants held the upper hand, however, and were the guiding factor. Preceding the capture of Jamaica, the relocation of the Brethren of the Coast, and the establishment of the Port Royal merchants, the annual Spanish fleets became much more erratic; Spain was no longer able to provide the New World Spanish colonies with the required manufactured goods. This fact is basic to understanding the growth of Port Royal. The Port Royal merchants stepped in and played dual roles. The merchants financed trading ventures with the Spanish on the one hand and financed privateers to raid Spanish ships and loot coastal towns on the other. In addition, the privateers acted independently but still needed the merchants to dispose of their ill-gotten gains. The combination was lethal, and Port Royal flourished as no other New World English town did.

Recent investigations by economists and historians have provided new insight on the economy of Port Royal: “Both opponents and advocates of so-called ‘forced trade’ declared that the town’s fortune had the dubious distinction of being founded entirely on the servicing of the privateers’ needs and highly lucrative trade in prize commodities” (Zahedieh 1986b:216).

This forced trade was so pervasive that it has been claimed that “one way or the other nearly all the propertied inhabitants of Port Royal seem to have an interest in privateering” (Pawson and Buisseret 2000:39); these pursuits made Port Royal the richest merchant community in English North America (Zahedieh 1986a:588). For instance, it is noted that Henry Morgan’s raid on Portobello in June 1688 produced £75,000 in plunder, which was more than seven times the £10,000 in sugar production that year (Zahedieh 1986b:216). By 1690, just two years before the 1692 earthquake, it is estimated that £100,000 in bullion from contraband Spanish trade was shipped from Port Royal, in comparison to £88,000 in sugar (Zahedieh 1986b:216). In fact, most of the gold and silver going to England at this time was coming through Port Royal.

While the privateering activities were significant, the citizens of Port Royal came to “merchandize, and it was through all forms of clandestine trade with the Spanish and the asiento that were the lifeblood of Port Royal and made it so prosperous” (Zahedieh 1986a:592–93). The asiento was the system whereby a
Spanish representative was stationed in Port Royal to purchase slaves and ship them where they were needed in the Spanish colonies. In the late seventeenth century most of the slaves for Spanish America were secured from the Royal African Company’s slave market in Port Royal, which regularly sold 25 to 50 percent of its slaves to the Spanish (Zahedieh 1986a:590). The asiento system was very profitable; the English ships delivering the slaves were able to enter Spanish ports, receive a significant shipping bonus, and under this cover engage in other lucrative trade.

The clandestine trade and combination of piracy and privateering made Port Royal the richest merchant town in English orth America, with coins of different nationalities in circulation for daily trade transactions and set exchange rates (Zahedieh 1986a:583). By seventeenth-century standards, Port Royal’s citizenry was affluent and noted as living above the standard of comparable social groups in England. By and large, the Port Royal citizens purchased what they needed and bought the latest in fashions and manufactured goods. As a result of this affluence, it might even be argued that at Port Royal, a town with currency in circulation, one sees the beginning of conspicuous consumption that becomes much more evident elsewhere, starting in the 1730s of the next century.

Throughout this time, Port Royal was the only legal port of entry into Jamaica; and the merchants of Port Royal were the economic and political powers on the island (Claypole 1972). Starting with the signing of the second Treaty of Madrid in 1670, which obligated England to stop issuing letters of marque to privateers against Spain, privateering was suppressed. Henry Morgan, who had been sent to London and held prisoner for his notorious raid on Panama City in 1671, was knighted as Sir Henry Morgan by King Charles II and returned as the lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, tasked with ending piracy there (Black 1983:46–48). Both the privateers and pirates were expendable, but the undercover trade with the Spanish colonies was not.

More realistically, Port Royal should be considered a mercantile center first and a pirate port second. In addition, it can be looked upon as a redistribution center. All the manufactured goods and other materials being shipped in from England and other European ports were by law supposed to pass through Port Royal as the only legal port of entry, which meant that many of them passed through the hand of the town’s merchants. From there they were distributed to the rest of Jamaica. Likewise, much of the booty from the privateering and piracy operations passed through the same merchants’ hands: they were the fences, so to speak. The Port Royal merchants likewise controlled the flow of manufactured goods to the Spanish colonies through an elaborate system of clandestine trade. It was an efficient and richly rewarding system, which the merchants controlled. Much of the development of Jamaica’s huge sugar plantations of the eighteenth century was financed through them, and many became planters in their own right. This increase in plantations led to a shift of political and economical power from the merchants to the planters in the eighteenth century.
Anyone visiting Port Royal just prior to the 1692 earthquake would have been struck by the prevalence of multistoried brick buildings, the high population density, and the general appearance of wealth compared to the other English colonial towns in the New World. With an estimated population of over 7,000–8,000, Port Royal was rivaled in size and economic importance only by Boston, with 6,000 or so citizens (Black 1983:49; Hamilton 1992:40; Pawson and Buisseret 2000:136). The town was laid out with broad unpaved streets named after familiar streets in London, each lined with buildings one to four stories in height, with brick sidewalks along the front of many (figure 2.1).

In 1692 the density of structures was comparable to that of London, and the rent was described as being as high as in Cheapside, a high-rent district of London (Taylor 1688:252). All the amenities and vices of any seventeenth-century port town were present. During its heyday the town covered some 52 acres; but following the earthquake in 1692, when 33 acres of the town sank into the harbor, it was commonly referred to as “the wickedest city in the world.”

Nothing remotely analogous to the seventeenth-century Port Royal remains today. All that is left is a small fishing town with approximately 2,000 citizens, along with an abandoned nineteenth-century British naval base and the headquarters of the Jamaican Coast Guard. Very little exists above the ground or the water to indicate the past glory of Port Royal. Archaeological work quickly reveals the affluence of the old town, however, as evidenced by the prevalence of
As described earlier, this affluence was the result of trade with the Spanish colonies, Jamaican agricultural products, and various combinations of privateering and piracy. Despite the amount of material culture remaining, little archaeological evidence exists for the pirates and privateers who frequented Port Royal and were pivotal in establishing the roguish reputation of the town that still exists today.

Over the past four decades, three major underwater archaeological excavations in the areas of the old town submerged in Kingston Harbor have been undertaken; and various excavations have been conducted on land (figure 2.3).

The first excavation was conducted by Edwin Link in cooperation with the National Geographic Society and the Smithsonian Institution (Link 1960). The Link excavations concentrated around Fort James, Littleton’s Tavern, and the King’s Warehouse. The second and largest excavation was conducted along Fisher’s Row by Robert Marx (1973) in 1965–67 in association with the Institute of Jamaican Culture (figure 2.4).

The third and longest-running excavation was directed by me (Hamilton 1991, 1992; Hamilton and Woodward 1984) in conjunction with the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Texas A&M University (INA/TAMU), and the Jamaican National Heritage Trust. The excavation took place along Lime Street at the
Figure 2.3. Modern plan map of Port Royal with major archaeological excavation areas.

EXCAVATED AREAS

LEGEND

OLD PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA

Figure 2.4. Underwater archaeology excavation areas of Port Royal along Lime Street. Courtesy of the Nautical Archaeology Program, Texas A&M University.
Figure 2.3. Modern plan map of Port Royal with major archaeological excavation areas.

Figure 2.4. Underwater archaeology excavation areas of Port Royal along Lime Street. Courtesy of the Nautical Archaeology Program, Texas A&M University.
intersections of High and Queen Street and resulted in the recording of the best-preserved structures and in situ artifacts (figure 2.5).

In addition to the major underwater excavations, there have been numerous small land excavations but only two major ones. The largest land excavation, conducted by Philip Mayes (1972), was located in the center of the nineteenth-century naval base. His work is noted for the partial excavation of St. Paul’s Church, which was destroyed in the 1692 earthquake. Finally, Antony Priddy (1975) excavated a complicated, densely packed building block facing onto New Street (figure 2.3).

The main archaeological evidence that can be unequivocally equated to piracy and privateering is found in the form of shipwrecks. During Marx’s excavation, he located and tentatively identified three shipwrecks, labeled A, B, and 1722 Wreck (figure 2.4). Along the southeast side of the excavation area, Wreck A was identified as the HMS Swan. Just west of this ship was Wreck B, identified as the French prize; and at the north end of the excavated area was a ship separated in two localities that Marx identified and labeled as the 1722 Wreck on the basis of a 1721 French coin (Marx 1973:202). Historic accounts describe how Port Royal was overwhelmed by the sea during the disastrous August 28, 1722, hurricane and 26 merchant vessels along with 400 persons perished in the harbor (Millás 1968:178). Another observer mentions that only four men-of-war and two merchant ships survived the storm out of fifty sails in the harbor (Millás 1968:178). The 1722 ship was one of the vessels that sank in this hurricane that demolished much of the town and destroyed once and for all Port Royal’s chance to revive its former prominence.

After establishing the 1692 boundary of the harbor side of Port Royal on the excavation maps (figures 2.3 and 2.4), it is clear that the shipwreck that Marx
identified as the HMS *Swan* lies in the old harbor, not in the streets of the town. Because the ship lies outside the town boundary it cannot be the HMS *Swan*, which is described as being careened at the time of the earthquake and washed into town, landing on top of the house of Lord Pike (Oldmixon 1969:324). A more likely candidate for the HMS *Swan*, a fifth-rate warship known to have engaged pirate ships, is the shipwreck that rammed through the front wall of Building 4 and lies at the ends of Lime and Queen Streets in the INA/TAMU excavation (figures 2.4 and 2.6) (Clifford 1991:82). It is impossible to state conclusively that this wreck is the *Swan*, but it does fit the description of the ship: there is no ballast (which suggests that the ship was being careened), the ship is definitely lying on top of a building, and the keel has the same 74-foot length as the *Swan* (Clifford 1991, 1993). The wood was identified as slippery elm, also fitting the historic description of the *Swan*. In any case, this is the first archaeological evidence of a ship that literally rammed through the front door of an occupied house during the earthquake. That in itself is an exciting discovery, which justified to my colleagues that I was finally doing shipwreck archaeology and not just excavating buildings.

The most likely scenario is that the *Swan* was being careened at one of the wharves along Thames Street. Because the ballast had been removed, the large wave generated by the earthquake carried the ship over or through the buildings along Thames. Once the ship reached Queen Street, the water was funneled westward down that street, where the ship rammed into Building 4, which lies along a narrow extension of Lime Street and juts out into Queen Street (figures 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6). Notice in figure 2.6 how the front of Building 4 was destroyed and the back wall has been pushed forward out of alignment with the in situ section of the wall to the east (right). The *Swan* started off as a Dutch ship that was captured by the English in 1672. At the time of the earthquake the ship was at least twenty years old and had served as a fire ship that was converted to a fifth-rate man-of-war (S. Clifford 1993:145–46). During its long service in the Caribbean the ship was sent on numerous patrols to engage pirate ships.

If the ship lying on top of Building 4 is a more likely candidate for the *Swan*, the question of the most likely identification for the three ships in Marx’s excavation arises. In an attempt to identify these wrecks, a number of historic documents and maps of Port Royal were consulted. The most significant find was a map titled “An Exact Plan of Chocolata Hole and the South End of the Town of Port Royal in Jamaica,” surveyed in 1724 by James Cascoigne (figure 2.7). The key to the map reads:

* A Charles Fort, B The Magazine, C The Captain of the Forts Apartment, D The Guard Room, EF The Lieutenants their apartments, G The Hanover Line, gg The Brafshire joined to the Wall of the Town (since the hurricane 28th Aug. 1722), H the Wall of the Town, I A Store Platform, K A Boarded Platform, L Barracks for the Soldiers, M The ruins of a pitch house which
Figure 2.6. Plan view of Buildings 4 and 5 with ship remains, possibly the HMS Swan, lying on top of Building 4. Courtesy of the Nautical Archaeology Program, Texas A&M University.
belong'd to the King, nmm Embrares of the old Fortifications ruin'd by the earthquake 7th June 1692, N The wreck of the Lewis hulk, O the Wreck of a Galeon taken by James Littleton Esq (Since a Flagg Officer), P The Wreck of the Ranger a Pirate ship taken by Capt Chaloner Ogle (since Knighted) Q Mathews's Wharf, R Clarks & Sandys's Wharf, S Morgan's Wharf, T Lodderdale's Wharf, U Prudge's Wharf, W A Smith's Shop, X A Nine Pin Alley, Y The Kitchen belonging to the Fort, Z The Market House, a The Cage Pillory & Stocks, b The Exchange.

N.B 1. The parts drawn colour'd with Red are built with Brick & Stone
2. “ “ Black “ “ Wood or Earth
3. Where the foundations are Speck'd the houses were demolished in the hurricane 28th Aug 1722.

Latitude 17.51 N
Longitude from London 16.00 W
Variation (anno 1724) 6.15 E

ddd A Wharf proposed by S' Jacob Ackworth Knt. Surveyor of his Majesty's Navy, The Kings Ships, eee An Enclosure of Pahng, propos'd to keep the Seamen from stragling,fff A line of loose stone for a breakwater.

The map locates and identifies three ships labeled N, O, and P in exactly the same locations as the three ships recorded by Marx. All the vessels appear to have been ships that sank in the 1722 hurricane that struck Port Royal. The ship identified as the Swan by Marx corresponds to the ship labeled “N” on the 1724 map and is identified as “N the wreck of the Lewis hulk.” Marx’s “French Prize” correlates with “O the wreck of a Galeon taken by James Littleton, Esq. (Since a Flag Officer).” The ship identified by Marx as the 1722 Wreck is identified as “P the wreck of the Ranger a pirate ship taken by Capt Chalenor Ogle (since Knighted).” Thus the ships have been identified as a hulk, a captured galleon, and a pirate ship called the Ranger.

Significantly, the Ranger was a ship used by Bartholomew Roberts, who has been described as the most successful pirate of the early eighteenth century. This shipwreck is the only conclusive archaeological evidence that can be associated with piracy activities at Port Royal. But how did the Ranger come to be riding at anchor in Port Royal just before the 1722 hurricane?

Bartholomew Roberts is considered to be the greatest of the last of the Golden Age pirates (Marx 1992:256). A Welshman, like the famous Henry Morgan who helped establish Port Royal's reputation, Roberts was active throughout the West
Figure 2.7. "An Exact Plan of Chocolata Hole and the South End of the Town of Port Royal in Jamaica, survey'd (in 1724) by J'm Cascoigne 1st Lieut. of his Maj. Ship Launcestone." Lime Street is located on the left side of the figure with the stocks and market in the middle of the street.
Indies and eastern coast of America as far north as Newfoundland, south to Brazil, and along the eastern coast of Africa. In the spring of 1721 Roberts was running out of vessels to plunder in the West Indies, so he took his booty-laden ship to the Guinea coast of Africa (Marx 1992:260; Defoe 1999:104–287). Just off the Senegal River in present-day Senegal, the French sent out two warships to engage his sloop, not realizing it was a heavily armed pirate ship. Roberts raised the black pirate flag and captured both French ships, one with sixty-five men and ten cannon and the other with seventy-five men and sixteen cannon (Defoe 1999:225). One of the captured French ships was renamed the Ranger and became the consort of the Royal Fortune, Roberts’ flagship (Black 1989:68; Defoe 1999:226). The other ship was used as a store ship. Despite the Ranger’s short career as a pirate ship, it participated in the capture of numerous ships of various nationalities—English, Dutch, Portuguese, and French.

Meanwhile, two Royal Navy ships, the Weymont and the Swallow (under the command of Captain Chalenor Ogle), returned to the area to engage any pirate ship attacking British ships or interrupting the lucrative British trade in slaves, gold, and products. Despite severe hardships and the death of many of his crew, Captain Ogle continued his search for Roberts along the Guinea coast. When Roberts saw the Swallow sailing toward him, he did not recognize the ship for what it was and sent the recently captured Ranger to take it. Out of sight of the Royal Fortune, the Swallow turned and fired a broadside. A crew was placed on the Ranger to keep it from sinking and sail it to port. Five days later, the Swallow sailed back to Cape Lopez on February 10, 1722, to engage Roberts, who was commanding the Royal Fortune (Black 1989:70; Marx 1992:261). In the course of the battle, Roberts was killed, and 254 pirates were captured and taken to the Cape Coast for trial in April of 1722 (Marx 1992:261). Many of the captured pirates were hanged or died in prison; however, a few were acquitted. Thus ended the career of the acknowledged greatest pirate of the era.

How the Ranger ended up in Port Royal is not known at this time, but it did sink on August 28, 1722, during a particularly destructive hurricane that largely destroyed the town of Port Royal as well. The ship identified by Robert Marx as the 1722 Wreck is now known to be a French ship of either ten or sixteen cannon captured off the Senegal River in West Africa by Roberts and renamed the Ranger. This short-lived pirate ship sits on the bottom of Port Royal Harbor in Jamaica, heavily ballasted with 150-pound cannonballs, 9 inches in diameter. With a little research, it should be possible to identify the French ship that became the Ranger and the details of how it came to be at Port Royal.

There are other pirates whose names are much more closely related to Port Royal, such as Henry Morgan, Calico Jack Rackham, Anne Bonny, and Mary Read; but nothing appears archaeologically at Port Royal that can be attributed to them. Somewhere in the mangrove swamp northeast of Port Royal, Henry Morgan, the best known of the Port Royal privateers, was buried in the old cemetery. During the great earthquake of 1692 the burial grounds were de-
Donny L. Hamilton

stroyed; Morgan's lead coffin and headstone probably lie undiscovered somewhere in the adjacent mangrove swamps. Other than his grave and the ruins of his plantation house on the east end of the island, what we know about Morgan comes from written records and folklore. For instance, the probate inventory of Henry Morgan survives in the Jamaica Public Archives and provides us with good insight into the range and variety of material used in this period. In addition, it gives us a good indication of the wealth that could be obtained by a select few of the privateers. With an inventory value of £5,263, 1 shilling, 3 pence, Morgan was a very wealthy person by 1688 standards. However, very few privateers died still in possession of the wealth they received from privateering.

Just outside the entrance to Kingston Harbor lies a small cay named for Calico Jack Rackham, where his body was caged after he was hanged at Gallows Point as a warning to all who might be considering crossing the line (Black 1989: 116). A short distance north across the part of Kingston Harbor called Port Royal Harbor, a low-lying piece of land juts out from the mangroves. This is Gallows Point, where the pirates were hanged and their bodies allowed to swing as a warning to all who sailed into the harbor. Gallows Point is largely submerged in a mangrove swamp, and no archaeological work has ever been conducted there. All things considered, the archaeological record provides us with very tenuous evidence for a segment of society that contributed substantial wealth to the thriving economy of Port Royal.

While the pirates and privateers played an important and by today's standards even romantic role in Port Royal's history, it clearly was in no way as significant as the role played by merchants and trade in establishing Port Royal as an economic powerhouse. By and large, the wealth accumulated by the pirates and privateers was transitory, quickly ending up in the pockets of the Port Royal merchants, tavern owners, and brothel establishments: easy come, easy go. The money accumulated by the merchants was used to finance the establishment of plantations in Jamaica, which were to create even greater fortunes in the eighteenth century. Some of the merchants became plantation owners. Eventually some of the money even made it back to the merchants of London, who backed many of the merchants of Port Royal.

Archaeologically speaking, little has been found that can be attributed exclusively to privateers or pirates. The best archaeological evidence comes from shipwrecks, and even here good historic documentation is essential to identify the ship. Without the written wills, inventories, deeds, and grantor's records that often record partial ownership of vessels used in privateering or trade, there would be little to equate Port Royal with its privateering citizenry.

Henry Morgan's Probate Inventory (Inventories, vol. 3, folios 258-61)

Morgan died during the reign of James II (1684-89), who was deposed in 1689 and died in 1701. Morgan was buried in the cemetery on the spit on August 25,
1688. The original spelling and syntax of the inventory in the archives are maintained.

Sir Henry Morgan Port Royall (Jamaica Public Archives 1689)
19th February 1688 [this would be 1689 in the Gregorian calendar now in use]
Jamaica 5s.

James the second by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King and of Jamaica Lord Defender of the faith etc. To all to whom these Persons shall come greeting Know Yea that Constituted authorized and apoynted and by these Persons doe Constitute authorize and apoynt Our Freely and well beloved Nathaniell Ferry and Robert Needler Esqs or officer of them to administer an Oath unto Peter Heywood and John Moone Esqs that they shall well and honestly and according to the best of their Judgments & Consciences Inventory and Chattells Rights and Creditts of S' Henry Morgan late of this Island Knt decd as they shall be shown unto them by Dame Mary Elizabeth Morgan his Relick and Executive and thereof the said Nathaniel Ferry and Robert Needler or offices of them are to make a true returne unto our Governor of our said Island under their own offices of their hands and seales together with this present Power annexed so that the said inventory and appraysement may be recorded in the Secrys office of this our island witness Sir Francis Watson Knt President of the Council and Governor of our said Island of Ja­­amaica and the Territories thereon depending and Chansellor of the same the Thirtieth day of October 1688.

Hickman, Secry F.Watson

According to the Power to me by the within written writt given I did on the within named Peter Heywood and John Moone Esqs administor the oath to them that by the said writt is directed witness my hand and shall this Eleaventh day of February in the fifth year of his Majesties reign.

Robt Needler

Jamaica

An Inventory and Appraisment of the Goods and Chattels Rights and Creditts of the Honble Sir Henry Morgan Knt as shewn unto us this 19th February 1688

Sir Hen Morgan's Inventory

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wrought plate 4961 § at 5s2d p §} & \quad 128\ 02\ 08 \\
\text{one silver watch} & \quad 03\ 00\ 00 \\
\text{Two gold rings with ord stones} & \quad 02\ 00\ 00 \\
\text{Two plaine gold rings} & \quad 00\ 10\ 00 \\
\text{2 pr white buttons & 3 pr shoe buckells} & \quad 00\ 05\ 00 \\
\text{a sett of gold buckells and buttons sett wth stones} & \quad 04\ 10\ 00 \\
\text{some Emerauld dropps and a lump of pomander} & \quad 00\ 07\ 00 \\
\text{one ounce of small p ashe} & \quad 01\ 00\ 00 \\
\text{one ounce & 18 wrought gold} & \quad 07\ 10\ 00 \\
\text{nine small Coker nutts tippt with silver} & \quad 00\ 09\ 00 \\
\text{a parcell of glasses} & \quad 01\ 10\ 00
\end{align*}
\]
A parcell of china teacups and Earthen ware

a parcell of agatt hafted and other old knives

Two brass horizontal dyal & small compass

three dozen of woven chaine chairs

sixteen old chairs

a pcell old tables

one silke mohaire suite of curtins lynd wth Persian with bedd coverlidd &c

four feather beds wth boulsters

forteen Hamakoes

a musketo nett

one flock bedd & c

six purple bayes gowns

five looking glasses

Two Inlaid Scriptoriums

one plaine scriptorium

One Inlaid chest Drawers table stand &c

One cedar chest drawers

One dressing box cabinet & c

One hundred twenty three bound books

a prcell of old charts mapps & c

a prcell of sermons playes and phampletts

a prcell of sheets and pillow boors

a prcell of Diaper Table cloths and napkins

a prcell of damask ditto

a prcell of Ozenbrigg napkins

a prcell of damask diapers & Oz towels

six side board cloathes

six old cushions

Three remnts of Holland

Several remnts of course linen

Thre yds & ½ of Cambrich

Sir Henry's wareing linnen

Two silk night gowns

Three Old Beaver hatts

Two pr of faced gloves

A Barber's & tweezer cases & Instruments

Two prospect glasses & other old things

a prcell of Chests Trunks and a Press

a velvet saddle & c?

a wast belt

twenty seven gunns & 19 cartouch boxes

three pr pistolls and three swords

five powder horns & two lances

nine pictures

a clock
Pirates and Merchants: Port Royal, Jamaica

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>four sconces</td>
<td>01 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a pr of old tables wth a box of troy weights</td>
<td>01 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three close stooles and panns</td>
<td>02 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one cold still</td>
<td>01 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a pair of And Irons</td>
<td>14 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Jack &amp; Iron Potts &amp; spitts two frying panns &amp; cookeroom utensils</td>
<td>15 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a parcell of tin ware</td>
<td>02 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five brass kettles and other brass and copper ware belonging to the cookeroom</td>
<td>30 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 oz of Pewter</td>
<td>10 05 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a pcoll of beeze wax</td>
<td>02 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A pair of stillyards</td>
<td>01 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty five pounds of candles</td>
<td>02 12 06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a parcell of soape</td>
<td>00 13 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a parcell of spices</td>
<td>02 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a parcell of fruite</td>
<td>02 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half a barrell of flower</td>
<td>01 11 03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Dantswirk case of bottles wth a parcell of bottles &amp; jars</td>
<td>02 01 09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Cassadar Iron</td>
<td>03 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Casting nett</td>
<td>11 14 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a parcell of basketts &amp; brushes</td>
<td>13 15 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a prcell of wooden ware</td>
<td>01 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three doz &amp; 3 pr shoos</td>
<td>02 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eleaven barrells of beefe</td>
<td>15 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a parcell of salt</td>
<td>00 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a parcell of old Carpenters tooles</td>
<td>00 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foury four negroe men at 20£</td>
<td>88 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foury two negro women at 17£</td>
<td>165 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thirteens negro boys at 8£</td>
<td>10 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twenty negro girls at 7£</td>
<td>16 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Indians at 17£</td>
<td>34 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eleven white servants from one to seven years time to serve</td>
<td>88 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirty five working steers at 7£</td>
<td>252 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foure Bulls and 4 Bulking</td>
<td>28 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty one cows and 6 yearlings</td>
<td>93 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five hefers</td>
<td>15 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twenty mules</td>
<td>240 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight horses</td>
<td>64 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a mare fillee and horse colt</td>
<td>08 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a parcell of hoggys</td>
<td>35 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a prcell of goates</td>
<td>12 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a parrel of dunghill fowls turkeys 5 Ducks &amp; geese</td>
<td>20 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a gang of dogg</td>
<td>05 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixty five thousand weight of mustavado sugar at 2s6d p £</td>
<td>406 05 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six hundred and forty Gall. Rumm</td>
<td>26 13 04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One thousand Gall. Molasses</td>
<td>12 10 00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One thousand wooden potts 75 00 00
Two rumm butts two pipes & 2 Iron bound Puncheons 02 00 00
Two mills six wth cases gudgeon stopps & c 120 00 00
Two spare gudgeons 05 00 00
six spare brasses 10 00 00
Eight capooses & 6 stopps 04 00 00
Two Iron crowes and 6 splitting wedges 01 00 00
Six Copper string 65 00 00
One new copper 23-06
four ladies and eight skimmers 03 10 00
Two Potting basons 02 10 00
Six lamps and two scrapers 00 05 00
a receiver and six wooden coolers 02 00 00
three stills wormes & tubbs hung 50 00 00
Eight Dripps 00 04 00
six Barricoes 00 10 00
a parcell of nailes 00 05 00
a parcell of plantation tooles 15 00 00
eight yoakes fixed with chains 05 00 00
a pairof steadd wheels 08 00 00
a pairof plaine wheelees 04 00 00
a hempen rope & 2 single blockes 02 10 00
four old coppors 12 00 00
a parcell of old copper old iron tooles & severall other old things 03 00 00
about the house & Sir Henry's Plantation a parcell of Horses and mares running at Coleburry and Ivy's savannas 25 00 00
Depts due to the estate are Imp from Coll. Geo Woodham a bond of Three Hundred Pounds 150 00 00
From the Executor of his Grace the Duke of Albermarle From Mr. Thomas Pinatbrase 344 12 00
From Sir Richard Doreham 35 00 00
From Mr. Thomas Byndleys 60 16 00
290 00 00
£5263 01 03

In Obedience to the Comands from the Right Honble Governor wee have according to the best of Our Skills and Judgments appraised the fouregoing Inventory amounting to five Thousand Two Hundred Sixty Three pounds One Shilling and Three pence as witness our hands & Seales

Peter Heywood
John Moone