

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTE ABBREVIATIONS

The names of authors and book and journal article titles have been abbreviated in the Endnotes with only last name given for authors and editors and book/journal titles shortened for the sake of brevity. The reader is referred to the comprehensive *Bibliography* for complete and pertinent historical reference information.

ADM	Admiralty Records, Public Record Office, London.
BOT	Board of Trade and Plantations (beginning on May 15, 1696) and Lord of Trade and Plantations (before May 15, 1696).
Cal. Hist. MSS	<i>Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, New York. Part II, English Manuscripts, 1664–1776.</i> Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1866.
CO	Colonial Office Papers, Public Record Office, London.
Commons Journals	<i>Journals of the House of Commons, 1547–1714.</i> 17 vols. London, 1742.
CSPC	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574–1738,</i> Noel Sainsbury et al. (eds.), 42 vols. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1860–1969.
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.</i> London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1858–.
DHNY	<i>Documentary History of the State of New York,</i> E. B. O'Callaghan, ed. 4 vols. Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1849–51.
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography,</i> Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds. London: Oxford University Press, 1885–1900.
GL Collection	The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, NY.

HCA	High Court of Admiralty Records, Public Record Office, London.
HEH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
IOR	India Office Records, India Office, London.
<i>Journal of the General Assembly</i>	<i>Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York. Vol. 1, 1691–1743.</i> New York, 1764.
Mass. Council Min.	Minutes of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay Governor's Council.
MHS <i>Collections</i>	Massachusetts Historical Society <i>Collections</i> . Boston, 1793–.
NYCCM	<i>New York Calendar of Council Minutes 1668–1783, History 6.</i> New York State Library Bulletin 58. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1902.
NYCD	<i>Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York</i> , E. B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds. 15 vols. Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1856–87.
NYHS <i>Collections</i>	New York Historical Society <i>Collections</i> . New York, 1811–.
NYM	<i>Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York 1675–1776. Vols. I and II.</i> New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1905.
NY Col. MSS	New York Colonial Manuscripts, New York State Library, Albany.
Orig. Corr.	Original Correspondence, East India Company Records, India Office, London.
PRO	Public Record Office, London.
RCRI	<i>Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England</i> , John Russell Bartlett, ed., 10 vols. Providence, RI, 1856–1865.
<i>State Trials</i>	<i>A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, Vols. 13 and 14</i> , T. B. Howell, ed. (London: T.C. Hansard, 1812 and 1816).

CHAPTER 1—THE CARIBBEAN PRIVATEER

1. Codrington to BOT, Nevis, August 15, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 345; Gasser, *Flying*, 38–41.
2. Codrington to BOT, Nevis, August 15, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 345.
3. Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 82; Lovejoy, *Glorious*, 225–234; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 62–63; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 95.
4. Taylor, *Colonies*, 278; Chet, *Colonists*, 23; McConville, *King's*, 15–16.
5. Chet, *Colonists*, 23; Ritchie, *Duke's Province*, 198; Taylor, *Colonies*, 278.
6. Taylor, *Colonies*, 278.
7. Marley, *Wars*, 200; Lovejoy, *Glorious*, 225–234; Taylor, *Colonies*, 278, 288; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 82.
8. Stede to Shrewsbury, Barbados, May 30, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 155; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 29.
9. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 29; Zacks, *Hunter*, 59–64; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 18–19.
10. Zacks, *Hunter*, 60.
11. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 29; Rediker, *Outlaws*, 3. For the ages of seafaring commerce raiders (privateers and pirates) of the Golden Age of Piracy (1650–1730), Rediker found that the median age of 169 pirates active between 1716 and 1726 was 27 years (mean: 28.2). (See *Villains*, 49, and *Outlaws*, 67.) For the clothing of commerce raiders, see Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 11–13; Little, *Golden Age*, xx–xxi; and Konstam, *Pirates: Predators of the Seas*, 232–233. For the small-arms weaponry of commerce raiders, the reader is referred to Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 57–74.
12. Philippe, *DuCasse*, 74–80; Gasser, *Flying*, 38–41; Zacks, *Hunter*, 60–61.
13. Wilkins, *Kidd*, 16; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 17–18; Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, 47, *Scots*, 57; Winston, *No Man*, 114; New York Title and Guarantee Co., *New York Land-Holding Sea Rover*, 1–5; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 43.
14. Gasser, *Flying*, 38–41; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 19, 22–26, 29, 43; Zacks, *Hunter*, 60–61; Philippe, *DuCasse*, 74–80.
15. Stede to Shrewsbury, Barbados, September 2, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 397; Philippe, *DuCasse*, 74–80; Gasser, *Flying*, 38–41.
16. Grainger, *British Navy*, 86–87; Marley, *Wars*, 200–201; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 60–61; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 29–30.
17. Hanna, *Nests*, 214; Philippe, *DuCasse*, 74–80.
18. Spencer, *True*, 517–518; Codrington to BOT, Nevis, August 15, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 345; Crouse, *French*, 155–156.
19. Martin, *History*, 93–94.
20. Crouse, *French*, 155–156; Marley, *Wars*, 200–201; Philippe, *DuCasse*, 78–80; Parker, *Barons*, 20.
21. Zacks, *Hunter*, 64.
22. As discussed in detail in the Endnotes for Chapter 2, William Kidd was born in December 1654, making him thirty-four years old at the time he seized the *Sainte Rose* from the French on July 29, 1689.
23. Codrington to BOT, Nevis, August 15, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 345. Kidd was voted captain by the Anglo-American privateers who seized the

- Sainte Rose* and was not “appointed” captain by Christopher Codrington, governor-general of the English Leeward Islands. As maritime historian Margarett Lincoln writes, Kidd was “elected to captaincy by his privateering crew just as [Henry] Morgan had been.” (*British Pirates and Society, 1680–1730*, 121.)
24. Graham to Blathwayt, New York, May 29, 1695, Blathwayt MSS, v. 10, HEH; *State Trials*, v. 14, 208; Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10; Grey, *Pirates*, 199.
 25. Konstam, *Piracy*, 258–259; Zacks, *Hunter*, 64–65.
 26. Cabell, Thomas, and Richards (hereafter Cabell), *Kidd*, 5–7; Konstam, *Piracy*, 258–259.
 27. Codrington to BOT, Nevis, August 15, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 345.
 28. Codrington to BOT, Nevis, August 15, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 345; Zacks, *Hunter*, 64–65.
 29. Codrington to BOT, Nevis, August 15, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 345; Gasser, *Flying*, 38–41.
 30. Martin, *History*, 87; Hubbard, *Swords*, 20–23, *History*, 10–19; Parker, *Barons*, 127–131; Watts, *West Indies*, 285; Britt, *Fueling*, 54.
 31. Martin, *History*, 87; Chernow, *Hamilton*, 7.
 32. Chernow, *Hamilton*, 7–9.
 33. Hubbard, *Swords*, 20.
 34. Machling, *Fortifications*.
 35. Zacks, *Hunter*, 47.
 36. Codrington to BOT, Nevis, August 15, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 345. Governor Codrington would not arrive to Nevis to meet with Kidd until August 7, 1689, after battling a force of two hundred French and Irish at Barbuda.
 37. Fox, *Piratical Schemes*, 83.
 38. Abstracts of Wills, New York, NYHS *Collections* [1892], v. I, 180.
 39. Leech, *Architecture*, 154–160, 164; Martin, *History*, 87–89.
 40. Martin, *History*, 87.
 41. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, November 26, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 1, 212.
 42. Parker, *Barons*, 146, 165–167; Dunn, *Sugar*, 90, 95–96, 135; Simmons, *Codrington*, 32–36.
 43. Parker, *Barons*, 146, 163–167.
 44. Simmons, *Codrington*, 32–36; Harlow, *Codrington*, 14–37; Anderson, *Barbuda*, 55–62; Dator, *Choicest*, 156–157; Parker, *Barons*, 167; Zacks, *Hunter*, 66.
 45. Dator, *Choicest*, 152–153.
 46. Codrington to BOT, Nevis, August 15, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 345.
 47. Codrington to Shrewsbury, Nevis, August 12, 1689; Codrington to BOT, Nevis, August 15, 1689; Carpenter and Belchamber to Commissioners of Customs, August 19, 1689; Colonel Thomas Hill, August 20, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 333, 345, 361, and 367; Spencer, *True*, 517–518; Marley, *Wars*, 201;

- Morgan, *British West Indies*, 383; Gasser, *Flying*, 38–41; Crouse, *French*, 155–157.
48. Ibid; Childs, *Secondary*, 83–84.
 49. Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 220–221; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 54; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 72.
 50. Head, *Conclusion*, in Head, *Golden Age*, 241–243; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 4; Geanakopulos, *Next Door*, 67.
 51. Dolin, *Rebels*, 162.
 52. Fox, *Piratical Schemes*, 8; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 71–73.
 53. Chet, *Persistence*, 211.
 54. Chet, *Ocean*, 3–4, 45–46, 53–54; Hanna, *Nests*, 214–215; Amirell, Hägerdal, and Buchan, *Introduction Piracy in World History*, 21–22.
 55. Benton, *Search*, 113. See also Rubin, *The Law of Piracy*, 98–99; Benton, *Legal Spaces*, 706–707.
 56. Burgess, *The Politics of Piracy: Crime and Civil Disobedience in Colonial America* (hereafter *Politics*), 18–24; Hanna, *Nests*, 214–215.
 57. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, June 4, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 927; Moses, *The British Navy*, 13–15; Morgan, *British West Indies*, 385–386; Parker, *Barons*, 182. Commodore Lawrence Wright and his long-awaited English fleet of thirteen warships and transports would not arrive to Antigua until May 31, 1690.
 58. Codrington to BOT, Nevis, August 15, 1689; Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 345 and 789.
 59. Bauer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 146; Sherry, *Raiders*, 58–59; Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 35; Cabell, *Kidd*, 157. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, England did not allow American colonists to mint their own money, so the leading New World currency of the age was the Spanish silver dollar or peso, worth eight *reales*. The Spanish “piece of eight,” thus, originated from *peso de a ocho reales*. In the Golden Age of Piracy, coins were valued by their actual weight in gold or silver, not just on their physical appearance. Spanish coins were preferred over other currency of the age because they had a milled, or patterned, edge, which prevented unscrupulous traders from shaving slivers off the coins without detection. The Spanish piece of eight, also known as the Spanish dollar, was the dominant and most widely accepted global currency in the Age of Sail right up to the late eighteenth century.
 60. Leeson, *Invisible*, 156; Bauer, *Pirates*, 40; Zacks, *Hunter*, 11; Pennypacker, *Kidd*, 488; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 34; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 4.
 61. Block and Shaw, *Subjects*, 55–57; Zacks, *Hunter*, 65.
 62. Zacks, *Hunter*, 65.

CHAPTER 2—FIGHTING FOR THE CROWN

1. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, November 11, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 548.
2. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789; Parker, *Barons*, 180–186.

3. Zacks, *Hunter*, 66.
4. Stede to Shrewsbury, Barbados, May 30, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 155; Burke, *Shaping*, 226–238; Momsen and Niddrie, *Dominica*; Parker, *Barons*, 130–131.
5. Stede to Shrewsbury, Barbados, May 30, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 155; Hubbard, *Swords*, 68–69; Martin, *History*, 73–79; Bell, *Caribs*, 18–31; Bialuschewski, *Raiders*, 10.
6. Zacks, *Hunter*, 66.
7. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, November 11, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 548; Gasser, *Flying*, 38–41; Block and Shaw, *Subjects*, 56–59; Dunn, *Sugar*, 134–135.
8. Codrington to Shrewsbury, Nevis, August 12, 1689; Codrington to BOT, Antigua, November 11, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 333 and 548.
9. For the multiethnic makeup of commerce raiding crews serving on English and other European vessels in the Caribbean during the Golden Age of Piracy (1650–1730), the reader is referred to Little, *Golden Age*, 193–212; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 14–17; and Rediker, *Villains*, 37, 63–64. For the clothing of commerce raiders, see Little, *Golden Age*, xx–xxi; Konstam, *Pirates: Predators of the Seas*, 232–233; and Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 11–13. For their small-arms weaponry, see Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 57–74.
10. Dr. David Boyles, personal communication, June 2020–September 2024; Boyles Family Tree, Ancestry.com; Mumah, *Alphabetical Dictionary*. Recent genetic genealogical evidence has shed new light on the family origins of Captain William Kidd. Genetic genealogy using autosomal segments relies on finding a DNA “match” who shares one or more DNA segments with a test-taker. A shared “identical by descent” (IBD) segment has to have been transmitted to the test-taker and to match down through successive generations. The gold standard of genetic genealogy relies on a process known as “triangulation.” Triangulation requires that three or more persons share an identical or significantly overlapping segment of DNA in common and have documented family trees containing a common ancestor from whom that DNA was transmitted down the generations. Shared DNA segments must be of substantial “length” to be statistically valid segments, with 7 centiMorgans (cM) being the minimum threshold length initially considered. A centiMorgan is a relative segment-length that incorporates the statistical probability of a segment being separated during recombination. In practice, true triangulation is a high bar, especially the further one goes back in time, and identifying a segment as being “triangulated” confers upon it a special status. Historical, genealogical, and genetic research conducted by Dr. David A. Boyles, Jack R. Gaines Emeritus Professor of Chemistry of the Department of Chemistry and Applied Biological Sciences of the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, drawing upon the genealogical work of Sandra E. H. Mumah and others, confirms that Captain William Kidd (William Kidd IV) was born in 1654, in Soham Parish, Cambridgeshire, England;

and that his biological father and mother were Reverend William Kidd III (b. October 20, 1622, Soham Parish, England, d. April 1693, Calvert, Maryland), and Margaret Mary Deare Kidd (b. March 26, 1625, Soham, d. March 24, 1727, Middlesex, Virginia). The parish records obtained by Dr. Boyles indicate that Captain William Kidd's official recorded birth date is December 27, 1654, in Soham Parish, Cambridgeshire, England. In Boyles's DNA study, two techniques—shared cluster analysis and triangulation—were utilized to examine the DNA results of a primary female test-taker (born in 1921) at both Ancestry© and FamilyTreeDNA©, respectively. The female test-taker was, prior to the testing, considered a highly probable eighth-great-granddaughter of Captain William Kidd (William Kidd IV) and Sarah Bradley (1670–1744), wife of Captain Kidd, based on extensive genealogical analysis conducted by Dr. Boyles, Mumah, and others. The results of Dr. Boyles's shared cluster analysis successfully demonstrated a common Kidd ancestor of both the colonial Virginia and Maryland Kidd genealogical families. This common Kidd family ancestor must necessarily be, or predate, Reverend William Kidd III (b. 1622), who migrated from England to Calvert, Maryland, prior to 1688 when his son William Kidd IV (Captain Kidd) put down roots in New York City. Secondly, successful triangulation of the probable female Captain William Kidd ancestor (primary test-taker) demonstrated her descent from the Bradley line since this individual matched three descendants of William Bradley (b. 1619 in Bingley, Yorkshire, England, d. 1691, New Haven, Connecticut), the documented brother of Captain Samuel Bradley (1620–1704), the father of Sarah Bradley (1670–1744). Sarah Bradley was Captain Kidd's wife from May 16, 1691, to May 23, 1701, though they had known one another since at least 1688. The DNA segment lengths based on the start and end loci for the Bradley descendants were 25.8, 10.1, and 14.6 centiMorgans. To ascertain whether all three also matched one another and therefore were a true, triangulated match, one-to-one comparisons were made at GEDmatch with the conclusion that each matched the other in addition to the primary test-taker, demonstrating triangulation. Taken together, these DNA results indicate that the primary test-taker is also the descendant of a Kidd/Bradley ancestral couple, namely Captain William Kidd IV and Sarah Bradley.

- ii. Dr. David Boyles, personal communication, June 2020–September 2024; Boyles Family Tree, Ancestry.com; HCA 13/81, 313, PRO; Proceedings of the Lords of Trade concerning Mr. Livingston's Petition, August 28, 1695, and September 14, 1695, NYCD, v. 4, 127–128 and 129–130; Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 64, fol. 154–155, PRO; Hoff, *English Origins*, 179; Filby, *Passenger and Immigration Lists*, England 1695; Dobson, *Scots*, 57, *Scottish Emigration*, 47, *Scottish Genealogy*, xii. Though born in Soham, England, Captain William Kidd (William Kidd IV) has a definite connection to Scotland, and Dundee in particular. The most critical piece of evidence comes from Kidd's visit to London to obtain a

royal privateering commission in the summer of 1695. Kidd sailed into the busy seaport on his merchantman *Antigua* in late July and testified before the Lords of Trade and Plantations on August 28 and September 14 regarding New York governor Benjamin Fletcher. On his port of entry record, Kidd gave his age as forty-one years old, which would make his year of birth 1654. During his subsequent testimony before the Lords of Trade, Kidd was sworn in and gave his age and where he grew up but not his actual birth place or birth date: "William Kidd of the city of New York in America where he has lived for space of six years, originally from Dundee in the Kingdom of Scotland, 41 years of age." Researchers have also pointed out that Kidd named a young male servant he acquired in Port Dolphin, Madagascar, "Dundee" during his 1696–1699 Indian Ocean expedition, and that he was friends or acquaintances with several prominent American Scots. These men include his New York lawyer James Emott; his New York neighbor and business partner Robert Livingston; New York attorney general James Graham, who wrote a letter of introduction on his behalf to English diplomat Sir William Blathwayt; and Bostonian Duncan Campbell, deputy postmaster of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. Finally, historical records appear to indicate that, in 1699 when Kidd's life was on the line, he reportedly considered sailing away with his family to the new Scottish settlement in the Bay of Darien in Central America, which has been interpreted to imply a Scottish ancestry. While these secondary lines of evidence suggest that Kidd did indeed have a connection to Scotland at an early age that made a lasting impression on him and gave him a sense of connectedness, they do not prove that Kidd was an actual born-and-bred Scotsman. In fact, there is no Scottish lineage for the legendary sea captain verified through genealogical and DNA analyses. However, he does appear to have believed that he was "originally from" Dundee because he moved there at an early age as an English emigrant to Scotland. William Kid (not Kidd or Kydd) is the name given for the baptismal record dated January 22, 1654, in Dundee, Angus, Scotland. This record has never been confirmed by scientifically rigorous DNA analysis or triangulation.

12. There are two lines of evidence that Kidd was an experienced Caribbean buccaneer like Sir Henry Morgan. First, he signed on as a privateer aboard the French vessel *Sainte Rose* in early 1689 at Île-à-Vache off Hispaniola, a well-established buccaneer base of operations. French Hispaniola and its nearby islands of Tortuga and Île-à-Vache, as well as Petit-Goâve and Tiburon on the southwest coast of Hispaniola, served as both a staging area and refuge for the buccaneers from the 1660s through the 1680s, when Kidd was active. These were the commerce-raiding strongholds that evolved from the original French *boucaniers*, along with Port Royal, Jamaica, and the islets off the southern coast of Cuba. The second line of evidence is that throughout the course of his privateering career, he drew upon buccaneering ships' articles. Kidd's written articles used in 1691,

- 1695, and 1696–1699—governing the distribution of crew shares, codes of behavior, punishments for cowardice, thievery, and other infractions, “workmen’s compensation” for combat injuries, democratic voting procedures, and the like—bear a striking resemblance to the articles published by the Dutch–French surgeon Alexander Olivier Exquemelin for the buccaneers in the age of Morgan.
13. Lunsford, *Buccaneers*, 131–135; Hatfield, *Boundaries*, 22–53; Gasser, *Flying*, 38–41; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 27–29.
 14. Lane and Bialuschewski, *Piracy*, 67–103; Bialuschewski, *Raiders*, 8–9, 13–27; Woodard, *Republic*, 2.
 15. The reader is referred to the classic work on the legendary buccaneers: Alexander O. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America: A True Account of the Most Remarkable Assaults Committed of Late Years Upon the Coasts of the West Indies by the Buccaneers of Jamaica and Tortuga*.
 16. Hatfield, *Boundaries*, 22–44, 63; Lunsford, *Buccaneers*, 132; Bialuschewski, *Raiders*, 13–27; Lane and Bialuschewski, *Piracy*, 67–103.
 17. Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 78.
 18. Lunsford, *Buccaneers*, 138–139.
 19. For the career of Robert Culliford, see Testimony of Culliford, HCA 1/16, pt. 1, fol. 5, PRO, and Zacks, *Hunter*. For more on Samuel Burgess, see Depositions of Burgess, HCA 1/98, pt. 1, fol. 42–50, PRO; Case of Samuel Burgess, Secretaries of State Papers (SP) 34/36, fol. 35, PRO, in Fox, *Pirates*, 17–21; Ritchie, *Burgess*, 114–135; and Geanakopoulou, *Next Door*, 93–100, and *Eighteenth*, 44–52. For John Browne, see Testimony of Browne, June 17, 1702, HCA 1/16, pt. 1, fol. 1, PRO; Examination of Browne, October 21, 1701, HCA 1/53, fol. 110–111, PRO, in Fox, *Pirates*, 75–76.
 20. Leeson, *Invisible*, 88–91.
 21. Chet, *Persistence*, 116–119; Leeson, *Economic Way*, 157.
 22. Zacks, *Hunter*, 66.
 23. Codrington to BOT and Netheway to King and Queen, Nevis, August 15, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 345 and 348.
 24. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, November 11, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 548.
 25. Ibid.
 26. Ibid.
 27. Governor Robinson to BOT, Bermuda, October 8, 1689; Commission of Robinson to Hewetson, October 9, 1689; and Codrington to BOT, Antigua, November 11, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 472, 474, and 548; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 30.
 28. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, November 11, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 548.
 29. Commission of Codrington to Hewetson, November 22, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 585; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 123–124; Zacks, *Hunter*, 66.
 30. Instructions of Codrington to Hewetson, Antigua, December 26, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, no. 655.

31. Stede to Shrewsbury, May 30, 1689, 247; Statement of passage between Hewetson and Rev. Bowerman; Stede to Shrewsbury, July 16, 1689; Barbados, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 155, 247, and 262; Barber, *Disputations*, 138; Latimer, *Buccaneers*, 264–265; Marley, *Pirates*, v. 2, 638–639.
32. Stede to Shrewsbury, Barbados, July 16, 1689; Commission of Robinson to Hewetson, Bermuda, October 9, 1689; CSPC, v. 13, nos. 262 and 474; Latimer, *Buccaneers*, 264–265; Marley, *Pirates and Privateers*, 187; *State Trials*, v. 14, 208–209.
33. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, November 11, 1689; Commission of Codrington to Hewetson, Antigua, November 22, 1689; Instructions of Codrington to Hewetson, Antigua, December 26, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 548, 585, and 655; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 123–124.
34. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789; Childs, *Secondary*, 83–84; Morgan, *British West Indies*, 383–386; Harlow, *Codrington*, 14–37; Dunn, *Sugar*, 134–135; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 123–124.
35. Stede to BOT, Barbados, February 11, 1690; Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 759 and 789; Spencer, *True*, 521; Cabell, *Kidd*, 8; Zacks, *Hunter*, 68; Marley, *Pirates and Privateers*, 187, 208, *Wars*, 202; Latimer, *Buccaneers*, 265; Moses, *British Navy*, 13–21; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 123–124.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, *Marie-Galante*.
41. Kelly, *Historical Archaeology*, 6–7.
42. Zacks, *Hunter*, 68.
43. Codrington to BOT, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789; Spencer, *True*, 521; Marley, *Wars*, 202; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 124; Cabell, *Kidd*, 8; Zacks, *Hunter*, 68; Latimer, *Buccaneers*, 265; Hammond, *Power*, 205–211; Jameson, *Privateering*, 190; Flannigan, *Antigua*, 53.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 136–152, *Golden Age*, 118–128; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 119–120; Konstam, *History of Pirates*, 117.
48. Ibid, Footnote 35.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Zacks, *Hunter*, 68; Jameson, *Privateering*, 190.
52. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789; Cabell, *Kidd*, 8.
53. Zacks, *Hunter*, 68.
54. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 124; Cabell, *Kidd*, 8.

55. Ibid.
56. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789.
57. Ibid; Spencer, *True*, 521; Latimer, *Buccaneers*, 265.
58. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789; Zacks, *Hunter*, 68–69.
59. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789; Spencer, *True*, 521; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 124; Zacks, *Hunter*, 69.
60. Zacks, *Hunter*, 69.
61. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789; Spencer, *True*, 521; Cabell, *Kidd*, 9–10.
62. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, and Stede to BOT, Barbados, March 3, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 789 and 779; Marley, *Wars*, 202.

CHAPTER 3—IN VICTORY AND DEFEAT

1. Account of St. Martins, and Stede to BOT, Barbados, March 3, 1689, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 789i and 779; Spencer, *True*, 524; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 125.
2. Account of St. Martins; Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789 and 789j; Crouse, *French*, 159; Marley, *Wars*, 202; Pennypacker, *Kidd*, 484.
3. Ibid.
4. Philippe, *DuCassee*, 74–80; Gasser, *Flying*, 38–41; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 124–125; Marley, *Pirates and Privateers*, 124, *Pirates*, v. 2, 572–574.
5. Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 136–152; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 120; Konstam, *Blackbeard*, 178–180.
6. Account of St. Martins, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789i.
7. Ibid; Latimer, *Buccaneers*, 265. Musket and half-musket range: Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 136.
8. Account of St. Martins, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789j; Marley, *Wars*, 202; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 124–125; Crouse, *French*, 159.
9. Ibid.
10. Account of St. Martins, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789i.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 125; Zacks, *Hunter*, 70; Crouse, *French*, 159.
13. Zacks, *Hunter*, 70.
14. Account of St. Martins, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789j; Cabell, *Kidd*, 11; Zacks, *Hunter*, 70–71.
15. Account of St. Martins, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789j; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 125; Zacks, *Hunter*, 70–71; Cabell, *Kidd*, 11.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. For antipersonnel weaponry used during boarding actions, see Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 134–161; Konstam, *Blackbeard*, 178–180; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 119–120.

20. Account of St. Martins, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789j; Konstam, *Blackbeard*, 178–180; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 125–126.
21. Spencer, *True*, 524; Account of St. Martins, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789j; Marley, *Wars*, 202; Crouse, *French*, 159–160.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Account of St. Martins, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789j; Crouse, *French*, 159–160; Zacks, *Hunter*, 70–71; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 125–126.
25. Ibid.
26. Account of St. Martins, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789j; Philippe, *Du Casse*, 74–80; Crouse, *French*, 159–160; Cabell, *Kidd*, 12; Zacks, *Hunter*, 71.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Spencer, *True*, 524; Account of St. Martins, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789j; Marley, *Wars*, 202; Crouse, *French*, 160.
30. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690; Account of St. Martins, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 789 and 789i; Spencer, *True*, 524; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 63–64; Marley, *Wars*, 202; Latimer, *Buccaneers*, 265.
31. Zacks, *Hunter*, 72; Cabell, *Kidd*, 14.
32. Antigua Council to Hewetson, January 31, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789jiii; Zacks, *Hunter*, 72.
33. *State Trials*, v. 14, 208–209.
34. Except where noted, currencies of Captain Kidd's Early Modern Era are given in English pounds sterling with equivalent values in 2025 U.S. dollars in parentheses, based upon the calendar year 1690 to maintain consistency, using University of Wyoming Professor Emeritus Dr. Eric Nye's automated, easy-to-use *Pounds Sterling to Dollars: Historical Conversion of Currency*.
35. Antigua Council to Hewetson, January 31, 1690, and Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 789jiii and 789j; Brooks, *Trial*, 2–3; Ritchie, *Burgess*, 116.
36. Governor and Council of Nevis to Hewetson, January 22, 1690, and Antigua Council to Hewetson, January 31, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 789jii and 789jiii; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 31.
37. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 31; Leeson, *Invisible*, 4–6, *Calculus*, 447, *Economic Way*, 157.
38. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 32.
39. Ibid.
40. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789j; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 32, *Burgess*, 116.
41. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789j; Parker, *Barons*, 180–186; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 63–64; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 32; Cabell, *Kidd*, 14.
42. Ibid.

43. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789; Konstam, *Piracy*, 258–259; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 220; Zacks, *Hunter*, 72; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 63–64.
44. Testimony of Browne, June 17, 1702, HCA 1/16, pt. 1, fol. 1, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 31; Zacks, *Hunter*, 72.
45. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789.
46. Ibid.
47. Kidd's Protest, April 11, 1700, *Report on the Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland* (hereafter *Portland Manuscripts*), v. 8, 78; Zacks, *Hunter*, 79.
48. Lang, *Captain Thomas Hewetson*; Vauxhall History, *Lambeth Palace Library*.
49. Codrington to BOT, Antigua, March 1, 1690, CSPC, v. 13, no. 789.

CHAPTER 4—MR. AND MRS. CAPTAIN KIDD

1. Dr. David Boyles, personal communication, June 2020–September 2024; Boyles Family Tree, Ancestry.com; Mumah, *Alphabetical Dictionary*; Stein, *A History*, 284; Gibb, *Supplement*; Besse, *Collection*, v. II, 388; Calvert County Genealogy Newsletter, v. 13, no. 7, October 1998; De Peyster, *Bellomont*, 29; Tucker, *Names of Persons for Whom Marriage Licenses were Issued by New York*, 90; Cox, *Cox Family*, 33; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 373; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 17, 18, 180, 184; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 15–18, *Next Door*, 69; Pennypacker, *Kidd*, 485; Zacks, *Hunter*, 82; Wilkins, *Captain Kidd*, 16; Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, 47, *Scots in the Mid-Atlantic Colonies*, 57, *Scottish Genealogy*, xii; Winston, *No Man*, 114.
2. Ibid.
3. Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 373; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 184; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 16; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 34–35, 38, 39, 42–43, *Eighteenth*, 57, *Next Door*, 70.
4. Zacks, *Hunter*, 83; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 70, *Eighteenth*, 57; De Peyster, *Bellomont*, 29.
5. Abstracts of Wills, New York, NYHS *Collections* [1892], v. I, 180, 197, 204, 206–207.
6. Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 22–23, *Next Door*, 69–70; Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 27.
7. Kidd's Protest, April 11, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 78; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 70; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 16–17.
8. Bullivant and Andrews, *Glance at New York*, 61–63; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 21, 35–37, 63–64, 91–98; Earle, *Colonial Days*, 70–71, 98–114; Zimmerman, *Women*, 26–29; Shorto, *Island*, 168–169, 192–193.
9. Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 3, 1,000; Lovejoy, *Glorious*, 235–239; Goodfriend, *Who*, 24–25; Burke, *Leisler's Rebellion*, 405–406.
10. Memorial of van Breen and others, The Hague, October 15, 1691, CSPC, v. 13, no. 1,840; Hall, Leder, and Kammen, *Glorious*, 99–114; Ritchie, *Duke's*

- Province*, 198–203; McConville, *King's*, 37–38; Archdeacon, *New York*, 97–118; Nash, *Urban*, 24–28, 54–57.
11. Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 178; Bonomi, *Faction*, 75–76; Merwick, *Being Dutch*, 373–404; Voorhees, *Fervent Zeale*, 449–451; Archdeacon, *New York*, 97–118; Stanwood, *Protestant Moment*, 497–498, 503–506.
 12. Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 3, 222, 297; Memorial of van Breen and others, October 15, 1691, The Hague, CSPC, v. 13, no. 1,840; Voorhees, *Fervent Zeale*, 449; Balmer, *Traitors*, 351, and *Perfect Babel*, 31; Lovejoy, *Glorious*, 104; Mason, *New York Revolt*, 168; Stanwood, *Protestant Moment*, 503–507.
 13. Ritchie, *Duke's Province*, 203–229; Archdeacon, *New York*, 97–118; Balmer, *Traitors*, 341–372.
 14. Council Minutes, Fort William, April 23 and 24, 1691, *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New York*; Account of Ammunition and Guns delivered to Kidd, Cal. Hist. MSS, Pt. II, 202; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 363; Leder, *Captain Kidd*, 48–53.
 15. Slougher to Nottingham, March 27, 1691; Slougher to Committee, May 7, 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 756–757, 766–768; Memorial to Sidney, October 16, 1691, Rotterdam, CSPC, v. 13, no. 1,842; McCormick, *Slougher's Delay*, 238–252; Mason, *New York Revolt*, 177.
 16. Declaration of Leisler against Ingoldsby and Council, March 16, 1691; Leisler to Slougher, March 20, 1690–91, DHNY, v. 2, 340–345, 359–360; Slougher to Nottingham, May 6, 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 759–762; Memorial of van Breen and others, The Hague, October 15, 1691, CSPC, v. 13, no. 1,840; Ingoldsby's Letter Demanding Fort and Ingoldsby's Warrant to Moore, January 30, 1691, NYHS *Collections* [1868], v. I, 300–301.
 17. Leisler, Privateering Commission to Mason, May 19, 1690, DHNY, v. 2, 250–251; Depositions of Burgess, HCA, 1/98, pt. 1, fol. 42–50, PRO; Case of Samuel Burgess, Secretaries of State Papers 34/36, fol. 35, PRO, in Fox, *Pirates*, 17–21; Testimony of Culliford, HCA 1/16, pt. 1, fol. 5, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 75–77; Ritchie, *Burgess*, 117; Zacks, *Hunter*, 79–81; Cabell, *Kidd*, 17.
 18. Brooke to Southwell, April 6, 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 757–759; Declaration of Leisler against Ingoldsby and Council, March 16, 1691; Leisler to Slougher, March 20, 1690–91, DHNY, v. 2, 340–345, 359–360; Slougher to Nottingham, May 6, 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 759; Voorhees, *Fervent Zeale*, 471–472; Stanwood, *Catholics*, 229–230.
 19. Newton to Nicholson, April 8, 1691, in Leder, *Captain Kidd*, 52; Draft of Letter from Slougher to Blathwayt, May 1691, DHNY, v. 2, 381–382; Zacks, *Hunter*, 81; Cabell, *Kidd*, 17.
 20. Ibid.
 21. Ibid.
 22. Affidavit of van Rensselaer, March 7, 1691, NYHS *Collections* [1868], v. I, 328–331; Lovejoy, *Glorious*, 339.
 23. Newton to Nicholson, April 8, 1691, in Leder, *Captain Kidd*, 51–52; Slougher to King, May 7, 1691, New York, CSPC, v. 13, no. 1,463; Answer to

- Blagge Memorial, April 27, 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 763; Archdeacon, *New York*, 119–120.
24. Newton to Nicholson, April 8, 1691, in Leder, *Captain Kidd*, 50–51; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 34–35.
 25. Account of Ammunition and Guns delivered to Captain Kidd, Cal. Hist. MSS, Pt. II, 202; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 363.
 26. Newton to Nicholson, April 8, 1691, in Leder, *Captain Kidd*, 51–52; Brooke to Southwell, April 6, 1691, and Sloughter to Nottingham, May 6, 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 757–759, 759–762; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 363.
 27. Declaration of Leisler against Ingoldsby and Council, March 16, 1691, DHNY, v. 2, 343; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 15.
 28. Sloughter to Committee, May 7, 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 767; McCormick, *Governor Sloughter's Delay*, 251–252.
 29. Sloughter to Nottingham, May 6, 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 759–761; Merwick, *Being Dutch*, 392; Leonard, *History of New York*, 112–113.
 30. Leisler to Sloughter, March 20, 1690–91, DHNY, v. 2, 343.
 31. Brooke to Southwell, April 6, 1691; Sloughter to Nottingham, May 6, 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 757–759, 759–762.
 32. Van Rensselaer, *History*, 475; Leonard, *History of New York*, 113; Merwick, *Being Dutch*, 393–394.
 33. Journal of General Assembly, v. 1, 13; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 365.
 34. Memorial of Leisler and Gouverneur, September 25, 1696, NYCD, v. 4, 213–216; Journal of General Assembly, v. 1, 13; Hall, Leder, and Kammen (eds.), *Glorious*, 125–127; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 250; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 65–66.
 35. Council Minutes, Fort William, March 24, 1691, NYCCM, 62–63; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 364.
 36. Libel Exhibited by Kidd against *Pierre*, March 27, 1691, Cal. Hist. MSS, Pt. II, 160; HCA 24/124, no. 162, and 125, no. 27, PRO; N.Y. Col. MSS, 34, pt. 2, fol. 80, and 36, 106–112; Memorial in Behalf of Leisler's Adherents, October 15, 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 812; Leisler, Privateering Commission issued to Mason, May 19, 1690, DHNY, v. 2, 250–251; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 35–36.
 37. Ibid; Affidavit of van Rensselaer, March 7, 1691, NYHS *Collections* [1868], v. I, 331; Notes to Supreme Court of Judicature Minutes, 1691–1692, Note 18, in Hamlin and Baker (eds.), *Supreme Court of Judicature of New York*, NYHS *Collections* [1945–1947], v. II, 255.
 38. Leder, *Records of the Trials of Jacob Leisler*, 431–457; Leisler Documents, NYHS *Collections*, v. 1, 311–314; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 361–370; Historical Society of New York Courts, *Leisler Treason Trial*.
 39. Rolls of Trial of Leisler et al. for Treason, in Leder, *Records of the Trials of Jacob Leisler*, 454; Hall, Leder, and Kammen (eds.), *Glorious*, 118.
 40. Historical Society of New York Courts, *Leisler Treason Trial*; Law Library–American Law and Legal Information, Notable Trials and Court Cases, 1637 to 1832, *Jacob Leisler Trial, 1691*.
 41. Boyles Family Tree, Ancestry.com; Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 70.
 42. Abstracts of Wills, New York, NYHS *Collections* [1892], v. I, 183.

43. Abstracts of Wills, New York, NYHS *Collections* [1892], v. I, 180; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 373.
44. *Will of Sarah Roushy*, New York Wills and Administrations, Vol. 15 (1742–1751), 262–264.
45. *William Kidd Biography*.
46. Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 47.
47. Attanasio, *Sarah*, 237.
48. Abstracts of Wills, New York, NYHS *Collections* [1892], v. I, 180; De Peyster, *Bellomont*, 29. William and Sarah Kidd's marriage license issued on May 16, 1691, refers to the legendary "pirate" as "Captain William Kidd of New York, Gent. [Gentleman]."
49. Hastings, *Ecclesiastical Records*, 997–998; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 70.
50. Geanacopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 56, *Next Door*, 66; Zacks, *Hunter*, 85.
51. Churchwardens and Vestry of Trinity Church to Archbishop Tenison, NYCD, v. 4, 526.
52. Abstracts of Wills, New York, NYHS *Collections* [1892], v. I, 180.
53. Kidd's Protest, April 11, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 78; New York Title and Guarantee Co., *New York Land-Holding Sea Rover*, 1–5; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 43.
54. Singleton, *Dutch New York*, 262; Cabell, *Kidd*, 19.
55. Intended Letter from Sloughter to Blathwayt, May 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 789; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 102; Van Rensselaer, *History*, 554; Voorhees, *Fervent Zeale*, 447.
56. Ibid.
57. Letter from Members of Dutch Church in New York to Classis of Amsterdam, October 21, 1698, NYHS *Collections* [1868], v. I, 408; Van Rensselaer, *History*, 554.
58. Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 367–369; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 94.
59. Intended Letter from Sloughter to Blathwayt, May 1691, NYCD, v. 3, 789; Van Rensselaer, *History*, 553.
60. N. N. to a Friend in Amsterdam, August 6, 1691, Myers Collection, 26, New York Public Library, in Voorhees, *Fervent Zeale*, 447; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 102; Foote, *Manhattan*, 104.
61. Dying Speeches of Leisler & Milborne, May 16, 1691, DHNY, v. 2, 376–380.
62. Ibid, 380.
63. Leonard, *History of New York*, 143; Leder, *Robert Livingston*, 59–76; Leder and Carosso, *Livingston*, 18–19, 43–45; Kierner, *Traders*, 30; Burke, *Leisler's Rebellion*, 414.
64. Dying Speeches of Leisler & Milborne, May 16, 1691, DHNY, v. 2, 379–380.
65. Draft of Letter from Sloughter to Blathwayt, May 1691, DHNY, v. 2, 382; Voorhees, *Fervent Zeale*, 447; Balmer, *Traitors*, 362; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 102; Leonard, *History of New York*, 143–144; Archdeacon, *New York*, 120–122.

66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Balmer, *Traitors*, 362; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 102; Van Rensselaer, *History*, 555.
69. Court of Admiralty Proceeding, New York, September 17, 1690; Sloughter to Codrington, May 1691, DHNY, v. 2, 291–294, 381; Minutes of Council of New York, Case of *Horne* Frigate, September 17, 1691, CSPC, v. 13, no. 1, 771; Kidd and Walkington Dispatched in Pursuit of French, May 25, 1691, Cal. Hist. MSS, Pt. II, 208.
70. Governor of Rhode Island to Sloughter, Boston, June 24, 1691, CSPC, v. 13, no. 1, 593; Marley, *Pirates*, v. 2, 712–713; Lussan and Montauban, *The Voyage*; Gasser, *Flying*, 38–41; *French Privateer Fluyt “La Machine”* (1690); *Montauban, Étienne de*; Harrison, *Etienne de Montauban*; Zacks, *Hunter*, 87; Cabell, *Kidd*, 20.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Exquemelin, *Buccaneers*, 4, 464–465; Marley, *Pirates*, v. 2, 712–713.
74. Zacks, *Hunter*, 87; Cabell, *Kidd*, 20.
75. Proposals Offered to Kidd and Walkington, Boston, June 8, 1691, MHS Collections [1825], Series 3, v. 1, 122–123; *Adventure Galley* Articles and Crew List, September 10, 1696, CSPC, v. 18, 354 xvii; CO 5/861, fols. 266–269, PRO; Information of Palmer, HCA, 1/15, fol. 7, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 153; Zacks, *Hunter*, 18, 121; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 54. In September 1696, Captain Kidd sailed with at least one free black colonial African American seaman, one Native American seaman, and one Jewish passenger/novice seaman on the *Adventure Galley*, and he added another “Black” cook to his crew in April 1697. These historically marginalized figures were voluntary, share-earning crew members aboard Kidd’s ship, having signed privateering articles that closely followed the democratic articles of the Caribbean buccaneers.
76. Hatfield, *Boundaries*, 53; Bialuschewski, *Black People*, 469; Bloch-Lainé, *Marcus Rediker*.
77. Zacks, *Hunter*, 89.
78. Kidd’s Prize not to pay Customs Duties, Council Minutes, Fort William, August 17, 1691, NYCCM, 67; Minutes of Council of New York, CSPC, v. 13, no. 1, 703; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 370.
79. The precise birth date of Captain and Sarah Kidd’s first daughter, Elizabeth Kidd, has not been recorded, but she is widely documented in the Kidd literature, and the usual birth year given is 1692.
80. Valentine, *Manual*, 515; Zacks, *Hunter*, 89.
81. Leder, *Robert Livingston*, 80.
82. Sloughter to Codrington, May 1691, DHNY, v. 2, 381.
83. Zacks, *Hunter*, 89.

CHAPTER 5—THE RED SEA MEN

1. Wilkins, *Kidd*, 16; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 17.
2. Bonomi, *Factionous*, 19; Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 28–30; Ritchie, *Duke's Province*, 9–16, 25–44; Cabell, *Kidd*, 16.
3. Taylor, *Colonies*, 255–257, 271–272; Goodfriend, *Who*, 27–28; Klein, *Shaping*, 179, 187–188; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 20; Bonomi, *Factionous*, 25.
4. Goodfriend, *Melting Pot*, 1–7, 81–110; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 20; Ranlet, *Safe Haven*, 37–57.
5. Klein, *Shaping*, 184.
6. Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 20–21.
7. Klein, *Shaping*, 181.
8. Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 21.
9. Nash, *Urban*, 1; Klein, *Shaping*, 184.
10. Klein, *Shaping*, 192; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 18.
11. Garrod, *Piracy*, 1–16; Head, *Conclusion*, in Head, *Golden Age*, 242; Coakley, *Piracies*, 6–26; Wilson, *Suppressing Piracy*, 1–25.
12. Hanna, *Well-Behaved Pirates*, 137.
13. Geanakopoulous, *Eighteenth*, 154–165; McDonald, *Pirates*, 15.
14. Head, *Introduction*, in Head, *Golden Age*, 1–4; Geanakopoulous, *Next Door*, 101–110.
15. Head, *Introduction*, in Head, *Golden Age*, 2; Amirell, Hägerdal, and Buchan, *Introduction Piracy in World History*, 16; Konstam, *Piracy*, 10–22; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 2–6.
16. Amirell, Hägerdal, and Buchan, *Introduction Piracy in World History*, 16–19; Head, *Introduction*, in Head, *Golden Age*, 2; Karraker, *Piracy*, 15–26.
17. Karraker, *Piracy*, 66; Bialuschewski, *Pirates, Slavers*, 406–409, *Pirates, Markets*, 52–54; McDonald, *Pirates, Merchants*, 13; Hooper, *Pirates and Kings*, 218–228. For this book, I have adopted the time period for the “Golden Age of Piracy” of 1650–1730, based upon Atlantic scholars Marcus Rediker, Joel Bauer, and David Cordingly, who are in general agreement: Rediker, 1650–1730, cited in *Villains of All Nations*, 8–9; Bauer, 1660–1730, cited in *British Piracy in the Golden Age*, v. 1, x; Cordingly, 1650s to “around 1725,” cited in *Under the Black Flag*, xvi.
18. Beeston to BOT, Jamaica, June 10 and July 27 and 28, 1693, CSPC, v. 14, nos. 393, 477, and 479; Bellomont to Admiralty, CO 5/860, fols. 314–315, PRO; South to Lords Justices of Ireland, August 15, 1696; Secretary of EIC to Popple, December 18, 1696, CSPC, v. 15, nos. 517 and 517i; Wilson, *Suppressing Piracy*, 178; Hanna, *Piracy*, 6–9; Burgess, *Crisis*, 70; McDonald, *Pirates*, 40–42; Finnegan, *Formal*, 10–12; Lane, *Pillaging*, 185.
19. Greene, *Peripheries*, 13; Steele, *English Atlantic*, 242–243; Platt, *East India Company*, 548–552; Ridge, *Stand*, 15–16; Norton, *Classification*, 1,554, 1,565; Bialuschewski, *Pirates, Markets*, 54; Linebaugh and Rediker, *Hydra*, 145–146; Taylor, *Colonies*, 258.
20. Burgess, *Crisis*, 61; Geanakopoulous, *Eighteenth*, 24–25; Winston, *No Man*, 33–34.

21. Hanna, *Piracy*, 9; Simon, *Problem*, 123–124; Burgess, *Politics*, 227–231.
22. Deposition of Baldrige, May 5, 1699, CO, 5/1042, fols. 212–214, PRO; Bialuschewski, *Pirates, Slavers*, 406–409, *Pirates, Markets*, 52–54; McDonald, *Pirates*, 13; Hooper, *Pirates and Kings*, 218–228; Wilson, *Suppressing Piracy*, 178; Hanna, *Piracy*, 7. Historian Kevin McDonald coined the term “Indo-Atlantic” in his outstanding *Pirates, Merchants, Settlers, and Slaves: Colonial America and the Indo-Atlantic World*, and I use his term throughout this book.
23. McDonald, *Pirates*, 42; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 93–97, 126–129.
24. Burgess cargo list of *Margaret*, HCA 1/98, fol. 85, PRO; Wilson, *Suppressing Piracy*, 178; Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 93; McDonald, *Pirates*, 42; Judd, *Philipse*, 362–363; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 37.
25. Hanna, *Nests*, 188.
26. Coddington Narrative, November 27, 1699, CO 5/1259, fols. 205–206, PRO; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 93; Chet, *Persistence*, 117, *Ocean*, 30–31; Hanna, *Nests*, 217–221; Hanna, *Nests*, 186–260; Burgess, *Crisis*, 61–62, *Politics*, 6–11, 36–47, 227–231, *Pirates’ Pact*, 106–122, 263–265.
27. Bialuschewski, *Pirates, Slavers*, 401–409; Platt, *East India Company*, 548–550; McDonald, *Pirates*, 39–42, 81–89; Finnegan, *Pirates*, 1, 120–1, 121.
28. Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 21.
29. Klein, *Shaping*, 191.
30. Armstrong, *Five Generations*, 3, quoting an unidentified early historian; Henri and Barbara Van der Zee, *Sweet and Alien Land*, 21.
31. Abstracts of Wills, New York, NYHS *Collections* [1892], v. I, 197, 206–207; New York Title and Guarantee Co., *New York’s Land-Holding Sea Rover*, 1–5.
32. Tax lists of New York, December 1695–July 1699, NYHS *Collections* [1910], v. 43–44, 1–208; Valentine, *Manual*, 515; Abstracts of Wills, New York, NYHS *Collections* [1892], v. I, 204, 206–207; *New York’s Land-Holding Sea Rover*, New York Title and Guarantee Co., 1–5; *Will of William Cox*, New York Wills and Administrations, vols. 3 and 4 (1684–1687), 162–177; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 3, 950, v. 4, 341, 345, 349, 373; v. 6, 21; Earle, *Colonial Days*, 102–103; Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 68.
33. Winston, *No Man*, 114; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate’s Wife*, 70.
34. Zacks, *Hunter*, 12; Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 68.
35. Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 21–22.
36. Geanakopoulos, *Pirate’s Wife*, 52–53.
37. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 39; Zacks, *Hunter*, 89–91.
38. Commissioners of Records, *Index of Conveyances Recorded in Office of Register of City and County of New York: Grantees*, v. “L,” 219; Graham to Blathwayt, New York, May 29, 1695, Blathwayt MSS, v. 10, HEH; Leder, *Robert Livingston*, 93; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate’s Wife*, 53.
39. Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 349, 385, 392, 396, 397, 400–403; Zacks, *Hunter*, 15, 227; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate’s Wife*, 43.

40. Abstracts of Wills, New York, NYHS *Collections* [1892], v. I, 366–367; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 6, 133.
41. Zacks, *Hunter*, 245. The precise birth date for Captain William and Sarah Kidd's second daughter, Sarah, is not known as no birth record has been preserved. However, multiple sources cite the year 1694 as the year of her birth, and she is later listed in her mother's will as "Sarah, widow of Joseph Latham." See Boyles Family Tree, Ancestry.com.
42. Minutes of Supreme Court of Judicature, April 4, 1693 to April 1, 1701, NYHS *Collections* (1912), v. 45, 55, 56, 62, 63, 65, 68, 73; Brooke to [Blathwayt] and accompanying letters, New York, November 24, 1694, CSPC, v. 14, nos. 1,546 and 1,546i–iv, and in CO 5/1038, fols. 421–422, PRO; Hamlin and Baker (eds.), *Supreme Court of Judicature of New York*, NYHS *Collections* [1945–47], v. I, 150, 163–164; Leder, *Robert Livingston*, 93–95.
43. Ibid.
44. Brooke to [Blathwayt], New York, November 24, 1694, CSPC, v. 14, 1,546, and in CO 5/1038, fols. 421–422, PRO.
45. Zacks, *Hunter*, 91.
46. Papers of Edward Randolph, July 31, 1696, CSPC, v. 15, no. 120; McDonald, *Pirates, Merchants*, 124; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 114.
47. Fletcher's Conduct, New York, June 13, 1695, NYCD, v. 4, 223; Bellomont to BOT, New York, May 8, 1698, and May 18, 1698 Addenda, NYCD, v. 4, 306–310; Report of BOT on New York, October 19, 1698, NYCD, v. 4, 389; Randolph to BOT, August 17, 1696, CSPC, v. 15, no. 149; McDonald, *Courage*, 1–21; Hanna, *Nests*, 192–193; Marley, *Pirates and Privateers*, 389; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 70.
48. Karraker, *Piracy*, 91; McDonald, *Courage*, 1–21; Burgess, *Politics*, 40–43, *Pirates' Pact*, 112.
49. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 40.
50. Bellomont to BOT, New York, May 8, 1698; Report of BOT on New York, October 19, 1698, NYCD, v. 4, 307, 388; Geanacopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 45–46, 50–51; Ritchie, *Burgess*, 114–120; McDonald, *Pirates*, 55; Judd, *Philipse*, 360–362.
51. Fletcher's Conduct, New York, June 13, 1695, NYCD, v. 4, 223, and in CSPC, v. 14, no. 1,892; Customs to Lords of Treasury, Customs House, November 16, 1696; Randolph to Customs, November, 10, 1696, CSPC, v. 15, no. 396 and 396i; Marley, *Pirates and Privateers*, 389; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 120; McDonald, *Courage*, 19, *Pirates*, 1.
52. Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 76; Zacks, *Hunter*, 82.
53. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 40.
54. Graham to Blathwayt, New York, May 29, 1695, Blathwayt MSS, v. 10, HEH.
55. Kidd's Protest, April 11, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 78; Zacks, *Hunter*, 96.
56. Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 6, 133.

57. Ibid; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 223; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 40.
58. Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 34–35; Woodard, *Republic*, 32–33; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 223.
59. ADM 3/16, May 7 and May 13, 1700; ADM 2/1048, fol. 8, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 158–159; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 40–41; Zacks, *Hunter*, 96.
60. Kidd's arrival to London in late July 1695 is documented in Hoff, *English Origins*, 179; Filby, *Passenger and Immigration Lists*, England 1695.

CHAPTER 6—THE SCHEME OF ENGLISH LORDS

1. Preston, *William Blathwayt*, 31–42; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 47–48; Hanham, *Blathwayt*.
2. *State Trials*, v. 14, 208–209; Zacks, *Hunter*, 106.
3. Leder, *Livingston's Voyage*, 19, 27, *Robert Livingston*, 101–104.
4. Livingston, *Journal of Our Voyage to England in the Charity who Lost her Rudder and was Drove Ashore in Portugal*, 78–79 (hereafter referred to as Livingston Journal); Leder, *Livingston's Voyage*, 30; Zacks, *Hunter*, 99; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 49–50.
5. Leder and Carosso, *Livingston*, 32; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 41.
6. Livingston Journal, 78–80; Macaulay, *History*, v. 4, 154–184; Rainbolt, *Creation*, 102; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 43–44.
7. Macaulay, *History*, v. 4, 154–184; Livingston Journal, 78–80.
8. Laslet, *Locke*, 401; Buchan, *All at Sea*, 67–68; Bellomont to Lords of Treasury, Boston, September 8, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, 769xiv; Finnegan, *Pirates*, 134–135; De Peyster, *Bellomont*, 5–6; Stackpole, *History*, 200.
9. Rowlands, *Coote*; Handley, *Coote*; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 47.
10. Finnegan, *Pirates*, 134–136; Rowlands, *Coote*; Handley, *Coote*.
11. House of Lords, *Return of the Names of Every Member returned to serve in each Parliament*, 37; Finnegan, *Pirates*, 135.
12. Cabell, *Kidd*, 24.
13. Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 28; De Peyster, *Bellomont*, 5; Winston, *No Man*, 34; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 73.
14. Journal of BOT, Shrewsbury announcing appointment of Bellomont to be governor of Massachusetts, June 14, 1695; Bellomont's Draft Commission for Governorship of Massachusetts, Whitehall, June 27, 1695, CSPC, v. 14, nos. 1,893 and 1,917; Shrewsbury to William III, July 16, 1695, in Coxe, *Original Correspondence*, 94; Shrewsbury to BOT, Whitehall, March 16, 1697; BOT to King, Whitehall, April 8 and 15, 1697, NYCD, v. 4, 261–263; Rainbolt, *Creation*, 103–106; Handley, *Coote*; Finnegan, *Pirates*, 138–139.
15. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 47–48; Leamon, *Recall*, 532–536; Zacks, *Hunter*, 101.
16. Livingston Journal, 71; Livingston, *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor*, xvii–xxxiii.
17. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 49.
18. Petition of Robert Livingston to BOT, September 19, 1695, NYCD, v. 4, 131; Leamon, *Recall*, 534; Leder, *Livingston's Voyage*, 17.
19. Zacks, *Hunter*, 100.

20. Livingston Journal, 80; Leder, *Livingston's Voyage*, 33.
21. Kidd to Speaker of House of Commons (Robert Harley), April (?), 1701, Jameson, *Privateering*, 250, and in *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 4, 16–17 (May 12, 1701; date listed is incorrect); Kidd's Protest, April 11, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 78–79.
22. Zacks, *Hunter*, 5.
23. Leder, *Livingston's Voyage*, 33, *Robert Livingston*, 109.
24. Wilson, *Piracy*, 29.
25. Bellomont to Vernon, New York, October 18, 1700, NYCD, v. 4, 760; Zacks, *Hunter*, 100–102; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 50–51.
26. Anonymous, *Full Account*, 1–4; Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 79; Somerville, *King*, 149; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 51; Dolin, *Black Flags*, 100.
27. Anonymous, *Full Account*, 2, 4; Wilson, *Piracy*, 28–29.
28. Proceedings of BOT concerning Livingston's Petition; Evidence taken before BOT against Fletcher, August 28, 1695, NYCD, v. 4, 127–128, 144; CO 391/8, fols. 100–104, 110, 113–114, PRO; Davis, *Benjamin Fletcher*, 247.
29. Journal of BOT, September 2, 1695, CSPC, v. 14, 2,041; Proceedings of BOT concerning Livingston's Petition, August 28, 1695, NYCD, v. 4, 127–128; Leamon, *Recall*, 534; Leder, *Livingston's Voyage*, 1695, 31.
30. Fletcher's Answer to Charges, New York, August 22, 1696, NYCD, v. 4, 179.
31. Shrewsbury to BOT, March 16, 1697, NYCD, v. 4, 261; Shrewsbury to Blathwayt, Whitehall, July 13, 1697, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry* (hereafter *Buccleuch Manuscripts*), v. II, pt. 2, 492; Fletcher's Answer to Charges, New York, August 22, 1696; Bellomont to BOT, New York, May 8, 1698, and May 18, 1698 Addenda; Report of BOT on New York, October 19, 1698, NYCD, v. 4, 179, 302–310, 385–389; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 50; Leamon, *Recall*, 536–538.
32. Wilson, *Piracy*, 29; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 121; Kingsley and Cowan, *Pirate King*, 105.
33. *State Trials*, v. 14, 208.
34. Zacks, *Hunter*, 103.
35. Kidd's Protest, April 11, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 79; *State Trials*, v. 14, 208–209.
36. Baer, *Pirates*, 120.
37. Agreement between Bellomont, Livingston, and Kidd, NYCD, v. 4, 762–764.
38. Ibid; Anonymous, *Full Account*, 5; Zacks, *Hunter*, 103–104; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 52–53; Cabell, *Kidd*, 27–31.
39. Rogozinski, *Honor*, x; Cabell, *Kidd*, 31.
40. Agreement between Bellomont, Livingston, and Kidd; Kidd and Livingston Performance Bonds, NYCD, v. 4, 764.
41. Commission from Admiralty (Commission of Reprisals upon the French), *State Trials*, v. 14, 169–171; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 12; and Brooks, *Trial*, 13–15; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 454; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 53.

42. Commission for Cruising against Pirates, *State Trials*, v. 14, 171–173; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 12; and Brooks, *Trial*, 15–16.
43. Anonymous, *Full Account*, 5–6; Kidd's Protest, April 11, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 79; Brooks, *Trial*, 13; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 53, 56.
44. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 12; Kidd's Protest, April 11, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 79; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 56–58; Winston, *No Man*, 121; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 117–118; Harris, *Treasure*, 106–107; Zacks, *Hunter*, 105.
45. Ibid.
46. Brooks, *Trial*, 16.
47. Shrewsbury to King, August 15–25, 1696, in Coxe, *Original Correspondence*, 136–137; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 13–14; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 54; Zacks, *Hunter*, 310.
48. Dalton, *Real*, 31; Harris, *Treasure*, 107.
49. Kidd Narrative, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31; Examination of William Jenkins, Boston, July 26, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, 680xi; Copy of Receipt to Captain Kidd for *Sita Gratia*, CO 5/861, fol. 261, PRO; *State Trials*, v. 14, 155; Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 391; Anonymous, *Full Account*, 6; Zacks, *Hunter*, 8, 109; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 62.
50. Order to Captain Munden, February 29, 1696, ADM, 3/12, PRO; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699; Depositions of Owen and Arris, Boston, July 4, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31, 33; Dummer, Information about Kidd, Winter 1699; Kidd's Protest, April 11, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 65–66, 80; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 34–35, 216–219; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 223; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 61–62; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 41–42.
51. Council Minutes, June 10, 1696, NYM, v. 1, 401–1, 406; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 395; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 48; Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 138; Davis, *Benjamin Fletcher*, 214–224.
52. Proceedings of BOT concerning Livingston's Petition, September 14, 1695; Fletcher to Blathwayt, New York, July 13, 1696; Fletcher's Answer to Charges, New York, August 22, 1696, NYCD, v. 4, 129–130, 165, 179.
53. Fletcher to BOT, September 17, 1696, NYCD, v. 4, 199; Copy of Receipt to Captain Kidd for *Sita Gratia* Prize Ship, CO 5/861, fol. 261, PRO; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31; Wait Winthrop to Fitz-John Winthrop, Boston, February 24, 1698, *The Winthrop Papers*, MHS Collections [1882], 5th Series, v. 8, 525–526.
54. Council Minutes, Fort William, July 11, 1696, NYCCM, 116; French Prisoners, NY. Col. MSS, v. 40, 179–180; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 396.
55. Fletcher to BOT, NYCD, v. 4, 275; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 49; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 113.
56. Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 49.
57. *Adventure Galley* New York Recruitment Broadsheet, HCA 1/15, part 1, fol. 8, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 63; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 223; Zacks, *Hunter*, 11.
58. Ritchie, *Burgess*, 120, *Kidd*, 66; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 95, 96. The ship captains who were away at sea in the summer of 1696 with large numbers

of New York sailors included Kidd's mutinous old shipmate Captain Samuel Burgess, who was on a pirate-trading mission to St. Mary's in the Frederick-Philipse-backed *Margaret*; and the Rhode Island commerce raiders Captains Hoar and Glover, who had received commissions from Benjamin Fletcher, recruited much of their crews from New York, and were both currently plundering in the Indian Ocean.

59. Livingston to Shrewsbury, New York, September 20, 1696, *Bucleuch Manuscripts*, v. II, pt. 2, 406; Cabell, *Kidd*, 42; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 95–96.
60. *Adventure Galley* Articles and Crew List, September 10, 1696, CSPC, v. 18, 354 xvii; CO 5/861, fols. 266–269, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 62–63; Zacks, *Hunter*, 11, 14.
61. Hamilton to Fletcher, Burlington, August 28, 1696, NYCD, v. 4, 201.
62. Zacks, *Hunter*, 15.
63. *Adventure Galley* Articles and Crew List, September 10, 1696, CO 5/861, fols. 266–269, PRO; CSPC, v. 18, 354xvii; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 63.
64. Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 391, 392, 393, 397, 412; Bullivant and Andrews, *Glance at New York*, 62; Goodfriend, *Who*, 28; *Trinity Church Wall Street History*; Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 136–138, 221; Morehouse, *Trinity*, 13, 19; Dix, *Trinity Church*, v. 1, 76–97; Cannan, *Unearthing Our Past*; Leonard, *History of New York*, 179; Zacks, *Hunter*, 13, 15.
65. Morehouse, *Trinity*, 11–19; Trinity Church Minutes Manuscript, in Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 396.
66. Trinity Church Minutes Manuscript, in Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 396; Bullivant and Andrews, *Glance at New York*, 64; Bellomont to Lords of Council about Kidd, Boston, July 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18.
67. Winston, *No Man*, 122.
68. Morehouse, *Trinity*, 19.
69. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 64.
70. Geanakopoulous, *Eighteenth*, 74; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 121–122; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 63–68.
71. Representation of Brooke and Nicoll to BOT, Whitehall, August 26, 1696, NYCD, v. 4, 181–182; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 64; Zacks, *Hunter*, 18.
72. *Adventure Galley* Articles and Crew List, September 10, 1696, CO 5/861, fols. 266–269, PRO, and in CSPC, v. 18, 354xvii; Fox, *Piratical Schemes*, 310–312.
73. Ibid; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 58–59.
74. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 68–69; Harris, *Treasure*, 107–108.
75. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31, and Jameson, *Privateering*, 206; Zacks, *Hunter*, 17; Brooks, *Trial*, 18.
76. Commission from Admiralty (Commission of Reprisals upon the French); Commission for Cruising against Pirates, *State Trials*, v. 14, 169–173; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 12; and Brooks, *Trial*, 13–16.
77. Zacks, *Hunter*, 18.
78. Ibid; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 69.

79. Winston, *No Man*, 123; Cabell, *Kidd*, 46; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 69–70; Zacks, *Hunter*, 18–19; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 88–89.
80. Fletcher to BOT [Late September, 1696], NYCD, v. 4, 275.

CHAPTER 7—A SHIFTING WORLD

1. Rogozinski, *Honor*, 124–125; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 63–68; Cabell, *Kidd*, 46.
2. Cal. Hist. MSS, Pt. II, 178, 195, 196; *Adventure Galley* Articles and Crew List, September 10, 1696, CSPC, v. 18, 354xvii, and CO 5/861, fols. 266–269, PRO; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 116–117; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 70, 221–222; Harris, *Treasure*, 318, 322.
3. Copy of Letter of Attorney of Hawdon; Copy of gift by Jan Cornelius to Capt. Kidd; *Adventure Galley* Articles, September 10, 1696, CSPC, v. 18, 354xiv, xv, xvii; CO 5/861, fol. 264, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 26–27, 221; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 90, 101.
4. Leeson, *Economic Way*, 154–155; Sherry, *Raiders*, 129.
5. *State Trials*, v. 14, 221; *Adventure Galley* Articles and Crew List, September 10, 1696, CSPC, v. 18, 354xvii, and in CO 5/861, fols. 266–269, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, Boston, May 25, 1700, NYCD, v. 4, 646; Zacks, *Hunter*, 120.
6. Council Minutes, September 24 and 26, 1683, NYCCM, 33; Minutes of Council of Barbados, December 3, 1691, and February 27, 1692, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 1,922 and 2,088; Pennypacker, *Kidd*, 509; Zacks, *Hunter*, 16.
7. Examination of Browne, October 21, 1701, HCA 1/53, fol. 110–111, PRO, in Fox, *Pirates*, 75–76; Testimony of Browne, June 17, 1702, HCA 1/16, pt. 1, fol. 1, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 40, 66; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 73; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 121–122.
8. Harris, *Treasure*, 113; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 70; Cabell, *Kidd*, 46.
9. Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Jameson, *Privateering*, 191.
10. The events surrounding the pursuit of the Portuguese merchant ship are described in the Deposition of Benjamin Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, in Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Jameson, *Privateering*, 191; and Oppenheim, *Franks*, 231.
11. *State Trials*, v. 14, 132; Zacks, *Hunter*, 26; Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 131–132; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 184; Morris, *Fair Trial*, 38; Brooks, *Trial*, 22.
12. Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, in Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Jameson, *Privateering*, 191; and Oppenheim, *Franks*, 231.
13. Zacks, *Hunter*, 25–26; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 70; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 52.
14. Zacks, *Hunter*, 26–27, 221; Copy of Letter of Attorney of Hawdon; Copy of gift by Cornelius to Kidd; *Adventure Galley* Articles, September 10, 1696, CSPC, v. 18, 354xiv, xv, xvii; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 90, 101.
15. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699; Depositions of Owen and Arris, Boston, July 4, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31, 33; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, in Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 70–71.

16. Examination of Loffe, Boston, July 10, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23, and in CSPC, v. 17, 68oviii; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Jameson, *Privateering*, 191; Zacks, *Hunter*, 27.
17. BOT to Bellomont, Whitehall, October 25, 1698, NYCD, v. 4, 413; Zacks, *Hunter*, 27.
18. Examination of Jenkins, Boston, July 6, 1699; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24, 31.
19. Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403; Ovington, *Voyage*, 40–42; Patterson, *Epidemics*, 291–295; Finan, *Farm System*, 109–111; Zacks, *Hunter*, 27–28.
20. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31; Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403; Zacks, *Hunter*, 27–28.
21. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 71–72; Cabell, *Kidd*, 47.
22. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 74–75.
23. Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403.
24. Zacks, *Hunter*, 31; Harris, *Treasure*, 114.
25. Zacks, *Hunter*, 31.
26. Log of HMS *Tiger*, ADM 51/4369, PRO; Account of Captain Kidd of *Adventure Galley*, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, fols. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv; Cabell, *Kidd*, 48; Zacks, *Hunter*, 32–33.
27. Ibid.
28. Logs of HMS *Windsor*, ADM 51/1072, and HMS *Tiger*, ADM 51/4369, PRO; John Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, fols. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv.
29. Harris, *Treasure*, 114; Cabell, *Kidd*, 48.
30. Ibid; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 77–78.
31. Examinations of Dann and Middleton, August 3 and November 11, 1696, CSPC, v. 15, nos. 517iii–iv; Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 109–110; v. 4, 339–364; *Bold Captain Avery in the Privy Council*, 4–26; Lane, *Pillaging*, 183–186.
32. *State Trials*, v. 13, 451–485; Burgess, *The Politics of Piracy: A Challenge to English Law and Policy in the Atlantic Colonies: 1650–1726* (hereafter *Piracy: A Challenge*), 105–106.
33. Wilson, *Suppressing Piracy*, 178; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 87–88; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 192; Bialuschewski, *Between Newfoundland*, 168.
34. Confession of Philips, August 8, 1696, CSPD, 63/358, fols. 127–132; Khan, *Capture*, 233; Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, 350; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, v. 5, 343–344; Kingsley and Cowan, *Pirate King*, 55, 56.
35. Bauer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 109–113; Thomas, *Merchants*, 88.
36. Johnson, *General History*, 27.
37. Confession of Philips, August 8, 1696, CSPD, 63/358, fol. 127–132; Affidavit of Middleton, November 11, 1696; Examination of Dann, August 3, 1696; Snead to Houblon, September 20, 1697, CSPC, v. 15, nos. 517iii, iv and 1331; Baer, *Captain Avery*, 4–10; Bialuschewski, *Between Newfoundland*, 169;

- Rediker, *Villains*, 9; Cordingly, *Hunter*, 26; Konstam, *Piracy*, 256–257; Thomas, *Merchants*, 87; McDonald, *Courage*, 2.
38. *State Trials*, v. 13, 451–485; Confession of Phillips, August 8, 1696, CSPD, 63/358, fols. 127–132; Petition of EIC, July 16, 1696, in Jameson, *Privateering*, 153–154; Examination of Dann, August 3, 1696, CSPC, v. 15, no. 517iv; Kingsley and Cowan, *Pirate King*, 54; Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 105; Hanna, *Nests*, 189.
 39. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, v. 5, 343–344; Khan, *Capture*, 233.
 40. Ibid; Confession of Phillips, August 8, 1696, CSPD, 63/358, fol. 127–132; Konstam, *Piracy*, 257.
 41. *State Trials*, v. 13, 468, 470, 483; Khan, *Capture*, 233–234; Examination of Dann, August 3, 1696, CSPC, v. 15, no. 517iv; Confession of Phillips, August 8, 1696, CSPD, 63/358, fol. 127–132; Govil, *Mughal Perception of English Piracy*, 408–409; Kingsley and Cowan, *Pirate King*, 56–57; Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, 350–351.
 42. Ibid.
 43. *An Account of the Behaviour, Dying Speeches, and Execution of Mr. John Murphey, for High-Treason; and William May, John Sparcks, William Bishop, James Lewis, and Adam Foresith, for Robbery, Piracy and Felony; at the Execution-Dock: On Wednesday the 25th of November, 1696* in Bauer, *British Piracy*, v. 4, 87–89; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, v. 5, 345; Khan, *Capture*, 233–234; Bauer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 110, v. 4, 339–340; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 22–23; Kingsley and Cowan, *Pirate King*, 62, 66.
 44. Khan, *Capture*, 234; Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, 350–351.
 45. Testimony of Captain Khan, in Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, v. 5, 343–345, 349; Khan, *Capture*, 233–238; Wright, *Annesley*, 173–178; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 138; Baer, *Pirates*, 102; Lane and Bialuschewski, *Piracy*, 117–125; Hanna, *Nests*, 203; Kingsley and Cowan, *Pirate King*, 66. Henry Every and his pirates were motivated by religious and racial bigotry against the Indian men and women they severely mistreated on board the *Ganj-i-Sawai*. Fear and intolerance of Islam were widespread in England and the American colonies, and dark-skinned Muslim heathens from the East who prayed to a non-Christian God were considered subhuman and treated accordingly. At the same time, it should be noted that King Aurangzeb and his fellow Muslims in India were just as bigoted as their European counterparts. In the late seventeenth century, they contemptuously described white Christian Europeans who did not share their skin color, religious beliefs, or culture as “impure,” “infidels,” and “misbelievers.”
 46. *State Trials*, v. 13, 451–485; Examination of Dann, August 3, 1696, CSPC, v. 15, no. 517iv; Jameson, *Privateering*, 169; Thomas, *Merchants*, 88; Williams, *Nascent Socialists*, 38; Kingsley and Cowan, *Pirate King*, 58–59; Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 105–106.
 47. The Trials of Joseph Dawson, Edward Forseith, William May, William Bishop, James Lewis, and John Sparkes, *State Trials*, v. 13, 469–470;

- Examination of Dann, August 3, 1696, CSPC, v. 15, no. 517iv; Baer, *Captain Avery*, 5; Lincoln, *Henry Every*, 167; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 133, 139.
48. Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 23.
 49. Ibid, 21; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 193–194.
 50. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, v. 5, 344–345; Khan, *Capture*, 233–234; Govil, *Mughal Perception*, 408–409.
 51. Gayer to Privy Council, Bombay, October 12, 1695, Privy Council Unbound Papers, 1:46, no. 56, PRO; Jameson, *Privateering*, 158–159.
 52. Ibid; Khan, *Capture*, 234–235; Keay, *Company*, 186–187; Stern, *Company-State*, 134–135; Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 106–107; Wright, *Annesley*, 160–165.
 53. Zacks, *Hunter*, 123, 193; Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 107; Wright, *Annesley*, 163–167; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 88–89.
 54. Annesley's Report, November 2, 1696, Orig. Corr., E/3/52, no. 6329, IOR; Wright, *Annesley*, 163–172; Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 107–109; Nutting, *Madagascar*, 206.
 55. Burgess, *Politics*, 56; Zacks, *Hunter*, 200.
 56. Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 112, *Politics*, 58–59.
 57. Henry Every Sighting, Whitehall, August 4, 1696, CSPD: William III, 315–368; Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 110; Kingsley and Cowan, *Pirate King*, 109–143; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 90.
 58. Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 116–119, *Politics*, 61–63, *Pirates' Pact*, 144–146; Kingsley and Cowan, *Pirate King*, 137–138.
 59. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 89.
 60. *State Trials*, v. 13, 451–485; Burgess, *Public Sphere*, 893–898, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 133–138, *Pirates' Pact*, 140–149, *Politics*, 65–72; Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 109–112; Hanna, *Nests*, 238–244.
 61. *State Trials*, v. 13, 451–485; Simon, *Problem*, 126–128; Burgess, *Public Sphere*, 893–898, 901, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 133–138, *Pirates' Pact*, 140–149, *Politics*, 65–72; Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 109–112; Hanna, *Nests*, 238–244.
 62. *State Trials*, v. 13, 452–454; Nutting, *Madagascar*, 206; Burgess, *Public Sphere*, 899.
 63. Burgess, *Public Sphere*, 896; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 124; *Henry Every*, 170–171.
 64. Hanna, *Well-Behaved Pirates*, 145; Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 139.
 65. Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 124, *Henry Every*, 168; Burgess, *Trial and Error*, 80; Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 110–111; Kingsley and Cowan, *Pirate King*, 137–138.
 66. *State Trials*, v. 13, 454; Burgess, *Trial and Error*, 80, *Public Sphere*, 901, *Politics*, 71–76; Kingsley and Cowan, *Pirate King*, 137–138.
 67. Burgess, *Public Sphere*, 906.
 68. Burgess, *Politics*, 87; *Public Sphere*, 906; Wilson, *Piracy*, 30.

CHAPTER 8—NARROW ESCAPE AND FALSE CLAMORS

1. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31; Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd of *Adventure Galley*, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, f. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv.
2. Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 10, 1697, CSPC, v. 16, 733I; October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Jameson, *Privateering*, 191–192; Zacks, *Hunter*, 33–34.
3. Ibid.
4. Logs of HMS *Windsor*, ADM 51/1072, and HMS *Tiger*, ADM 51/4369, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 75–78.
5. Zacks, *Hunter*, 31–37; Cabell, *Kidd*, 48. The apropos nickname “Wrong-Way” Warren is from Richard Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter: The True Story of Captain Kidd*. I use it throughout the chapter because my ninth-great-grandfather Captain Kidd would have gotten a kick out of it.
6. Rediker, *Outlaws*, 66; Zacks, *Hunter*, 33; McLean, *Health Provision*, in Fury, *Social History of English Seamen*, 110–111.
7. Lowther to BOT, Barbados, July 20, 1717, CSPC, v. 29, 661; Lubbock, *Barlow’s Journal*, v. I, 146.
8. Rogers, *Press Gang*, 1–25; Cabell, *Kidd*, 47–48; Brunsman, *Evil Necessity*, 20–38; Lubbock, *Barlow’s Journal*, v. I, 95, 96, 146; Rediker, *Outlaws*, 39, 65, 107.
9. Rogers, *Press Gang*, 11.
10. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 10, 1697, CSPC, v. 16, 733i; October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 65–66.
11. Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, fol. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 10, 1697, CSPC, v. 16, 733i; October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Oppenheim, *Franks*, 231–232.
12. Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 74; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 78.
13. Commission for Cruising against Pirates, *State Trials*, v. 14, 171–173; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 12.
14. Winston, *No Man*, 123.
15. McLean, *Health Provision*, in Fury, *The Social History of English Seamen*, 111–112; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 76; Thomas, *True and Impartial Journal*, 142.
16. Zacks, *Hunter*, 36; Cordingly, *Pirate Hunter*, 55; McLean, *Health Provision*, in Fury, *Social History of English Seamen*, 111; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 76.
17. Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 10, 1697, CSPC, v. 16, 733i; October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Oppenheim, *Franks*, 231–232; Jameson, *Privateering*, 191–192.
18. Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, f. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv.
19. Stern, *Politie*, 267–268; Ridge, *Stand*, 11–17.
20. Bogart, *Monopoly*, 14; Keay, *Company*, 181–182.

21. Depositions of Burgess, HCA 1/98, pt. 1, fol. 42–50, PRO; Case of Samuel Burgess, Secretaries of State Papers (SP) 34/36, fol. 35, PRO, in Fox, *Pirates*, 17–21; Ritchie, *Burgess*, 123–126; Ridge, *Stand*, 16–17; Keay, *Company*, 176–177; Chet, *Ocean*, 79.
22. Zacks, *Hunter*, 35–38; Cabell, *Kidd*, 49; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 78.
23. Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 10, 1697, CSPC, v. 16, 733i; October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Oppenheim, *Franks*, 231–232; Zacks, *Hunter*, 37–38.
24. Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, fols. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv.
25. Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, fols. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Oppenheim, *Franks*, 232; Jameson, *Privateering*, 192; Zacks, *Hunter*, 38.
26. Ibid.
27. Log of HMS *Advice*, ADM, 51/13, PRO.
28. Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, fols. 346–347, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 38.
29. Log of HMS *Windsor*, ADM, 51/13, no. 1072, PRO; Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 78; Harris, *Treasure*, 115–116.
30. Deposition of Tredway, December 17, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469, IOR.
31. Log of HMS *Windsor*, ADM, 51/13, no. 1072, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 78–79; Zacks, *Hunter*, 38–39; Harris, *Treasure*, 115–116.
32. Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, fols. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv.
33. Wilson, *Piracy*, 31.
34. Catchpoole to Bowrey, January 15, 1697, Bowrey MSS, H/827, fol. 312, IOR; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 78–79; Zacks, *Hunter*, 39–40.
35. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 89.
36. Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, *Commons Journals*, v. 13, 31, and *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 10, 1697, CSPC, v. 16, 733i; October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Oppenheim, *Franks*, 231–232.
37. Johnson, *General History*, 324; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 79–80; Zacks, *Hunter*, 111–113.
38. Ovington, *Voyage*, 103–105; Zacks, *Hunter*, 113.
39. Bialuschewski, *Pirates, Slavers*, 401; Hooper, *Pirates and Kings*, 218.
40. Bialuschewski, *Pirates, Slavers*, 406; Lydon, *Pirates, Privateers*, 38; Hooper, *Pirates and Kings*, 227–228; Judd, *Philipse*, 354–360; Stanwood, *New Histories*, 564–565; Chet, *Peripheries*, 1–2; McDonald, *Pirates*, 78, 93.

41. Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 80, 89.
42. Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31, and *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Examination of Brent, May 21, 1701, HCA 1/53, fols. 83–84, PRO, and in Fox, *Pirates*, 57; Oppenheim, *Franks*, 232; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 54.
43. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Oppenheim, *Franks*, 232; Winston, *No Man*, 123–124; Newitt, *The Comoro Islands*, 139–159.
44. Zacks, *Hunter*, 115; Cabell, *Kidd*, 52.
45. Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31, and *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403.
46. Zacks, *Hunter*, 116.
47. Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31, and *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403; Zacks, *Hunter*, 116.
48. Ibid; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 90.
49. Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 112.
50. Cabell, *Kidd*, 52–53; Zacks, *Hunter*, 98.
51. Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, f. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv; Zacks, *Hunter*, 116–117.
52. Bogart, *Monopoly*, 14; Keay, *Company*, 181–182; Zacks, *Hunter*, 117.
53. Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, f. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv.
54. Ibid; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 90; Cabell, *Kidd*, 53.
55. Wilson, *Piracy*, 31; Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. I, 184; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Oppenheim, *Franks*, 232; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 54–56; Zacks, *Hunter*, 116–118.
56. Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, f. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv.
57. Wilson, *Piracy*, 31.
58. Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 55–56.
59. Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6–8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26.
60. Duffus, *Last Days*, 107–108; Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 123–220; Harris, *Treasure*, 117–118.
61. Ibid; Examination of Brent, May 21, 1701, HCA 1/53, fols. 83–84, PRO; Fox, *Pirates*, 57.
62. Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 123–220; Duffus, *Last Days*, 107–108; Harris, *Treasure*, 117–118; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 56.
63. Kidd Narrative, Boston, July 7, 1699; Depositions of Owen and Arris, Boston, July 4, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31, 33; Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403; Depositions of Tredway and

- Alderson, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469 and 6446, IOR. The estimates from Captain Kidd and four other crew members for the number of men who died from tropical disease on Mohelia Island ranges from twenty-seven to fifty. The tallies are as follows: Kidd, Cook Abel Owen, and Steward Samuel Arris: fifty estimated dead; Nicholas Alderson, thirty; Jonathan Tredway, twenty-seven.
64. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 91; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 56; Cabell, *Kidd*, 54; Winston, *No Man*, 124.
 65. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 91; Harris, *Treasure*, 118; Zacks, *Hunter*, 120–121.
 66. Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403; Examination of Parrot, Boston, July 10, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 29; Examination of Brent, May 21, 1701, HCA 1/53, fols. 83–84, PRO; Fox, *Pirates*, 57; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 92.
 67. Examination of Loffe, Boston, July 10, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23; CSPC, v. 17, 680viii; Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6–8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR.
 68. Clarke, Account of Captain Kidd, East India House, August 4, 1698, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409; CO 328/2, f. 346–347, PRO; CSPC, v. 16, 723iv; *State Trials*, v. 14, 157–158, 165, 205; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 91–92; Zacks, *Hunter*, 121–122.
 69. Ibid.
 70. Deposition of Turner, June 8, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, 530vi; Examination of Gabriel Loffe, Boston, July 10, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23; Deposition of Bradley, St. Thomas, April 12, 1699, English translation of Royal Danish Archive document, in Hinrichs, *Captain Kidd and the St. Thomas Incident* (hereafter *St. Thomas*), 276–277.
 71. Deposition of Tredway, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469, IOR.
 72. Fletcher to BOT [Late September 1696], NYCD, v. 4, 275.
 73. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 93.

CHAPTER 9—THE PIRATE HUNTER

1. Deposition of Tredway, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469, IOR; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, Lamley, and Parrot, Boston, July 6–8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26, 29.
2. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 94.
3. Deposition of Tredway, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469, IOR; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 94–95; Cabell, *Kidd*, 55–57; Lane, *Pillaging*, 187.
4. *State Trials*, v. 14, 220; Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 456, 484–485; Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, 113; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 96.
5. Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 485.
6. Depositions of Tredway and Alderson, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469 and 6446, IOR.
7. Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 479–485.

8. Rediker, *Outlaws*, 31, 39. The full reference for Barlow's journal is Basil Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal of His Life at Sea in King's Ships, East and West Indiamen & Other Merchant Men from 1659 to 1703*, Vols. I and II, 575 pages.
9. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 95; Rediker, *Outlaws*, 30–45.
10. Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 460–462; Zacks, *Hunter*, 123–128; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 95–96.
11. Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 479–488; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 67; Zacks, *Hunter*, 126; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 95–96.
12. Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 484–485.
13. *State Trials*, v. 14, 202, 225; Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Deposition of Nicholas Alderson, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6446, IOR; Examination of Buckmaster, June 6, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, 740xi; Jameson, *Privateering*, 197–199.
14. Commission from Admiralty (Commission of Reprisals upon the French), *State Trials*, v. 14, 170; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 12; Brooks, *Trial*, 14.
15. Deposition of Alderson, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6446, IOR; Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 485.
16. Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 485.
17. Depositions of Tredway and Alderson, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469 and 6446, IOR.
18. Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 485.
19. Ibid.
20. Depositions of Tredway and Alderson, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469 and 6446, IOR.
21. Deposition of Alderson, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6446, IOR.
22. Depositions of Tredway and Alderson, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469 and 6446, IOR.
23. Ibid; Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 485.
24. Basil Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 485.
25. Depositions of Tredway and Alderson, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469 and 6446, IOR.
26. Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 485.
27. Ibid.
28. Depositions of Tredway and Alderson, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469 and 6446, IOR; Basil Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 485.
29. Cabell, *Kidd*, 59.
30. Deposition of Tredway, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6469, IOR; Zacks, *Hunter*, 131–132.
31. Depositions of Alderson and Franks, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6446 and 6448, IOR.
32. Depositions of Alderson, Franks, and Tredway, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6446, 6448, and 6469, IOR.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.
36. Ibid; Zacks, *Hunter*, 132–133.
37. Ibid; Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6 and 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26.
38. Depositions of Alderson and Tredway, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6446 and 6469, IOR.
39. Depositions of Father Rosaro, Dom Gonsalvis, John and Pedro Soaza, and Bart Silva, October 10, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, fol. 6444, IOR.
40. *State Trials*, v. 14, 157, 164, 165, 194, 200, 202, 203, 214, 220, 225; Depositions of Father Rosaro, Dom Gonsalvis, John and Pedro Soaza, and Bart Silva, October 10, 1697; Depositions of Alderson, Franks, and Tredway, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6444 and 6446, 6448, and 6469, IOR; Zacks, *Hunter*, 133–134.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Depositions of Father Rosaro, Dom Gonsalvis, John and Pedro Soaza, and Bart Silva, October 10, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, fol. 6444, IOR; *State Trials*, v. 14, 202; Zacks, *Hunter*, 134.
44. *State Trials*, v. 14, 220; Depositions of Alderson, Franks, and Tredway, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6446, 6448, and 6469, IOR; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 99.
45. Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 420–570; Hamilton, *New Account*, 16–18.
46. Dalton, *Real*, 52; Zacks, *Hunter*, 156.
47. Depositions of Father Rosaro, Dom Gonsalvis, John and Pedro Soaza, and Bart Silva, October 10, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, fol. 6444, IOR; *State Trials*, v. 14, 202–203; Zacks, *Hunter*, 134.
48. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409, IOR; Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403; Depositions of Alderson, Franks, and Tredway, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6444 and 6446, 6448, and 6469, IOR.
49. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409, IOR; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 100; Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, 259, 264.
50. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409, IOR; Extract from Letter from Carawar to Bombay, September 9, 1697, CSPC, v. 16, 723v.
51. Commission for Cruising against Pirates, *State Trials*, v. 14, 171–173; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 12.
52. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6409, IOR; Extract from Letter from Carawar to Bombay, September 9, 1697, CSPC, v. 16, 723v; Zacks, *Hunter*, 135.
53. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10; Grey, *Pirates*, 198–199.
54. Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR.

55. Depositions of Alderson, Franks, and Tredway, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6446, 6448, and 6469, IOR; Zacks, *Hunter*, 136–140; Extract from Letter from Carawar to Bombay, September 9, 1697, CSPC, v. 16, no. 723v; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 59.
56. Ibid.
57. Oppenheim, *Franks*, 229–234.
58. Secretary of EIC to Popple and Journal of BOT, August 22, 1698, CSPC, v. 16, nos. 763 and 764.
59. *State Trials*, v. 14, 165; Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Grey, *Pirates*, 199.
60. *State Trials*, v. 14, 157; Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10; Grey, *Pirates*, 199; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 128–129; Zacks, *Hunter*, 136–137.
61. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Cal. Hist. MSS, Pt. II, 178, 180, 181, 183, 195, 196, 200, 201; *State Trials*, v. 14, 157, 165; Grey, *Pirates*, 199; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10.
62. Cal. Hist. MSS, Pt. II, 178, 180, 181, 183, 195, 196, 200, 201; Testimony of Culliford, HCA 1/16, pt. 1, fol. 5, PRO; English EIC Letters from Calicut, November 30, 1696, and Bombay, January 15, 1697; Whitehall, December 21, 1697, CSPC, v. 16, no. 115I; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 116–117; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 75–76; Ritchie, *Burgess*, 117, *Kidd*, 100–101.
63. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10; Grey, *Pirates*, 199.
64. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR.
65. Ibid; Grey, *Pirates*, 199; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 102; Zacks, *Hunter*, 137.
66. Zacks, *Hunter*, 139; Cabell, *Kidd*, 64, 155.
67. Depositions of Father Rosaro, Dom Gonsalvis, John and Pedro Soaza, and Bart Silva, October 10, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, fol. 6444, IOR; *State Trials*, v. 14, 202–203.
68. Dolin, *Black Flags*, 104–105.
69. Rogozinski, *Honor*, 139.
70. See Zacks, *Hunter*; Hinrichs, *Fateful*; and Geanakopoulous, *Eighteenth, Next Door*, and *Pirate's Wife*.
71. Testimonies of Culliford and Browne, HCA 1/16, pt. 1, fols. 1 and 5, PRO; *State Trials*, v. 14, 123–234.
72. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31; Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Grey, *Pirates*, 199; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10; Pennypacker, *Kidd*, 491.
73. Cabell, *Kidd*, 65; Zacks, *Hunter*, 140.
74. Kidd Protest and Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403, and Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31; Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10; Grey, *Pirates*, 199.

CHAPTER 10—HEART OF DARKNESS

1. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10; Grey, *Pirates*, 199; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 103.
2. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31; Hill, *Episodes*, 10; Zacks, *Hunter*, 141.
3. Ibid.
4. Kidd's parley and subsequent battle with the two aggressive Portuguese warships is described in Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31–32, and *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403; *State Trials*, v. 14, 157, 203, 204, 220, 225; Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6426, 6437, 6438; Deposition of Bradley, St. Thomas, April 12, 1699, in Hinrichs, *St. Thomas*, 277; Grey, *Pirates*, 199–200; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 70–71.
5. Ibid. Kidd and the Portuguese captain “parted wishing each other a good voyage.”
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid; Cabell, *Kidd*, 66.
8. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31.
9. Ibid; Zacks, *Hunter*, 141.
10. Deposition of Bradley, St. Thomas, April 12, 1699, in Hinrichs, *St. Thomas*, 277; Kidd Protest and Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403, and Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31–32; *State Trials*, v. 14, 157, 203, 204, 220, 225; Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6426, 6437, 6438; Grey, *Pirates*, 199–200; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10; Zacks, *Hunter*, 141.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Zacks, *Hunter*, 141–142.
17. Ibid.
18. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31–32; Grey, *Pirates*, 199–200; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10; Cabell, *Kidd*, 66; Zacks, *Hunter*, 142.
19. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32; Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 490.
20. Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6426, 6437, 6438; Kidd Protest and Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403, and Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31–32; Deposition of Bradley, St. Thomas, April 12, 1699, in Hinrichs, *St. Thomas*, 277; *State Trials*, v. 14, 157, 203, 204, 220, 225; Grey, *Pirates*, 199–200; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10.
21. Ibid.
22. Zacks, *Hunter*, 142, 220; An Inventory of Sloop *Antonio*, July 24, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31; Intercepted “Letter to Shelley's Owner,” Philadelphia, June 5, 1699, in Weeks and Bacon, *Historical Digest*, 35–36.
23. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Hill, *Episodes*, 10; Grey, *Pirates*, 200.

24. *State Trials*, v. 14, 157, 225; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Commons Journals*, v. 13, 32.
25. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Commons Journals*, v. 13, 32.
26. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Grey, *Pirates*, 19–200; Hill, *Episodes*, 9–10.
27. Pattle-Harvey Report, September 9 and 22, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6426, IOR; Hill, *Episodes*, 10; Grey, *Pirates*, 200.
28. Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 490.
29. Cabell, *Kidd*, 67.
30. *State Trials*, v. 14, 157, 165, 182, 204.
31. Kidd Protest and Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403–404, and *Commons Journals*, v. 13, 32; *State Trials*, v. 14, 134–143.
32. Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6467, IOR; Wright, *Annesley*, 202; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 105; Zacks, *Hunter*, 146; Cabell, *Kidd*, 68.
33. Ibid.
34. *State Trials*, v. 14, 137; Kidd Protest and Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403–404, and *Commons Journals*, v. 13, 32; Zacks, *Hunter*, 146–147.
35. *State Trials*, v. 14, 137.
36. Zacks, *Hunter*, 16, 147.
37. *State Trials*, v. 14, 137.
38. Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, *Commons Journals*, v. 13, 32, and *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404.
39. *State Trials*, v. 14, 139, 140, 142; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Commons Journals*, v. 13, 32.
40. Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404.
41. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Commons Journals*, v. 13, 32.
42. Kidd Protest and Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404, and *Commons Journals*, v. 13, 32; *State Trials*, v. 14, 139, 140.
43. Ibid; Zacks, *Hunter*, 147.
44. Ibid.
45. *State Trials*, v. 14, 142.
46. Ibid, 139, 140, 142; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, *Commons Journals*, v. 13, 32, and *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 74–75; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 105.
47. Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6467, IOR; Wright, *Annesley*, 202; Zacks, *Hunter*, 148.
48. *State Trials*, v. 14, 133, 143; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 106.
49. *State Trials*, v. 14, 133–143.
50. *State Trials*, v. 14, 138–142.
51. Ibid.
52. *State Trials*, v. 14, 138–139.
53. Ibid, 139.
54. *Adventure Galley* Articles, September 10, 1696, CSPC, v. 18, 354xvii; CO 5/861, fols. 266–269, PRO; Fox, *Piratical Schemes*, 310–312.

55. Zacks, *Hunter*, 148.
56. The following description of the confrontation between Captain Kidd and gunner William Moore is described by Kidd, Hugh Parrot, Abel Owen, and Richard Barlycorne in *State Trials*, v. 14, 138–142. The four reliable eyewitnesses are all in agreement, while perjured Crown witnesses Robert Bradinham and Joseph Palmer were not actually on deck to witness the events.
57. *State Trials*, v. 14, 135.
58. *State Trials*, v. 14, 137; Zacks, *Hunter*, 149.
59. *State Trials*, v. 14, 142–143.

CHAPTER II—QUEDAGH MERCHANT

1. Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6467, IOR; Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 491; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 106; Cabell, *Kidd*, 71; Zacks, *Hunter*, 149–150.
2. Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6 and 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26; *State Trials*, v. 14, 204–205; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 83.
3. Little, *Sea Rover's Practice*, III–III9; Examinations of Loffe, July 10, 1699; Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, July 6 and 8, 1699; and Parrot, July 10, 1699, Boston, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23, 24–26, 29.
4. Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6 and 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26.
5. Ibid; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 107; Zacks, *Hunter*, 151.
6. *State Trials*, v. 14, 157–158, 165, 205; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 107; Zacks, *Hunter*, 151.
7. Examination of Parrot, Boston, July 10, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 29.
8. Kidd Narrative and Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6 and 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26, 32; Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404.
9. CO, 5/860, fols. 159–160, PRO; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 21; Dalton, *Real*, 311–312.
10. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32; Kidd's Protest, April 11, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 80; Zacks, *Hunter*, 151–152.
11. Ibid; *State Trials*, v. 14, 157, 158, 165, 196, 204, 205, 213, 225.
12. Ibid.
13. Deposition of Bradley, St. Thomas, April 12, 1699, in Hinrichs, *St. Thomas*, 277.
14. Examinations of Loffe, July 10, 1699; Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, July 6 and 8, 1699; and Parrot, July 10, 1699, Boston, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23, 24–26, 29; *State Trials*, v. 14, 196.
15. Examination of Parrot and Kidd Narrative, Boston, July 7 and 10, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 29, 32; Kidd Protest, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404; Zacks, *Hunter*, 152; *State Trials*, v. 14, 196.
16. Ibid.
17. *State Trials*, v. 14, 158, 165, 188, 196, 205, 213, 225; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 107.
18. *State Trials*, v. 14, 159, 166, 222; Zacks, *Hunter*, 153; Cabell, *Kidd*, 72–73.

19. Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, July 6 and 8, 1699, and Parrot, July 10, 1699; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24, 29, 32; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404; Johnson, *General History*, 327–328.
20. Orig. Corr., E/3/54, nos. 6543, 6545, 6547, 6553, 6556, IOR; *State Trials*, v. 14, 158, 166; Examination of Loffe, Boston, July 10, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23; CSPC, v. 17, 68oviii.
21. *State Trials*, v. 14, 166; Zacks, *Hunter*, 154–155.
22. Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6 and 8, 1699; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26, 32; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404.
23. *State Trials*, v. 14, 158; Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6 and 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 21, 24–26; *Quedagh Merchant French Pass*, CO, 5/860, fols. 161–162, PRO; Dalton, *Real*, 309–311; Paine, *Buried Treasure*, 104.
24. *State Trials*, v. 14, 158; Zacks, *Hunter*, 155.
25. *State Trials*, v. 14, 173; Zacks, *Hunter*, 155.
26. *Quedagh Merchant French Pass*, CO, 5/860, fols. 161–162, PRO; Account of Kidd based on Informations received by BOT; Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6 and 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26, 36; *State Trials*, v. 14, 124, 147, 158; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 108; Harris, *Treasure*, 133; Zacks, *Hunter*, 153–156.
27. Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6 and 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26; Wilson, *Piracy*, 34.
28. Vernon to Secretary of Old EIC, Whitehall, November 21, 1698, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 16; *State Trials*, v. 14, 155, 158, 169; Johnson, *General History*, 328; Wright, *Annesley*, 198–199.
29. Ibid.
30. *State Trials*, v. 14, 124; Examination of Parrot, Boston, July 10, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 29; Wright, *Annesley*, 198; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 108; Zacks, *Hunter*, 155; Simon, *Pirates*, 93; Thomas, *Merchants*, 103.
31. Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6 and 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26; *State Trials*, v. 14, 166, 169.
32. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 64xxv, PRO; Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6 and 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26; *State Trials*, v. 14, 169.
33. *State Trials*, v. 14, 169.
34. Ibid; Zacks, *Hunter*, 156.
35. *State Trials*, v. 14, 124, 125, 158, 169; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 88–89; Wright, *Annesley*, 198; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 108.
36. Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, Boston, July 6 and 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26; *State Trials*, v. 14, 155, 158, 169; Informations of Bradinham and Palmer, HCA, 1/15, fol. 7, PRO.
37. Examination of Loffe, Boston, July 10, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23, and in CSPC, v. 17, 68oviii; Cabell, *Kidd*, 74.

38. Examination of Barlycorne, Boston, July 6, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 26.
39. Orig. Corr., E/3/54, nos. 6545, 6547, IOR; Vernon to Secretary of Old EIC, Whitehall, November 21, 1698, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 16.
40. Examination of Parrot, Boston, July 10, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 29.
41. Orig. Corr., E/3/54, nos. 6543, 6545, 6547, IOR; Vernon to Secretary of Old EIC, Whitehall, November 21, 1698, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 16; Wright, *Annesley*, 199; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 132.
42. Agreement between Bellomont, Livingston, and Kidd, NYCD, v. 4, 762–764.
43. *State Trials*, v. 14, 147; Zacks, *Hunter*, 157; Defoe, *A General History of the Pyrates*, 446–447; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 108; Grey, *Pirates*, 203.
44. Examination of Jenkins, Boston, July 6, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 25; CSPC, v. 17, 680xi; *State Trials*, 158, 190, 219, 221, 222, 226.
45. Ibid; Dalton, *Real*, 279–280.
46. Examination of Jenkins, Boston, July 6, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 25; *State Trials*, 222, 226.
47. Informations of Bradinham and Palmer, HCA, 1/15, fol. 7, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 109; Zacks, *Hunter*, 152–157.
48. See Hanna, *Pirate Nests and Well-Behaved Pirates*; Chet, *The Persistence of Piracy and The Ocean is a Wilderness*; and Lane and Bialuschewski, *Piracy in the Early Modern Era*.
49. Vernon to Shrewsbury, October 1, 1698, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 186–188; ADM 2/4080, fol. 737, PRO; Wilson, *Suppressing Piracy*, 69; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 157–158, 278.
50. Rogozinski, *Honor*, 154.
51. Hamilton, *New Account*, 17.
52. Chet, *Ocean*, 23.
53. Examination of Jenkins, Boston, July 6, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 25; Grey, *Pirates*, 203.
54. Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6430, 6484; E/3/54, no. 6543, IOR; *State Trials*, v. 14, 158, 226; Grey, *Pirates*, 203; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 109; Cabell, *Kidd*, 75–76; Zacks, *Hunter*, 157.
55. Examination of Jenkins, Boston, July 6, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 25.
56. Ibid; *State Trials*, v. 14, 158, 226; Harris, *Treasure*, 135–136.
57. Zacks, *Hunter*, 158.
58. Ibid.
59. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 109.
60. Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6430, 6484; E/3/54, no. 6543, IOR; Zacks, *Hunter*, 158; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 109; HCA, 1/53, fols. 75–76, PRO; Grey, *Pirates*, 203.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Deposition of Owen and Arris, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 33.

65. Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32, and *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404.
66. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 112.
67. Bialuschewski, *Pirates, Slavers*, 406.
68. Kidd Protest and Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404, and Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32.
69. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32; Zacks, *Hunter*, 159.

CHAPTER 12—THE WAR ON CAPTAIN KIDD AND PIRACY

1. South to Lords Justices of Ireland, August 15, 1696; Secretary of EIC to Popple, December 18, 1696; Basse to Popple, London, July 26, 1697, CSPC, v. 15, nos. 517, 517i, and 1,203; Chet, *Ocean*, 43.
2. Randolph to Commissioners of Customs, August 17, 1696, CSPC, v. 15, 149, 149i; Edward Randolph in Toppan, *Edward Randolph*, v. 5, 135–136, 136–138, 139–140, 151–159; Hanna, *Nests*, 222–256, *Piracy*, 8.
3. Raithby, *William III*, in *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 7, 103–107.
4. Wilson, *Suppressing Piracy*, 11–12; Nutting, *Madagascar*, 207–208; Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 161; Hart, *Naturally*, 223–244; Norton, *Classification*, 1,565–1,567.
5. Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 172; Steele, *Politics*, 10–11, 14–18.
6. Steele, *Politics*, 5; Nutting, *Madagascar*, 206; Wilson, *Suppressing Piracy*, 16–17; Hanna, *Nests*, 236.
7. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 128.
8. Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 104; Chet, *Ocean*, 46–47; Wilson, *Suppressing Piracy*, 10–12.
9. Extract of a Letter from Bombay Council to the Surat Council, April 14, 1698, in Hill, *Episodes*, 10; Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6545, 6547, 6472, IOR; Nutting, *Madagascar*, 208; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 453, 456; Thomas, *Merchants*, 89; Risso, *Cross-Cultural*, 308–309; Wright, *Annesley*, 208–212.
10. Nutting, *Madagascar*, 208; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 127–128, 132–133; Zacks, *Hunter*, 191–194; Wright, *Annesley*, 208–212.
11. Keay, *Company*, 188.
12. Stern, *Company-State*, 136–141; Thomas, *Merchants*, 89–90; Wilson, *Piracy*, 35.
13. Wilson, *Piracy*, 35; Ridge, *Stand*, 62–63.
14. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 132.
15. Benton, *Legal Spaces*, 715.
16. Zacks, *Hunter*, 201.
17. Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 38; Zacks, *Hunter*, 195–196; Thomas, *Merchants*, 103.
18. Zacks, *Hunter*, 195–196.

19. Annesley to Aurangzeb, August 9, 1698, G/36/96, fol. 51–52, IOR; Thomas, *Merchants*, 103; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 92; Wright, *Annesley*, 103, 210–214; Zacks, *Hunter*, 196.
20. Keay, *Company*, 188; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 141–145.
21. *State Trials*, v. 14, 223; Examination of Loffe, July 10, 1699; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699; Depositions of Owen and Arris, July 4, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23, 32, 33; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404–405; Zacks, *Hunter*, 162, 185–186.
22. Depositions of Owen and Arris, Boston, July 4, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, 680xxiii; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32, and *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404.
23. *State Trials*, v. 14, 180; Zacks, *Hunter*, 181–184.
24. Testimony of Culliford, HCA 1/16, pt. 1, fol. 5, PRO; Narrative of Willock, East India House, August 4, 1698, CSPC, v. 16, 723viii; Hill, *Episodes*, 1–7; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 75–77; Zacks, *Hunter*, 73–77, 161–189; Grey, *Pirates*, 131–146.
25. Diary of Captain William Willock referenced in Zacks, *Hunter*, 178–180; Lubbock, *Barlow's Journal*, v. II, 492; Grey, *Pirates*, 147–148; Zacks, *Hunter*, 73–77, 161–189.
26. Diary of Captain William Willock referenced in Zacks, *Hunter*, 178–180; Zacks, *Hunter*, 73–74, 178–179.
27. Deposition of Turner, Maryland, June 8, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, 530vi.
28. Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, Lamley, and Parrot, Boston, July 6, 8, and 10, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24–26, 29.
29. Zacks, *Hunter*, 184–185; Hanna, *Nests*, 188.
30. Examination of Loffe, July 10, 1699; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699; Depositions of Owen and Arris, July 4, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23, 32, 33; Zacks, *Hunter*, 185–186.
31. Kidd Protest and Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404–405, and Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32.
32. Examination of Loffe, July 10, 1699; Depositions of Owen and Arris, July 4, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23, 34.
33. Zacks, *Hunter*, 186.
34. Examination of Loffe, July 10, 1699; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699; Depositions of Abel Owen and Samuel Arris, July 4, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23, 32, 34; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404–406.
35. Ibid. The seventeen loyal crew members are listed in Captain Kidd's July 7, 1699, Protest and consist of thirteen seamen including Kidd and four apprentices.
36. Cabell, *Captain Kidd*, 86.
37. Frykman, *Connections between Mutinies in European Navies*, in Anderson, Frykman, van Voss, and Rediker, *Mutiny and Maritime Radicalism in the Age of Revolution*, 87; Konstam, *Blackbeard*, 150–151, 181–190.
38. Zacks, *Hunter*, 186.

39. Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 405–406; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 279.
40. Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32, and *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404–405.
41. *State Trials*, v. 14, 160, 167, 173, 197, 198, 207; Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, Lamley, Parrot, and Loffe, July 6, 8, and 10, 1699; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699; Depositions of Owen and Arris, July 4, 1699, Boston, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23–26, 29, 32, 33, 34; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404–405; Zacks, *Hunter*, 186–188; Cabell, *Kidd*, 80–83.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Kidd Protest and Narrative, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404–405, and Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32.
46. *State Trials*, v. 14, 198.
47. Ibid., 207–208; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699; Depositions of Owen and Arris, July 4, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32, 34; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404–405; Zacks, *Hunter*, 187–189; Cabell, *Kidd*, 81–83.
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49. Examination of Palmer, Newport, July 29, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 73xii, PRO, and CSPC, v. 17, no. 890xii; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 74; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404–405.
50. Gayer, Extract of Bombay General Letter to EIC, December 13, 1698, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 77; Deposition of Turner, Maryland, June 8, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, 530vi.
51. Depositions of Owen, Arris, Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, July 4, 6, and 8, 1699; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 24, 32, 33–34; Zacks, *Hunter*, 189; Cabell, *Kidd*, 83.
52. Annesley to EIC, December 5, 1698; Depositions of Owen, Arris, Jenkins, Barlycorne, and Lamley, July 4, 6, and 8, 1699; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 17, 24, 32, 33–34; *State Trials*, v. 14, 198, 208; Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404–405.
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54. Annesley to EIC, December 5, 1698, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 17; Grey, *Pirates*, 147–148.
55. Annesley to EIC, December 5, 1698, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 17; Bialuschewski, *Between Newfoundland*, 172; Thomas, *Merchants*, 89; Wright, *Annesley*, 208–209, 229–230; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, v. 5, 352–353.
56. Annesley, December 5, 1698, English East India Office Home Miscellaneous Series, v. 36, 450, quoted in Das, *Norris Embassy*, 33; Grey, *Pirates*, 147–148; Rogozinski, *Honor*, 144.

57. Annesley to EIC, December 5, 1698, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 17; Keay, *Company*, 188; Das, *Norris Embassy*, 33.
58. Annesley to EIC, December 5, 1698, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 17; Orig. Corr., E/3/53, nos. 6585, 6591, IOR; Wright, *Annesley*, 229–233; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, v. 5, 353–354; Das, *Norris Embassy*, 33; Thomas, *Merchants*, 89.
59. Gayer to Bombay, February 2, 1699, Orme MSS, OV/155, fol. 141; Das, *Norris Embassy*, 35; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, v. 5, 354; Wright, *Annesley*, 238–240.
60. Horwitz, *East India Trade*, 9–15; Stern, *Company-State*, 157–158; Wright, *Annesley*, 231.
61. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 135; Stern, *Company-State*, 139–140.
62. Extract of Eminent Indian Merchant at Surat, April 16, 1698, H/36, IOR; Simon, *Pirates*, 82.

CHAPTER 13—THE BEST-LAID PLANS

1. Emott to Kidd, New York, June 4, 1698, HCA 1/98, fol. 114, PRO; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 6, 387; Hamlin and Baker (eds.), *Supreme Court of Judicature of New York*, NYHS *Collections* [1947], v. III, 74–78, 148–151.
2. Examination of Barlycorne, Parrot, and Wood, July 8, 10, and 21, 1699; Blathwayt, *Piracies in East Indies*, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 25, 27, 29, 35.
3. Emott testimony before Massachusetts Council, June 19, 1699, CO 5/787, fols. 214–215, PRO; BOT to the Lords Justices, September 12, 1699, NYCD, v. 4, 583–584; Bellomont's Letter to Captain Kidd, Boston, June 19, 1699; Blathwayt, *Piracies in East Indies*, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 22, 35; Zacks, *Hunter*, 226–227; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 95–98.
4. Council of Nevis to Blathwayt and President and Council of Nevis to Vernon, Nevis, May 18, 1699, CSPC, v. 13, no. 136, and v. 17, no. 404; Instructions of Vernon regarding apprehension of Kidd, Whitehall, November 23, 1698; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699; Blathwayt, *Piracies in East Indies*, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 16, 32, 35, 36; Kidd Protest, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 405.
5. Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, Lamley, Parrot, and Loffe and Kidd Narrative, July 6, 7, 8, and 10, 1699; Examination of Wood, July 21, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 33; Information of Bolton, February 4, 1701, Jameson, *Privateering*, 246–247; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 167.
6. Information of Smith, St. Thomas, July 7, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, 616i; Information of Bolton, February 4, 1701, Jameson, *Privateering*, 246–247; Kidd Narrative, Boston, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 33; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 167–168.
7. Ibid, Footnote 4.
8. Shelley to DeLancey, Cape May, May 27, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 512ii; Nanfan to Bellomont, New York, June 5, 1699, CO 5/1042, fol. 301, PRO.
9. Minutes of Council of New York, July 20, 1669, CSPC, v. 17, nos. 669 and 740xvii.

10. Emott Testimony before Massachusetts Council, June 19, 1699, CO 5/787, fols. 214–215, PRO; Memorial of Campbell, Boston, June 19, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 21–22.
11. Bellomont to BOT, Boston, May 26, 1699, NYCD, v. 4, 528; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 413–416.
12. Bellomont to BOT, April 13 and July 22, 1699; Heads of Accusation against Bellomont, March 11, 1700; Petition of Sundry Merchants of New York to King, March 1700; NYCD, v. 4, 489–490, 534, 620–624; Dix, *Trinity Church*, 103, 118–127; Runcie, *Problem*, 206; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 229.
13. Bellomont to BOT, New York, May 15, 1699, NYCD, v. 4, 521.
14. Lorentz to West Indian and Guinea Company, June 19, 1699, in Hinrichs, *St. Thomas*, 275; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 107–118.
15. Lorentz to West Indian and Guinea Company, June 19, 1699, in Hinrichs, *St. Thomas*, 275; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 107–118; Zacks, *Hunter*, 215; Geanacopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 180; Jameson, *Privateering*, 236.
16. Zacks, *Hunter*, 226–227; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 97–99.
17. Examinations of Barlycorne and Parrot, Boston, July 8, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 25, 29; Narrative of Gardiner, Boston, July 1699, CO, 5/860, fols. 191–192, PRO.
18. Information of Smith, St. Thomas, July 7, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 616i; Examinations of Jenkins, Barlycorne, Lamley, Parrot, Owen, Arris, and Loffe, July 4, 6, 8, and 10, 1699; Examination of Davis, July 8, 1699; Examination of Wood, July 21, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34; Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 405; Bellomont to Vernon, March 7, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 74.
19. Examination of Davis, Boston, July 8, 1699; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 28, 32; Petition of Davis and Order of the King in Council, February 18 and March 10, 1692, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 2,059 and 2,119; Dampier, *New Voyage*, v. 1, 68–363; Marley, *Pirates*, v. 2, 558; Kelly, *Full and True Discovery*.
20. Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 415.
21. Instructions of Vernon regarding apprehension of Kidd, Whitehall, November 23, 1698, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 16.
22. Blathwayt, Piracies in East Indies, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 35; Council of Nevis to Blathwayt and President and Council of Nevis to Vernon, Nevis, May 18, 1699, CSPC, v. 13, no. 136, and v. 17, no. 404; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 165–166.
23. Quarry to BOT, Philadelphia, June 1 and 6, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, nos. 483 and 495; Bellomont to BOT, Boston, August 24, 1699, NYCD, v. 4, 551–552; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 505; Bauer, *Pirates*, 128; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 128–129.
24. Wait Winthrop to Fitz-John Winthrop, Boston, June 25 and July 3, 1699, *The Winthrop Papers*, MHS *Collections* [1882], 5th Series, v. 8, 553–555; Zacks, *Hunter*, 227.
25. Bellomont to BOT, August 24, 1699, NYCD, v. 4, 551; Minutes of Council of Massachusetts: Proclamation ordered for apprehending Bradish, April 1, 1699; Addington to Popple, May 6, 1699; Copy of a Proclamation by

- the Lt.-Gov. of Massachusetts Bay for apprehension of Bradish and accomplices; Council of Trade and Plantations to Lords Justices, August 10, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, nos. 228, 352, 352i, 706.
26. Hanna, *Well-Behaved Pirates*, 150.
 27. Grey to Admiralty, June 19, 1699, ADM 1/4086, fol. 551, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 168.
 28. Nanfan to Bellomont, June 5, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 740xiii.
 29. Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 578.
 30. Minutes of Council of Massachusetts Bay, Boston, June 17 and 19, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 528; Examination of Wood, July 21, 1699; Blathwayt, Piracies in East Indies; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 27, 35.
 31. Bellomont to Kidd, Boston, June 19, 1699; Bellomont's Letter to BOT, July 8, 1699; Examination of Barlycorne and Wood, July 8 and 21, 1699; Blathwayt, Piracies in East Indies, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18, 19, 22, 25, 27, 35; Zacks, *Hunter*, 228.
 32. Bellomont's Letters to BOT, July 8 and 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18–19; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 230–231; Hamlin and Baker (eds.), *Supreme Court of Judicature of New York*, NYHS Collections [1945–1947], v. I, 106, and v. III, 74–78, 148–151.
 33. Bellomont's Letters to Kidd and BOT, Boston, June 19 and July 8 and 26, 1699; Blathwayt, Piracies in East Indies; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18, 19, 22, 35.
 34. Bellomont to BOT, July 8 and 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18, 19.
 35. Memorial of Campbell, June 19, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 21–22.
 36. Bellomont to Kidd, June 19, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 22.
 37. Kidd to Bellomont, June 24, 1699; Bellomont to BOT, July 8 and 26, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18, 19, 22–23; Zacks, *Hunter*, 239.
 38. Lynch to Jenkins, Jamaica, November 6, 1682; Lilburne to Lords Proprietors of Bahamas, May 27, 1684; Dyre to Jenkins and Relation of T. Thacker, Deputy-Collector, Boston, September 12, 1684; Abstract of letter from James Lloyd, merchant, Boston, January 8, 1691, CSPC, v. 11, nos. 769, 1,282, 1707i, 1862, 1862ii; Proceedings of General Assembly, Colony of Rhode Island, September, 16, 1690, RCRI, v. 3, 274–276; Dampier, *New Voyage*, v. 1, 38, 51–52; Geanakopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 66–67, *Pirate's Wife*, 161–162; Chapin, *Captain Paine*, 19–32, *Privateer Ships*, 64–69; Marley, *Pirates and Privateers*, 303–306; Hanna, *Well-Behaved Pirates*, 144, *Nests*, 155–156.
 39. Gardiner, *Lion Gardiner*, 1–60; Stevens, *Manor of Gardiners Island*, 1–31.
 40. Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 77.
 41. Gardiner, *Lion Gardiner*, 58.
 42. Zacks, *Hunter*, 235–236.
 43. Narrative of Gardiner, Boston, July 1699, CO, 5/860, fols. 191–192, PRO, and Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 30–31.
 44. Ibid; Minutes of Council of New York, July 20, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 669.

45. Narrative of Gardiner, Boston, July 1699, CO, 5/860, fols. 191–192, PRO, and Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 30–31; Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 30–33; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 254–255, 258; Pennypacker, *Kidd*, 494–498; Zacks, *Hunter*, 237.
46. Ibid; Kidd's Note of Goods left with Gardiner, Boston, July 17, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31.
47. Narrative of Gardiner, Boston, July 1699, CO, 5/860, fols. 191–192, PRO, and in Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 30–31; Jameson, *Privateering*, 220–222; Zacks, *Hunter*, 237, 240; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 77, *Eighteenth*, 62; Gardiner, *Gardiner's Island*, 56.
48. Narrative of Gardiner, Boston, July 1699, CO, 5/860, fols. 191–192, PRO; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 30–31; Geanacopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 62.
49. Examinations of Barlycorne and Parrot and Affidavit of Duncan Campbell, July 8, 10, and 12, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 25, 29; Geanacopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 60, *Pirate's Wife*, 109; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 102.
50. Deposition of Sands, August 7, 1699, CO 5/861, fol. 4, PRO; Examination of Barlycorne and Jenkins and Affidavit of Campbell, Boston, July 6, 8, and 12, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 25, 28; Sanford to Bellomont, Newport, August 10, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 1,011v; Geanacopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 60, *Next Door*, 75, *Pirate's Wife*, 106–108; Zacks, *Hunter*, 240.
51. Zacks, *Hunter*, 240–241; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 75–76, 89.
52. Emott testimony before Massachusetts Council, June 19, 1699, CO 5/787, fols. 214–215, PRO; Memorial of Campbell, Boston, June 19, 1699; Captain Kidd's Letter to Bellomont, June 24, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 21–23; Deposition of Sands, August 7, 1699, CO 5/861, fol. 4, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 241.
53. Zacks, *Hunter*, 241; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 110–111.
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55. Zacks, *Hunter*, 241; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 110–111.
56. Kidd Narrative, July 7, 1699; Narrative of Gardiner, July 1699; Kidd's Note of Goods left with Gardiner, July 17, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 30–33; Cabell, *Kidd*, 92–94.
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58. Adventure Galley Company Account, CO 5/861, fol. 271, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 241–242; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 118–119.59. Affidavit of Campbell, Boston, July 12, 1699, Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 20, 28; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 178.
60. Deposition of Sands, August 7, 1699, CO 5/861, fol. 4, PRO.
61. Examinations of Barlycorne and Way, Boston, July 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 26, 27; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 77–78, *Pirate's Wife*, 124; Cabell, *Kidd*, 96–97.

62. Geanakopoulou, *Next Door*, 81, 90–91; Bonner, *Pirate Laureate*, 50.
63. Examination of Way, July 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 27; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 251; Zacks, *Hunter*, 242–243.
64. Bailyn, *New England Merchants*, 112–129; Finnegan, *Pirates*, 122–128; Woodard, *Republic*, 91; Ten Largest Cities by Population, 1700–2000.
65. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 219, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 244.
66. Affidavit of Campbell, Boston, July 12, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 28; Pennypacker, *Kidd*, 498.
67. Pitt, *Cotton Mather*, 222–252; Rediker, *Villains*, 4–5; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 17–18. For Puritan Reverend Cotton Mather's voluminous writings during the Captain Kidd era, see Cotton Mather, *The Diary of Cotton Mather 1681–1708*.
68. Instructions of Vernon regarding apprehension of Kidd, Whitehall, November 23, 1698, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 16; *State Trials*, v. 14, 149–150.
69. Bellomont to BOT, July 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18; Bellomont to Stanley, March 5, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 69; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 180; Cabell, *Kidd*, 102.
70. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 220, PRO; Bellomont to Bridgewater, November 12, 1698, Ellesmere MSS, 9756, HEH; Bellomont to Stanley, Boston, March 5, 1700; Bellomont to Vernon, Boston, March 7, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 69–70, 74–75; Bellomont to BOT, New York, July 1, 1698, and October 17, 1700, NYCD, v. 4, 335, 726.
71. BOT to Lords Justices, September 12, 1699, NYCD, v. 4, 583–584; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 179–180.
72. Examination of Captain William Kidd, July 3, 1699, Commons *Journal*, v. 13, 33; Winston, *No Man*, 135.
73. Mather, *Diary*, 302; Sewall, *Diary*, v. 1, 497, 499, 500, 501.
74. Examination of Captain Kidd, July 3, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 33; Examination of Palmer, Newport, July 29, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 73xii, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 74.
75. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 220, PRO.
76. Ibid; Zacks, 246–247.
77. Examination of Captain Kidd, July 3, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 33.
78. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 220, PRO.

CHAPTER 14—THE AXE FALLS

1. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 220, PRO.
2. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 220, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, July 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18; Zacks, *Hunter*, 247–248.
3. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 221, PRO; Geanakopoulou, *Pirate's Wife*, 132–133.
4. Harrington, *Municipal History*, 826.
5. Hamlin and Baker (eds.), *Supreme Court of Judicature of New York*, NYHS *Collections* [1945–1947], v. I, xv, xviii, 99, 102, 113, 120, 126; Powell, *Salem Prosecuted*, 9–10; Schiff, *The Witches*, 184.

6. Powell, *Salem Prosecuted*, 11.
7. Ibid, 8–9; Schiff, *The Witches*, 184, 191–192, 268.
8. Drake, *Newton, Thomas, Dictionary of American Biography*, 657; Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 239–246, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, August 24, 1699, NYCD, v. 4, 551; Zacks, *Hunter*, 268.
9. Bellomont to BOT and Examination of Livingston, Boston, July 8 and 12, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18, 27–28.
10. Nanfan to Bellomont, June 5, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 740xiii.
11. Examination of Livingston, Boston, July 12, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 27–28; Zacks, *Hunter*, 245, 248.
12. Bellomont to BOT and Examination of Livingston, Boston, July 8 and 12, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18, 27–28; Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 224, PRO; Livingston to BOT, Albany, June 21, 1701, NYCD, v. 4, 883–884; Leder, *Robert Livingston*, 143.
13. Ibid.
14. Bellomont to Somers, Boston, March 7, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 73; Livingston to BOT, June 21, 1701, NYCD, v. 4, 883–884; Bellomont to BOT and Examination of Livingston, July 8 and 12, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18, 27–28; Leder, *Robert Livingston*, 143–144.
15. Bellomont to BOT and Affidavit of Campbell, July 8 and 12, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18, 28–29; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 178; Zacks, *Hunter*, 248.
16. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 221, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, July 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18.
17. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 221, PRO; Examination of Palmer, Newport, July 29, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 73xii, PRO, and in CSPC, v. 17, no. 890xii; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 74; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 32; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404–405.
18. Instructions of Vernon regarding apprehension of Kidd and Lord Justices Order for seizing Kidd, November 23 and 25, 1698; Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699; Fitz-John Winthrop to Vernon and Bellomont, New London, June 15 and July 20, 1699, *The Winthrop Papers*, MHS Collections [1882], 5th Series, v. 8, 363, 365–366.
19. Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19; Jameson, *Privateering*, 226; Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 221, PRO.
20. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 221, PRO.
21. Affidavit of Campbell, July 12, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 28.
22. Kidd Protest, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 79–80.
23. The following re-creation of the July 6, 1699, confrontation between Captain Kidd and Lord Bellomont and Kidd's subsequent arrest by the Boston constable and wealthy Bostonian and councilman Thomas Hutchinson is based upon the following primary and secondary sources: Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19; Jameson, *Privateering*, 226; Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 221, PRO; Hutchinson, *History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, 119–120;

- Wilkins, *Kidd*, 109–110; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 132; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 181–182; Zacks, *Hunter*, 249–250; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 232; Brooks, *Trial*, 38.
24. Ibid.
 25. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 221–222, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 250; Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 79.
 26. Ibid.
 27. Sewall, *Diary*, v. 1, 1; Lovejoy, *Between Hell*, 357; Powell, *Salem Prosecuted*, 7–8.
 28. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 221–222, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19; Lovejoy, *Between Hell*, 363.
 29. Sarah Kidd, Petition of Sarah Kidd, Massachusetts Archives, 62, no. 316; Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699; True Account of Captain Kidd Goods found in Campbell's House, July 25, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19, 29–30; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 149, *Eighteenth*, 65, *Next Door*, 79; Zacks, *Hunter*, 250.
 30. True Account of Captain Kidd Goods found in Campbell's House, July 25, 1699; Bellomont's to BOT, July 26, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19, 29–30; Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 222, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 250.
 31. Geanakopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 65, *Pirate's Wife*, 149, *Next Door*, 79.
 32. Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19.
 33. Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19; Zacks, *Hunter*, 250.
 34. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 221, PRO.
 35. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 221, PRO; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 31–33; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 403–406.
 36. Ibid.
 37. Hanna, *Nests*, 258.
 38. Bellomont to BOT, July 8 and 26, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19, 21.
 39. Memorial of Campbell, Boston, June 19, 1699; Bellomont to Kidd, June 19, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 22; Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 405.
 40. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 222, PRO.
 41. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 221–222, PRO.
 42. Kidd Protest, July 7, 1699, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 79–80.
 43. Kidd Narrative and Bellomont to BOT, July 7 and 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19, 33.
 44. Kidd Narrative, Boston, July 7, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 33.
 45. Ibid.
 46. Ibid.
 47. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 227, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 229; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 150–151, *Next Door*, 78–83.
 48. Bellomont to BOT, New York, May 3, 1699, NYCD, v. 4, 512; Blathwayt, Piracies in East Indies, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 36; Hanna, *Nests*, 271.
 49. Bellomont to Gardiner, July 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23.

50. Bellomont to BOT, July 8 and 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18–21; Zacks, *Hunter*, 255–256.

CHAPTER 15—THE PIRATE’S WIFE VERSUS THE TREASURE-MAD EARL

1. Sarah Kidd, Petition of Sarah Kidd, Massachusetts Archives, 62, no. 316; Jameson, *Privateering*, 218–219.
2. Ibid; Geanacopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 65–66.
3. Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 78–80; *Eighteenth*, 63–65.
4. Mass. Council Min., July 18, 1699, CO 5/787, fol. 227, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 260–261.
5. Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 83.
6. Zacks, *Hunter*, 269.
7. Bellomont to BOT, July 8, 1699; Blathwayt, Piracies in East Indies, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19, 35.
8. Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 64, PRO, and in Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 20.
9. Foote, *Annals of King’s Chapel*, v. 1, 86; Zacks, *Hunter*, 259.
10. Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 133.
11. Bellomont to BOT, July 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 18–19.
12. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 178–182, 194–196.
13. Mass. Council Min., July 11, 1699, CO 5/787, fol. 223, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, July 8, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19; Leder, *Robert Livingston*, 144.
14. Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699; Account received 17th Day of July 1699 by Captain Evertse, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 20, 24; Mass. Council Min., July 11, 1699, CO 5/787, fol. 223, PRO; Information of Bolton, February 4, 1701, Jameson, *Privateering*, 248–249; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 83; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 168. The remnants of the *Quedagh Merchant* / *Adventure Prize* were discovered in December 2007 off the coast of Catalina Island, Dominican Republic, subsequently investigated by archaeologists from Indiana University, and are now accessible to the general public as a “Living Museum of the Sea.” For the fascinating and detailed archaeological reconstruction of the ship made famous by Captain Kidd, see Frederick Hanselmann, *Captain Kidd’s Lost Ship: The Wreck of the Quedagh Merchant*.
15. Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 20.
16. Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 20; Zacks, *Hunter*, 259–260.
17. Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 20; Jameson, *Privateering*, 229.
18. Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 416; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 178–182; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 109; Zacks, *Hunter*, 259–260.
19. Sarah Kidd, Petition of Sarah Kidd, Massachusetts Archives, 62, no. 316; Mass. Council Min., July 25, 1699, CO 5/787, fol. 222, 227, 229, PRO;

- Elizabeth Morris Indenture Agreement, NYHS *Collections* [1885], 571–572; Geanacopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 65, *Next Door*, 79–80.
20. Examination of Knott, Boston, November 14, 1699, CO 5/861, no. 4 xviii, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, Boston, November 29, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 1,011; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 81; Zacks, *Hunter*, 263.
 21. Deposition of Baldrige, May 5, 1699, CO, 5/1042, no. 30ii, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, Boston, November 29, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 1,011; Jameson, *Privateering*, 186, 239–244; Chapin, *Privateer Ships*, 103; Zacks, *Hunter*, 263; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 112.
 22. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 229; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 150–151, *Next Door*, 81, 83.
 23. Bellomont to BOT, September 21, 1698, April 27, 1699, November 28, 1700; Bellomont to Popple, September 16, 1699; NYCD, v. 4, 377–382, 507–511, 586, 789; Hamlin and Baker (eds.), *Supreme Court of Judicature of New York*, NYHS *Collections* [1945–1947], v. I, 389.
 24. Sarah Kidd to Paine, Boston Prison, July 18, 1699, CO 5/861, no. 4xviii, PRO; Jameson, *Privateering*, 223–224; Geanacopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 68–69, *Next Door*, 80–81; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 112–113.
 25. Examination of Knott, Boston, November 14, 1699, CO 5/861, no. 4xviii, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, Boston, November 29, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 1,011; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 112–113; Appleby, *Women and English Piracy*, 112–113.
 26. Ibid.
 27. Examination of Knott, November 14, 1699, CO 5/861, no. 4xviii, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, Boston, November 29, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 1,011; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 83.
 28. Ibid; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 113; Geanacopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 69.
 29. Examination of Knott, November 14, 1699, CO 5/861, no. 4xviii, PRO.
 30. Wilkins, *Kidd*, 113.
 31. Zacks, *Hunter*, 264; Geanacopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 69.
 32. Petition of Sarah Kidd, Boston, July 25, 1699, Massachusetts Archives, 62, no. 317.
 33. Ibid; Zacks, *Hunter*, 265.
 34. Sarah Kidd Petition Debate in Council, Boston, July 18, 1699, Jameson, *Privateering*, 219; Mass. Council Min., July 25, 1699, CO 5/787, fol. 229, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 114.
 35. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 229, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 261, 263.
 36. Mass. Council Min., July 25, 1699, CO 5/787, fol. 229, PRO.
 37. Bellomont to BOT, Boston, August 28, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 65, PRO; CSPC, v. 17, no. 746; Hanna, *Nests*, 272.
 38. Mass. Council Min., July 25, 1699, CO 5/787, fol. 228–230, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, August 28, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 65, PRO; CSPC, v. 17, no. 746; Stackpole, *History*, 203–208.
 39. Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 21; Jameson, *Privateering*, 231.
 40. Mass. Council Min., October 12, 1699, CO 5/787, fol. 251, PRO; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 83; Zacks, *Hunter*, 270.

41. Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 165, 167, *Next Door*, 83, 86; Zacks, *Hunter*, 266, 270, 275.
42. Zacks, *Hunter*, 275; Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 83, *Pirate's Wife*, 167.
43. Mass. Council Min., CO 5/787, fol. 239–246, PRO; Bellomont to BOT, August 24, 1699, NYCD, v. 4, 551; Drake, *Newton, Thomas, Dictionary of American Biography*, 657; Zacks, *Hunter*, 268.
44. Bellomont to Somers, March 7, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 73; Leder, *Robert Livingston*, 147–148; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 167, *Next Door*, 83; Zacks, *Hunter*, 270, 275.
45. Sanford to Bellomont, Newport, November 8, 1699, RCRI, v. 3, 394–395; Bellomont to BOT, October 24, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 73, PRO, and in CSPC, v. 17, no. 890; Account of Money and Goods of Adventure [Capt. Gullock] seized by Bradish, Boston, October 7, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 890xi; Bellomont to BOT, Boston, November 29, 1699, CO 5/861, no. 4, PRO; CSPC, v. 17, no. 1,011; Jameson, *Privateering*, 237–244.
46. Bellomont to BOT, Boston, October 20 and 30, 1699, and November 28, 1700, NYCD, v. 4, 595, 793; Minutes of Council of New York, September 11, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 773; NYCCM, 143, 144, 164; Zacks, *Hunter*, 275–276; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 230; Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 84; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 190.
47. Ibid.
48. Graham to Livingston, January 16, 1700, GL Collection, GLC03107.00542; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 418, 420; NYCCM, 143, 144.
49. Graham to Livingston, January 16, 1700, GL Collection, GLC03107.00542; Bellomont to BOT, October 20 and 30, 1699, and November 28, 1700, NYCD, v. 4, 595; Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 84.
50. Winthrop to Bellomont, Hartford, October 6 and November 2, 1699, *The Winthrop Papers*, MHS Collections [1882], 5th Series, v. 8, 369–370.
51. Mather, *Diary*, 331; Pitt, *Cotton Mather*, 222–230.
52. Log of HMS *Advice*, ADM, 51, PRO; Mass. Council Min., February 6, 1700, CO 5/787, fol. 269, PRO, and CSPC, v. 18, no. 96; Sewall, *Diary*, v. 2, 3; Burchett to Popple, Admiralty Office and Journal of Council of Trade and Plantations, Whitehall, January 9 and 26, 1700, CSPC, v. 18, nos. 22 and 58; Winthrop to Council, Hartford, February 15, 1700, *The Winthrop Papers*, MHS Collections [1882], 5th Series, v. 8, 372–374; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 563.
53. Mass. Council Min., February 6, 1700, CO 5/787, fol. 269, PRO; Sewall, *Diary*, v. 2, 3; Log of HMS *Advice*, ADM, 51, PRO; Zacks, 277.
54. Mass. Council Min., February 6, 1700, CO 5/787, fol. 269, PRO; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 11–36.
55. Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 84; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 192–193; Zacks, *Hunter*, 276.
56. Bellomont to BOT, January 5, 1700, NYCD, v. 4, 599; Mass. Council Min., February 6, 1700, CO 5/787, fol. 269, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 277–278.
57. Mass. Council Min., Boston, February 6, 1700; Burchett to Popple, Admiralty Office, London, April 11, 1700, CSPC, v. 18, nos. 96 and 310;

- Bellomont to Harrison, Boston, March 5, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 70.
58. Zacks, *Hunter*, 278–279; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 170, *Next Door*, 84–85.
 59. Ibid.
 60. Bellomont to BOT, January 5, 1699, NYCD, v. 4, 601.
 61. Ibid; Bellomont to Stanley, March 5, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 70; Zacks, *Hunter*, 279; Sewall, *Diary*, v. 2, 4–6; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 85.
 62. Log of HMS *Advice*, ADM, 51, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 278–280; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 85.
 63. Zacks, *Hunter*, 279–280; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 84–85.
 64. Log of HMS *Advice*, 51, PRO; Jameson, *Privateering*, 293; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 85; Winsor, *Memorial History*, v. 2, 448.
 65. Zacks, *Hunter*, 282; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 171, *Next Door*, 85.
 66. Mass. Council Min., February 6, 1700, CO 5/787, fols. 269–270, PRO; CSPC, v. 18, no. 96; Bellomont to BOT, July 8 and 26, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19, 21; Sewall, *Diary*, v. 2, 6–7; Zacks, *Hunter*, 282; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 85.
 67. Zacks, *Hunter*, 282–283; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 172, *Next Door*, 85.
 68. Journal of Thomas Langrish, Lieutenant of HMS *Advice*, December 1699–April 1700; Log of the HMS *Advice*, ADM, 51, PRO; Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 85; Zacks, *Hunter*, 283.
 69. Geanacopoulos, *Next Door*, 85–86; Zacks, *Hunter*, 283.
 70. Mass. Council Min., February 6–March 4, 1700, CO 5/787, fol. 268–275, PRO; CSPC, v. 18, no. 96; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 173, *Next Door*, 86.
 71. Bellomont Letters to Stanley, Harrison, and Shrewsbury, March 5, 1700; Bellomont to BOT, March 6, 1700; Bellomont Letters to Littleton, Somers, and Vernon, March 7, 1700, Boston, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 69–77.
 72. Bellomont to Shrewsbury, March 5, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 70.
 73. Bellomont to Stanley, Boston, March 5, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 69.
 74. Examination of Palmer, Newport, July 29, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 73xii, PRO; Bellomont to Vernon, March 7, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 76.
 75. Ibid.
 76. Mass. Council Min., February 6–March 4, 1700, CO 5/787, fol. 268–275, PRO; Burchett to Popple, Admiralty Office, April 11, 1700, CSPC, v. 18, no. 310; Sewall, *Diary*, v. 2, 7–8; Bellomont to Harrison and Bellomont to Littleton, Boston, March 5 and 7, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 70 and 72; Log of HMS *Advice*, ADM 51, PRO.
 77. Log of HMS *Advice*, ADM, 51, PRO; ADM 1/2638, PRO; Geanacopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 174–175, *Next Door*, 86; Zacks, *Hunter*, 286.
 78. Ibid.
 79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.

CHAPTER 16—THE CORPORATION OF PIRATES

1. Journal of Thomas Langrish, December 1699–April 1700; Log of the HMS *Advice*, ADM, 51, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 184–185; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 187; Wilson, *Piracy*, 37; Harris, *Treasure*, 36.
2. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 286; Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 81–82; Dalton, *Real*, 130; Winston, *No Man*, 141.
3. Norton, *Classification and Coercion*, 1,552; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 184–185; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 187; Wilson, *Piracy*, 37.
4. *Post Boy*, March 16, 1700, 2; *Post Boy*, April 6, 1700, 1; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 41.
5. Grey to Admiralty, June 19, 1699, ADM 1/4086, fol. 551, PRO; Nanfan to Bellomont, June 5, 1699, CSPC, v. 17, no. 740xiii; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 543, 578; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 420; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 40–42. In June 1699, without a shred of evidence, Governor Ralph Grey of Barbados claimed that Kidd had amassed £400,000 in booty (\$140,000,000 today), while Robert Livingston, also without proof, claimed that Kidd had £500,000 in sterling (\$175,000,000 today) in his possession. By November 1699, London's most egregious gossip, the former member of Parliament and diarist Narcissus Luttrell, estimated Kidd's treasure or "effects" at a less-inflated yet still eye-opening £200,000 (\$70,000,000 today).
6. Benton, *Legal Spaces*, 707–709; Zacks, *Hunter*, 312; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 185–195.
7. Somerville, *King*, 170–183; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 185–188; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 80–81.
8. Vernon to Shrewsbury, October 7, 1697, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 1, 423; Vernon to Shrewsbury, December 15, 1698, July 13 and 18, 1699, August 3 and 8, 1699, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 233, 319, 323–324, 332, 336–337; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 454; Dalton, *Real*, 327–332; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 183–184.
9. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 13–14; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 54–55; Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 72.
10. Instructions of Vernon regarding apprehension of Kidd, Whitehall, November 23, 1698; Blathwayt, *Piracies in East Indies*, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 16, 34–36; Benton, *Legal Spaces*, 707–710; Wilson, *Piracy*, 36–38.
11. Vernon to Shrewsbury, December 15, 1698, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 233; Somers to Shrewsbury, Whitehall, December 15, 1698, in Coxe, *Original Correspondence*, 570; Bellomont to Somers, Boston, March 7, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 72–74; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 184–187.
12. Somers to Shrewsbury, Whitehall, December 15, 1698, in Coxe, *Original Correspondence*, 570; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 187.

13. Vernon to Shrewsbury, August 8, September 1, and December 2, 1699, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 336–337, 349–350, 371–374; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 551, 557; Dalton, *Real*, 330–331; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 184, 186–190.
14. Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 235; Hanna, *Nests*, 419.
15. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 10.
16. Vernon to Shrewsbury, December 2, 1699, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 372; Graham to Livingston and Nanfan to Livingston, New York, February 20, 1700, GL *Collection*, GLC03107.00593 and GLC03107.00599; Wilson, *Piracy*, 38; Winston, *No Man*, 139–140; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 86.
17. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 10; Vernon to Shrewsbury, December 2, 1699, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 371–374; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 189–190.
18. Coxe, *Original Correspondence*, 11; Gauci, *Vernon*; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 189–190, 209, 292.
19. Vernon to Shrewsbury, December 2, 1699, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 371–374; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 189–190.
20. Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 16, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 32–33; Vernon to Shrewsbury, December 2, 1699, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 371–374.
21. Graham to Livingston and Nanfan to Livingston, New York, February 20, 1700, GL *Collection*, GLC03107.00593 and GLC03107.00599; Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of British Parliaments*, v. II, 316; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 11–15, 39; Vernon to Shrewsbury, December 5, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 374–376; Anonymous, *Full Account*, 19; Macaulay, *History*, v. 4, 502–504; Somerville, *King*, 172–173; Sachse, *Lord Somers*, 159; Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 81–82; Hayton, *Parliamentary Diary*, xli–xlii, 38–41.
22. Vernon to Shrewsbury, December 7, 1699, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 376–381; Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of British Parliaments*, v. II, 311–326; Hayton, *Parliamentary Diary*, xli–xlii, 38–41; Graham to Livingston and Nanfan to Livingston, New York, February 20, 1700; Campbell to Livingston, Boston, March 7, 1700; Graham to Livingston, New York, March 18, 1700, GL *Collection*, GLC03107.00593, GLC03107.00599, GLC03107.00549, and GLC03107.00551; Gauci, *Vernon*; Sachse, *Lord Somers*, 159.
23. Ibid.
24. Graham to Livingston and Nanfan to Livingston, New York, February 20, 1700; Campbell to Livingston, Boston, March 7, 1700; Graham to Livingston, New York, March 18, 1700, GL *Collection*, GLC03107.00593, GLC03107.00599, GLC03107.00549, and GLC03107.00551; Vernon to Shrewsbury, December 5 and 7, 1699, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 374–376, 376–381; Macaulay, *History*, v. 4, 502–504; Wilson, *Piracy*, 38; Coxe, *Original Correspondence*, 601; Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 81; Sachse, *Lord Somers*, 159–160; Hayton, *Parliamentary Diary*, 38–41.

25. Journal of Thomas Langrish, December 1699–April 1700; Log of HMS *Advice*, ADM, 51, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 310, 314; Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 86; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 135.
26. Journal of Thomas Langrish, December 1699–April 1700; Log of the HMS *Advice*, ADM, 51, PRO; Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 6, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 6–9; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 632; Dalton, *Real*, 332; Zacks, *Hunter*, 315–316.
27. Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 6, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 6–9.
28. Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 6 and April 9 and 13, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 6–9, 10–11; Sachse, *Lord Somers*, 165; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 192.
29. ADM, 1/2638 and 3/15, April 6 and April 8, 1700, PRO; Journal of Thomas Langrish, December 1699–April 1700; Log of the HMS *Advice*, ADM, 51, PRO; Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 6, 9, and 13, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 6–17; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 130; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 192–193.
30. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 193.
31. Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 146.
32. ADM 1/2638, PRO; Zacks, *Hunter*, 315; Geanakopoulos, *Next Door*, 86.
33. Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 16, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 33–34; Zacks, 315, 317; Kidd to Orford, HMS *Advice*, Downs, April 11, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 78; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 151.
34. Kidd to Orford, HMS *Advice*, Downs, April 11, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 78.
35. ADM 2/398, fols. 141, 151, 157–159, PRO; ADM 3/15, April 6, 8, 11, 14, 1700, PRO; Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 16, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 33–34; Zacks, *Hunter*, 317; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 149–151; Kidd to Admiralty, July 16, 1700, ADM 1/2002, PRO; ADM 3/16, July 17, 1700, PRO.
36. Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 9 and 13, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 9–17; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 193–194; Sachse, *Lord Somers*, 165.
37. Riggs to Livingston, New York, June 6, 1700, GL *Collection*, GLC03107.00569; Journal of Thomas Langrish, December 1699–April 1700; ADM 3/15, April 6, 8, 11, 14, 1700, PRO; ADM 2/398, fols. 141, 151, 157–159, PRO; Burchett to Popple, Admiralty Office, London, April 11, 1700, CSPC, v. 18, no. 310; Kidd to Admiralty, July 16, 1700, ADM 1/2002, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 193; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 317, 322; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 135.
38. Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 11, 13, and 16, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 17–19, 26–36; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 194–195; Sachse, *Lord Somers*, 165.
39. Bellomont to Stanley, March 5, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 69–70.
40. Ibid, 69; Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 13, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 26–29; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 194; Zacks, *Hunter*, 318.
41. Bellomont to Shrewsbury, March 5, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 70.
42. ADM 3/15, meeting of April 14, 1700; ADM 2/398, fols. 151, 157–159, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 150–152; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 196; Winston, *No Man*, 141–142.
43. ADM 3/15, meeting of April 14, 1700, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 151–152.

44. Zacks, *Hunter*, 318–319.
45. ADM 3/15, meeting of April 14, 1700, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 151–152.
46. Zacks, *Hunter*, 319.
47. ADM 3/15, April 14, 1700, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 151–152; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 196; Winston, *No Man*, 141–142; Sherry, *Raiders*, 186.
48. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 196.
49. ADM 2/398, fols. 141, 151, 157–159; ADM 3/15, meetings of April 6, 8, 11, and 14, 1700, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 130.
50. ADM 3/15, April 14, 1700, PRO; *Flying Post or The Post Master*, April 13, 1700, 1; *Post Boy*, April 13, 1; Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 16, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 29–35; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 634–635; Anonymous, *Full Account*, 40; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 187–188; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 196–197; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 152–153; Zacks, *Hunter*, 319–320; Brooks, *Trial*, 39; Wilson, *Piracy*, 38; Sachse, *Lord Somers*, 165; Winston, *No Man*, 142; Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 82–83.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. ADM 3/15, April 14, 1700, PRO; Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 16, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 29–35; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 152–153; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 634–635; Wilson, *Piracy*, 38; Zacks, *Hunter*, 319–320; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 196–197.
55. ADM 1/2638; ADM 2/398, fols. 141, 151, 157–159, PRO; ADM 3/15, meetings of April 11 and 14, 1700, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 150–151.
56. *Flying Post or The Post Master*, April 13, 1700, 1; *Post Boy*, April 13, 1; April 25, 1; ADM 3/15, April 14, 1700, PRO; Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 16, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 29–35; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 152–153; Wilson, *Piracy*, 38; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 634–635.
57. Ibid.
58. ADM 3/15, April 14, 1700; ADM 2/398, fols. 157–159, PRO; *Flying Post or The Post Master*, April 13, 1700, 1; *Post Boy*, April 13, 1; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 634–635; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 152–153; Wilson, *Piracy*, 38; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 197; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 188.
59. Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 27–30; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 197, 199–200; Zacks, *Hunter* 320–321.
60. Linebaugh, *London Hanged*, 28; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 199; Harris, *Treasure*, 37–39.
61. Mangan, *Newgate*, 1.
62. ADM 3/15, April 14, 1700; ADM 2/398, fols. 157–159, PRO; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 148, 454; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 27–30; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 199–200.
63. Zacks, *Hunter* 321–322.
64. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 199–201; Zacks, *Hunter*, 321–322.

CHAPTER 17—STACKING THE DECK

1. ADM 3/16, May 3, 7, and 13, 1700, PRO; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 127, 134, 188; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 28; Linebaugh, *London Hanged*, 29; Kalman, *Newgate*, 50; Simon, *Pirates*, 72–73; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 200.
2. Ibid.
3. Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 4, 637; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 133.
4. ADM 3/16, May 3, 7, and 13, 1700, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 158; Zacks, *Hunter*, 326.
5. ADM 3/16, May 7, 1700; ADM 2/1048, fol. 8, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 158.
6. ADM 3/16, May 13, 1700, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 158; Winston, *No Man*, 142.
7. ADM 3/16, May 13, 1700; ADM 2/1048, fol. 8, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 158–159; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 200.
8. Ibid.
9. ADM 1/2638 and ADM 2/398, fol. 194, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 157–158, 165; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 201; Vernon to Shrewsbury, August 8, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 126–127; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 27.
10. ADM 3/16, May 7 and 13, 1700; ADM 2/1048, fol. 8, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 158–159; Cabell, *Kidd*, 107; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 178–179.
11. Zacks, *Hunter*, 327; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 178–179.
12. HCA 24/127, April 1701, no. 57, PRO; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 180–181; *Eighteenth*, 139–143; Appleby, *Women*, 108; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 216–219; Zacks, *Hunter*, 340–341.
13. Kidd to Admiralty, Newgate Prison, December 30, 1700, ADM 1/2002, PRO; Admiralty to Kidd, January 4, 1701, ADM 3/16, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 162.
14. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 201.
15. Wilson, *Piracy*, 39; Zacks, *Hunter*, 312, 314, 345; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 87–88.
16. Kidd to Admiralty, March 20, 1701, ADM 1/2002 and 3/16, PRO; Dalton, *Real*, 218; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 162–163.
17. Kidd to Admiralty, April 9, 1701, ADM 1/2002; ADM 3/16, April 11, 12, and 16, 1701; Burchett to Fells, April 16, 1701, ADM, 2/400, fol. 2, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 163–165; Wilson, *Piracy*, 38.
18. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 424–425; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 202–203; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 219–221.
19. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 441; Hayton, *Parliamentary Diary*, 73; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 203.
20. Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 87–88; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 33; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 203; Zacks, *Hunter*, 346.
21. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 441–442, 444–445; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 32; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 203, 291.
22. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 441; Zacks, *Hunter*, 347.
23. ADM 3/15, April 14, 1700, PRO; Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 16, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 29–35; *State Trials*, v. 14, 132, 169, 174, 180,

- 183–184, 210, 215; Hayton, *Parliamentary Diary*, 73; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 88.
24. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 441; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 32; Winston, *No Man*, 144.
 25. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 424, 425, 441; Brooks, *Trial*, 40.
 26. Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 188.
 27. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 441; Hayton, *Parliamentary Diary*, 73–76; Burnet, *History*, v. 3, 368; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 32; Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 88; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 203–204; Winston, *No Man*, 143–144; Brooks, *Trial*, 40.
 28. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 441; Burnet, *History*, v. 3, 368; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 32; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 204.
 29. Hayton, *Parliamentary Diary*, 73–76; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 32; Wilson, *Piracy*, 38–39; Brooks, *Trial*, 40; Zacks, *Hunter*, 348; Winston, *No Man*, 143–144; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 203–204; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 235; Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 83–84.
 30. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 444–446; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 33; Brooks, *Trial*, 40; Winston, *No Man*, 144; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 204.
 31. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 450.
 32. Oldmixon, *History of England*, 207, and *Memoirs*, 86; Anonymous, *Full Account*, 47–48; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 146–147.
 33. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 460, 463; Anonymous, *Full Account*, 47–48; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 34; Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 84–86.
 34. Ibid; Oldmixon, *History of England*, 207; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 204–205; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 146–147.
 35. Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 463; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 34; Anonymous, *Full Account*, 48; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 205; Oldmixon, *History of England*, 207, *Memoirs*, 84–85.
 36. Anonymous, *Full Account*, 48; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 463; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 34; Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 84–85, *History of England*, 207; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 147; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 205.
 37. Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History*, v. 3, 368.
 38. Burchett, *A Complete History*, 580.
 39. *Post Boy*, November 30, 1699, 1; March 16, 1700, 2; April 6, 11, and 25, 1700, 1; *Flying Post or The Post Master*, April 13, 1700, 1; Oldmixon, *Memoirs*, 88; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 40–42.
 40. Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 162–163; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 40–42.
 41. *Post Boy*, November 30, 1699, 1; March 16, 1700, 2; April 6, 11, and 25, 1700, 1; *Flying Post or The Post Master*, April 13, 1700, 1; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 40–42.
 42. Kidd to Admiralty, April 9, 1701, ADM 1/2002, PRO.
 43. ADM 3/16, April 16, 1701; Burchett to Fells, April 16, 1701, ADM 2/400, fol. 2, PRO; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 496; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 164; Zacks, *Hunter*, 350; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 207–208.
 44. Ibid; *State Trials*, v. 14, 127.

45. Kidd to Admiralty, April 21, 1701, ADM 1/2002, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 164–165.
46. Kidd to Fells, April 18, 1701, ADM 1/2004, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 208.
47. Kidd to Admiralty, April 23, 1701, ADM 1/2002; ADM 2/399, fol. 365, PRO; *State Trials*, v. 14, 132, 180, 183–184; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 165; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 208; Zacks, *Hunter*, 351.
48. Bellomont to Kidd, June 19, 1699; Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, submitted with copies of French passes; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19–22; Kidd's Protest, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 80; Paine, *Buried Treasure*, 103; Benton, *Legal Spaces*, 708–709; Winston, *No Man*, 144–145.
49. ADM 2/399, fol. 365, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 165–166; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 208.
50. Bellomont to BOT, July 26, 1699, submitted with copies of French passes; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 19–22; CO 5/860, fols. 159–162, PRO; ADM 2/399, fol. 365; Burchett to Jodrell, April 18, 1701, ADM 2/400, fol. 10; Burchett to Wynn, May 3, 1701, ADM 2/400, fol. 94, PRO; Morris, *Fair Trial*, 46; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 208, 209, 292; Pennypacker, *Kidd*, 504.
51. Benton, *Legal Spaces*, 708–709.
52. Paine, *Buried Treasure*, 103–104; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 209, 292; Zacks, *Hunter*, 405.
53. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 209, 292; Baer, *Pirates*, 154; Wilson, *Piracy*, 39.
54. Vernon to Shrewsbury, October 7, 1697, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 1, 423; Vernon to Shrewsbury, December 15, 1698; July 13 and 18, 1699; August 3 and 8, 1699, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 2, 233, 319, 323–324, 332, 336–337; Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 6, 9, 13, and 16, 1700; May 9 and 10, 1700; July 4 and 23, 1700; August 3 and 8, 1700, in James, *Letters Illustrative*, v. 3, 6–9, 10–11, 33–34, 39, 106, 117–118, 121, 126–127.
55. Paine, *Buried Treasure*, 103–104; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 209, 292; Wilson, *Piracy*, 39; Pennypacker, *Kidd*, 504.
56. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 209, 292; Wilson, *Piracy*, 39.
57. Baer, *Pirates*, 154.
58. Kidd to Admiralty, April 9, 21, and 23, 1701, ADM 1/2002, PRO; Kidd to Speaker of House of Commons (Robert Harley), April (?), 1701, Jameson, *Privateering*, 250–252; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 4, 16–17 (May 12, 1701; date listed is incorrect).
59. Kidd to Speaker of House of Commons (Robert Harley), April (?), 1701, Jameson, *Privateering*, 250–252; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 4, 16–17 (May 12, 1701; date listed is incorrect); Dalton, *Real*, 157; Wilson, *Piracy*, 38–39; Winston, *No Man*, 145.
60. Kidd to Speaker of House of Commons (Robert Harley), April (?), 1701, in Jameson, *Privateering*, 250–252; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 4, 16–17 (May 12, 1701; date listed is incorrect).
61. Ibid; Wilson, *Piracy*, 39.
62. Baer, *Pirates*, 157; Morris, *Fair Trial*, 46; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 207; Zacks, *Hunter*, 323, 344.

63. Examination of Palmer, Newport, July 29, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 73xii, PRO; Informations of Bradinham and Palmer, HCA, 1/15, fol. 7, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 73–74, 126–127, 138–139; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 206–207.
64. Bellomont to BOT, October 24, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 73, PRO, and in CSPC, v. 17, no. 890; Bellomont to Somers, Boston, March 7, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 73; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 59; Bonner, *Pirate Laureate*, 35; Winston, *No Man*, 148–149.
65. Penn to Vernon, Philadelphia, February 26, 1700, CO 5/1260, no. 17, PRO, and in CSPC, v. 18, no. 156; Penn to BOT, Philadelphia, December 31, 1700; Deposition of Sober, December 28, 1700; Bond of Portlock, March 9, 1699; CSPC, v. 18, no. 1065, 1065iii, 1065iv; Information of Bradinham, HCA, 1/15, fol. 7, PRO; ADM 3/16, April 19, 1701, PRO; Murphy, *William Penn*, 269–270; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 135–139; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 207; Paine, *Buried Treasure*, 123–124.
66. Murphy, *William Penn*, 269–270; Hinrichs, *Fateful Voyage*, 59; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 207.
67. HCA 1/29, fol. 285, PRO.

CHAPTER 18—PREMEDITATED MURDER BY WOODEN BUCKET

- I. *State Trials*, v. 14, 123–234; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 47; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 31–32; Burchett, *A Complete History*, 580.
2. Baer, *Pirates*, 130.
3. Burgess, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 136, *Trial and Error*, 79; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 31–32.
4. *State Trials*, v. 14, 123–234; DNB, v. 12, 389–393; Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 145, *Pirates*, 147; Burgess, *Trial and Error*, 79; Winston, *No Man*, 146; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 210; Zacks, *Hunter*, 355–357.
5. *State Trials*, v. 14, 123–234.
6. Account of objections raised by Dr. Oldys, CSPC, Domestic Series, Reign of William and Mary, 1694–1695, 369; Kay, *Oldys, William (1636–1708)*; Craze, *Prosecuting Privateers*, 655, 663; Baer, *Pirates*, 149; DNB, v. 42, 119; Buchan, *All at Sea*, 76–77; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 293.
7. Burgess, *Public Sphere*, 898–899, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 135–136; Morris, *Fair Trial*, 45; Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, III, 145; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 211.
8. Dwyer, *Punishment*, 32; Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 143–147, *Pirates*, III; Burgess, *Trial and Error*, 79, *Piracy: A Challenge*, 135–136; Morris, *Fair Trial*, 44–45; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 32; Winston, *No Man*, 157.
9. Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 145.
10. *Ibid*, 145–146; Baer, *Pirates*, 148–153.
11. Deposition of Franks, Bombay, October 20, 1697, Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6448, IOR; Gibbs, *Brevity*, 729, 768–769, 778–779, 785–786; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 32–33; Benton, *Legal Spaces*, 711–712; Burgess, *Public Sphere*, 898–899.

12. *State Trials*, v. 14, 123–127; Morris, *Fair Trial*, 45–46; Langbein, *Criminal Trial*, 263–316; Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 145, *Pirates*, 147; Winston, *No Man*, 146; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 211.
13. *State Trials*, v. 14, 127; Baer, *Pirates*, 147; Winston, *No Man*, 146.
14. Baer, *Pirates*, 147, 149.
15. *State Trials*, v. 14, 123–130; DNB, v. 59, 311–312; Morris, *Fair Trial*, 45; Brooks, *Trial*, 41–42; Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 145, *Pirates*, 149; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 213.
16. *State Trials*, v. 14, 130–131.
17. Dalton, *Real*, 156–157.
18. *Ibid*, 160–161.
19. *State Trials*, v. 14, 131.
20. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 214.
21. Morris, *Fair Trial*, 46; Seitz, *Trial of Kidd*, 67.
22. Bellomont to Shrewsbury, March 5, 1700, *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 8, 70; Konstam, *Sacrifice*; Bauer, *Pirates*, 151–153; Dalton, *Real*, 161–163; De Peyster, *Bellomont*, 46; Paine, *Buried Treasure*, 113–114; Morris, *Fair Trial*, 33, 46; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 140–142; Pennypacker, *Kidd*, 508–511.
23. Morris, *Fair Trial*, 46.
24. *Ibid*, 33, 46; Baer, *British Piracy*, v. 2, 145–146.
25. *State Trials*, v. 14, 131–133; Morris, *Fair Trial*, 45; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 213–214.
26. *State Trials*, v. 14, 133–134.
27. *State Trials*, v. 14, 134.
28. *Ibid*.
29. *Ibid*, 134–135; Winston, *No Man*, 149; Zacks, *Hunter*, 365.
30. Examination of Palmer, Newport, July 29, 1699, CO 5/860, no. 73xii, PRO; CSPC, v. 17, no. 890xii.
31. *State Trials*, v. 14, 134–136.
32. *Ibid*, 136.
33. *Ibid*, 136–137.
34. *Ibid*; Henning, *Powell, John*, in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660–1690*.
35. Dalton, *Real*, 162.
36. Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 77.
37. *State Trials*, v. 14, 138.
38. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 215.
39. *State Trials*, v. 14, 139; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 78; Cabell, *Kidd*, 114; Winston, *No Man*, 149.
40. *State Trials*, v. 14, 140–141; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 215.
41. *State Trials*, v. 14, 141.
42. *Ibid*, 142.
43. *Ibid*.
44. *Ibid*.
45. *Ibid*, 143.
46. *Ibid*, 143–146.

47. Morris, *Fair Trial*, 61.
48. *State Trials*, v. 14, 146.
49. *State Trials*, v. 14, 123–234; Zacks, *Hunter*, 368.
50. Account of objections raised by Dr. Oldys, CSPC, Domestic Series, Reign of William and Mary, 1694–1695, 369; Kay, *Oldys, William (1636–1708)*; Craze, *Prosecuting Privateers*, 655, 663; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 293; Baer, *Pirates*, 149; DNB, v. 42, 119; Buchan, *All at Sea*, 76–77.
51. *State Trials*, v. 14, 147–151; Brooks, *Trial*, 89–90; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 216–217; Baer, *Pirates*, 153.
52. *State Trials*, v. 14, 151–153; Brooks, *Trial*, 91–92.
53. *State Trials*, v. 14, 146, 153; Gibbs, *Brevity*, 780; Baer, *Pirates*, 154.
54. *State Trials*, v. 14, 146.

CHAPTER 19—THE INNOCENTEST PERSON OF THEM ALL

1. Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 102–103.
2. Baer, *Pirates*, 153.
3. *State Trials*, v. 14, 153–154; Gibbs, *Brevity*, 780.
4. Testimony of Robert Culliford, HCA 1/16, pt. 1, fol. 5, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 75–85; Zacks, *Hunter*, 370; Baer, *Pirates*, 154.
5. *State Trials*, v. 14, 153–154; Brooks, *Trial*, 92–94.
6. Barringer, *Enemies of Mankind*, 3.
7. *State Trials*, v. 14, 154.
8. *State Trials*, v. 14, 155–159; Zacks, *Hunter*, 370.
9. *State Trials*, v. 14, 165.
10. Dalton, *Real*, 146; Zacks, *Hunter*, 371; Burgess, *Public Sphere*, 898, *Pirates' Pact*, 135.
11. *State Trials*, v. 14, 165; Dalton, *Real*, 85–86.
12. *State Trials*, v. 14, 154; Examinations of Owen, Arris, and Loffe, July 4 and 10, 1699; Kidd Narrative and Protest, July 7, 1699; Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 23, 32, 33; *Portland Manuscripts*, v. 9, 404–405; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 99–100.
13. *State Trials*, v. 14, 173–174.
14. Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 98.
15. *State Trials*, v. 14, 169, 171.
16. Dershowitz, *Introduction*, in Brooks, *Trial*.
17. Petition of Davis and Order of King in Council, February 18 and March 10, 1692, CSPC, v. 13, nos. 2,059 and 2,119; Marley, *Pirates*, v. 2, 560–561; *State Trials*, v. 14, 169, 173–174.
18. *State Trials*, v. 14, 171, 173, 180; Dalton, *Real*, 143–144; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 99; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 89; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 218.
19. *State Trials*, v. 14, 180–186.
20. Baer, *Pirates*, 155.
21. *State Trials*, v. 14, 183–184.
22. *Ibid.*, 185–186; Gibbs, *Brevity*, 780.
23. *State Trials*, v. 14, 186–187.
24. *State Trials*, v. 14, 187–191.

25. *State Trials*, v. 14, 191–198; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 220.
26. *State Trials*, v. 14, 198; Zacks, *Hunter*, 375.
27. *State Trials*, v. 14, 201–207.
28. *Ibid*, 198.
29. *Ibid*, 208–209.
30. *Ibid*.
31. *Ibid*, 209.
32. *State Trials*, v. 14, 179; Morris, *Fair Trial*, 61.33; Johnson, *General History*, 332.
34. Zacks, *Hunter*, 376.
35. Baer, *Pirates*, 156.
36. *State Trials*, v. 14, 211.
37. *State Trials*, v. 14, 212.
38. *Ibid*, 217; Gibbs, *Brevity*, 780.
39. *State Trials*, v. 14, 217.
40. *Ibid*, 218–221.
41. *Ibid*, 221, 226.
42. See, for instance, Zacks, *Hunter*, and Hinrichs, *Fateful*.
43. *State Trials*, v. 14, 222; Zacks, *Hunter*, 153.
44. *State Trials*, v. 14, 227.
45. *Ibid*, 226.
46. *Ibid*, 222, 226; Examination of Jenkins, Boston, July 6, 1699, Commons *Journals*, v. 13, 25; Orig. Corr., E/3/53, no. 6430, 6484; E/3/54, no. 6543, IOR; Grey, *Pirates*, 203.
47. *State Trials*, v. 14, 227.
48. *Ibid*, 228.
49. *State Trials*, v. 14, 228–231; Gibbs, *Brevity*, 780.
50. *Ibid*, 231–232; Zacks, *Hunter*, 377.
51. *State Trials*, v. 14, 168, 197, 214, 223, 227, 230; Zacks, *Hunter*, 377.
52. *State Trials*, v. 14, 231–232.
53. *State Trials*, v. 14, 231–232; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 216, 220; Zacks, *Hunter*, 378.
54. *Ibid*.
55. *State Trials*, v. 14, 232.
56. *State Trials*, v. 14, 233–234.
57. Baer, *Pirates*, 157.
58. *State Trials*, v. 14, 234.

CHAPTER 20—THE SNAP OF THE ROPE

1. Hedges to Admiralty, May 15, 1701, ADM 1/4087, fol. 235, PRO; Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 220–221; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 182.
2. Harris, *Treasure*, 43; Faller, *In Contrast*, 59–78.
3. Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 42; DNB, v. 34, 140; Faller, *In Contrast*, 59–78.
4. Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 40; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 222; Faller, *In Contrast*, 59–62.
5. Faller, *In Contrast*, 63.
6. Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 35; Brooks, *Trial*, 48.

7. Zacks, *Hunter*, 382.
8. DNB, v. 34, 140; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 222; Faller, *In Contrast*, 59–78.
9. Faller, *In Contrast*, 62.
10. Ibid, 61–63; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 222–223.
11. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 223; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 184.
12. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Kalman, *Newgate Prison*, 56; Faller, *In Contrast*, 60; Brooks, *Trial*, 48; Zacks, *Hunter*, 381–383; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 223.
13. Winston, *No Man*, 155.
14. Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 33–37.
15. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Zacks, *Hunter*, 385–386; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 223; Brooks, *Trial*, 48–49.
16. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 185; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 223, 294.
17. Ibid; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 224.
18. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*.
19. Ibid.
20. *The New State of Europe; or, A True Account of Publick Transactions and Learning*, London, May 23, 1701, 1; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 44.
21. *A True Account of . . . Captain Kidd*; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 184–189; Harris, *Treasure*, 46–47; Brooks, *Trial*, 220–221; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 224–225; Winston, *No Man*, 155–157; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 34–37; Baer, *Pirates*, 159–161.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. *A True Account of . . . Captain Kidd*; Baer, *Pirates*, 159–161; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 188–189; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 34–37; Harris, *Treasure*, 46–48; Winston, *No Man*, 155–157; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 224–225.
25. *A True Account of . . . Captain Kidd*; Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 224–225; Baer, *Pirates*, 159–161; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 188–189; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 34–37; Zacks, *Hunter*, 387–390; Harris, *Treasure*, 46–48; Winston, *No Man*, 155–157.
26. Ibid.
27. *A True Account of . . . Captain Kidd*; Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Dalton, *Real*, 213; Brooks, *Trial*, 220–222; Faller, *In Contrast*, 60–61; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 188; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 224; Zacks, *Hunter*, 388.
28. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; *A True Account of . . . Captain Kidd*; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 186–189; Zacks, *Hunter*, 389–390; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 225–226; Winston, *No Man*, 155–157.
29. *A True Account of . . . Captain Kidd*; Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Faller, *In Contrast*, 60–61; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 186–189; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 225–226; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 33–46; Winston, *No Man*, 155–157.
30. Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 33–34, 46.
31. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 186.
32. Ibid; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 226.
33. *A True Account of . . . Captain Kidd*; Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Dalton, *Real*, 213; Brooks, *Trial*, 220–222; Faller, *In Contrast*, 60–61.

34. *A True Account of . . . Captain Kidd*; Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Faller, *In Contrast*, 60–61; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 186–189; Baer, *Pirates*, 161–162; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 225–226.
35. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Faller, *In Contrast*, 60.
36. *London Post–Angel*, May 24, 1701, quoted in Zacks, *Hunter*, 390.
37. *A True Account of . . . Captain Kidd*; Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Faller, *In Contrast*, 60–61; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 186–189; Dalton, *Real*, 213; Brooks, *Trial*, 220–221; Baer, *Pirates*, 161–162; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 225–226.
38. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*.
39. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; *A True Account of . . . Captain Kidd*; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 53.
40. Simon, *Pirates*, 83–84; Zacks, *Hunter*, 391.
41. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*.
42. Ibid; Faller, *In Contrast*, 61.
43. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*.
44. *A True Account of . . . Captain Kidd*.
45. *Post Boy*, May 24, 1701, 1; *Flying Post or The Post Master*, May 24, 1701, 1; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 227.
46. Lorrain, *Ordinary of Newgate*; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 189–195; Zacks, *Hunter*, 392; Harris, *Treasure*, 48.
47. Ibid.
48. Wilkins, *Kidd*, 189.
49. ADM 1/3666, fols. 210–211, PRO.
50. *Post Boy*, May 24, 1701, 1; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 189–190; Zacks, *Hunter*, 392; Harris, *Treasure*, 50–52.
51. Defoe, *London Post with Intelligence Foreign and Domestick*, May 24, 1701, 1; *Post Boy*, May 27, 1701, 1; Baer, *Pirates*, 161; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 37, 42; Cabell, *Kidd*, 122; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 189–195.
52. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 122; Harris, *Treasure*, 48.
53. ADM 2/1048, fol. 29; 1/3666, fols. 210–211; HCA 1/29, fols. 288–289, PRO; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 183; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 37–38; Zacks, *Hunter*, 392–393; Cordingly, *Black Flag*, 225.
54. Konstam, *Sacrifice*; Zacks, *Hunter*, 393.
55. Gosse, 1950 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, quoted in Patrick Pringle, *Jolly Roger: The Story of the Great Age of Piracy*, 148.

CHAPTER 21—AFTERWORD

1. *Elegy of Captain Kidd*, in Simon, *Why We Love Pirates*, 88.
2. HCA 24/127, fols. 57 and 107, PRO; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, v. 5, 32; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 232; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 219–221; Zacks, *Hunter*, 400; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 92.
3. Ibid.
4. HCA 24/127, fol. 107; HCA 24/128, fol. 140, 141; CO, 5/787, fol. 273; Treasury 1/94, fol. 381, 383, PRO; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 232, 297; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 219–221; Zacks, *Hunter*, 400; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 92–93.

5. Minutes of the Directors of Greenwich Hospital, ADM 67/3, fols. 59, 80, 84, 100, 169, PRO; Baer, *Pirates*, 162; *British Piracy*, v. 3, 261; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 69–70; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 232–233, 297; Zacks, *Hunter*, 400–401; Hanselmann, *Lost Ship*, 92–93; Brooks, *Trial*, 51; Pennypacker, *Kidd*, 513.
6. Warrant to Seize Capt. Kidd's Estate, August 4, 1701; Mills Expenses under Warrant to Seize Capt. Kidd's Estate, April 27, 1702, Cal. Hist. MSS, Part II, 285, 292; Broughton to BOT, New York, September 3, 1701, NYCD, v. 4, 914; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4, 430, v. 6, 133; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 192–193, *Next Door*, 89–90; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 234–236; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 229; Hinrichs, *Fateful*, 184.
7. Ibid.
8. Morehouse, *Trinity*, 19; Geanakopoulos, *Eighteenth*, 74; Winston, *No Man*, 122.
9. Abstracts of Wills, New York, NYHS *Collections* [1892], v. I, 367, 393; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 6, 133; Christopher Rousby and Sarah Kidd Marriage License, Abstracts of Wills, New York, NYHS *Collections* [1892], v. I, 380; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 195, 196, 198, 199–201, *Next Door*, 89–90; Wilkins, *Kidd*, 234–236; Ritchie, *Kidd*, 229, 295; Hinrichs, *St. Thomas*, 266–280, *Fateful*, 184.
10. *Will of Sarah Rousby*, New York Wills and Administrations, v. 15 (1742–1751), 262–264; Fernow, *Calendar of Wills, 1626–1836*, 318; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 6, 143; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 199–220, *Next Door*, 89–90.
11. *Will of Sarah Rousby*, New York Wills and Administrations, v. 15 (1742–1751), 262–264; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 6, 143; Geanakopoulos, *Pirate's Wife*, 208–213, 219–221.
12. Pringle, *Jolly Roger*, 149.
13. Monaghan, *Examination*, 250.
14. T, *A Cruise with Kidd*, 473.
15. Dalton, *Real*, 4–5.
16. Hanna, *Well-Behaved Pirates*, 148–149.
17. Ibid, 150.
18. Hanna, *Nests*, 298.
19. Ibid; Bonner, *Pirate Laureate*, 82–112, *The Ballad of Captain Kidd*, 362–380; Simon, *Pirates*, 86–97; Lincoln, *British Pirates*, 13–14.
20. Bonner, *Pirate Laureate*, 204; Dorson, *Pirate Laureate: The Life and Legends of Captain Kidd* by Willard Hallam Bonner, 490–491.
21. Ritchie, *Kidd*, 237.
22. Simon, *Pirates*, 93–95.
23. Paine, *Buried Treasure*, 28–29.
24. Carmack, *Joseph Smith*, 79, 84, 85.
25. Fortner, *Pirate Ghosts*, 224–239.
26. *News Chronicle*, November 5, 1951, cited in Patrick Pringle, *Jolly Roger*, 162.
27. Harris, *Treasure*, 168–203; Simon, *Pirates*, 94–95.

28. *The Newcastle Sun*, *Search for Capt. Kidd "Treasure,"* Wednesday, January 24, 1951; *Attempts to Raise Money to Finance Expeditions to Search for Captain Kidd's Treasure in the South China Seas*, The National Archives, Records of the Metropolitan Police Office, 2/9166; Simon, *Pirates*, 94–95.
29. Branigin, *Tracking Captain Kidd's Treasure*, *Washington Post*, May 12, 1984.
30. For the details of the discovery and archaeological investigation of the *Quedagh Merchant/Adventure Prize* off the coast of Catalina Island, Dominican Republic, see Hanselmann, *Captain Kidd's Lost Ship: The Wreck of the Quedagh Merchant*.
31. Cabell, *Kidd*, 123.
32. Hanna, *Well-Behaved Pirates*, 150; Burgess, *Pirates' Pact*, 239–240.

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