ATLANTIC PIRATES:

THE PAWNS OF RIVALRY IN THE MODERN WORLD-SYSTEM,

1650-1713

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis is a survey through a specific relation of two continents, namely Latin America and Europe between 1650 and 1713. This specific relation was piratical activities that European countries conducted in the trade routes in Atlantic Ocean. Yet, in this study, piracy in these trade routes is not perceived as just a criminal activity, but a paramilitary tool used by European states in a rivalry for control over the Atlantic trade routes.

Keywords: Pirate, Piracy, Privateer, Early Modern Period, Latin America

ÖZ

ATLANTİK KORSANLARI:

MODERN DÜNYA-SİSTEMİNDE REKABETİN PİYONLARI,

1650-1713

Alptekin, Onur

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Bu tez, Latin Amerika ve Avrupa kıtalarının 1650 ve 1713 yılları arasındaki özel bir ilişki biçimini incelemektedir. Bu ilişki biçimi Avrupalı devletlerin Atlantik Okyanusu'nda yürüttükleri deniz haydutluğu/korsanlık faaliyetleridir. Lakin bu çalışmada bahsettiğimiz ticaret yollarındaki deniz haydutluğu/korsanlık sadece bir suçlu faaliyeti değil, fakat Avrupalı devletlerin Atlantik ticaret yollarını kontrol etme rekabetinde kullandıkları paramiliter bir araçtır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Deniz Haydutu, Deniz Haydutluğu, Korsan, Erken Modern Dönem, Latin Amerika

To my brother, Erman Alptekin

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: WALKING THE PLANK

The number of books and articles on the history of piracy in the Atlantic, and especially in the Caribbean, increased enormously starting with end of the 1990s. To relate it to increase in piratical acts in Somalia is not irrelevant. The common aim of these works is to justify the view that pirates have always been 'evils' who were independent from state mechanisms and who attacked, murdered, plundered, and burned for the lust of money or for joy. Briefly, they were perceived as mere criminals. Pirates have always been perceived as *hostis humani generis* (enemy of all mankind). Thus, those authors try to delegitimize recent piratical activities by referring to 'the universal values' created historically.

Piracy has been one of the most debated historical phenomenons in international law and politics, and all academic disciplines on the one hand, and for literature and the visual arts on the other. The tendency of the former has been that piracy was merely a criminal activity according to international law and politics or the view point of the state. The latter, literature and the visual arts, presented pirates either as criminals as the former did or as romantic and freedom-loving heroes. Gore Verbinski's *Pirates of the Caribbean* series or Errol Flynn's famous pirate movies such as *Captain Blood*, *Against All Flags*, and *The Sea Hawk* constitute the best examples of these fictions.

Both views fail to explain the role and situation of pirates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However pirates of today may be viewed by documentaries, agents of the state, media or academics as 'unofficial' crime organizations. Yet, pirates in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had a particular relation to the state. They were paramilitary agents, even sometimes mercenaries, rather than criminals, without whose services, any particular state of early capitalist Europe would have been of a disadvantage.

Thus, the aim of this study is to investigate the role of piracy in the rivalry of European states in the Atlantic trade routes between 1650 and 1713. It is maintained that pirates were not merely criminals but used by European states as paramilitary tools. This is suggested by historical data and points of view of various contemporaries. Although different sources of primary sources such as trial records and letters of marque can propose contradictory information, examining their overlapping and confronting elements is crucial to sift historical facts. Thus, discrepancies between letters of marque, trial records, and pirates' travel journals were important to be examined in order to understand this unique relation between pirates and states. Thus, the purpose is to investigate this relation especially including the role of pirates on the Atlantic trade routes.

Pirates of that era were important subjects of history due to (1) their symbiotic relation with states that used pirates as paramilitary tools in their rivalry on the trade routes, and (2) their unique societal relations and organizations among themselves, with locals, and states.

The relations of colonization between the colonizer and the colony, even after the decolonization processes (as core and periphery), have not changed that much inside the capitalist world-system. Those relations which can be traceable even today were: (1) being invasive, (2) altering the biodiversity, (3) imposing new ways of claiming rights of land and labor, and new system of government, and (4) creating a new cosmology (Higman, 2011: 53). Core states are still invasive as can be seen in the latest example of the invasion of Iraq, altering the biodiversity of the periphery and the world as can be seen in the problem of global warming, imposing

new forms of governance as can be seen in the coups in Latin America, and creating new cosmologies as can be seen in the shift (from being 'communist' to being 'terrorist') of blaming everyone after 9/11. Thus, in that sense, dealing with piracy of the seventeenth century provides a way not only to understand the mechanisms of the capitalist world-economy of that era but also to perceive its functioning today, and it is as simple as changing the substantives. Apart from that the relation is the same.

In this context, different points of view on piracy play a crucial role side by side with historical data. Previous studies on piracy were inevitably Eurocentric although one should give the researches credit for examining historical data regarding pirates. These historical data were quite helpful to this study. However, a different point of view should be developed. Thus, this study proposes to investigate the state support of all kind of piratical activities done by either buccaneers[1], pirates, or privateers[2] in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries with the aspects of the relations between Latin America and Europe (including the Western coast of Africa when necessary) as well as of the era.

1.2   REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Having explained the intellectual rationalization for this study, these claims should be applied to evaluate other authors' views on piracy. In order to accomplish

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[1] The word buccaneer derived from the French word, *boucanier* which means user of a *boucan*, a native grill for roasting meat. Buccaneers who were mainly the French settlers were perceived as hunters of wild animals in the island of Tortuga. They hunted cattle and pig and cured the meat by smoking it in a fire. This smoking process was called as *boucan* in the Arawak language, and *mukem* in Tapi language. In the etymological dictionary of Dr. Ernst Klein, he argues that "initial b and m are interchangeable in Tapi language" (Klein, 1971). Thus, they started to be known as *boucanniers*, and then "buccaneers". Buccaneers were mostly Huguenots, a French Protestant community which emerged in the 16th century.

[2] The word 'privateer' is the abbreviation of 'Private Man-Of-War'. These people were private agents authorized by state to seize other nation's ships.

this task, the review of literature will be investigated in two parts. These two main parts will consist of: (1) the lack of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries history and (2) the weaknesses of the existing literature.

Many authors have ignored the existence or importance of piracy in the maritime trade routes. Pirates as a historical subject have been pushed aside from the social sciences, although there was an increasing trend in fictional writings and the film industry to use pirates as a subject. However, instead of giving a reliable account of pirates, fictitious works delinked pirates from their historicities by romanticizing them as either freedom-loving heroes or violent criminals.

In academic circles, social scientists who studied this era in their works such as Immanuel Wallerstein, Fernand Braudel, Andre Gunder Frank, Perry Anderson, Charles Tilly, Stephen Lee, and others, either totally ignored pirates or paid little attention to pirates as crucial subjects of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in inter-state and systemic relations. Although they referred to the importance of sailing, improvements in shipbuilding, the use of mercenary armies, and the rise of the Atlantic economy in those grand narratives, piracy was not taken seriously into account. However, their contribution to the understanding of systemic trends of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as well as their approaches to the notion of the centralized state will be used in this study.

Thanks to the works of Eric J. Hobsbawm, namely *Primitive Rebels* (1965) and *Bandits* (1969) (he revisited this book in 1981), the awareness of banditry as a social phenomenon increased in 1960s. Although he did not emphasize pirates but rural banditry in his books, theorizing people who were outside the monopoly of state violence plays an important role for this study. Moreover, the resemblance between pirates and bandits in the sense of theorizing them is quite astonishing.

In Hobsbawm's first book on banditry, *Primitive Rebels*, he describes the conditions for the pattern of (social) banditry, which is "a primitive form of organized social protest" (Hobsbawm, 1965: 13). The definition of who is a bandit and who is not was determined by the state. Writes Hobsbawm:

> A man becomes a bandit because he does something which is not
> regarded as criminal by his local conventions, but is so regarded by
> the State or the local rulers… The state mixes in 'legitimate' private
> quarrels and a man becomes a 'criminal' in its eyes (Hobsbawm, 1965:
> 15-16).

Due to having the monopoly of violence, the state has the 'right' to determine who is a bandit and who is not as well as who is a criminal and who is not. Ironically, Hobsbawm also reveals the hypocritical nature of determining banditry that there are two more types of bandits in peasant societies besides peasant bandits. There are 'landlords' bandits' and 'the State's bandits' (Hobsbawm, 1965: 13). These types, of course, were 'less criminal' than the peasant bandits in the eyes of State. Anton Blok contributes to Hobsbawm's views in his article, *The Peasant and the Brigand: Social Banditry Reconsidered*. His claims were important in the sense of bandits' relations with the political elite. He claimed that bandits were not freedom fighters ostracized by the state, but instead were supported and protected by politicians. He states that "the more successful a man is as a bandit, the more extensive the protection granted him" (Blok, 1972: 498). This same kind of problem in the context of legality can be seen in the history of piracy.

Four years after his first book on banditry, Hobsbawm published *Bandits*, another book on banditry. The most important contribution to his previous work is the relation between the emergence of banditry and economic crisis. Banditry occurs in societies which experience a rigid social fragmentation economically, politically, and socially as well as geographically:

> Banditry tended to become epidemic in times of pauperization and
> economic crisis… the transition from a pre-capitalist to a capitalist
> economy, the social transformation may entirely destroy the kind of
> agrarian society which gives birth to bandits, the kind of peasantry
> which nourishes them… [However, bandits were] even more simply
> men who find themselves excluded from the usual career of their
> kind, and therefore forced into outlawry and 'crime'. *En masse*, they
> are little more than symptoms of crisis and tensions in their society –
> of famine, pestilence, war or anything else that disturbs it. Banditry
> itself is therefore not a programme for peasant society but a form of

self-help to escape it in particular circumstances (Hobsbawm, 1969: 17, 19-20).

This kind of social transformation pushed people to piracy as well. Poor people started to try their chances in sailing ships as ordinary sailors. Not surprisingly, these ordinary sailors were the main human source of pirate crews.

Social transformations such as enclosure movements, deforestation, and draining the fens changed people's way of living. However, this was not the only result. This transformation also 'criminalized' these people and pushed them to search for a new career in sailing ships, it also changed their way of thinking. It is important to investigate these changes in the realm of ideas and thoughts in order to understand the pirates' way of thinking. In this sense, the radical ideas in seventeenth century in Christopher Hill's *The World Turned Upside Down* may be referred to. He is also one of the influential historians mention about pirates as one of the outcomes of this transformation.

A second and more important part of the review of literature will consist of the views of other authors who have investigated the history of piracy. In the light of the concerns of this study, these views will be reviewed respectively in terms of different conceptualizations of the term 'pirate', different approaches to the legality of and states' relations to pirates, and different views on pirates' methods.

In the context of piracy in the Caribbean, there has been a debate over different types of piracy. Some authors have argued that either in the different time periods or in different contexts, all pirates should not be perceived as one and the same. There is a trend in the literature which claims a definitional separation between buccaneers, pirates, corsairs[3], freebooters, Protestant sea dogs[4], and privateers.

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[3] Actually, the term corsair evolved from Latin word, *cursus* (which means 'course, a running' as in journey or expedition), and affected directly from French word, *corsaire*. In many languages it had close pronunciations: in Italian, *corsaro*; In Provencal, *cursar*; In Medieval Latin, *cursarius*; In Arabic, *corsan*; In Turkish, *korsan*. The French word was first

For example, Marcus Rediker distinguishes pirates according to different time periods. He thinks that the era of the golden age of piracy (1650 to 1730) featured three different generations of pirates: buccaneers of 1650-80, the pirates of 1690s, the pirates of 1716-26. Rediker claims that buccaneers were Protestant sea dogs who attacked the Catholic Spanish ships. The pirates of the 1690s were the pirates who sailed from the Atlantic Ocean to Indian Ocean and established a pirate base in Madagascar. The last generation consisted of the pirates who attacked ships of all nations (Rediker, 2004: 8-9).

However, these categorizations have some misinterpretations regarding the historical facts of that era. These categorizations of different kinds of pirates ignore either their direct interaction with each other or the totality of their relation as an organized and systemic society. In this context, Kris E. Lane argues correctly that "these pirates [freebooters after the end of buccaneering] were essentially the remnants of the seventeenth-century buccaneers" (Lane, 1998: 6).

Lane further argues that pirates in the time of Elizabeth (1558-1603) were privateers or crown-sanctioned mercenaries. The end of the era of buccaneers indicates "the golden age" according to Lane. English, French, Dutch, and Danish governments started to have colonies in the New World and they started to suppress buccaneers and withdraw their support (Lane, 1998: 6). However, some received colonial support. Sir Henry Morgan, one of the most successful of all pirates, was supported by the governorship of Port Royal, the first of the English colonies in the New World. Buccaneers in Tortuga were invited to Port Royal after its invasion by Great Britain, and received letters of marque from the English government. Thus, it was impossible to distinguish buccaneers from privateers in

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used in 15th century as close to privateer. It defines 'legal' French pirates authorized by French Crown. The word corsair, then, started to be used for Elizabethan privateers such as Sir Francis Drake, and Ottoman pirates such as Barbaros ('barba' means beard; and 'rossa' means red) Hayreddin. However, Medieval Latin, Turkish, and Arabic usages shifted in time from the meaning of corsair to pirate.

[4] In the 16th century, English pirates under the support of Elizabeth were called by this name.

Port Royal. Actually, buccaneers and privateers of the era were the same as Botting claims:

> "Morgan and his cohorts regarded themselves as a special bread of privateer… These men insisted that their activities were perfectly legal since all their depredations – no matter how piratical in character – were directed against the Spanish" (Botting, 1978: 24).

Moreover, if the debate over continuity of "piratical traditions" by Lane is recalled, these buccaneers were also the remnants of, respectively, 16th century so-called Protestant sea dogs and early 17th century Dutch pirates as much as they received state support.

Another author, Peter Leeson, puts forward another distinction between pirates, buccaneers, corsairs, and privateers. Leeson claims that "pure pirates" attacked merchant ships without any motive rather than their own gain. In this sense, buccaneers were considered as "proto-pirates". Moreover, they inspired and influenced the piratical activities in the Caribbean. In his construction, corsairs and privateers were state-sanctioned sea robbers (Leeson, 2009: 6-8).

One of the most respected historians in piracy studies, David Cordingly, also distinguishes privateers and buccaneers from each other, although he accepts that the privateers, even though they had the recognition of international law, were merely "authorized" pirates (Cordingly, 2004: 4-5). By making such a separation, he initially claims that buccaneers had no support from English, French, and Dutch governments in the sense of letters of marque. This was wrong as explained above. The support of the state was not only direct support such as financing, supplying weaponry, and harbors but also involved turning a blind eye to piratical activities. In that sense, disregarding the legal obligations or connivance of piratical activities was also a type of support.

Peter Galvin also mentioned a similar distinction. Although his arguments had a certain amount of validity in the sense of the thin line between piracy and privateering, he has contradictions as well. On the one hand, he refuses to make a

distinction between pirates and privateers in the terms of legal and ethical judgment due to the fact that they all forcefully extracted the Spanish property. On the other hand, he compares freebooters and buccaneers as not having commissions or tacit approval from any government (Galvin, 1999: 5-7).

Such claims that focus on 'legitimized' violence inevitably require an ethical judgment and a certain set of moral value which is a Eurocentric one. As well as piratical activities, any violent act of European states in Latin America should not have been condoned. Yet most violent acts were either supported by European states or done by their armies. Arguably all Spanish acquired "property" in the Americas was either stolen forcefully and violently from the native population, or extracted by the forced labor of the native and slave population.

Latimer gives a more comprehensive approach. He claims that since the seventeenth century "the difference between a privateer and a pirate has always been opaque" and prone to different national historical perspective and bias (Latimer, 2009: 4). These views can be perceived as brief examples of the different types of categorizations in the literature on piracy. Yet, changes in terminology have been misunderstood. All those people that were mentioned in the literature had always been pirates. The difference is that during the period in which European states other than Spain and Portugal had no right to establish official trade with Latin American colonies, pirates were supported by these states. With the obtainment of this right to establish 'legal' trade with Spanish and Portuguese colonies, they started to withdraw their support due to the fact that they no longer needed pirates to acquire goods from these colonies. When state support was withdrawn, pirates became weaker than they had been. If it is perceived that once they were privateers or state agents and then became pirates, it would be a view exactly in accordance with the states' point of view. They were the same people doing the same plundering. Thus, 1713 is a crucial date. After that time, some continued piracy without state support instead of becoming unemployed. This was an alternative. Alternatively again with state support, others became employed as "pirate hunters".

In order to investigate the literature in depth, the debate over piracy in the realm of law should also be explained. Because legal definitions have decided the innocence or criminality of an activity, the definition of what constituted criminal piratical activities created different debates in law-making and law-interpreting processes. Hence, debate over "who is a pirate and who is a privateer" will create a more solid ground.

Although the internal law defined criminality (or non-criminality) of these activities, law-makers have commented on piracy since the ancient times. Thus, first of all, these early comments with which recent authors tried to establish pseudo-historical-links will be explained. The first link that these mainstream authors retrospectively referred as the root of 'universal' judicial powers against pirates was the Roman law. Starting from these laws, pirates were considered as *hostis humani generis* (enemy of all mankind) (Öktem and Kurtdarcan, 2011: 16). In that sense, the most frequently quoted sentence is stated by Marcus Tullius Cicero, a Roman lawyer and constitutionalist: "a pirate is not included in the number of lawful enemies, but is the common foe of all the world (*communis hostis omnium*)" (Cicero, 1928: 385).

International law was often used in the debate of "who is a pirate and who is a privateer". The distinction between the two was drawn by their definitions. Priveteering was defined as "vessels belonging the private owners, and sailing under the commission of war empowering the person to whom it is granted to carry on all forms of hostility which are permissible at sea by the usages of war". In this context, Janice Thomson claims that privateering was a wartime practice authorized by the state in which exercise privateers got their portion from the seized goods (Thomson, 1967: 22). Thomson emphasizes that privateers were 'authorized by the state' as the difference between a pirate and a privateer. However, she also accepts the janus-faced character of state:

> In 1413, England defined piracy as high treason. For over a century, the English king had turned a blind eye to the piracy of the Cinque Ports [Hastings, New Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich], probably because their piratical activities honed the skills sailors

needed when serving as the king's wartime privateers (Thomson, 1967: 23).

This statement show that law related to piracy is decided by international and internal politics and a part of them.

Yet, the question of whether pirates were really the "enemy of all mankind" or were merely "enemies of the state whose ships were seized and plundered" should be raised. In the context of the 17th and early 18th centuries, pirates were merely the enemy of Spain rather than the enemy of all mankind. Why pirates at that time were regarded as the enemy of all mankind according to international law should be investigated through different time periods. If the pirates of an earlier time period were compared with late ones, the resemblence of the ancient pirates to the pirates along the Atlantic trade routes was astonishing. Before Roman law, piracy was not recognized as a crime or something to be ashamed of (according to the works of Thucydides and Homer); on the contrary, pirates were perceived as mercenaries (in the Hellenistic time), a mode of financing wars (in the Peloponnesian Wars), and indistinguishable from classical methods of war until the Romans. Even in the Middle Ages, it was hard to distinguish the acts of privateers and pirates (Öktem and Kurtdarcan, 2011: 18-19, 23). Thus, the support or opposition of a state in their relation with pirates were interpretative. Point of views could differ. The example of Sir Francis Drake (c.1540-1596) was one of many. He was a pirate from the Spanish perspective and was a hero (even rewarded with the title of 'Sir') from the English point of view in the Elizabethan era (Ogborn, 2008: 170). Sir Henry Morgan also exemplified such a difference in points of view. One can include cases of Bartholomew Sharp, Charles Swan, William Dampier and others. These people were not 'the enemy of all', but of Spain.

Piracy in the Caribbean in the sixteenth century did not develop as *hostis humani generis* but rather as the enemies of Spain due to the fact that the Spanish were the first colonizers of the West Indies and the old dominant power. The English, Dutch and French governments authorized the majority of pirates with

letters of marque to seize Spanish ships and goods (Barbour, 1911: 530). Thus, the aim of English, Dutch, and French governments was to use piracy as a tool to enter already established, profitable trade routes, not to create 'enemies of all mankind'

The second link between the history of piracy and law is tied to the relation of the notion of private property and pirates. Öktem and Kurtdarcan claim that another (so-called) universal rule which dates back to the Middle Ages was *pirata non mutat dominium* (a pirate does not change the ownership of property) (2011: 16). This rule was also rooted in the more ancient past, but in the seventeenth century it had certain 'rectifications':

> Things which, although seized by the enemy, have not yet been brought within his fortifications, have no need of postliminy[5], because by the law of nations they have not yet changed ownership. Also things which pirates or brigands have taken from us have no need of postliminy, as Ulpian and Javolenus decided; the reason is that the law of nations does not concede to pirates or brigands the power to change the right of ownership… [However,] by the Law of Spain ships captured from pirates become the property of those who take them from the pirates (Grotius, 1925: 713).

Thus, hypothetically, if a pirate ship seizes a Spanish merchant ship, brings prizes to a English port, and trades those goods with the English merchants, or the English government "captures" those prizes, these goods come under the ownership of England. Eventually, all this piratical activity becomes a legalized trade and Spain has no right to claim its 'property'. Pirates had no right to change the ownership of goods, but states that supported pirates did.

Just as the definition of piracy and privateering, the definition of property at that time was problematic. Being classified as a pirate, or not, could change

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[5] "The term (*postliminium*) is applied, in international law, to the recapture of property taken by the enemy, and its consequent restoration to its original owner" (http://thelawdictionary.org/postliminium/)

according to the economic condition or age of the subject although the action was quite similar. Charles Molloy[6] states that:

> If a pirate attacks a ship, and only takes away some of the men, in order to selling them for slaves, this is piracy by the Law Marine; but if a man takes away a *villain* or *ward*[7], or any other subject, and sell them for slaves, yet this is no robbery by the *Common Law* (Molloy, 1744: 64).

The problem is that there was a change because of the status of the captive - from being a subject to becoming an "object". If 'men' were captured and sold as slaves, it was commodification of this man due to the fact that slaves were considered as the private property of the owner at that time. Moreover, this process of commodification was regarded as piracy. In this context, by 'men', Molloy meant upper-class, white male. Yet, villains and wards were neither slaves nor properties. 'Villians' were "forest squatters, itinerant craftsmen and building laborers, unemployed men and women seeking work, strolling players, minstrels and jugglers, peddlers and quack doctors, gypsies, vagabonds, tramps", and also ordinary sailors (Hill, 1991: 48-49). Selling 'villains' and 'wards' for slaves should have been also considered as piracy due to their forceful involvement in the processes of commodification. Moreover, according to the Article 3 of the Draft Convention[8], piracy is "any act of violence or of depredation committed with intent to rob, rape, wound, enslave, imprison or kill a person or with intent to steal or destroy property" (Bingham, 1932: 743). Thus, stealing slaves due to be considered as property or imprisoning 'villains' and 'wards' should have been regarded as an act of piracy.

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[6] Charles Molloy (1640-190) was a lawyer of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple, which is one of the four Inns of Court (professional associations for barristers and judges) in London. His *magnum opus* is *De Jure Maritimo et Navali* (1676), a book on maritime law.

[7] The words 'villain' and 'ward' in this quotation are used in different meanings than they are commonly used now. 'Villain' in this quotation means "a base or low-born rustic" which was started to be used circa 13th century and derived from Anglo-French. 'Ward' means "a minor under control of a guardian" which was started to be used circa 15th century.

[8] The Draft Convention was published by American Society of International Law in 1932. Part IV aims to deal with the issue of piracy in legal terms.

Two problems arise from these three legal statements on piracy: (1) even if these villains and wards were properties, were not these activities piratical due to stealing of a property and (2) who was the owner of these properties, or to whom these properties should be returned? Thus, arbitrary definitions and claims on what constitutes piracy show that piracy has been defined according to the situation and changed from situation to situation as benefited the state.

In the context of the property and piracy relation, we should also investigate the definitions of letters of marque and letters of reprisal. Francis Stark explains the definition of letter of marque and letter of reprisal thusly:

> A letter of mark [marque] is a license to mark, to set apart, the goods of the tortfeasor[9] nation and its subjects from those of all other nations in the world, as a source of compensation for the tort… When a subject had been wronged by fellow-subject, and the prince was too weak or too inert to punish the wrong-doer, he frequently delivered to the plaintiff what were called letters of reprisal, which substantially allowed him to take the law into his own hands and keep what he could get (Stark, 1897: 53).

These were rights that were given to private parties during the chaotic period of Europe (roughly, 1295-1500) after the abolition of central authority that the Roman Empire once provided (Öktem and Kurtdarcan, 2011: 151). By the seventeenth century, European states were centralized and established their own laws; thus, such practices should no longer have occurred. The nature of letters of marque and reprisal were shifted and they were used to legalitimize and justify one state's piratical activities against other states. Moreover, these two types of license were started to be used together although they had had separate meanings. Öktem and Kurtdarcan explain that the reason of the shift in their usage and definition was that the definition of war was not still clear in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (2011: 152). As had been clear in past, the piracy was still one of the classical methods of war, and piracy was used and supported by states. This shift in

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[9] The word 'tortfeasor' means "one who commits an injustice, one who causes harm"

definition of these letters authenticates the indistinguishability of privateers and pirates.

There is another problematic point about letter of marque and privateering. In order to be a privateer, a vessel was needed to be authorized by a letter of marque. Yet on the one hand, letters of marque were issued in peacetime to 'allow individuals to seek redress for depredations they suffered at the hands of foreigners on the high seas' (Thomson, 1967: 22). On the other hand, privateering was a wartime practice that enabled pirates who were defined as traitors to become involved in the kings' navies. This suggests how legality and illegality can be bent due to the benefits of a state.

European states not only used letters of marque and reprisal to attract pirates to their sides against Spain, they also used them to disown pirates when necessary. Pirates were useful state's tools with their two characteristic: (1) piracy was a practical way to seize ships and useful to capture islands without officially waging war; and (2) they were easy to disown, when they were captured by other European states. Hence, issuing letters of marque was an efficient way to provide this usefulness.

For example, Henry Morgan was supported by the English state to plunder the Spanish merchant fleets and ports, and he was one of the captains most successful at plundering the Spanish ships. Cruikshank claims that in July of 1670, Henry Morgan was commissioned as "Admiral and Commander-in-chief" of the privateers by Modyford, the governor of Jamaica, and started to prepare an expedition against Panama (cited in Galvin, 1999: 150). At the very same month of 1670, the Treaty of Madrid was signed between England and Spain. In this treaty, Spain recognized English possessions in the New World and both nations agreed on a prohibition of piracy against each other. Konstam and Kean mention the irony that Morgan started the expedition as a licensed privateer, but destroyed Panama as a pirate (Konstam & Kean, 2007: 113).

He was captured in April 1672 because of the demands of the Spanish Queen and England's reluctance to start another dispute with Spain (Cordingly, 2004: 81). However, it was a fake imprisonment. Because he was an important figure in England, he gained influential political friends instead of being imprisoned. In 1674, he was knighted and he returned to Jamaica as lieutenant governor. Yet, not everybody was as lucky as Morgan. The old governor Modyford, who commissioned several letters of marque to Morgan, spent two years in the Tower of London as a prisoner (Konstam & Kean, 2007: 113).

The other example was William Kidd, one of the most infamous and debated pirates in history. William Kidd was a privateer commissioned by several letters of marque against France and "bankrolled by London speculators and sanctioned by the king himself" (Ellms, 1996: 105; Lane, 1998: 176). However, when he was put to trial for his piratical activities, his French passes and papers were not delivered to the court because of the pressures of the East India Company and noble interest groups (Lane, 1998: 179-180; Seitz, 2001: 66). With these papers he could have been easily acquitted from the charges of piracy. As it was recorded in the trial, Kidd himself claimed thusly upon the decision of hanging him by his neck until he was dead: "My Lord, it is a very hard sentence. For my part, I am the innocentest person of them [his crew] all, only I have been sworn against by perjured persons" (Seitz, 2001: 226)[10]. The misinterpretation of the changing meaning of letters of marque and reprisal has created confusion for modern-day scholars. This confusion was theoretically caused by the distinction between the occurrence of the words (in this context, the similarity of the name of these letters) and 'the use by a particular agent on a particular occasion with a particular intention' (Skinner, 1969: 37).

There were a lot of claims and theories over how international law should function in these years, yet due to the lack of hegemony in legal fields, North European countries could not impose their views of law on Spain, or *vice versa*. They could only impose their law after they gained the right of free trade with Spanish

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[10] This piece was taken from the original records of the trial. The full text of this record can be found in the book edited by Don Seitz, *The Tryal of Capt. William Kidd for Murther & Piracy*.

colonies after the War of Spanish Succession in 1713. This situation shows that international law was a tool of international politics. Whoever has the power to impose its rules decides the rules. Thus, the debate of *mare clausum*[11] and *mare liberum*[12], and later, the role of the state with its relation to piracy will be explained briefly in the review of literature part in order to show the stand-point of this study although this debate will be mentioned in the next chapters.

The debate of *mare clausum* and *mare liberum* shows both the intellectual basis of the efforts of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces to participate in the trade of the 'New World', and Spain to protect its 'legal' monopoly over this trade. Thus, we will deal with how these both sides defended themselves and tried to legitimize their acts.

In fact, the logic was simple as it is: the Spanish supported the *mare clausum* (closed sea) thesis because they did not want other states to enter its monopolistic trade with its colonies, and the northwestern states supported the *mare liberum* (free sea which is open to all states) thesis becuase they wanted to enter this profitable trade which had been dominated by the Spanish. Cornelis Goslinga explains the clash between the two trends and state practice in Caribbean that since the Dutch colonial empire cleaned the sea in the Old World from the Spanish domination; they shifted their principle of a free sea with the Iberian thesis of a *mare clausum*. Yet, they continued to use piracy far from home waters (Goslinga, 1971: XIV). For example, Grotius was one of the supporters of such privateering activities (piratical activities, according to the Spanish and the Portuguese). In his famous work, *De Indis,* Grotius both supported privateering legally by claiming that the private parties had to right to war and stated that the juridical legitimation of state-sponsored organized violence as the normative keystone of global governance (Wilson, 2010: 148). Wilson claims that this is one of the most revealing ironies of history, yet this is one of the best examples of the relation between the early capitalist trade and the attempts to justify it according the state's and companies' benefits.

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[11] *Mare clausum*: A body of water within the separate jurisdiction of the nation

[12] *Mare liberum*: A navigable body of the water to which all nations have equal access.

1.3   STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Heretofore, negligence of pirates in the great narratives of early modern history on the one hand, and the literature review of the history of piracy on the other hand were summarized. Thus, an outline for the rest of the book should be drawn in order to show in which order a contribution to the seventeenth century history and the history of piracy will be made.

In Chapter Two, a brief historical political economy of piracy will be discussed to clarify the dynamics of that era. In this chapter, the period of Dutch hegemony, the seventeenth century downturn, the incorporation and colonization of Latin America to the capitalist world-economy, the organizational principles of economic activities in both Europe and Latin America, and earlier piratical activities will be presented in order to lay a foundation of a coherent picture of this study's main concern. Moreover, the establishment of the symbiotic relation between European states and pirates will be examined with the historical examples. Shortly, this chapter will draw the framework by explaining the historical background of the political economy of piracy in the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries.

In Chapter Three, issues such as how states supported piracy and benefited from this relation and *vice versa*, how the letter of marque and reprisal was used, and how governors shifted their support from piratical acts to *encomienda* will be found place in this chapter. Moreover, how piracy was legitimized and de-legitimized, and what types of arguments, claims, and concepts were used to support each idea will be referred. The relation between the role of geography and daily life of pirates will be used as tools to explain the piracy of the seventeenth century in depth. Therefore, how the winds and currents, earthquakes and storms,

islands and islets, passages and rivers shaped the life of pirates will be explained. The affect of Braudelian sense of geography-based historical time on piratical activities in the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean will be investigated. The most famous "pirate havens", and the relation of these ports and motherland as a part of core-periphery relation will be examined. Moreover, the daily life of pirates will be investigated. Their method of social organization will be emphasized namely: (1) how they organized themselves onboard ship, and (2) how they organized their relations with other pirate ships. Moreover, some aspects of their daily lives will also be explored. These are, namely, taverns (as a way of communication between pirate crews and ships), their ways of nourishment and diet, their relation with the native population and encomienda owners, careening, and so on. Thus, it will be a voyage through Jane Cook's cookhouse in Port Royal to smoked meat in Tortuga, from Dampier's suggestion for where to find the sweetest turtle meat to interesting recipes from ships' kitchens, from rumors of silver hoards in taverns to famous silver plates made by Simon Benning the Pewterer.

In the Conclusion, firstly the main issues that were debated in the first three chapters will be summarized. However, while not the main focus but a relevant issue, the case of the pirates of Somalia will be discussed in the context of shifting the paradigm of "enemies of all" and as a cause of retrospective history-writing in the recent studies on history of piracy.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND OF

THE HISTORICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PIRACY

The time period of this study 1650-1713 represents the period of symbiotic relation between pirates and European states in the Caribbean Sea. Although before 1650 there were pirates that were supported by states, the bulk of the support shifted from motherland to colonies around 1650s which means that pirates did not have direct contact with the crown anymore but through representatives or governors in the Caribbean. For example, England captured Port Royal and made it a stronghold for pirates in 1655, and starting from the 1630's Tortuga was one of the main bases of Dutch, English, and French pirates.

The year 1713 was also a crucial date for piracy. Between 1701 and 1713, pirates were used as military force in the Queen Anne's War which was a part of the War of the Spanish Succession[1]. After the war they became unemployed. Some pirates continued piracy without state support. Others became employed as "pirate

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[1] The War of the Spanish Succession took place between 1701 and 1714 not only in Europe but also in major colonies such as West Indies, and North and South Americas.

hunters". Briefly, 1650 indicates the rise of buccaneering in the West Indies especially in Tortuga and Port Royal, while 1713 represents the beginning of exclusion of pirates from state service. Moreover, this time period allows us to place the issue of piracy inside the decline of Dutch hegemony[2], the seventeenth century downturn, and the period of stabilization in the form and structure of the world-economy (Wallerstein, 2008: 25-34). It was an era of absolutism, mercantilist policy, rivalry and wars (Frank, 1978: 99-100).

The period between 1650 and 1713 was the high period of piracy in the Caribbean. Thus, Caribbean piracy in the Atlantic Ocean in this period will be the priority due to the rise in the Atlantic economy after the flow of gold, silver, and other exotic products to Europe. Because the trade relations affected by piracy influenced the both sides of the ocean, one should deal with the condition and interaction of the Americas, Europe, and Western Africa. Yet even Madagascar, will be referred to from time to time in these debates due to the voyages of some pirates from Americas to these places, or *vice versa*. However, the precedent events and earlier piratical activities should be investigated in order to understand the high period better.

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[2] Hegemony, in this context, means a state which can have economic superiority among other states and in order to protect these economic advantages, this state relies partly on intellectual, cultural and ideological tools to keep others in order. However, this state usually is reluctant to use military to realize that order. Use of military power, on the contrary, is perceived as an evidence of the decline of the hegemony. It is important to mention about hegemonic power in this study because the decline of the United Provinces' hegemonic power coincide with an important era of Caribbean piracy.

2.1   HISTORICAL SETTING

Establishing the Relation between Two Continents

A Peruvian historian, Luis Ulloa Cisneros claims in 1927 that the first encounter between the Americas, Europe, and piracy in history clashed in the following incident. A Catalan pirate who "struck a deal with" Martin Alonso Pinzon, a ship-owner and former pirate, and gathered three ships of full-of-men and 'discovered'[3] the Americas (Phillips and Phillips, 1992: 138-140; Llorens, 2000: 101). This man has been considered as one of the most important and influential figures in history, Christopher Columbus[4]. So it was probable that the first link between Europeans and Amerindians could be established by a pirate.

Through such 'discoveries', most of the 'external' (external to Europe) geographical regions was incorporated in the capitalist world economy by European states and merchant companies. More important for the focus of this study is that the link between these two historically interrelated continents had an important consequence for the flourishing of piratical activities in the Atlantic and Caribbean trade routes and its relation with the development of capitalist world-economy led by the Western European states. Beginning with the first voyages of Columbus, these two continents became highly interrelated under the patterns of colonization. Moreover, this colonial relation of core (Western Europe, and later the

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[3] The reason that we mention discovery in inverted commas can be explain best by the statement of Dhatkadons, the traditional chief of Onondaga Iraqouis: "You cannot discover an inhabited land. Otherwise I could cross the Atlantic and 'discover' England" (cited in Wright, 2009: 16).

[4] Although it is generally accepted that Christopher Columbus (in Italian, Cristoforo Colombo; in Spanish, Cristóbal Colón) was an Italian born in Genoa, a Peruvian historian called Cisneros claimed after his researches in Spain that actually he was a Catalan with the family name Colom. The interesting point is that his name in Catalan was Cristòfor Colom. Furthermore, recent researches along with linguistic and graphological researches of Estelle Irizarry linked his handwriting as a Catalan one. However strong their claims, it is not certain that Columbus was a Catalan or Genoese.

United States) and periphery (Latin America and Africa), and its patterns have changed slightly since 1492. The events of "the long-sixteenth century" (circa 1475 and early 1600) and the so-called "seventeenth century crisis" that led to flourish of piracy in the context of these colonial patterns and the relation between Europe and the Americas will be dealt.

The "discovery" of the Americas in 1492 provided an immense wealth to the Iberian Peninsula by the attempt to seize all the gold and silver that helped the creation of a specific world-like network of relations of production, transportation, exchange, and trade called the capitalist world economy. The incorporation of the Americas in to the modern world-system should be recognized with its historical significance (Gills and Frank, 1996: 181). Frank claims:

> The year 1492 marks both the economic continuity between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the constellation of political events which generated new directions that would revolutionize the world, creating a single world out of many and transforming the many to create one (Frank, 1978: 39-40).

Establishing the Relation between Pirates and States:

French pirates were the first among pirates from other European states in terms of plundering the Spanish fleets in the Atlantic Triangle starting with the Columbus's famous voyages. However, the conquest and plunder of Mexico by Hernán Cortés (1519-1521) brought immense wealth to Spain and called pirates' attention (Lane, 1998: 17-18). Kris E. Lane mentions about the plunder of several ships of the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent by Jean Florin (or Fleury), a Norman pirate, as early as 1523:

> The ships, which were carrying a portion of the treasure stolen from the Aztec, or Mexica, ruler Moctezuma, had encountered other French corsairs near the Azores and had lost some valuables. Florin, however, ended up the lion's share of the booty; by some accounts

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his opportune attack yielded 62,000 ducats in gold, 600 marks (c. 140 kg) of pearls, and several tons of sugar. One of the Cortés's ambassadors in charge of the treasure, Alonso de Avila, was also captured and held prisoner by the French until 1525 (Lane, 1998: 18).

For Spain, this plunder brought up the fleet system as a protection for the American trade to the agenda in 1525. Moreover, Spain ordered merchant ships to travel armed by 1552 (Lane, 1998: 18). For North European states, this plunder indicated a new kind of business: supporting piracy in the Atlantic Triangle as a paramilitary tool.

Except the brief period of peace between France and Spain from 1538 to 1542, the hostilities of the French pirates to the Spanish settlements and treasure fleets continued. François Le Clerc, alias "*Jambe de Bois*" (Peg-Leg) who plundered Puerto Santo on the Portuguese island of Madeira in 1552 was the first known 'officially sanctioned peg-legged pirate' of the early modern period. At about the same time period with Le Clerc's raids, French squadrons including royal warships started to sail in the Atlantic Triangle and the Spanish Caribbean (Lane, 1998: 22-25). French state and pirates in the mid-sixteenth century established the first relation between pirates and states for plundering the Spanish-American trade.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the English followed the French example and sometimes they carried out joint operations (Perotin-Dumon, 1991: 208-209). English pirates between 1558 and 1603 were mostly known as the Elizabethan pirates due to their activities in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Lane classifies these piratical activities as follows: (1) contraband slave trade from 1558 [the date that Elizabeth I acceded to throne of England] to 1568, (2) piracy from 1568 [the date that Lisbon broke off diplomatic relations with England] to 1585, and (3) privateering from 1585 [the date that the Anglo-Spanish War started] to 1603 [the date that Elizabeth I died] (Lane, 1998: 33). Again, one can easily observe the problem of defining 'what a pirate is'. Until the diplomatic problems with the Portuguese, these people were contraband traders, or smugglers, then they became pirates, and lastly, in the war time, they were defined as privateers. In this short

period of time, Francis Drake was respectively a smuggler, pirate, privateer, and at the end, he became Sir Francis Drake. Moreover, all the events (diplomatic problems and the war) that mentioned above were caused by the piratical activities of these people (John Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, Thomas Cavendish, and others), supported and sponsored by the Elizabeth I in order to benefit from the lucrative trade of Spain with its colonies in Latin America.

In the beginning of the second half of sixteenth century, the main aim of pirates such as John Hawkins was the slave trade. After he raided the West African settlements under the control of the Portuguese in 1562, Hawkins dropped the African slaves on the north coast of Hispaniola and took the cargoes of Antilles such as sugar, pearls, and ginger. However, instead of practicing the so-called 'illegal' ways of piracy by directly bringing these goods to England, Hawkins tried to 'legalize' this trade by selling goods to an English company in Spain (Lane, 1998: 34-35). Moreover, some Spanish colonists in Spanish America conducted an illegal trade with foreign pirates due to "the strict mercantilism and saturated markets of their mother country [which] left them desperately short of slaves and manufactured items" (Galvin, 1999: 38).

However, most of the pirates of the sixteenth century returned their prizes to their mother country or to European markets due to not having settlement in the Spanish America and right for legal trade. These were "long-ranged operations [which] depended on the region's winds, currents, seasons, and choke points" on the "ocean-borne mercantile network" (Galvin, 1999: 29, 33). For example, Francis Drake circumnavigated the Earth with his ship, *Golden Hind* during one of his expeditions in 1577, sailed through the Pacific with John Oxenham, the first pirate raided on the coast of the Pacific. His gain was forty-seven thousand percent more than his capital in this expedition (Galvin, 1999: 41; Gerthard, 1990, 57; Hympendahl, 2007: 29). He bestowed most of the prize to Queen Elizabeth and was ennobled (Hympendahl, 2007: 29). This event made an overwhelming impression. However, it should be mentioned that although these expeditions were profitable, piratical activities remained underpopulated when compared to seventeenth

century piracy. This was due to a lack of permanent settlement in the Gulf or the Caribbean. These settlements, such as the Island of Tortuga and Port Royal, both provided population for pirate crews and reduced the length and duration of raids that the frequency and crowdedness of expeditions were increased. For example, around 1680, more than four thousand pirates were 'performing their work of art' in the Caribbean (Hympendahl, 2007: 27).

By the late sixteenth century, both these long-ranged operations continued in order to capture the Spanish gold and the efforts to justify these raids gained importance. The roots of the *mare liberum* claims lay in these incidents. It was presented in order to legitimize these piratical raids. Marc Ferro explains two of the most important theoreticians of these 'legitimization' efforts as such:

> [1] Walter Raleigh became the theoretician of a sort of maritime imperialism: "Whoever rules the waves rules commerce; whoever rules commerce rules the wealth of the world, and consequently the world itself…"... [2] These enterprises followed the directions taken from the very beginning —the West Indies, India, the North Atlantic, Russia—and were motivated by the lure of profit. They were henceforth buttressed by the idea of establishing English colonies, of "populating the pagan or barbarous countries which are not really possessed by any Prince or Christian people". That was the idea of Humphrey Gilbert, a gentleman educated at Eton and Oxford. He enunciated the doctrine, carried it into practice and helped in the settlement of the first colony in Newfoundland (Ferro, 1997: 45).

Yet, these claims could not find their pseudo-universal tone until Hugo Grotius' works on international law. These piratical activities were limited with respect to the numbers of long expeditions and voyages due to not having any pirate havens close to Latin America except Newfoundland. As a result, these activities were not systematic nor populated enough. Moreover, state support was so obvious in that period that these sponsored and licensed piratical activities caused a war between Spain and England (allied with the United Provinces). Thus, in the latter periods, Northern European states took lessons from it to support pirates secretly and slyly. With this lesson, the second characteristic of the seventeenth century piracy was established as mentioned above (pirates were easy to disown). Yet, these pirates

were the prototypes of seventeenth century piracy and these claims of Raleigh and Gilbert were the prototypes of Grotius' claims.

In the context of the bridge between piratical activities in the sixteenth century and seventeenth century, Captain William Jackson played a crucial role. Galvin mentions Jackson as a transitional pirate between the Elizabethan pirates and buccaneers:

> By the end of sixteenth century, though not entirely for lack of trying, not one of Spain's European rivals had succeeded in establishing permanent base west of the Tordesillas Line. By the time, Jackson arrived on the scene, that situation had changed completely. Certain of the Lesser Antilles provided initial toe holds for Spain's Europea contenders. With so huge a realm to colonize and defend, the Spaniards were hard to put to safeguard numerous tiny islands that offered little or no mineral wealth (Galvin, 1999: 52).

In his three-year marathon cruise between 1642-45, these tiny islands, St. Christopher and Barbados (seized by England in 1620s), Providence Island (colonized by Puritans in 1629), "small and remote" islands of the Bay Islands, string cays of Cuba's southern flank and others provided Jackson with a chance for careening, taking on fresh victuals, and making new recruits, and critical alliances with the native Americans. Some of the islands were recovered by the Spaniards (Galvin, 1999: 49-52).

Although pirates seized the fifteen-percent of Spanish silver between 1587 and 1592 and made their mark in history of the sixteenth century thanks to their successful plunders, Cipolla argues that the Spanish convoy system was successful against English, French, and Dutch pirates. Both from motherland to colonies and from colonies to motherland, war ships protected Spanish treasure fleets (*Flota de Indias*) against these three powerful states' piratical attacks and provided them secure passages (Cipolla, 2003: 14-15). At that time, the Spanish Armada was the most numerous and powerful armada. These transoceanic war ships were unrivalled. Thus, they managed to avoid the deep-sea piratical plunders of the sixteenth century to certain extent. Piracy in the deep-seas between motherland and

colonies became problematic. However, a new era of piracy was about to begin inside a world full-of transitions.

2.2. MAKING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PIRACY IN THE ATLANTIC

Industries, Products, and Pirates in the Age of the Dutch Hegemony:

In the so-called "second sixteenth century" in Europe, there were problems: urban revolts and rural unrest. According to Arrighi, the United Provinces became the hegemonic power under the conditions of: the revolts directed against the Habsburg Empire. This disrupted the trans-European networks of trade (Arrighi, 1996: 41-43).

In dealing with such problems, northwestern European states could not provide conventional military support to their colonies and protect them against a possible Spanish attack. The best way to provide such support and protection was to invite pirates to their colonies in the Caribbean. These pirates were hired both to protect the islands from the Spanish and to seize merchant ships. English, Dutch and French governments authorized the majority of pirates with letters of marque to seize Spanish ships and goods (Barbour, 1911: 530). It should be reemphasized that pirates were useful as state's tools: (1) they were easy to disown, when they were captured by other European states; and (2) they were a practical way to seize ships and useful to capture and protect the islands without officially waging war. States used these paramilitary tools not to enter an official war in the Americas and to take what they wanted: gold, silver, sugar, coffee, indigo, cochineal, rum, and so on.

There is a tendency to perceive those events as a crisis of the capitalist world-economy; the "seventh century crisis". According to Wallerstein, the long B phase of the seventeenth century (1650 to 1730) was a period of recession of capitalist world-economy. It was also the period of consolidation in the form and structure of the world-economy (Wallerstein, 2008: 25-34). In this period, the state structures were institutionalized by the Peace of Westphalia:

> As rulers legitimated their respective absolute rights of government over mutually exclusive territories, the principle was established that civilians were not party to the quarrels between sovereigns. The most important application of this principle was in the field of commerce. In the treaties that followed the Settlement of Westphalia a clause was inserted that aimed at restoring freedom of commerce by abolishing barriers to commerce[5]… thus [it] found its way into the norms and rules of the European system of nation states… The systemic chaos of the early seventeenth century was thus transformed into a new anarchic order (Arrighi, 1996: 43-44).

It was in an anarchic order that pirates found themselves supported by centralized political authorities. Thus, in the period of the Dutch hegemony, the power of Spain along with its monopoly over all aspects of the Americas was broken: "the Dutch held the Spanish at bay in the Americas, providing the "naval screen" behind which the English (plus the Scots) and the French built up colonies of settlement" (Wallerstein, 2008: 52). According to Wallerstein, the hegemony of the Dutch was established because of three factors: (1) the development of technologies in herring gathering and the Dutch supremacy of its commerce, (2) the superiority in agriculture, and (3) the industrial advantage – on textile, shipping, and sugar refinery industries (Wallerstein, 2008: 37-44). Moreover, the financial superiority of the United Provinces – by bottomries[6], insurances, and brokerage – compared to other European countries was also important in the context of being hegemonic. In

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[5] He mentions about mainly the barriers that were brought by the monopoly of Spain in the commerce with the Americas.

[6] Bottomry: an early form of maritime contract in which money could be borrowed by the owner of a ship using the ship as collateral

order to link the hegemony of the Dutch and the increase in piracy, few examples should be given.

The Netherlands was the hegemonic state of the era in the capitalist world economy after 1620. The rapid growth of population in Europe in the last few decades of the sixteenth century and the shortage of food in the Southern Europe in 1590s created a perfect condition for the Dutch to sell the Baltic grain to countries like Italy and Spain in large amounts (e.g. in 1591, 200 shiploads entered the Mediterranean) (Lee, 1984: 115). In spite of the Netherlands' geographical disadvantage for agriculture, this "weakness turned into strength" due to two reasons: (1) "the process of pumping water out of the land [due to being lower than sea level] in order to create land led to the invention of windmills and the flourishing of the science of engineering", and (2) "shifting to industrial crops such as flax, hemp, hops, horticulture, fruit culture, and to the very important production of dyes [due to arid land for arable agriculture]" (Wallerstein, 2008: 40-41). Yet, both of these 'strengths' pertained to the industrial supremacy (especially, shipbuilding industry) of the Dutch hegemony. The science of engineering was used in the supremacy of the Dutch in the context of shipbuilding. Both hemp and flax were used in rope, sail-making, and textile industry. Hops were used in beer-making, and "extended southwards, particularly in the seventeenth century with the Dutch advance" (Braudel, 1985: 238). Dye was used in the textile industry as a chemical. All of these products affected the lives of pirates and should be mentioned to understand their historical value for this study.

Thus, in the first instance, the importance of herring gathering and its relation with the salt trade should be mentioned. The importance of herring trade for the United Provinces can be seen in the Dutch saying such as: "Al is de Sallem schoon, Da Haering spant de Kroon" ("the salmon may be beautiful, the herring surpasses all"), or as in another Dutch saying: the herring fishery was "the mother of all commerce" (Goslinga, 1971: 116). Yet, why was the herring commerce so important for the Dutch?

The salted and barreled herring was used as food-stock in the sailing ships due to the fact that it is hard to get spoilt. Yet, it was in the so-called the "Golden Age of Sail" that the major transportation link of the capitalist world-economy at that time was the sailing ship. Almost all the trade with colonies was depended on these sailing ships, and its crew and cargo to reach safely and soundly to its destination. The salted and barreled herring was important for these voyages and highly demanded. Braudel claimed in the first volume of his trilogy, *Civilization and Capitalism* that "herrings were exported to western and southern Europe by sea, along rivers, by carriage and by pack animals" (Braudel, 1985: 215). The monthly food portions of the House of Correction in Copenhagen (1627) included 20 lb herring and 3 lb dried fish[7], and the diet sheet of the House of Correction in Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk contained herring around 400 grams on 'fish days' (Jütte, 1994: 77).

However, the problem was that in order to preserve it in the ships these herring had to be salted. Thus, the United Provinces needed to find sources of salt. Zeeland was famous for its process for whitening salt which were in demand all over Europe. In order to find the sources of salt, the Dutch sailed to south to the "Salt Islands, also known as the Cape Verde Islands, and eventually to West Indies. As early as March, 1559, privateering commissions for salt ships were issued in great numbers and the total annual tonnage of these privateering ventures reached thirty thousand tons and probably exceeded (Goslinga, 1971: 116-118).

Those privateering activities for salt were held in places like Punta de Araya (Venezuela), Tortuga, and St. Martin (Puerto Rico), and because of those activities, between 1550 and 1650, the size of herring fleet grew from 150 ships to more than 4,000 (Goslinga, 1971: 116, 117-132). Those ships called *haringbuis*, or buss, had similar characteristics with ships that pirates used near Tortuga in the mid-seventeenth century: "great maneuverability, seaworthiness, and speed" (Wallerstein, 2008; 39).

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[7] 20 lb equals to 9 kilograms, and 3 lb equals to 1.36 kilograms.

Another examples is about a type of dye. Topik and Pomeranz mentions about a feast that 'tapestries dyed with scarlets and crimsons [were displayed] in a feast of wealthy Dutch burghers', those scarlets and crimsons were obtained from a dye called cochineal dye[8] that was originated in the southern Mexico and Central America. Not only Dutch burghers used this dye:

> The result was that many of the finest drapes, silks and tapestries of Europe depended upon the Indians of Mexico, Guatemala, and later Peru for their eye-catching crimsons and scarlets. The jackets that the famed British 'redcoats' wore on their backs were colored with the bug dye (Pomeranz and Topik, 2006: 116).

Although gold, silver, and sugar (and later coffee) have been perceived and presented as the most and only precious products of Latin America by historians, cochineal dye became one of the most demanded precious products of Latin America, and one of the most demanded products for pirates and privateers as a booty:

> Among the many freebooters intrigued by the commodity was the legendary English pirate Francis Drake, the scourge of New Spain. The son of a cloth maker, Drake was well aware that textiles were still the biggest business in Europe, a key source of power, prestige, and profit... In the spring of 1589, an English fleet captured a Spanish ship that carried 30,000 pounds of cochineal—probably more than 10 percent of the entire year's harvest. Later that year the earl of Cumberland captured a Spanish ship off the coast of Spain, which contained another 600 heavy cases of the dyestuff… Pound for pound, cochineal was one of the most valuable goods a pirate could capture. In the 1580s and 1590s, the dyestuff was worth 26 to 40 shillings a pound in England, depending on quality and market scarcity (Greenfield, 2008: 113,116).

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[8] Although Europeans assumed that it was a seed like other vegetable dyes until the end of seventeenth century, "cochineal was made from the female cochineal insect (*Dactylopius coccus*), which fed on a particular nopal cactus that inhabited a limited range. In the wild, Indians would pluck them off the cactus and plunge them into hot water or into an oven. This was a precise, laborious business, since it took some 70,000 dead bugs to make one pound of cochineal" (Pomeranz and Topik, 2006: 114-115).

Moreover, one of the most successful Dutch privateers of the era, Cornelius "Peg-leg" (for the Spanish, *Pie de Palo*) Jol who operated in the Caribbean and Brazil that seized an in-bound frigate carrying provisions for Santiago de Cuba at the entrance of the bay of the town in 1635. The rumors spread by the Spanish that Pie de Palo would not abandon the Caribbean unless he was compansated by a booty in silver, cochineal, and silk (Goslinga, 1971: 234-235). In 1629, the West India Company of the United Provinces "had robbed Spain" that booty of cochineal was at its peak point for the country (Goslinga, 1971: 290). Even in the peak point, this dye's preciousness was related to its scarcity: "During much of the 1620s and 1630s, the dyestuff was so scarce that only high masters like Rembrandt could afford to use brilliant cochineal lakes in their art" (Greenfield, 2008: 122). In 1683, Hanna reported that in Vera Cruz, pirates plundered a special kind of red dye valued of one thousand silver coins (*piaster*) (Hanna, 2011; 115).

The Dutch expanded their trade and ship industry from the northeastern Europe in the sixteenth century to the White Sea, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the South-East Asia in the seventeenth century. Thus, they needed to attract and support the ship-owners to sail and trade in those seas and oceans. In that sense, banks, bottomries and maritime insurances played a crucial part in this encouragement:

> The Bank of Amsterdam (Wisselbank), instituted in 1609, has often been deemed crucial to the city's position in international trade… The bank facilitated stable currency and reliable and fast transfers of international payments: it was crucial to the efficiency of the Dutch capital and money market… [Moreover,] brokers were expected to asses a merchant's creditworthiness [to provide bottomry to the captain] and were not permitted to facilitate a transaction if they knew one of the merchants would not be able to keep his part of the deal (Go, 2009: 63, 77).

Moreover, the Chamber of Insurance was established and the first insurance was issued in 1598 which caused the increase in insurance cases in 1612 and the establishment of a specialized court to deal with these cases (Go, 2009: 95-96). These insurances, on the other hand, developed along with the usage of letters of marque

by the Dutch government in the West Indies. Thus, the United Provinces commissioned pirates as privateers with letters of marque to capture and seize the trade of other countries, provided financial support with bottomries, and secured their ventures with insurances. For such a risky and force-using enterprise as piracy, this was a golden opportunity.

The historical background of changes in ship-building and the Dutch supremacy in the ship building industry should also be mentioned. Thus, the major changes in 15th century and its way of development through 17th century should be explained briefly. In this context, Romola and R. C. Anderson's book, *A Short History of the Sailing Ship*, can give us a brief explanation of changes between those centuries. In the fifteenth century, ships started to have three masts and five or six sails instead of one mast and one sail that full-rigged ships were started to be used which was to remain for four centuries. Moreover, heavier guns started to be put between decks, and changed with muzzle-loader guns which were previously breech-loader guns (Anderson & Anderson, 2003: 116, 119-120, 127-130).

Changes were rapid in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries compared to changes in the seventeenth century. However, we should explain that specific characteristic of ships of different countries were related to the strengthened state structures starting with the seventeenth century. On the other hand, the rapid changes of previous centuries were related to the "discovery" of the Americas and economic upturn or the sixteenth century. Perry Anderson and Fernand Braudel also mentioned the importance of innovations in ship-building. Perry Anderson claims that the construction of the three-masted, stern-ruddered galleon made the oceans navigable for conquests overseas (Anderson, 1974: 22), Braudel argues that innovations of the sternpost rudder, the hull constructed with lap joints, and shipboard artillery made navigation on the high seas possible (Braudel, 1990: 14).

The developments in ship-building along with the developments of munition technologies, on the one hand, provided the sailing ship which could cross the oceans safely and soundly, on the other hand, made having merchant fleets and navies a necessary feature of the capitalist world-system as maritime transport

became dominant. Inside this increasing trade with sailing ships, the English, by having devoted themselves to piratical activities in both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, built light and well-armed ships which could manoeuver with sails and sail against the wind (Cipolla, 2003: 46). Moreover, the Dutch developed *fluyt*, or flyboat, by their advanced ship design capabilities (Lee, 1984: 116).

As it can be seen in Table 1, in a world in which having the sailing ship was a must, most of the ships of other European countries were Dutch-registered. This situation provided the Low Countries an adventagous position compared to the others:

> Shipbuilding yards were hived off as an autonomous industry. In Saardam and Rotterdam, independent entrepreneurs took orders from merchants or states and were able to meet them without delay although the shipbuilding industry was still very largely artisanal. And even in the seventeenth century, Amsterdam was not only a market for new ships, or for orders to build them, but had also become a huge market for the resale of secondhand vessels (Braudel ,1983: 366)

Yet, the navies of the era started to take different paths in the sense of ship-building. In the sixteenth century, a special trade for the building of warships, as distinct from to merchant ships started to be recognized (Robertson, 1921: 15). Thus, a new techniques in sea battles occured:

> With the expansion of merchant shipping and with the recognition of artillery as the main instrument of naval warfare fighting ships made a corresponding advance in size. The Commission of Reform of 1618, on whose report the subsequent reorganization of the Navy was based, held that the primacy of the big gun had at last been established. " Experience teacheth," the Commissioners recorded," how sea-fights in these days come seldom to boarding, or to great execution of bows, arrows, small shot and the sword, but are chiefly performed by the great artillery breaking down masts, yards, tearing, raking, and bilging the ships, wherein the great advantage of His Majesty's navy must carefully be maintained by appointing such a proportion of ordnance to each ship as the vessel will bear." They recognized the extravagance of small ships, and advised that in future the royal navy should consist of a nucleus of about thirty large ships, which with the merchant fleet should form one complete

service ; royal ships of over 800 tons ; great ships of over 600 tons; middling ships of about 450 tons (Robertson, 1921: 15).

In their navies, European powers started to built large and heavily armed ships due to increasing number of sea battles.

So then, what was the purpose behind the continuing construction of light and small ships, and how did these ships help the Dutch to gain supremacy over this trade? This can be explained by the existence of piracy. In the mid-seventeenth century piracy in the Caribbean, light vessels was still in use. Moreover, boarding was still one of the best ways to capture goods from the bigger ships. The use of light ships and the boarding tactics will be explained in the latter parts of this essay in detail and with examples.

Because of the science of engineering of which reasons were mentioned above – "wind-powered sawmills, powered feeders for saws, block and tackles, great cranes to move heavy timbers" (Wallerstein, 2008: 42) – the United Provinces also enjoyed the efficiency in the shipbuilding industry. In this context, Fayle mentions about a Dutch epigram that "the herring keeps Dutch trade going, and Dutch trade sets the world afloat" (cited in Fayle, 2006: 169).

Another industry that provide an advantegous position to the Dutch was the sugar refinery. Only in Amsterdam, there were 60 sugar refineries in 1661 that most of sugar from the French and English colonies refined in those refineries until the English Navigation Acts of 1660 and similar restrictions enacted by Jean Baptist Colbert in France (Masefield, 1967: 293). Yet, sugar in Brazil and the West Indies had an interesting history which was full of violence and slavery:

> Sugar cane – if the crop is to be used to make sugar and not just for the extraction of juice, so that proper cultivation, prompt cutting and grinding, and skilled processing are involved – has always been a labor-intensive crop, at least well into the twentieth century. Sugar production was a challenge not only technical and political (administrative) terms, but also in regard to the securing and use of labor (Mintz, 1986: 26).

The first sugarcane was brought to the West Indies from the Canary Islands by Christopher Columbus in his second voyage. However, due to violent acts in the search of gold and silver in the Americas by *conquistadores*, the cultivation of sugarcane and the sugar production were not seen as a profitable product until the first half of seventeenth century (Mintz, 1986: 32-41). It was also because the decrease of population and the destruction of nature due to the patterns of colonization and its brutal application by the first settlers.

In terms of seizing and plundering the resources of nature and valuable goods of local population – valuable to Europeans- the first settlers from Spain were "successful". Yet, such a violent way of direct extraction did not provide continuity in the flow of silver and gold. Thus, if the Spanish had wanted to benefit from these resources, they would have had to quit banditry and act as if they were entrepreneurs (Cipolla, 2003: 3). The reason for such "banditry" was that the resources in these regions were controlled by *conquistadores,* in the name of the Spanish crown. These were merely 'men at arms', not entrepreneurs nor merchants. This does not mean that merchants were not violent at that time. Merchants were often "men at arms", or had "men of arms" with them. They took reproduction and reinvestment into account while reproducing their violence in different ways. However, it was still hard to distinguish the force-using enterprises and the profit-seeking enterprises at that period (Lane, 1979: 39-40). Both colonizers and *conquistadores*' way of getting precious metals from the local population and nature was brutal and violent, and caused both the population to decrease and nature to waste away. The best examples were the systems of *encomienda* and *hacienda* as a new form of violent and destructive governance (see, Figure III).

In the hacienda system, by monocropping, foodstocks from haciendas moved through mines and plantations to feed the labor force; labor from native settlements was distributed to haciendas, plantations, and mines; and precious products such as silver and sugar moved through, first, the administrative cities, then respectively to ports and the motherland. Thus, the aim of these complex

networks was the maximizing the profits in the fields of mining and plantation of these precious products.

The relation of this system with piracy was as follows. Although not having right to trade with the Spanish colonies, France, England, and the Netherlands started to invade and settle small-sized islands and lands in Latin America. This situation created new problems for the new colonizers – that of being settlers in another nation's colony and therefore illegal. For example, in Tortuga, West Indian Company of France made an agreement with pirates, hunters, and planters, "the first possessors of Tortuga", due to the fact that they did not have means of secure trade in this region (Esquemeling, 1967: 13). Pirates and privateers had provided a huge amount of wealth to France, England, and the Netherlands in Latin America. Wealth flowed in, in the form of gold and silver, both directly by seizure and plunder by pirates and indirectly by the contraband trade of other precious goods brought by pirates. Yet, this wealth led to urbanization, enlarged the settlements, and increased the population (mostly, slaves from Africa to work in plantations). As a result of this situation, small-scale plantations began to be built to create a constant source of production and profit. Yet, the new population, mostly black slaves and also white servants, continued to get involved with piracy due to low income, hard-work, and harsh treatment in plantations (Esquemeling, 1967: 49-51).

This situation created a deep rooted problem between *encomendero*s and pirate captains. Run-aways (slaves, indentured and native servants, and so on) from plantations and encomiendas started to join pirate crews as an easy way to get rich. In a short period this deepened the problem of the lack of work force and decreased the potential labor force of plantation owners. In this context, the best example can be Port Royal, Jamaica. There were around 1500 pirates based in Jamaica when the population was below 3000 in the mid-seventeenth century (*National Geographic*, 2011). Thus, the island's economy had depended on plunder and piracy. Until these colonizers got the legal trading right with the former Spanish colonies in the Hispanic America, the pirates had the support of the governors.

In this context, Wallerstein mentions about the three important successes of the Dutch related to the trade with Latin America: (1) they held the Spanish at bay in the Americas which provided English and French to built plantations, (2) sugar cultivation was launched in Brazil (and then the English plantations in the Caribbean), (3) and they brought the black slaves to work in those plantations (Wallerstein, 2008: 52).

For example, in 1630s, the Dutch East India Company occupied the northeastern coasts of Brazil, and to increase profits they started to cultivate sugar. Moreover, they provided every means – even the production techniques – to the English to start sugar production in Barbados. In Barbados, the population of black slaves increased tenfold in a few decades (Galeano, 1997: 62)

Thus, the roots of the so-called 'triangular trade' started to be established (see, Figure 2). Yet, its networks were more complicated than a triangle. At that era, the Dutch ships – and indirectly, the other nations' ships built in the Dutch territories – dominated the trade of sugar (especially in Brazil), cochineal, salt, and pearl (to some extent) from the Americas (by the means of piracy and privateering); of slaves from Africa; of herring from Europe; and of textiles from Asia. Thus, the relations with the capitalist world-system in that sense become decisive "as sugar is the price of sugar" (Marx, 1997: 28).

In such a world that the maritime trade operated inextricably in the seas of the world and the Americas became the production space of most of the precious metals and raw materials, the flourish of the seventeenth century piracy and privateering can be understood more straightforwardly. It is not the romanticized context of pirates, but as the challenge to Spanish monopoly over its colonies and an important part of the shift of power from south to north in Western Europe.

The wealth of the United Provinces in the hegemonic period can be described with the construction of two glittering palaces in the mid-seventeenth century The Hague [in which city, "the threads of diplomacy were woven and unwoven" (Braudel, 1992: 203)]: *Huis ten Bosch* (the House in the Woods, in 1645)

and *Paleis Noordeinde* (the Noordeinde Palace, 1655) Yet, not only these palaces described the wealthy situation of the United Provinces, but also:

> [Wealthy Dutch burghers] were particularly fond of the exquisite Flemish tapestries that covered the walls. Crafted from wool or silk, bordered by silver, and dyed with brilliant scarlets and crimsons, these wall hangings declared not only their owners' wealth, but their worldliness: they were a creation of world trade (Pomeranz and Topik, 2006: 114).

In short, as Lee draws an analogy for the Dutch, 'if this [*fluyt*] provided the machinery to sustain the flow of trade, the lubrication was ensured by the availability of the credit and of the convenient methods of exchange' (Lee, 1984: 116). Additionally, the pseudo-legality of this machine was provided by the letters of marque for pirates to seize other nations and fuel was the African slaves, sailors, Native Americans, and other ordinary people forced to work.

Silver Flows and Piracy:

In this single world-economy, silver from Latin American mines flowed to, in the first instance, Spain, and then respectively Europe and the rest of the world. The trade networks in the sixteenth century were operated as follows: silver from Mexico and Peru as coins and ingots were transported to Spain, and then, spread to other European countries. Most of these silver coins and ingots moved east towards China and India. In the opposite direction, a mass of Asian products was transported to Europe, and European products to the Americas (Cipolla, 2003: 57). American silver in that sense was crucial for the system to operate. In detail, according to Carlo Cipolla, there were three alternative ways of transporting silver from the Americas to Asia: first of all, the Spanish *reales* was brought to China by a galleon that carried them firstly to the Philippines, and then, to China via the Manila galleon trade (Cipolla, 2003: 56-57; Frank, 1978: 37).

The second way is that starting from Panama or Vera Cruz, silver was brought to Seville. With illegal ways such as smuggling, which was so widespread in that era that even officers, merchants, passengers, and churchman were invloved in it, silver was transported to Portugal. Porteguese ships, full of Spanish silver, arrived Goa in India by passing the Cape of Good Hope, and were then transported from Goa to Macao, China. Another way of silver transportation was from Seville those silver was transported to London, Amsterdam, or Genoa by legal or illegal ways. By either sea or land transportation, those cargoes of silver were brought to China. For land transportation, Aleppo, Surat, and Mokha were beaten tracks (Cipolla, 2003: 20,32,57) (see, Map I and Map II). On these tracks, piracy and banditry were quite often but especially in the Caribbean where all these silver coins were transported from.

In the mid-sixteenth century, especially three books was published on mining: In 1540, *De la pirotechnia* (*The Pirotechnia of Vannucio Biringuccio*) which is a study on extracting mines by use of mercury by an Italian metallurgist Vannucio Biringuccio; in 1556, *De re metallica libri* (*On the Nature of Metals*) which is a study on mining by an German scholar and scientist Georgius Agricola; in 1574, *Beschreibung allerfürnemisten mineralischen Ertzt unnd Bergwercksarten* (*Description of Leading Ore Processing and Mining Methods*) which is a study on exploitation of ore and mining methods by a German metallurgist Lazarus Ercker (Tez, 2011: 163)[9]. These new techniques and methods of mining influenced Spanish mine-owners and merchant entrepreneurs. Cipolla mentions about a Sevillan merchant, Bartolomé de Medina who brought the new techniques to acquire silver easily by using mercury and salt to Zacatecas mines in Mexico between 1554 and 1556, and an expert of mercury Don Pedro Hernandez de Velasco who brought this technique to the famous Potosi mines in 1573. Cipolla claims that the production of silver increased constantly and reached its peak point for the era between 1500 and 1660 (Cipolla, 2003: 5-7).

The relation between the production of silver in the colonies and the silver import of Spain is important in order to understand the increase in piratical events

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[9] For an example of one of the Agricola's designs, see Figure I.

in the seventeenth century. In the mid-sixteenth century, the most famous silver mine of Latin America was discovered, Potosi. Although the production was slightly decreased in the seventeenth century, Potosi continued to be the most productive silver mine in Latin America until the demise of these mines in the eighteenth century (Galeano, 1997: 20, 32). Galeano further explains the situation on Potosi:

> The church altars and the wings of cherubim in processions for the Corpus Christi celebration in 1658 were made of silver: the streets from the cathedral to the church of Recoletos were completely resurfaced with silver bars. In Potosi, silver built temples and palaces, monasteries and gambling dens; it prompted tragedies and fiestas, led to the spilling of blood and wine, fired avarice, and unleashed extravagance and adventure (Galeano, 1997: 20).

The silver mines of Guanajuato and Zacatecas in Mexico experienced their golden age of silver production in the latter periods (Galeano, 1997: 32). For example, the most productive era of Zacatecas mine was between 1670 and 1690 (Cipolla, 2003: 45). Thus, Latin American silver mines were still providing wealth in the shape of silver.

Then, what was the reason behind the decrease of silver acquired by the Spanish? The real issue from the standpoint of the Spanish economy was how much of this silver arrived in Spanish ports. According to the data from Hamilton's researches, between 1581 and 1590, Spain obtained 2,103 tons of silver. Between 1591 and 1600, the silver flow increased to 2,708 tons. Yet, between 1651 and 1660 this number decreased to 443 tons. (Hamilton, 1934: 42) (see, Table 3).

First of all, a basic but fatal mistake in assumptions affected Spain deeply in the reigns of Charles I (1516-1556) and Phillip II (1556-1598). They simply overestimated "the amount of bullion available to finance foreign policy" and assumed that these mines would yield in an increasing amounts. Yet, both of these rulers relied on the security of the next shipments and raised great loans from foreign bankers. They simply mortgaged the royal share many years advance and

could not pay the debts. For example, this assumption of Phillip II was caused by the temporary increase in the output during 1580s due to use of mercury in the recovery process. Spain was four times bankrupt respectively in 1557, 1560, 1575, and 1596 (Lee, 1984: 106). However, it cannot have been only the decline in the production. Although there was decline in the production of silver due to the exhaustion of silver mines, it was not that much severe in the mid-seventeenth century as it had been explained.

Moreover, it cannot have been only the requisition of silver coins by the colonial governments. Local governments took some of the silver coins that produced in the colonies due to the local development of a monetary economy in the colonies. Yet, it was also a fact that started at the end of sixteenth century and most of it was still exported to the motherland (Cipolla, 2003: 30).

Smuggling silver was a part of the problem that caused the Spanish crown was unable to control the flows of silver as mentioned above. Yet, it cannot have been only smuggling due to the fact that smuggling had been always a part of this business. For example, in 1555, a ship full-of-silver was sunk close to the Spanish coast somewhere between Cadiz and Gibraltar and the cargo was rescued. Yet, instead of official amount of the 150,000 pieces of eight, twice this number was found in the wreck (Cipolla, 2003: 19). Although all the misfortunes of Spain as mentioned above, Spain was still the most powerful state in the world until the mid-sixteenth century:

> The intensification and global expansion of European power struggle fed one another and thereby engendered a vicious/virtuous circle – vicious for its victims, and virtuous for beneficiaries – of more and more massive resources and of increasingly sophisticated and costly techniques of state and war-making deployed in the power struggle… The state that initially benefited most from this vicious/virtuous circle was Spain… Throughout the sixteenth century, the power of Spain exceeded that of all other European states by a good margin. This power, however, far from being used to oversee a smooth transition to the modern system of rule (Arrighi, 1996: 40-41).

Despite the bankrupcies related to debts and smuggling in the sixteenth century, Spain managed to keep its powerful position.

Stephen J. Lee explains the decline of the power of Spain with Spain's 'primitive methods' in agriculture although these flows of silver benefited selecive industries such as shipbuilding (Lee, 1984; 104-105). These Eurocentric pretext which blames the Spanish for being 'incapable' in agriculture and for 'misuse of resources' have not given a comprahensive account for the decline of Spain. As well as not mentioning the role of Arab cultivators before the *Reconquista* in 1492, Lee also ignores the presence of piracy. Besides the debts that the Spanish crown owed to finance wars in Europe, Carlo Cipolla adds two other important factors that Spanish had to deal with: (1) the disadvantages of ships against the forces of nature (storms, hurricanes, and so on), (2) and the first examples of piratical activities in the Atlantic and Caribbean trade routes by English pirates of Elizabethan era such as Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins. For example, between 1587 and 1592, English pirates plundered fifteen percent of Spanish silver (Cipolla, 2003: 14). Moreover, the Arabs that had been discarded from Iberian Peninsula involved in a new enterprise in North Africa: piracy which targeted Spanish ships. Thus, 1492 played a crucial milestone for Spain. Violent methods and monopolistic behaviour of Spain in both Iberian Peninsula by the *Reconquista* and the Americas by the activities of *conquistadores* planted the seeds for piratical activities against themselves in both North Africa and the Americas. Galeano explains the situation of Spain in the seventeenth century as: "The Spaniards owned the cow, but others drank the milk" (Galeano, 1997: 23). Thus, the critical decrease in the silver import of Spain in the seventeenth century was related to piracy in the seventeenth century. English, French, and Dutch pirates were 'milk thieves' of the seventeenth century.

Thus, the exceptional increase in silver production alone was not enough. Due to decline of the power of Spain as mentioned above, regular indebtness to finance wars and demands of the colonies[10], decline of local population (which led

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[10] As a part of capitalist world-economy, unequal trade relation between core and periphery were established. Thus, from the perspective of the core, importing raw material or 'competitive' – and inevitably low-priced goods- and exporting 'scarce' and manufactured

to decline of work force), and smuggling and piratical activites, Spain could not protect its adventageous position:

> A "second sixteenth century" stretching from 1550 to 1650 can be concieved for European history, a period that saw… the shift of capitalist accumulation and economic power to northwestern Europe. (Higman, 2011: 81)

Historical Political Economy of the Transition in Piracy

The shift of power was one of the most important reasons and historical cornerstones for the flourishing of seventeenth century piratical activities. Piracy was one of the most successful ways to enter a trade over which another state had monopoly. The aim of English, Dutch, and French was to use piracy as a tool to enter established, profitable trade routes, not to create 'enemies of all mankind' but to change the ownership of property by using pirates. Yet Anne Perotin-Dumon contributes that the active commerce alone does not explain the existence of piracy. Piracy depended highly on the political struggle between the established trading power and the newcomer. In this case, the former which was Iberian states tried to maintain their monopoly over this trade, and the latter which were England, France and the United Provinces tried to keep it free and open. Although the prize from piracy was economic, as a historic phenomenon, the causes were political (Perotin-Dumon, 1991: 196-198).

The legal right of trading with Latin America was owned by the Spanish Crown, and the lands of Spanish America administratively speaking counted as inside Spanish territory. However, a contribution should be made to Perotin-

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goods is crucial to maintain their privileged position in the system. However, in our example, Spain could provide flour, olive oil, wine, and vinegar; but not shoes, carpets, furniture, silk, cotton, and watches (Cipolla, 2003: 34). Thus, they either gave privileges to other countries to establish trade with the colonies of Spain, or became further indebted.

Dumon's thesis in order to be more coherent with the claims of this study. This contribution is that "the established trading power" should be about to exhaust its power. This creates convenient conditions for pirates to sail.

Thus, by using piracy as an effective tool to enter established, profitable trade routes, states incorporated piracy inside their "monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force" in Weberian terms [although he claimed that states enjoyed this right within a "given territory"] (Weber, 1946: 77). The special situation of pirates in this monopoly of violence lay in their situation of being outside "a given territory". Actually, this uniqueness was brought about by the difference between land and sea areas. Stanley explains this difference as such:

> The sea… can be considered as Other, a 'Not-Land'… A ship is many things, including a place of overlap between categories, a liminal space… Away from one land, but not yet having reached the other shore, the voyaging ship can be seen as the site where the core and the periphery meet. The core may be seen as land, which connotes the dominant social order. The sea is periphery, connoting space *outside* the social order. The ship is the border between the two where interplay (Stanley, 2002: 13-14).

By analogy, piracy constituted a threshold activity: they were not inside the territorial jurisdiction of states but a tool of the monopoly of violence. So, English, Dutch and French pirates were means of the extra-territorial monopolization of violence of those states.

In his work the relation between warfare and state organization from roughly 1400 to 1700 in important parts of Europe, Charles Tilly mentioned *brokerage* which explains the relation and piracy to some extent. He claims that between 1400 and 1700, mercenaries were one of the major parts of military activity in Europe which relied on capitalist in terms of loans, revenue-producing enterprises, and taxes. In this context, those privateers and pirates in the West Indies can be considered as unofficial paramilitary tools of states especially in a transition period to the formation of the standing armies. Arrighi mentions about the revival of the Roman military techniques by the Dutch that there was an intention to

increase the efficiency of military labor-power, to divide the army in smaller tactical units, and to increase the number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers (Arrighi, 1996: 46). Yet, the relation between finance, piracy, and the formation of standing armies became more visible in the statements of Charles Tilly who mentioned about the relation between warfare and state organization from roughly 1400 to 1700 in important parts of Europe. Between these years, according to Tilly, the relation between the warfare and state organization was related to *brokerage*. Yet, the weakness of this system was the payment problem. When the payment was low or came too slowly or not at all, mercenaries started mutinies or became bandits (Tilly, 1992: 29, 82-83). They also became pirates.

The relation between mercenary armies and the state had two sides: the supply problem of the state for providing food, shelter, clothing, payment and weapons to mercenaries from loans during wars; and the problem of unemployed mercenaries after wars. Yet, this historical perspective on *brokerage*, the mercenary system; and its decline clarifies the situation, respectively, of piracy in the Caribbean (pirates with letters of marque), as well as their decline (pirates after the Treaty of Utrecht).

Yet, if a comparison between mercenaries and piracy in the seventeenth century must be made, then it should be made clear that mercenaries were more deeply connected to state service than pirates were. In the context of piracy, costs of the state such as wages, establishment of barracks and so on, vanished, although states supplied food, shelter, payment, and weapons to pirates not directly but indirectly. For example, in the case of privateers in Queen Anne's War, states allowed pirates to keep most of what they captured or plundered in return for breaking Spain's control over the Atlantic trade routes. This was a mode of payment. States also provided pirates with safe havens for provisioning, careening, and reparation of their ships. However, these ports were not just military installations for pirates but also for merchants, governors, and standing armies. This was a part of the transatlantic "deal" as well as a way of ensuring the goods demanded by Europeans. The unemployment problem of mercenaries should be

added to this claim, due to the fact that one of the biggest problems of states was that how to employ these mercenaries after wars to prevent them from banditry, piracy.

Another role of piracy in the Atlantic trade routes was both putting obstacles in front of rival states' long distance trade, and reproducing and recreating this long distance trade for the benefits of another. Pirates entered long distance trade as a transportation link. Specifically, they forcefully broke the links between previous production processes (such as supplying mercury to silver mines and processing silver ores to obtain silver coins or ingots) as well as their costs (such as opening a mine or plantation, finding labor force, supplying them food, transporting those goods by the means of land transportation and sea transportation, protecting merchant ships with war ships, and so on). Thus, when they reproduced long distance trade in favor of one state, they also freed that state from the costs of previous production processes. For example, for the silver mines in Potosi, the Spanish had to find African slaves or Native American laborers to work in those mines and to reproduce them in order not to suffer from the lack of labor, to supply chemical substances such as mercury to extract silver quickly, to transport those goods by land to Panama to ship them to Cadiz, to establish armies and forts to protect that silver from attacks, and to establish navies to protect merchant ships from seizure by other states. Without establishing or investing in a colony, plantation, navies, finding labor to work in them, or incurring any cost, the English, French, and Dutch captured these goods, especially silver, by the help of pirates. This process also provided wealth for pirates; thus, the relation between pirates and states was a win-win situation.

In the context of the transatlantic trade; therefore, it is not an accurate pretext to claim that without pirates (although they are defined by the mainstream authors as the enemies of all), commerce would have been more peaceful. On the contrary, commercial activities during the early centuries of the capitalist world-economy, especially in the processes of incorporation of a geographical space to the system, because of its nature, caused violence. If this is acknowledged, then, the popular

dictum of Montesquieu is wrong: "wherever we find agreeable manners, there commerce flourishes, and that wherever there is commerce there we meet with agreeable manners" (Montesquieu, 1949: 316).

Transatlantic trade was not the only relation in which pirates were involved. Eric Wolf states that in the manner of a constrained trade[11] in which the demand side, as well as the supply side, was constrained by European states, there were two different cycles of transactions; the transatlantic was one of them. The other was an intra-American trade which was an exchange of commodity for commodity (Wolf, 1982: 141). Pirates also took part in this latter type of transaction. However, their participation was not only commodity for commodity, as Wolf mentioned. One of the important points in this transaction was the relation between pirates and the native settlements. Buccaneers traded with people along the coast and in the hinterland and launched attacks on Spanish towns (Wolf, 1982: 155). William Dampier in a part of his book states:

> I must confess the Indians assisted us very much, and I question whether we would have ever got over without their assistance, because they brought us from time to time to their Plantations… For we were resolved to reward them to their Heart's content. This we did by giving them Beads, Knives, Scissors and Looking-glasses, which we bought from the Privateers' Crew (Dampier, 2007: 36).

A traveler in the Ottoman Empire and a Catholic clerk, Ilyas Hanna mentioned about piratical activities in Vera Cruz, Mexico in his travel book of South America that the pirate crew consisted of people from different ethnic backgrounds and after the plunder they took along 2.000 African and Native American captives (Hanna, 2011: 117-118).

In this context, the claim of 'for piracy to flourish, active commerce and the tension between established trading power and a newcomer' seems valid.

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[11] By constrained trade, he means that the trade between Latin America and Europe was controlled by European states, and both what to produce and how to produce, and the production processes including transportation links were determined by the demand of European states.

'Newcomers' were mainly Britain, France, and the Low Countries. Firstly, they entered this trade by 'licensed' piratical activities (privateering) because Spain did not allow other countries to establish trade with American colonies and claimed that only Spain had the rights of land, transportation of goods and precious metals. Thus, entering such a trade inevitably became 'piratical' (Hympendahl, 2007: 27). Secondly, they started to establish 'pirate havens' or ports that welcomed pirates after the successful seizures of islands by pirates or navies of those nations. For example, Great Britain occupied Jamaica in 1657. Port Royal was considered as "wickedest city on earth" and "the Sodom of the New World" due to its pirate and prostitute population. France captured Tortuga which was also a city of pirates from all nationalities.

In order to understand the transition, the method of pirating should be briefly explained. In this sense, there have been attempts to define an ideal pirate ship. Angus Konstam tried to determine the common characteristics of a pirate ship as seaworthiness, speed, and armament. However, he also accepts that no vessel was specifically designed as pirate ship (Konstam, 2003: 4-8). He stated that small single-masted vessels such as sloops constructed in Bermuda and Jamaica were faster due to less water resistance and were often preferred by pirates. On the other hand, he claims that in the early eighteenth century, pirates began to sail in larger ships due to the fact that they could carry more guns, and their hulls provided a more stable gun platform. According to these criteria, either the seventeenth century pirates did not have the heavy armament or the eighteenth century pirate vessels lacked speed. The only common characteristic of a pirate ship was that it had pirates. In the seventeenth century, there were both heavily armed large ships and small scale speedy ships. In one of his raids, Henry Morgan was accompanied by thirty-four heavily armed English battleships in order to compete with the Spanish fleet. However, in the early era of buccaneering in Tortuga, there were pirates with small ships. The reason was that Tortuga was placed near the Windward Passage (the passage between Cuba and Hispaniola)[12], near to where merchant ships

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[12] Nowadays, the island of Hispaniola is shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

dropped anchor for provision. Thus, those buccaneers could apply hit-and-run tactics while making Tortuga a base. It was both strategically and geographically suitable for small, speedy ships.

This tactic came to an end, because merchant ships which brought goods from Europe to Latin America or *vice versa* started to be accompanied by heavily armed battleships. The result of this precaution was the end of "small-scale" and "non-supported" piracy (Cordingly, 2004: 66). Heavily armed battleships with numerous cannons prevented these acts of small-scale pirates. They either were eradicated by these fleets or joined other pirates who were supported. Another reason of the disappearance of small ships was related to the end of state support after 1713. When the European states withdrew their supports, and instead started to use ex-pirates and navies to hunt pirates down, pirates had to shift their ships to larger ones, and to create 'pirate navies'.

As well as the method of pirating, causes of the increase in the pirate population in the Caribbean should be revealed to clarify this transition. Around 1640, England turned a hand to "the royal policies of deforestation, enclosure, and draining the fens" (Hill, 1991: 53). In order to both provide food for its people and compete with the Dutch superiority in agriculture, the English Crown implemented these policies. As Hill quoted from the Calender of State Papers (Domestic) (C.S.P.D.):

> The economic necessity for improving wastes and forests, thus both increasing the food supply and releasing labour, still seemed obvious to agricultural writers of the forties and fifties. 'The principal end' of enclosure of forests, the Council of State was told in 1654, 'is advantage to husbandry and tillage, to which all commons are destructive'[13] (Hill, 1991: 54).

In this context, the term 'accumulation by dispossession', proliferated on Marx's 'primitive accumulation' (the historical process of divorcing the producer from the

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[13] The second sentence starting with the quotation marks was quoted by Christopher Hill from C.S.P.D, 1654: 71-72

means of production) for the neoliberal policies by David Harvey, can be adapted to the policies of the English government in the seventeenth century (Marx, 1906: 786). Harvey explains the accumulation by dispossesion as follows:

> These include the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations... conversion of property rights (common, collective, state etc.)... suppression of rights to the commons; commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption (Harvey, 2007: 159).

The result of these policies was to force people "to sole dependence on wage labor" (Hill, 1991: 53). Moreover, these landless people ("forest squatters, itinerant craftsmen and building laborers, unemployed men and women seeking work, strolling players, minstrels and jugglers, peddlers and quack doctors, gypsies, vagabonds, tramps") migrated to the cities:

> It was from this underworld that… ships' crews were recruited… that a proportion at least of the settlers of the New World were found… men prepared to run desperate risks in the hope of obtaining the secure freehold land (and with it, status) to which they could never aspire in overcrowded England (Hill, 1991: 49).

Moreover, it was common in the seventeenth century that children started to work at the age of six and they left their parents' house when they were twelve due to the fact that their parents could not gain enough income to feed them . These young population started to loiter around to look for possibilities to learn a profession in cities, to beg in the market places, and to establish gangs (Hympendahl, 2007: 28). In this sense, Julius Ruff claims that the trials and court records demonstrate that most of the robber-bands were consisted of young ex-soldiers, poors, and 'outsiders' in the early modern Europe. For example, twelve/thirteen years old children were used in small-scale robberies in the Dutch gang, *Hees*. Moreover, in the trial of 113 members of the Valencian band, *Berenguer* in the second half of the seventeenth century, the youngest convict was twelve years old (Ruff, 2001: 234). Thus, it was the case that most of these young population

choosed to sail the seas thanks to the rumours about the Spanish gold in the Caribbean and the story of the infamous pirate, Francis Drake (Hympendahl, 2007: 29). Thus, the victims of 'the accumulation by dispossession' found themselves in the ships bound for the Caribbean islands with the dreams of land, gold, and silver.

CHAPTER III

PIRACY IN THE ATLANTIC:

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

In the late seventeenth century, a privateer from England wrote a journal on his experiences around the world. The man called himself, William Dampier, and he suggest in the preface of his book, *Piracy, Turtles & Flying Foxes[1]*, that "one who rambles a Country can give usually a better account of it, than a Carrier who jogs on to his Inn, without ever going out of his Road" (Dampier, 2007: 2). Trying to follow this advice, the issue of piracy in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the Atlantic trade routes, and especially in Spanish America, with considering the all piracy-related aspects of the era will be investigated like a 'traveler' following the routes of pirates' history. "Social, economic, and political structures and patterns of thought and behavior in a specific geographic, cultural region" as the contributions of French historians to the discipline of history will be adapted to the history of piracy in the seventeenth century (Iggers, 1997: 52).

In this context, Peter Galvin claims that "piracy in Spanish America, though clearly interactive with the physical environment, was as much or more a product of society than of nature" (Galvin, 1999: 25). It is not the time or place to debate or judge either the physical environment or social relations are more important. Thus, an equal importance will be given to these two interrelated topics in this chapter.

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[1] An extract from the book *A New Voyage Round the World* by William Dampier

The relation between the geography and people played a crucial role in the piracy of the seventeenth century. Thus, the geographical features of the Caribbean should be introduced in the first place. The location and features of islands and passages will be explained one by one. The effects of natural disasters, the currents and winds in the Atlantic Ocean currents as geographical events as well as the paths of animal migration as a food source on sailors and sailing ships will be investigated. The human response to these geographical events such as specialization in cartography, navigation, hydrography, carpentry (for making enduring ships and repairing them), caulking, and so on will be surveyed. Pirates' relation with institutions such as companies, states, and governorates inside these geographical and human environments will be stated. Either violent or contractual relations between states and pirates will be investigated with historical examples.

Geographical features of a place, people's relations with this geography, and people's relations with institutions inside this geography, then, are inevitably interrelated to each other. Thus, the structure of this chapter will be a geographical narrative as well as a chronological one. In each part, a geographical place will be told with the human interactions with it:

> Events are the ephemera of history; they pass across its stage like fireflies, hardly glimpsed before they settle back into darkness and as often as not into oblivion. Every event, however brief, has to be sure a contribution to make, lights up some dark corner or even some wide vista of history. Nor is it only political history which benefits most, for every historical landscape – political, economic, social and even geographical – is illumined by the intermittent flare of event (Braudel, 1996: 901).

One of the most important historians and "the sworn enemy of the event", Fernand Braudel explained the role of events in history as quoted above (Braudel, 1996: 901). Thus, in order to light up 'the dark corners' of the historical landscape – even the geographical one – the historian should use 'the intermittent flare of event' as a tool. However, before starting to explain events of seventeenth century piracy in the Atlantic, the role of geography in explaining the historical landscape should be

introduced as following the Braudel's path in his famous two-volume work, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*:

> Geography in this context is no longer an end in itself but a means to an end. It helps us to rediscover the slow unfolding of structural realities, to see things in the perspective of the very long term. Geography, like history, can answer many questions. Here it helps us to discover the almost imperceptible movement of history, if only we are prepared to follow its lessons and accept its categories and divisions (Braudel, 1972: 23).

When it comes to inlets and passages, and natural disasters and currents in the Atlantic Ocean (and inevitably in the Caribbean), the importance of the geography for this study rises. First of all, Atlantic Ocean[2] separates the so-called New World and the so-called Old World: on the one hand, Americas; on the other hand, Europe and Africa have their coasts on the Atlantic. On the western coast of the Atlantic between the Tropic of Cancer and the Equator lie the West Indies where the majority of piratical activities took place in the seventeenth century. Between the very same latitudes, on the eastern coast of the Atlantic lies Western Africa where African people were forcibly seized as slaves. Lastly, between the Arctic Circle and 34° 48′ 02″ N (the southernmost point of Europe, Gavdos, Greece) on the eastern coast of Atlantic lies Europe where was influxed by the profits and surplus. Secondly, Atlantic Ocean was also separated into two by the Equator: North Atlantic Ocean and South Atlantic Ocean. Those two water masses put in an appearance in the famous denotation related with pirates, "the Seven Seas", namely South Atlantic, North Atlantic, South Pacific, North Pacific, Arctic, Antarctic, and Indian oceans. However, one should not forget that the history of piracy inside this ocean was written by human beings including their relations with each other and their relations with institutions that they created.

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[2] The Atlantic Ocean was first mentioned by Herodotus. He defines the Atlantic as "the sea of Atlas" (*Atlantis thalassa*) and clarifies the ocean as "the sea beyond the pillars of Heracles" (promontories flank the entrance of the Strait of Gibraltar) (Herodotus, 1975: 256-275).

3.1   TREASURE ISLANDS AND UNSAFE PASSAGES

Captain Charles Johnson (Daniel Defoe?)[3] explains the reason why pirates were numerous in the West Indies: (1) there were many uninhabited little islands and keys for provision; (2) there was the great commerce run by European states; and (3) there were many small inlets, lagoons, and harbors for security:

> There are small sandy islands, appearing a little above the surf of water, with only a few bushes or weeds upon them, but abound with turtle, amphibious animals… It is commonly believed were always buccaneering piratical times, the hiding places for their riches, and often times a shelter for themselves, till their friends on the main, had found means to obtain indemnity for their crimes… The many small inlets, lagoons, and harbors, on these solitary islands and keys, is a natural security (Johnson, 1998: 7-8; Defoe, 1999: 31-34).

Ruff also claims that banditry flourished in "zones near national and provincial boundaries, where bandits might elude pursuers simply by crossing the borderline" (Ruff, 2001: 221). The islands along the western coasts of the North Atlantic Ocean from Grand Bahamas to Trinidad and Tobago have acted as a seawall. This natural "seawall" covering many islands, isles, reefs, and inlets reached its most chaotic social time with the hit-and-run strategy of pirates in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These scattered islands and isles inside the "seawall" were also located around the shipping passages. For example, Tortuga located around the Windward Passage between the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba was a settlement of pirates from 1630s to 1684. This Passage "was major coastal shipping lane linking the ports of northern Cuba the colony of St. Augustine in Florida with the ports of the Caribbean" (Konstam, 2007: 23). Another channel was near the pirate haven of Port Royal called Jamaica Channel. Between the islands of Hispaniola and Puerto

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[3] It has been debated whether the book belonged to Captain Charles Johnson or Daniel Defoe. The author of the book from which we took the quotations was Captain Charles Johnson whose identity is unknown, and it has been argued that he was actually Daniel Defoe. However, in our paper, we decided to mention Johnson as the original author of the book.

Rico (Mona Passage) and between British Virgin Islands and Sombrero Islands (Anegada Passage), the base of pirate attacks was the British Virgin Islands. The list could go on. However, the important point is that inward and outward passages through the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico were welcoming to pirates located in those islands. These pirates located in islands inside the 'seawall' sifted silver, gold, cochineal, cacao, and other precious products out of the Spanish merchant ships as a gold prospector sifted gold out of river beds by sieves.

Tortuga: The Piratedom

One of the most astonishing accounts on both the geography and the history of the Island of Tortuga was given by John Esquemeling[4], a seventeenth-century author who sailed with pirates in Tortuga and Port Royal. In the northwestern shore of Hispaniola, to be precise in the latitude of twenty degrees and thirty minutes lays one of the popular pirate havens of the history called the Island of Tortuga which is seperated from Hispaniola by a narrow channel of five or six miles (Esquemeling, 1967: 6; Pyle, 1949: 1). This turtle-shaped small island which is not more than twenty miles in length is at the junction of the Windward Channel and the old Bahama Channel – a spot where four-thirds of the Spanish galleons passed by (Pyle, 1949: 1-3). The island was inhabited on the southern parts of the island which had a port with two entries which afforded 'passage to ships of seventy guns' and was 'capable of receiving great number of vessels. On the other hand, due to the ruggedness of coasts and being full of rocks and mountainous, the northern part was not populated (Esquemeling, 1967: 6-7). These geographical features, having one port in the south and being closed from the northern part, provided the island certain extent of natural security.

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[4] In some sources, his name was Exquemeling. He was a pirate in 1660s and wrote a book about the lives of buccaneers called, *The Buccaneers of America* published in 1678.

Another important geopolitical feature of the island was that it was close to the island of Hispaniola. Spain was the possessor of the island starting from 1492 but the Spanish settled mostly to the southern parts of the island:

> There on this island many good and strong cities, towns, and hamlets; it also abounds in a great number of pleasant and delicious country-houses and plantations; all which are owing to the care and industry of the Spaniards, its inhabitants (Esquemeling, 1967: 16-17).

The chief city was San Domingo in the southern part in which there was the residence of the Spanish Governor, merchants and shop-keepers, rich plantations, verdant meadows, and fruitful gardens (Esquemeling, 1967: 17). Besides these the island was abundant with wild and tame animals such as wild bulls and cows used for their skins and hides, tortoises for food, and great quantities of cacao used for the richest sort of chocolate (1967:17-18). However, some parts of the island were possessed by French planters and hunters; however, these people was subject to the Governors of Tortuga (1967: 19, 46).

In the context of flora, the island of Tortuga was abundant with trees and fruits. John Esquemeling mentions about them in his book *The Buccaneers of America*. Several sorts of timber are grown in Tortuga. There were other types of trees such as: (1) *Bois de Chandelle* (Candlewood, in English) (2) *Lignum Sanctum* (or, *Guaiacum*); (3) *Radix China* (or, China Root); and (4) Palmetto (Esquemeling, 1967: 7-8). Yet, the usage of these trees was historically important for people in Tortuga. These convenient sorts of timber were used for ship-building and construction (Esquemeling, 1967: 7). *Bois de Chandelle* 'burns like a candle, and serves [people in Tortuga] with light while they use their fishery in the night' (Esquemeling, 1967: 7). Moreover, it is highly possible that it was used as candle in small-ship piracy against the Spanish galleons. *Lignum Sanctum* was brought to Europe by sailors in 1490s and started to be used as a cure for syphilis and other diseases in the sixteenth century (Estes, 2000: 114). When the relation between prostitution and piracy is taken into consideration, the importance of this cure comes to light. This relation will be investigated in the latter parts of this chapter. Yet, an example should be

given. In 1665, "the first shipload of fifty French women docked at" Tortuga under the administration of Bertram d'Oregon (or Monsieur Ogeron) who "had requested these so-called "chaînes de France" in an effort to civilize the free-spirited buccaneers to whom they were sold as wives" (Galvin, 1999: 113-114). Chinese Root was used to feed the wild boars (Esquemeling, 1967: 7). Lastly, Palmetto was used to extract a juice which served people instead of wine, and the leaves of this tree were used to cover people's houses (Esquemeling, 1967; 8). Besides trees, there are plenty of fruits and vegetables such as mango, potatoes, acajou apples, yams, bacones, paquayes, carosoles, the mammee apples, and pineapples (Esquemeling, 1967; 8)

In the context of fauna, Esquemeling mentions about three kinds of animal species specifically: wild pigeons, crabs, and wild boars (1967: 8-9). There were also cattle (Kemp and Lloyd, 1965: 5). Wild pigeons were not the inhabitants of the island, but they came at a certain time of the year in huge flocks. The inhabitants of the island fed on these pigeons (Esquemeling, 1967: 8-9). Both sea and land crabs were also abundant in the island. These crabs were used to feed servants and slaves. However, consuming too often of these crabs had side effects such as giddiness in the head and loss of sight for a quarter of an hour (Esquemeling, 1967: 9)[5]. Wild boars and cattle were cooked in the dome-shaped huts called *boucanes*, 'which were divided into shelves on which strips of meat were laid to be smoked dry by a slow fire on the floor of the grill or barbecue' (Kemp and Lloyd, 1965: 5). Actually, Europeans adopted the art of *boucan* from the natives of the Caribbean islands (Galvin, 1999: 111). Smoked meat turned to be profitable product for the European trade in the mid-seventeenth century Caribbean.

In 1500s, Spain tried to establish small colonies on Tortuga; however, they made little effort to establish bigger settlements in the island due to their need for

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[5] Although his diagnosis was based on his observations, it is pertinent. Researches show that crabs contain saxitoxin (a neurotoxin, a well-known paralytic shellfish toxin) that can block nerve transmission. The symptoms are a tingling sensation, numbness of the lips, tongue, and fingertips; followed by numbness in the legs, arms, and neck; ataxia; giddiness; staggering; drowsiness; incoherent speech progressing to aphasia; rash; fever; and respiratory and muscular paralysis. Death can occur within 2-12 hours and there are no antidotes known (Taylor, 2006: 1820).

manpower to beckon 'more tantalizing pearls' in other parts of the Caribbean, especially near Panama (Galvin, 1999; 110,119; Hanna, 2010, 103). Spanish settlements failed to take root in Tortuga, but they introduced hogs and cattle, thus it became one of the favorable places of Dutch and French rovers due to the abundance of wild pigs (1999: 110). Moreover, the northern part of the island of Hispaniola, the part facing the island of Tortuga was deserted by the Spanish (Esquemeling, 1967: 20). Actually, Spain ordered and enforced evacuation of Hispaniola's northern coasts to prevent the colonists' contraband trade with passing French, Dutch, and English interlopers (Galvin, 1999: 119).

This development made the island and its surroundings, such as the northern parts of Hispaniola and the narrow channel between Hispaniola and Tortuga, safer for the contraband traders and smugglers. Moreover, Newton claims that the island had been a good rendezvous point for pirates starting from Drake's days (Newton, 1914: 12). Moreover, historical data shows that an English *pilot* (as it is mentioned in the document, most probably a pirate or a smuggler) 'was captured on the Tortuga coast of Santo Domingo' in the year 1611 (Brown, 1890: 522). However, buccaneering on Tortuga as an enterprise truly started in 1640 under the French protection (Newton, 1914: 12).

Esquemeling mentions about three professions that the population in Hispaniola and Tortuga followed: planter, hunters, and pirates:

> It is a general and solemn custom amongst them all to seek out for a comrade or companion, whom we may call partner, in their fortunes, with whom they join the whole stock of what they possess, towards a mutual and reciprocal gain. This is done also by articles drawn and signed on both sides, according to what has been agreed between them (Esquemeling, 1967: 39-40).

Thus, they were either pirating or abetting the piracy.

The planters started to cultivate the island of Tortuga in 1598 and the first plantations were of tobacco which had good quality (Esquemeling, 1967: 41). However, there were limited lands to plant tobacco and attempts to grow sugar in

the island did not meet the expectation; thus, most of the population started hunting instead of planting (Esquemeling, 1967: 42). However, these hunters also started to cultivate small lands due to their need for food. Thus, they started to plant beans, potatoes, and cassavas (from the roots of cassava, they made flour) (1967: 43-44).

Hunting was not limited to the island of Tortuga. They also ventured hunted wild cows and boars in Hispaniola. These hunting expeditions lasted for one or two years. After this period, they turned back to the island of Tortuga to provide themselves 'with guns, powder, bullets, and other necessaries against another' hunting expedition (Esquemeling, 1967: 40). He also mentions about the way that these hunters spent their gain in taverns and the festivals of Bacchus[6] (1967: 40-41). With its port, taverns, and supplies, Tortuga became urbanized and one of the important trade points in the Greater Antilles:

> Vessels on the return voyage to Europe from the West Indies needed revictualing, and food, especially flesh, was at a premium in the islands of the Spanish Main; wherefore a great profit was to be turned in preserving beef and pork, and selling the flesh to homeward-bound vessels (Pyle, 1949: 2).

1620s was a milestone for the West Indies. The northern and western shores of the island of Hispaniola were settled by the Dutch, English and French 'stranded, marooned, or shipwrecked crewmen; deserters; runaway bond servants and slaves; and adventurers' (Galvin, 1999: 110). At first the Spanish did not take these rovers seriously while they were approaching to these coasts with their longboats in small numbers. Yet, they gradually got crowded (Pyle, 1949: 3, Esquemeling, 1967: 10). Moreover, they also seized the island of Tortuga, and managed to start their enterprise in the island easily due to the fact that there were only ten or twelve Spanish guards to protect it (Esquemeling, 1967: 9-10).

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[6] Bacchus is the Roman god of wine, winemaking, and the harvest of grapes, equal to the Greek god Dionysus. However, Bacchus was euhemerized as a wandering hero, conqueror and founder of cities.

Not only was Hispaniola important for the buccaneers in Tortuga, other islands in the Lesser Antilles were as well. The governments of France, England, and the Netherlands started to settle in these Caribbean islands starting from 1620s:

> The first English colony was St. Kitts (St. Christopher), settled in 1623 and partitioned two years later to accommodate the first French colonists. Barbados received its first English settlers in 1627, and both the Dutch and English ingressed jointly upon Santa Cruz (St. Croix) by 1625. Within three years English colonists from St. Kitts spread out to Nevis and Barbuda and by 1632 reached Antigua and Montserrat. That same year the French occupied Dominica, and the Dutch took S. Eustatius (Galvin, 1999: 114-115).

Although Galvin also claims that the nature of these colonies was different from the buccaneers' den in Tortuga, Esquemeling clearly mentions the help of the West Indian Company of France and the Governor of St. Christopher directly helped French buccaneers to settle Tortuga and Hispaniola (Galvin, 1999: 115; Esquemeling, 1967: 11, 13).

The invasion of these islands by the French, Dutch, and English settlers pushed Spain to step in. In 1629, thirty-five Spanish galleons set sail from Spain under the command of Don Federico de Toledo to protect the annual bullion fleet between Cartagena and Vera Cruz. Its additional duty was to expel these French, Dutch, and English settlers (Galvin, 1999: 115). This "large fleet without warning or provocation attacked and totally dispersed the colonists" (Powell, 1967: xxxiii). However, this action turned out to be a bigger problem for Spain:

> The fugitives soon returned, the English for the most part settling in Nevis; a few of the French reoccupied their old settlements in St. Kitts [St. Christopher], but the greater portion of the dispossessed planters in 1630 removed to Tortuga (Powell, 1967: xxxiii).

Actually after they removed to Tortuga, the French requested help from the governor of St. Christopher in 1630 as a result of the constant Spanish attacks on the French rovers in both Hispaniola and Tortuga (Esquemeling, 1967: 10-11). The

governor of St. Christopher 'received their petition with expressions of much satisfaction' (Esquemeling, 1967: 11). It was resulted with the construction of a fort upon the top of a high rock and the island got populated with French settlers.

> Here they seemed to enjoy considerable prosperity, so much so as to induce the Governor-General of the French West Indies, who had been previously stationed in St. Kitts, to transfer in 1634 his seat of government to Tortuga (Powell, 1967: xxxiii).

Meanwhile, Anthony Hilton, an English planter from the small island of Nevis, returned back to Nevis after the Spanish attack on 7th of September 1629 not for dealing with his financial problems or planting tobacco but to gather a few rovers around him and to find a new home (Newton, 1903: 103). This new home was Tortuga. They came to the island and found it suitable for a settlement. No sooner they had settled on the island, when Hilton was elected as the governor and his security guaranteed by the Providence Company, an English company founded in 1629 to establish a colony on Providence Island near the Mosquito Coast (today, Nicaragua) (Newton, 1903: 104-105; Galvin, 1999: 116). Without a doubt, this settlement was 'merely a pirate hold' (Newton, 1903: 192n) under the protection of a company authorized by England.

The Spanish government became annoyed with the gradually populated pirate hold consisting of French and English sea rovers as well as Dutch traders. Thus, in 1634 they launched another assault on the island. However, the irony of this history was that this assault was built on an intelligence given by an Irish buccaneer from Tortuga called John Murphy Fitzgerald (or as the Spanish called him Don Juan Morfa) (Galvin, 1999: 117; Marley, 1994: 275). Marley mentions about the reason for his change of sides as:

> Murphy arrived on Tortuga Island as a boy soldier but deserted to the Spaniards with some companions in late 1633 after having killed a man in a dispute. He then agreed to lead the Spanish on an expedition to eliminate his former settlement (Marley, 1994: 275).

In the January, 1635, the Spanish forces consisted of small frigates reached the island and the attack was without a warning. For the Spanish records, there were six hundred men, women, and children in the settlement and the captured colonizers were put to the sword (Newton, 1903: 193). Some managed to escape under sail, and others fled in the woods; yet hunger pushed them to deliver themselves as prisoners. Eventually, they were hanged immediately by Don Ruiz Fernandez de Fuemayor, the commander of the assault. The Spanish troops occupied the island 'for about a month, razing houses, burning the tobacco plantations, and hunting down fugitives' (Galvin, 1999: 117). Spain's policy towards Tortuga was not to establish a settlement to the island or to plant, but to protect it from the foreigners' settlement. Thus, after each and every attack against these small islands, they withdrew their troops and men-of-war in order to protect their greater islands or merchant ships. However, each and every time, French, English, and Dutch pirates returned to these islands in greater numbers and armed.

In 1635, Nicholas Reskeimer was appointed as the governor of Association (the name given to Tortuga Island by the Providence Company). He gathered his men together with the survivors of the previous Spanish attack, and 'was provided with '30 muskets, 10 pistols, 2 pieces of ordnance, 33 barrels of powder, shot and match, 30 swords, a drum and flag a large supply of tools, and £20 cash for himself':

> Reskeimers were a family of Flemish origin, long settled at Dartmouth [, England] and deeply engaged in the clandestine West Indian trade; they were intimately allied with the celebrated privateering family of the Killigrews, and Reskeimer was probably acceptable to the company as having a large acquaintance among the rovers, who, they now realized, made Tortuga a regular place of call. He was recommended to the colonists as a soldier and a gentleman, whose military experience would serve them in repelling any further Spanish attack (Newton, 1903: 212).

Reskeimer died shortly after his arrival on the island of Tortuga. Eighty Englishmen created a council to appoint a governor and 'to keep in subjection the one hundred and fifty African slaves, twenty seven of whom were the company's property' (Newton, 1903: 214). Yet, most of the slave escaped to the woods. The

appointment was a total fiasco. The Dutch West Indian Company questioned the two returning planters and learned that the island had been abandoned by the Providence Company. Thus, the hope of the English council in Tortuga who had waited for a governor to be appointed by the Providence Company was shattered (Newton, 1903: 214). According to Haring's archive researches in Manuscript Sources of the British Museum:

> Yet at a later meeting of the Adventurers on 20th January 1637, a project for sending more men and ammunition to the island was suddenly dropped "upon intelligence that the inhabitants had quitted it and removed to Hispaniola" (Haring, 1910: 62).

Although their efforts did not turn Tortuga to a regular place of call for the English rovers, it certainly opened the way for the French rovers.

France had struggled with three Huguenot rebellions between 1620 and 1628. In 1635, most of the followers of Benjamin de Rohan, the Duke of Soubise and a French Huguenot leader, managed to make peace with Cardinal Richelieu, the commander of the King's troops in the Siege of La Rochelle in the Third Huguenot Rebellion. Most of the ex-rebels were sent to St. Christopher to work in "*Compagnie des Isles d'Amerique*" (Company of the American Islands) to serve under Pierre Belain D'Esnambuc, a French trader in the Caribbean. Most probably, these were the same men who had already landed on the island of Tortuga (Newton, 1903: 214). Once again, the island started to be populated by the French settlers. They captured some of the fugitive slaves once belonged to the English, started to cut Brazil logwood and to load ships with salt (Newton, 1903: 214-215; Galvin, 1999: 124).

Although after the Spanish attack in 1635 the English planned to seize and settle the island a few more times with the attempts of John Pym (an English parliamentarian) and William Fiennes (the First Viscount Saye and Salle, an English nobleman and politician), all of them were blighted because of the reluctance and lack of support of the Providence Company to settle in the island of Tortuga. However, these attempts clearly demonstrated "the steps taken to reorganize the colony as a privateering base" (Newton, 1903: 217-218). In this sense, Galvin

emphasizes an interesting point that 'the Puritan colonists demonstrated… a remarkable penchant for combining piety and piracy with commensurate zeal'. Moreover, he correlates the Puritan colonial network with the operating range of Tortuga's buccaneers (Galvin, 1999: 124). As it will be mentioned below, the same relation between the piety and piracy can be traced in the relation of the Huguenots with pirates as well as in the case of the radical religious ideas of the Englishmen after the Revolution.

After the Englishmen retreat from the island, Spain preyed on the Frenchmen's head. In 1638, Spain swooped down the island one more time to put the French protégés to the sword and destroyed all the habitation (Haring, 1910: 62).

However, the Englishmen did not give up looking for new lands to settle. Shortly after the Spanish attack, William Summers, an English adventurer, gathered several companions and attempted to settle in the Great Salt Pan in St. Christopher which had not been settled by either the French or the English colonizers in 1638. However, geography in this part of the island was not convenient for a settlement. Thus, he decided to sail to the abandoned island of Tortuga with his three hundred companions. After their arrival the few Frenchmen that had been living on the island were dispossessed. However, by 1639, population of the island started to increase again with a large admixture of Frenchmen as well (Haring, 1910: 63; Newton, 1903: 279-280). An interesting method of electing governors was invented although it was in the end unsuccessful:

> There were four sorts of inhabitants in Tortuga in 1640, *Buccaneers* engaged in the chase. *Filibusters* who roved the sea, *Habitans* or planters who cultivated the soil, and *Engagés* or servants, who were supplied by merchants of Dieppe to the planters on three-year terms. A democratic government had been established and an Englishman of resolution had been chosen by both English and French as captain; but he seized the entire power for the English and treated the French settlers with considerable injustice (Newton, 1903: 281).

These injustices and dispossession left the Frenchmen in Tortuga no choice but ask for help from the governor of St. Christopher. Few made their way to St.

Christopher in order to complain about the English domination over the island and addressed themselves to Phillippe de Longvilliers de Poincy, the governor-general of the French islands (Haring, 1910: 63). Failing to keep possession of Tortuga was not the only reason for a French reconquest of the island. Because of helping and nurturing the Huguenots in St. Christopher, de Poincy had started to lose credibility in France. This opportunity provided him to get rid of the Huguenots in St. Christopher. Thus, he sent them Tortuga to assist his countrymen (Newton, 1903: 281).

One of these Huguenots was Monseiur le Vasseur (Levasseur, or in Esquemeling's book Monseiur le Passeur). He was known as a courageous man and a companion-in-arms of d'Esnambuc. He gained the trust of de Poincy with his military information and his capability in the construction of fortifications. However, he had served his apprenticeship in La Rochelle, an old stronghold of French Protestants before the Huguenot rebellions (Haring, 1910: 63; Crouse, 1940: 85). Thus, de Poincy planned to kill two birds with one stone: (1) getting rid of an influential Huguenot leader with his fellows and (2) sending a militarily capable person in order to re-seize the island of Tortuga. Le Vasseur and his fellow Huguenots were offered liberty of conscience by de Poincy if he would accept to lead the Huguenots (Newton, 1903: 281-282). Crouse explains the double game of de Poincy as follows:

> To make the scheme more palatable De Poincy offered Le Vasseur a charter which contained under Article One a clause quite unusual in those days and likely to cause trouble with the government if it became known. It guaranteed liberty of conscience to both Protestants and Catholics. The rest of the document contained provisions regarding the political and economic set-up of the new colony – the principal item dealing with the question of a division of profits. It was decided that after one-tenth had been set aside for the Crown half should go to the company and half to Le Vasseur and his officers. Provisions were also made for the erection of the necessary buildings for trade and fortifications for protection (Crouse, 1940: 85-86).

Under these generous conditions Le Vasseur accepted the offer. In the spring of 1640, Monseiur le Vasseur set sail to occupy the island of Tortuga 'together with a ship full of men [forty-nine men] and all other things necessary for their establishment and defence' (Esquemeling, 1967: 11; Galvin, 1999: 125-126). Le Vasseur dropped anchor in the northern coast of Hispaniola for three months in order to reconnoiter the situation. He entered good relations with the Englishmen, recruited more men from among the buccaneers (most of them were Protestants), and attacked the Englishmen in Tortuga late in August on the plea of their seizure one of de Poincy's ship full of provisions for the French. Le Vasseur captured the governor and the Englishmen escaped to the island of Providence (Haring, 1910: 63-64; Galvin, 1999: 126; Crouse, 1940: 86).

From past experiences, Le Vasseur foresaw another Spanish attack on Tortuga and was decisive in defending this prize. Being a skillful engineer, he determined the perfect spot for a fortress (Crouse, 1940: 86-87). The fortress was built upon the top of a high rock which was 750 or 900 meters from the harbor's edge. The only access to the fort was a narrow passage uphill. Otherwise the help of an iron ladder was needed. There was a great cavity in the middle of this rock for a storehouse and a plentiful fountain of fresh water capable of refreshing a garrison of one thousand men. Moreover, several guns were mounted on the rock and the platform below. Le Vasseur ordered trees surrounding the fort to be cut down in order to increase the field of vision (Crouse, 1940: 87; Esquemeling: 1967, 11; Haring, 1910: 64-65) (see, Figure IV and V). This famous fort was called Fort de Rocher (or Fort de la Roche), or as Le Vasseur called it as his "dove-cote".

No sooner was the fort was raised, and then buccaneers from the northern parts of Hispaniola started to pour along Tortuga. However, as Esquemeling described, the Spanish in the island of Hispaniola 'could not behold but with jealous eyes the daily increase of the French in Tortuga'. In 1643, the Spaniards in Hispaniola sent six galleons and six-hundred soldiers (five hundred according to Crouse and eight-hundred according to Esquemeling) to seize the island. However, the island was prepared to defend itself for any attacks from the sea as well as

through the land. So, Le Vasseur successfully repulsed the Spanish attack. The Spaniards fled to Hispaniola with a loss of two-hundred men (Crouse, 1940: 87; Esquemeling: 1967: 12; Galvin, 1999: 126-127; Haring, 1910: 65).

In the following nine years, Le Vasseur kept the control of the island as the governor and did not encounter any further Spanish incursion. However, this does not mean that the relation between French colonies and Tortuga was stayed on course. Le Vasseur was a French governor who seemingly remained loyal to the General-Governor de Poincy in St. Christopher in the name of the King's Catholic Majesty. In practice, Le Vasseur had this promising deal sealed by de Poincy. Thus, he gathered sea rovers as well as pirates from all nations in Tortuga and conferred privileges on Protestants and especially on Huguenots (Galvin, 1999: 127). However, it was not the end of his actions. His character began to change:

> The once moderate, wise, and generous man became a tyrant, cruel, arrogant, and violent. Doubtless the memory of injustices his coreligionists had suffered at the hands of Catholics in France now awoke the Huguenots within him and started him on a program of vengeance, for he suspended the exercise of the Catholic religion, and to show that he meant business he burned the chapel and drove away the priest who served it, a worthy Capuchin named Father Marc (Crouse, 1940: 88-89).

However, Catholics were not the only victim of his practices, the Huguenots as well started to be oppressed. Le Vasseur expelled M. de Rochefort, the Protestant Minister, from the colony (Crouse, 1940: 89). Simply, he supported pirates and rovers from all nations in order to secure himself militarily and economically.

On the other hand, he showed no mercy to the relics of the state such as the Protestant minister or church from any sects of Christianity. He perceived of planters, hunters and other locals of Tortuga as a source of increase of his personal wealth. He levied a special tax on the hides collected by buccaneers in Hispaniola and 'squeezed every possible cent from the revenues to which he was entitled" (Crouse, 1940: 89). Actually, he acted as other governors in the West Indies did. He filled his pockets, and persecuted and exploited his subjects in the name of their

"kings". However, the clash between his interests and the interests of the Governor-General pitted Le Vasseur against de Poincy.

Due to having successful victories against the English and Spanish forces as well as being outside the state control and jurisdiction, Le Vasseur as the governor of Tortuga started to increase his power day by day. Thus was not welcomed by de Poincy. He was afraid of being responsible for the change of Tortuga to a Huguenot stronghold. Thus, he came up with a plan. He sent his nephew, Robert de Lonvilliers to Tortuga to invite Le Vasseur to St. Christopher in order to both congratulate Le Vasseur about his success against the Spanish and discuss a plan to take over the island of Hispaniola (Crouse, 1940: 88; Lane, 1998: 100). However, the aim of this invitation was only to capture Le Vasseur and appoint another governor to Tortuga. Being a clever person, Le Vasseur understood de Poincy's deceptive intention and kindly refused the invitation on the plea of another possible attack of the Spanish forces (Crouse, 1940: 88; Lane, 1998: 100).

Le Vasseur was aware that de Poincy had his hands tied due to the secret deal between them. Thus, he knew that de Poincy could not report him to the King because of the charter that guaranteed religious liberty. In such a case, de Poincy could be accused at Court of 'having been instrumental in turning over an important post to a group of heretics' (Crouse, 1940: 90). This situation strengthened Le Vasseur's hand and he started to insult de Poincy. An interesting incident was happened after pirates had captured a silver and valuable statue of the Madonna from the Spanish, and turned it over to Le Vasseur:

> On hearing this De Poincy sent him a request for the statue, pointing out that it was an object more precious to him than to a heretic. Le Vasseur, however, decided to amuse himself at the Governor-General's expense and sent him a replica carved out of wood, pointing out at the same time that Catholics were doubtless too spiritual to notice the difference, while as for him he preferred the metal one because of its intrinsic value (Crouse, 1940: 89).

As soon as Le Vasseur understood that pirates served him both economically and militarily, he made Tortuga into the headquarters for buccaneers who were

disapproved of by the regular authorities of the French, English, and Spanish colonies. Moreover, he tried to attract Protestant from other islands in order to establish a semi-independent settlement (Crouse, 1940: 89-90). In this context, it is not wrong to state that he tried to establish a pirate settlement in which he could be the governor. However, as it is the case throughout the history of piracy that without state support piracy and pirate settlements eventually come to an end. Le Vasseur's attempt was one of these cases.

On de Poincy's side, things were not developing in his favor. After the re-allotment of the French West Indies between 1647 and 1649, the title of Tortuga was transferred to the Knights of Malta. De Poincy was a representative of the Knights of Malta with the title of Bailiff Grand Cross (Galvin, 1999: 128). The rumors of a possible appointment of a new Governor-General called Patrocles de Thoisy reached his ears (Crouse, 1940: 134). Thus, being insulted by Le Vasseur and under risk of losing his seat, de Poincy was determined to take over Tortuga from Le Vasseur. Luckily, the solution fell into his laps in 1652. A heavily armed royal frigate under the command of the Chevalier de Fontenay – a *chevalier* from de Poincy's order – anchored off St. Christopher. De Poincy did not miss the chance and offered him an irrefutable deal if he would accept to lead an expedition to Tortuga (Galvin, 1999: 128). The deal included the governorship of Tortuga as long as he accepted the Governor-General as his superior; one-half of the land for as long as he remained in the office; an equal share from tax with de Poincy which was the one hundred pounds of tobacco levied yearly on each habitant; and the half of Le Vasseur's property including silver, jewelry, lands, furniture, and agricultural machinery. The agreement between two parties was signed on May 12, 1652 (Crouse, 1940: 90).

De Fontenay laid the groundwork for the expedition. As soon as he finished making the arrangements, he sailed to the northern part of Hispaniola, Port a l'Ecu to join his forces with de Poincy's nephew. Two leaders met and started to make preparations quickly and meticulously due to the fact that they were aware of Le Vasseur's military capability and his strong 'dove-cote'. However, they received good news from the island of Tortuga. Two adopted nephews and heirs of Le

Vasseur, named Martin and Tibaut (or Thibault) assassinated him after a domestic quarrel in 1653. Moreover, Martin and Tibaut were also conscious of the relation between Le Vasseur and de Poincy. It was probable that they might seek advantage from returning the settlement to the king and de Poincy (Crouse, 1940: 91; Lane, 1998: 100; Galvin, 1999: 128-129).

Fontenay reached the island and made an agreement between Tibaut and Martin that if they turned over the island peacefully, their lives would be spared, no punishment would be visited, and they would retain their property (Crouse, 1940: 92; Galvin, 1999: 129). Thus, Fontenay took the island without bloodshed and became the first official government of Tortuga and the Coast of San Domingo (the original title, *Gouverneur pour le Roi de la Tortue & Cote Saint Domingue*) under his Catholic Majesty (Galvin, 1999: 129; Lane, 1998: 100). The Catholic refugees returned the island from Hispaniola, 'the chapel was rebuilt, and a priest was secured to serve as pastor' (Crouse, 1940: 92). The domestic problem between the colonies of the French West Indies was solved at last. However, piracy remained in Tortuga.

After the order was restored, the new governor turned back to the usual practice of raiding the Spanish settlements with the help of piracy. He sent out pirates to plunder the Spanish in San Domingo and Cartagena, and he finally succeeded in disturbing the trade on these two islands. Even his younger brother got involved in his forces in Tortuga to assist him in these piratical raids (Crouse, 1940: 92-93; Galvin, 1999: 129). Yet, these raids became intolerable for Spain. Once more, the Spanish gathered their forces to banish the French settlement in Tortuga. Five man-of-wars and several small ships with 180 well-trained Spanish soldiers under the command of Don Gabriel Roxas de Valle-Figueroa were prepared for the expedition in Hispaniola in November 1653. Although Spain lost three of their ships after a storm and reached the island with two ships, Fontenay surrendered the island and the Spanish took the island's control (Crouse, 1940: 93-96; Galvin, 1999: 129-130; Lane, 1998: 101). During the nine days of war, some Dutch vessels helped Fontemayor to evacuate spoils and merchandise. Thus, the Spanish did not plunder as much of a prize as they had foreseen. However, at this time, the Spanish were

determined to control the island against another attack from either the French or English. So, they left a garrison of 150 soldiers in Tortuga (Lane, 1998: 101-102).

A new era was about to begin in the West Indies. Although the Spanish had understood the critical geographical position of Tortuga not because of its profitable resources but the importance of preventing piratical raids, Spain could not hold the possession of the island due to the need of soldiers in San Domingo after the attack of the English navy.

In 1655, Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England had sent a fleet to the West Indies in order to establish a settlement. Their first target was the Spanish settlement of San Domingo. The English were defeated in San Domingo and escaped to Jamaica where they established their settlement (Haring, 1910: 85-87; Galvin, 1999: 131). Port Royal, Jamaica would be the next hegemonic pirate haven in the West Indies.

These 150 Spanish soldiers who had to move to San Domingo in order to defense their settlement had destroyed the fort and buried the artillery before their move. The deserted island of Tortuga did not remained unsettled too long. Six months later, the Spanish evacuation of the island, an Englishman, Elias Watts with his family and ten or twelve others came from Jamaica, resettled the island, and raised a battery of four guns upon the ruins of the French fort. Soon, Watts received a commission from the governor of Jamaica and established a colony with 150 men, both French and English (Haring, 1910: 113-114).

In the governorship of Watts, a famous plundering of buccaneers took place in the northern coast of Hispaniola. In the city of St. Jago 400 buccaneers, including some French survivors of the 1653 Fontenay disaster, carried out an attack before daybreak on Palm Sunday[7] of 1659, took the governor hostage, and plundered the city as they wanted. On their return to Tortuga, they shared the booty; each

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[7] Palm Sunday is a Christian feast celebrated on the Sunday before the Easter. In 1659, the Sunday before the Easter falls on 9th of April.

adventurer received 300 crowns (the value of 1500 shillings for each) as his share (Haring, 1910: 114-115; Lane, 1998: 102).

At the end of 1659, Jeremie Deschamps, seigneur de Rausset, who had been one of the first inhabitants of Tortuga under Le Vasseur and de Fontenay, and had received a commission from Louis XIV on November 1656; managed to obtain an order from the English Council of State to Colonel Edward D'Oyley, the governor of Jamaica to give de Rausset a commission as governor of Tortuga (Haring, 1910: 116). Although he had received his governorship in order to act according to the English interest, he set up the French colors and proclaimed the King of France as the possessor of the island. However, he continued to support buccaneers and pirates from all nations (Hare, 1910: 116; Lane, 1998: 102).

In 1664, the West India Company of France took possession of the island, and sent Monsieur Ogeron (d'Ogeron) as the governor. In order to establish a secure trade, Esquemeling wrote:

> [The West India Company of France] made an agreement with the pirates, hunters and planters, first possessors of Tortuga that these should buy all their necessaries from the said Company, taking them upon trust (Esquemeling, 1967: 13-14).

In the case of Tortuga, rulers had changed through time; however, what remained constant was the existence of piracy.

After Tortuga: The Increase in Piracy

In the Caribbean, piracy became one of most popular enterprises. Around 1660, there were 1500 to 2000 pirates according to contemporary accounts, with at least twenty-two ships sailing from Tortuga and Jamaica (Galvin, 1999: 135). This number increased to 4000 around 1680 (Hympendahl, 2007: 27). In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the population in the Caribbean was around 100.000 and

increased slowly until 1640s, some calls that period the sugar revolution due to the change from small scale farming to large scale monoculture as well as the development of settlements and increase in the value of sugar (Higman, 2011: 103, 98).

Moreover, if the amount of migrated people is taken into consideration, it can be perceived that the increase of the population was highly related to the slave trade. For example, 80.900 Europeans and 2.000 Africans migrated (forcefully or intentionally) to the Caribbean between 1626 and 1650. These numbers changed respectively to 64.600 Europeans and 53.300 Africans between 1651 and 1675; and 32.900 Europeans and 182.400 Africans between 1676 and 1700 (Games, 2009: 43). However, the loss of slaves should also be taken into consideration. A huge number of slaves either died because of the conditions of slave ships or the bad treatment and hard-work in plantations. Moreover, there were slaves escaped from these conditions. For a fugitive slave it was not easy to find an 'official' job and piracy could be considered as one of their restricted options. These escaped African slaves were known as *cimarrones*. Starting from the voyages of Francis Drake and John Oxenham (Oxnam) to the piracy of the seventeenh century, *cimarrones* were one of the human sources of pirate ships (Galvin, 1999: 40, 91; Gerhard, 1990: 58).

However, in the final analysis, it is true to claim that the population increased, especially in plantations due to increasing numbers of African slaves, related to the so-called sugar revolution. In 1662, Captain Myngs attacked Cuba with 1,300 men from Port Royal, Jamaica. At that time, the population of white men in Jamaica was 2,500 (Zahedieh, 2005: 518). More than half of the population of white men joined a single attack on Cuba.

John Esquemeling recounted that the increase in pirate population in the Caribbean was originated due to a single piratical activity of a French captain called Pierre Le Grand, born in Dieppe, Normandy. He captured the Vice-Admiral of the Spanish fleet with twenty-eight men and a single ship near the western side of Hispaniola (Esquemeling, 1967: 54-55). In Esquemeling's *The Buccaneers of America*, this fascinating event was told in details and he further claims that:

> The planters and hunters of the Isle of Tortuga had no sooner understood this happy event, and the rich prize those pirates had obtained, than they resolved to follow their example. Hereupon many of them left their ordinary exercises and common employments, and used what means they could to get either boats or small vessels, wherein to exercise piracy (Esquemeling, 1967: 56).

Although this raid could inspire and encourage people in Tortuga to exercise piracy, it could not have been the only reason behind the increase in piracy in numbers. Also, this explanation lacks to explain the motives behind pirates' unique social organization.

Three reasons can be counted in the context of the increase in piracy in the Caribbean. First of all, no European state, except Spain, could send their navies to America due to warlike situations in continental Europe such as three Anglo-Dutch Wars, two Anglo-Spanish Wars, and Franco-Dutch War as well as the legal obligations that put forward by international law. Thus, they needed pirates as their force-using enterprises in the Americas.

The relation between French pirates and the French government had been mentioned above. However, company's and state's support of piracy was not only an enterprise for France and England. The Dutch, and even the Spanish, governments and companies also issued letters of marque to attract pirates. And the central cause of this implementation was the absence of a navy.

Around 1650, the profits of the Dutch West India Company, in the Guianas and the Antilles, started to decline. However, the belief in privateers (as Goslinga defines in this context, a milder alternative of pirates) made Zeeland, which was the cradle of sailors and privateers, committed to the survival of the company and restored its strength.

However, there were obstacles to this venture. First of all, Dutch citizens had a good life at home compared to other European states and less willing to join transoceanic piratical activities. Moreover, because of religious toleration, there was no migration to seek liberty of conscience overseas or to escape from state

oppression. The Dutch had managed to provide all the American colonies – Spanish, English or French – better products at lower prices; however, with the mercantilist policies and laws against foreign trade these states started to supply their own colonies (Goslinga, 1971: 305). Thus, privateering as a venture failed for the Dutch. However, during the Franco-Dutch War, Dutch privateers managed to exploit the French in the West Indies. Due to the fact that the Dutch had not been able to equip a navy, the New Dutch West India Company issued letters of marque against the French (Goslinga, 1971: 477-478).

Goslinga claims that Spain also hired privateers to hunt down pirates. In other words, Spain hired pirates to plunder pirates. Around 1660s, English and French fleets sailed in the Caribbean; meanwhile Spain was paralyzed due to the decline of its naval power. Besides this decline, Spain refused to issue letters of reprisal against French and English privateers until the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The merchant guild of Flanders offered Spain to send privateers to catch pirates in 1660 and the ship owners of Biscay promised to send 6 to 8 ships in 1668 in return they asked for two ships full of merchandise. The *Casa de Contratación* and the merchant guild of Seville were afraid that these offers could cause an infringement of its commercial monopolies. However, the pirate attacks against Spain came to point that Spain had to issue letters of reprisal in 1674 (Gosling, 1971: 402). Before this official permission, Spain's use of piracy can be traced to one of its attacks on Tortuga. As noted, the help and guidance of John Murphy, an ex-pirate from Tortuga and prisoner of Spain, can be an example of 'pirate hunted pirate'. Shortly after this expedition, this Irishman became a captain of local militia, and obtained a knighthood in 1650 in Madrid. At the end of 1653, he returned to Hispaniola, and led another attack on Tortuga, which was under the command of Chevalier de Fontenay. He ensured the Spanish triumph and was left behind in command of Tortuga with 100 soldiers (150, according to Kris Lane) (Lane, 1998: 102; Marley, 1994: 275-276). However, because of his former connections with pirates, the Spanish governor of Hispaniola sent a Spanish officer to Island. After this incident, Murphy was settled in Vera Cruz, Mexico and became

a well-to-do trader (Marley, 1994: 276). Yet, the ghosts of his past did not leave Murphy in peace.

On 7 April 1683, a huge gathering of pirates met on the beach of Bonaco Island (near Honduras). In this meeting, three pirate ships under the commands of the Dutch captain Laurens Cornelis Boudewijn De Graaf, the Dutch captain Nikolaas Van Hoorn, and the French captain Chevalier de Grammot decided to attack Vera Cruz. On 17 May 1683, pirate ships anchored at the entrance of the harbor of Vera Cruz and at the daybreak of the next morning pirates attacked the city. Murphy was captured by pirates and shut up in Vera Cruz's principle church together with thousands of other captives. They took Murphy as a hostage and released him on Sacrificios Island in the Gulf of Mexico (Marley, 1994: 104, 106, 162, 276-277, 403). Interestingly, there was another witness of this incident: Ilyas Hanna, who was a traveler from the Ottoman Empire as mentioned above. His notes in his journal were corroborative in terms of the pirate attack, confinement of captives in a church, and taking hostages to an island half a league away. Moreover, he claims that pirates who attacked Vera Cruz had different ethnic backgrounds (Hanna, 2011: 115).

In Sacrificios Island, Van Hoorn decided to send the heads of a dozen Spanish captives back to Vera Cruz as an intimidation. Because of this decision of Van Hoorn, De Graff confronted Van Hoorn and swords were drawn. At the end, Van Hoorn got wounded and eventually died on 24 June 1683. After receiving the ransom, they released captives including Murphy (Marley, 1994: 277, 406). After sharing the prize, De Graaf set sail 'to sell off their goods and smuggle the profits onto Jamaica' and Grammot sailed to Tortuga (Marley, 1994: 107, 166).

On the other hand, Hanna mentions about another pirate called Nisillo who was a Spaniard and partner of the pirate captain. Most probably, he confused Nisillo with De Graaf because he claims that the pirate killed his colleague in the skirmish in Sacrificio Island was called Nisillo. However, there were no historical data about a Spanish pirate captain called Nisillo; on the contrary, historical data shows that this pirate captain was De Graaf. However, he was right in the sense that

pirates in a ship could come from different ethnic backgrounds. An Irish pirate who had been captured by the Spanish, guided and helped two attacks on Tortuga, obtained a Spanish knighthood and became a Spanish merchant. He then was captured by two pirate ships commanded by two Dutch captains and a French one, only five years after the Franco-Dutch War in which Dutch privateers had exploited the French ships. Moreover, one Dutch captain killed another, shared the prize with the French pirate, and sold his goods in an English port. This was a brilliant example, and even a summary, of the relations in the capitalist trade in the early modern period.

De Graff died in 1704 as a French officer 'Le sieur Graffe, clerk for the King' in Saint-Domingue (Marley, 1994: 117). The state support was vital for pirates as it can be seen from the examples above. However, not all pirates were as lucky as De Graff. Some of them were caught and hanged with the offense of being 'enemy of all mankind'. Thus, piracy was also a shadowy and risky business because of the characteristic of nonacknowledgment as it can be defined. The nonacknowledgment was the second reason for the increase in piracy in the Caribbean. The nonacknowledgment of pirates means that if a pirate was caught, the state which had supported this pirate could pretend not to know him. As it can be traced in the letters of majesties of France and England as a response to the Spanish ambassadors, they rejected their relation with pirates. Esquemeling quotes from these letters. Spain sent its ambassadors to the kings of France and England:

> …*complaining of the molestations and troubles those pirates often caused upon the coasts of America, even in the calm of peace*. To whose ambassadors it has always been answered: *That such men did not commit those acts of hostility and piracy as subjects of their majesties; and therefore his Catholic Majesty might proceed against them as he should find fit*. The King of France, besides what has been said, added to this answer: *That he had no fortress nor castle upon the Isle of Hispaniola, neither did receive one farthing tribute thence*. Moreover, the King of England adjoined: *That he had never given any patents or commissions to those of Jamaica, for committing any hostility against the subjects of his Catholic Majesty* (Esquemeling, 1967: 53).

That these words are simply lies can be proven by the historical documents such as letters of marque issued by these states, as well as trials and consensuses.

One can claim that this nonacknowledgment could not cause an increase in piracy. Yet, its indirect effect was more than has been acknowledged. Although they received states' support such as allowance for accommodation in settlements, trade in cities, acquisition of provisions, and place for careening and repairs; the nonacknowledgment of piracy meant that pirates were outside the direct control of states. This provided pirates a certain amount of mobility in the sense of organizing their ships, deciding on where to attack and how to attack, and it offered an alternative to harsh conditions in merchant ships and navies.

Thirdly, a comparison between pirate ships, navies and merchant ships should be made in order to explain the increase in piracy and the characteristics of pirates' social organization. Examining their relation onboard and between each other should be explained and compared with the intra-group relations of merchants of the era to understand this second reason in-depth. Thus, dealing with the daily life of ordinary men should be our main task in order to understand their organization and way of thinking.

In terms of division of labor, merchant, naval, and pirate ships of that era were quite alike. Christopher Lloyd says that after the armament of merchant ships which had been done in response to attacks of pirates, the division of labor became similar on merchant and naval ships (Lloyd, 1970: 53-54). Marcus Rediker explains this division of labor that each merchant ship's crew consisted of a master, a mate, a carpenter, a boatswain, a gunner, a quartermaster, a cook, and ordinary seamen (Rediker, 1987: 83). One can add a doctor or a surgeon to this division of labor. Leeson argues that nearly all pirates had maritime backgrounds from working on merchant ships or serving in His or Her Majesty's employ as naval seaman (Leeson, 2009: 10). "[Ordinary] seamen peddled their own skills in port cities by going from vessel to vessel, jumping aboard, and asking the ship's route, pay, and fare" (Rediker, 1987: 82). Thus, sailors or seamen were employed interchangeably by navies, merchants, and pirates. However, people from different professions could be

seen among pirates due to the fact that they could spend much time at sea because of the limited number of safe havens. Dampier claims that there were sawyers, carpenters, joiners, brick makers, bricklayers, shoemakers, tailors, and so on among the crew. He also states that they only needed a blacksmith for a great work (Dampier, 1699: 352). One can also count peddlers, fiddlers, hay-makers, tinkers, and musicians (Johnson, 1998: 181; Little, 2005: 18). Thus, a pirate ship acted as a factory-ship, or even as a floating settlement.

There were further differences between a pirate and a merchant ship. These differences were the formation of those ships. Merchant ships had three characteristics: they tried to minimize their costs by cutting down either wages or food, secondly they had to carry maximum cargo as fast as possible with the minimum number of crew. A hundred-ton merchant ship in that era consisted of twelve members as crew, the same size of a pirate ship was consisted of eighty or more members (Cordingly, 2004: 121). Thirdly, on merchant ships captains or masters' authority extended to all aspects of life aboard their ships, including labor, assignment, victual provision, wage payment, and of course, crew member discipline (Leeson, 2009: 15). As it can be easily predicted due to these characteristics, assignments and duties were exhausting, wages were low, and the discipline was violent. John Phillips, a pirate captain, captured a merchant ship officer and mentioned that "he starved the Men, and that it was such Dogs as he that put Men a Pyrating "(cited in Leeson, 2009: 18; Rediker, 1987: 127). Therefore, both harsh treatment on merchant ships and the low pay on them directed seamen to another form of seafaring, which was piracy. Captain John Smith of Virginia explained this situation in 1630 that:

> I could wish merchants, gentlemen, and all setters forth of ships not to be sparing of a competent pay nor true payment; for neither soldiers nor seamen can live without means, but necessity will force them to steal; and when they are once entered into that trade, they are hardly reclaimed (cited in Pringle, 2001: 100).

Thus, not only their experiences in merchant ships, but also sailors' struggle for their rights in their motherland affected their organization in pirate ships and made sailors to demand an autonomous control of the ship. Marcus Rediker analyzes this demand of the English sailors as follows:

> The struggles that sailors waged in revolutionary England in the 1640s and 1650s over subsistence, wages, and rights and against impressments and violent discipline took a new, more independent form among the buccaneers in America. Even as buccaneering benefited the upper classes of England, France, and the Netherlands in their New World struggles against their common enemy, Spain, ordinary seamen were building a tradition of their own, which at that time was called the Jamaica Discipline or the Law of the Privateers. The tradition, which the authorities considered the antithesis of discipline and law, boasted a distinctive conception of justice and a class hostility to shipmasters, owners, and gentlemen adventurers (Rediker, 2004: 62).

Moreover, the similar awareness can be traced for the Frenchmen due to the relation between the Catholic governors and the Huguenot buccaneers, and the peasant revolts in France. The social protests and rebellions in the seventeenth century played a crucial role in the formation of pirate ships as well as in their daily lives. Thus, the pirate community consisted of 'the experiences of peasant rebels, demobilized soldiers, dispossessed smallholders, unemployed workers, and others from several nations and cultures, including the Carib, Cuna, and Moskito Indians' as well as the *cimarrones*, 'Ranters, Quakers, Familists, Anabaptists', Irish emigrants, Jews, convicts and vagabonds, Puritans, Huguenots, and others (Rediker, 2004: 63; Hill, 1984: 20; Kemp and Lloyd, 1965: 12).

In short, the culture of buccaneers was a mix of the cultures of '*undesirables*'. Instead of establishing a homogenous group restricted to nationality, or to religious, ethnic, or racial distinctions, pirates were in a state of continual renewal. Moreover, inside this culture and heterogeneous community, even gentlemen or pretended gentlemen could find a place (Little, 2005: 18-19). For example, Chevalier (or Sieur) de Grammont, the son of a French officer, was forced to run away to sea after he had killed a man in a duel when he was fourteen. Moreover, there were others such

as Edmond Cooke (the master of English merchant ship *Virgin* turned pirate), Joseph Bannister (English sea captain turned pirate), and Charles-François D'Angennes (Marquis de Maintenon, a French noble from an ancient but impoverished family who became pirate in the West Indies) (Marley, 1994: 23, 81, 162, 236).

Thus, due to these three reasons (the absence of navy, the characteristics of nonacknowledgment, and struggles against merchant ships and states); pirates became numerous in the West Indies. As it was mentioned, these pirates had a clear awareness of the world around them; and applied this awareness to the formation of their social organization. Thus, pirates' social arrangements, organizations, traditions, and customs should also be revealed in order to give a more comprehensive approach.

The Making of Pirates' Social Organization I: Brethren of the Coast

Rediker and Linebaugh, in *The Many-Headed Hydra*, describe the pirate society as a 'democratic in an undemocratic age' and 'egalitarian in a hierarchical age', and which consisted of class-conscious justice-seeking members (Rediker and Linebaugh, 2001: 162-163). Again, Cordingly claims that pirates experienced "*Liberté, égalité, fraternité*" in their democratic society a century before the French Revolution. Leeson claims that in the pirates' system there was democratic checks and balances (Leeson, 2009: 37). Basil Fuller and Ronald Leslie-Melville describe this society as communistic (cited in Galvin, 1999: 137). What were the characteristics of this society which was labeled as class-conscious, justice-seeking, democratic, and even communistic? What were the agreements, customs, and rules between them?

Piracy in the Caribbean created its own traditions, sets of rules, and a different type of social arrangement. The codes of pirates in the seventeenth century

turned into articles in the eighteenth century (Rediker, 2004: 64). It can be related to the withdrawal of state support after 1713 due to either the time they spent in settlements were decreased or their crew became more constant without chances of recruiting crew from these settlements. However, either codified or not these rules of the Brethren of the Coast were more or less the same in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Samuel "Black Sam" Bellamy, an English pirate of the early eighteenth century, with his most famous ship *Whydah* captured a sloop commanded by Captain Beer, registered in Boston. Bellamy and his colleague Paul Williams proposed that the crew to return the ship back to Captain Beer; however, the crew had already formed an opinion about this ship and its captain's faith. They decided to sink the ship and put the captain ashore upon Block Island (thirteen miles south of the Rhode Island). And Bellamy was the person who had to spell the decision out for Captain Beer:

> *Damn my blood,* says he, *I am sorry they won't let you have your sloop again, for I scorn to do anyone a mischief, when it is not for my advantage; damn the sloop, we must sink her, and she might be of use to you. Tho', damn ye, you are a sneaking puppy, and so are all those who will submit to be governed by laws which rich men have made for their own security, for the cowardly whelps have not the courage otherwise to defend what they get by their knavery, but damn ye altogether: damn them for a pack of crafty rascals, and you, who serve them, for a parcel of hen-hearted numbskulls. They vilify us, the Scoundrels do, when there is only this Difference: They rob the Poor under the Cover of Law, forsooth, and we plunder the Rich under the Protection of our own Courage; had you not better make one of us, than sneak off after the asses of those villains for employment?"* Captain Beer told him that his conscience would not allow him to break thro' the laws of God and man. *"You are a devilish conscientious rascal, damn ye,"* replied Bellamy *"I am a free Prince, and I have as much Authority to make War on the whole World, as he who has a hundred Sail of Ships at Sea, and an Army of 100,000 Men in the Field ... but there is no arguing with such sniveling Puppies, who allow Superiors to kick them about Deck at Pleasure; and pin their Faith upon a Pimp of a Parson; a Squab, who neither practices nor believes what he puts upon the chuckle-headed Fools he preaches to* (Defoe, 1999: 587)[8].

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[8] The words in italic was claimed to be the words of Samuel Bellamy itself. Others were written by the author who was referred.

The Robin Hoodesque words of Bellamy pointed out a certain amount of awareness of what Rediker called 'class hostility and concept of justice'. Another interesting point is that Bellamy was overpowered by his crew in the decision-making process although he was the captain of *Whydah*. This has been considered as the most charming characteristic of a pirate society by the historians writing on piracy. Pirate crews voted both for their captains, for where and when to attack, actually for every decision-making process instead of the times of 'fighting, chasing, or being chased'. Under only these extraordinary war-like circumstances, the captain had an unquestioned authority (Cordingly, 2004: 127, Johnson, 1998: 183; Rediker, 2004: 65, Rediker and Linebaugh, 2001: 162). Captain Charles Johnson claims that "the rank of captain" was "obtained by the suffrage of the majority" and the reason of election of Bartholomew Roberts as the captain thusly: "they only permit him to be captain, on condition, that they may be captain over him" (Johnson, 1998: 182-183). Although pirate crew could vote for a separate cabin for the captain, or small parcels of plate and chin, all the crew had right to "use the plate and china, intrude into his apartments, swear at him, [and even] seize a part of his victuals and drink" (Johnson, 1998: 183). Thus, they elected the member among them who was the most courageous and knowledgeable in the sense of leadership at the war-like situations, other than these he was not hierarchically superior.

In order to prevent the misuse of authority by the captain, they elected another officer who counterbalanced the power of captain: the quartermaster (Rediker, 2004: 66). Charles Johnson (Defoe?) mentions about the quartermaster as the principal officer among the pirates, the "prime-minister", and "civil magistrate" (Defoe, 1999: 213, 591). He further explains his duty with interesting metaphors:

> On board the West-India privateers and freebooters, the quartermaster's opinion is like the mufti's among the Turks; the captain can undertake nothing which the quartermaster does not approve. We may say, the quartermaster is a humble imitation of the Roman tribune of the people; he speaks for and looks after the interest of the crew (Defoe, 1999: 422-423).

As well as looking after the crew, the quartermaster had the right to muster at discretion and punish the one who violated the rules such as being quarrelsome and mutinous with one another, misusing prisoners, and plundering beyond the order (Johnson, 1998: 182). Rediker explains the role of a quartermaster as "part tribune, part mediator, part treasurer, and part keeper of the peace on one ship" (Rediker, 2004: 68).

However, the highest authority in a pirate ship was the common council, 'which met regularly and included every man from captain to foremast man' (Rediker, 2004: 68). As it was mentioned above, they elected officers and decided on where to attack. Moreover, rules about sharing the captured properties were decided altogether based on a contract signed by all the members. Esquemeling explained the share and organization of his pirate ship thusly:

> In the first place, therefore, they mention how much the Captain ought to have for his ship. Next the salary of the carpenter, or shipwright, who careened, mended and rigged the vessel. This commonly amounts to one hundred or an hundred and fifty pieces of eight, being, according to the agreement, more or less. Afterwards for provisions and victualling they draw out of the same common stock about two hundred pieces of eight. Also a competent salary for the surgeon and his chest of medicaments, which usually is rated at two hundred or two hundred and fifty pieces of eight… Thus the Captain, or chief Commander, is allotted five or six portions what the ordinary seamen have; the Master's Mate only two; and other Officers proportionate to their employment. After whom they draw equal parts from the highest to the lowest mariner, the boys not being omitted... Among themselves they are very civil and charitable to each other (Esquemeling, 1967: 59-60).

From the mid-seventeenth century, as it can be seen in the journal of Esquemeling, to the rules of the crew of Bartholomew Roberts[9], alias Black Bart, in the first half on the eighteenth century, the rules remained more or less the same. In Black Bart's rules, the captain and quartermaster received two shares from the loot or prize; the

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[9] See Appendix 1 for all articles in Black Bart's ships.

master, boatswain, and gunner, one share and a half and other officers, one and a quarter (Johnson, 1998: 181).

As well as election system and the division of the prize, their regulations of "health insurance" were also quite interesting. They set different prices for different parts of the body. For example, the biggest payment was given for the loss of a right arm, and the payment decreases respectively with the loss of: right arm, left arm, right leg, left leg, and an eye or a finger (Cordingly, 2004: 128). In detail:

> Thus, they order for the loss of a right arm six hundred pieces of eight, or six slaves; for the loss of a left arm five hundred pieces of eight, or five slaves; for a right leg five hundred pieces of eight, or five slaves; for a left leg four hundred pieces of eight, or four slaves; for an eye one hundred pieces of eight, or one slave; for a finger of the hand the same reward for the eye (Esquemeling, 1967: 59).

These codes and articles also included the prohibitions and punishments regulated according to their life styles. For example, in Bartholomew Roberts' ship, it was forbidden to gamble, desert the ship, or their quarters in battle, and carry women or boys to the ship. There were regulations such as keeping arms fit for service, putting out the candles and lights at eight o'clock, and giving rest to the musicians on the Sabbath Day. There were also regulations for drinking. Pirates who might want to drink after eight o'clock had to drink on the open deck (Johnson, 1998: 180-181). Although these regulations could change from ship to ship depending on the crew's decision, their punishment was in that sense constant: killing or marooning the guilty. However, the quartermaster could reduce these punishments to drubbing or whipping with the consent of the council (Johnson, 1998: 182).

There was another role of the quartermaster. After seizing a ship, the quartermaster of the pirate ship gathers the sailors of the seized ship to sound them out about the treatment of their captain and asks for the volunteers to join the pirates (Rediker, 2004: 67). However, becoming a member of a pirate crew sometimes happened under other conditions. Pirates sometimes forced sailors to join them. This was true especially of those who could be useful to the running of

the ship. These skilled men were experts who dealt with repairing ships, especially during and after baneful weathers and war times; deciding direction; cleaning mussels and mosses from the bottom of the ship; making and reading Waggoners[10]; calculating latitude and longitude as well as the depth of the sea (Cordingly, 2004: 115-116, 155). These skills were necessary for reproduction of daily life in the ship as well as for survival.

As well as arming, fitting, and recruiting; acquiring the intelligence and planning a cruising strategy planned in secrecy were vital routines in a pirate's life (Little, 2005: 75). Thus, pirates collected waggoners, charts, pilot-books, letters and so on in order to get "information on local navigation hazards and shipping routes, a knowledge of local customs, and sites at which to wood, water, and careen" (Little: 2005: 79). As well as these written documents, interrogating their prisoners and bribing the officers provided pirates to collect specific intelligence about their targets. Thus, in the light of this information, they decided on "what was worth attacking and how to attack it, or whether he could attack with the resources at hand" (Little, 2005: 79-82). These sea charts were valuable not only for pirates but also for states.

One of the best examples demonstrating the importance of these charts was witnessed by Basil Ringrose (an English buccaneer and surgeon). On 29 July 1681, Captain Bartholomew Sharp's pirate ship captured a Spanish galleon called *El Santo Rosario*. They took their prize which was plates, silver coins, and six hundred and twenty jars of wine and brandy and set the prisoners free as well as giving their ship back. They only detained one prisoner from Biscay named Francisco due to the fact

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[10] A sailor and navigator Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer wrote a volume of navigational principles, tables, charts and sailing directions for the Low Countries, and collected them in the book called *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt* (*The Mariner's Mirror*) between 1584 and 1585. "With the success of Waghenaer's books, other publishers produced their own versions. Soon, many publishers were started producing their own Waggoners for merchant and naval vessels" (Hale, 2003). After the book gained popularity, the word "Waggoner" (*Wagenaer*) evolved from his name. It has been used as a synonym of a book of charts and sailing directions (Little, 2005: 80).

that he claimed to be the best pilot of these seas (Esquemeling, 1967: 449)[11]. However, there was another important prize that Ringrose mentioned as follows:

> In the ship the *Rosario* we took also a great book full of sea-charts and maps, containing a very accurate and exact description of all the ports, soundings, creeks, rivers, capes, and coasts belonging to the South Sea, and all the navigations usually performed by the Spaniards in that ocean. This book, it seemed, served them for an entire and complete *Weganaer*, in those parts, and for its novelty and curiosity, was presented unto his majesty after our return into England. It has been since translated into English, as I hear, by his majesty's order and the copy of the translation, made by a Jew, I have seen at Wapping [a district in East London]; but withal, the printing thereof is severely prohibited, lest other nations should get into those seas and make use thereof, which is wished may be reserved only for England against its due time (Ringrose, 1992: 22).

The plunders of Captain Sharp and his crew between March 1679 and February 1682 was told in the Ringrose's journal. Spain demanded from the English officers the right to try and punish them with the charges of piracy after they had returned to England due to the fact that it was a peacetime between Spain and England. However, this waggoner was an important source of military intelligence for England and dealt a great blow for Spain. Thus, Charles II granted a pardon for Captain Sharp and his crew. Cordingly claims that these maps were copied by an Englishman called William Hack and the copy imputed to the king is still in the British Library. Another copy can be found in the National Maritime Museum in London (Cordingly, 2004: 116-117).

As well as sea charts and waggoners, rumors were important for pirates in the seventeenth century West Indies because they were one of the most effective news sources of the period for recruiting, collecting intelligence, and planning. In this context, taverns in the West Indies played a crucial role (Leeson, 2005: 75).

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[11] This part was taken from the Part IV of the Esquemeling's *The Buccaneers of America*, called "*Bucaniers of America. The Second Volume Containing The Dangerous Voyage and Bold Attempts of Captain Bartholomew Sharp, and Others; Performed upon the Coasts of the South Sea, for the Space of Two Years, etc. from the Original Journal of the Said Voyage. Written by Mr. Basil Ringrose, Gentleman Who Was All Along Present at These Transactions.*"

Rumors of locations of precious metals and other high-priced goods circulated in these taverns and created a greed for seizing the ships or pillaging the settlements. As well as a place for learning about the circulating rumors, taverns were also important were important as being a place for the communication for pirates to decide where to attack and whose expedition to join as well as to decide on how to divide the prize and other rules among them. In the book, *Pillaging the Empire*, Lane presents a table of seventeenth-century taverns[12] in Port Royal, Jamaica which was the site of numerous buccaneer rendezvous by 1658 (Marley, 1994: 387; Lane, 1998: 105-106). The most accurate example is given in a documentary, *True Caribbean Pirates* (2006) directed by Tim Prokop. In which, it is told that in July 1715, a hurricane sent a Spanish galleon loaded with treasure to Davy Jones' Locker[13]. In Palmar de Ayes in Florida, the Spanish recovered 350,000 pieces of eight (silver coin) and built a shelter guarded by 60 men. In the taverns of Port Royal, rumors of this treasure spread. Henry Jennings, a famous privateer, recruited 300 men, and captured this treasure (History Channel, 2006). This rumor and its verified reality was partly the cause of a shift of pirate settlements from Port Royal to the Bahamas, especially Nassau.

However, pirates' presence in taverns was not just for 'professional' meetings. When they were in these settlements, they spent most of their time and money in taverns in order to spend them for booze, gambling, and women (Hympendahl, 2007: 30-31). As it was told about the daily lives of these pirates who drank brandy like clear fountain water, the rate of pirate mortality in punch houses was much higher than the pirate mortality in battles (Esquemeling, 1967: 40; Hympendahl, 2007: 31). Esquemeling explains how pirates spent their money after an expedition under the command of pirate captain L'Ollonais as follows:

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[12] Names of some these taverns were as follows: *The King's Arms*, *The Sign of Bacchus* (1673), *The Three Crowns* (1673), *The Jamaica Arms* (1677), *The Three Tunns* (1665), and *The Sugar Loaf* (1667).

[13] It is an idiom for the bottom of the sea. The phrase, *to be sent to Davy Jones' Locker*, used as a synonym of sinking or get drowned.

The whole dividend being entirely finished, they set sail thence for the Isle of Tortuga. Here they arrived one month after, to the great joy of most that were upon the island. For as to common pirates, in three weeks they had scarce any money left them; having spent it all in things of little value, or at play either cards or dice… The taverns, according to the custom of pirates, got the greatest part (Esquemeling, 1967: 100).

A similar example was given by Captain Charles Johnson about the pirate crew of Bartholomew Roberts: "after six weeks stay, the ships being cleaned and fitted, and the men weary of whoring and drinking, they bethought themselves of business, and went to sea" (Johnson, 1998: 198). This extreme spending was welcomed by the local establishment. It was not strange for a pirate to spend "two or three thousand of pieces of eight in one night, not leaving themselves peradventure a good shirt to wear on their backs in the morning". Thus, they have great credits in these taverns and ale-houses (Esquemeling, 1967: 72). One of the interesting stories of this extreme spending was experienced by John Esquemeling himself:

My own master would by… a whole pipe of wine, and, placing it in the street, would force every one that passed by to drink with him; threatening also to pistol them, in case they would not do it. At other times he would do the same with barrels of ale or beer (Esquemeling, 1967: 72).

It was even common to disburse money to people passing by while they were walking down the streets drinking, shouting, and singing together with prostitutes and fiddlers (Hympendahl, 2007: 31). Bartholomew Roberts explains the society of pirates with a pertinent remark:

In an honest service… there is thin commons, low wages, and hard labor; in this [piracy], plenty and satiety, pleasure and ease, liberty and power; and who would not balance creditor on this side, when all the hazard that is run for it, at worst is only a sour look or two at choking. No, a merry life and a short one shall be my motto (Johnson, 1998: 213-214).

The Making of Pirates' Social Organization II: Gender Roles and Sexual Identities under the Jolly Roger:

There is a general understanding that history of piracy has always been a history related to men: a history of seamen, man-of-war, merchantmen, and so on. The word "man" in the sense of the maritime affairs started to be used in combining forms as we named above since the late fifteenth century[14]. Approximately from the same time onwards, one can observe the beginning of the patterns of capitalist world-economy, and the main transportation link of this system at that time was the sailing ship. Thus, this is the synchronous story of the so-called "the Great Age of Sail" and the early capitalist world-system in relation with gendering of the former by the latter.

To start with, the issue of women in the history of piracy has been a double-edged problem. On the one hand, although there is a general perception that women were not allowed on pirate ships (as it can be seen in the Articles of Bartholomew Roberts' ship) and in parallel with that there is no historiography that includes women in the history of piracy, it is proved that women actually were active in maritime affairs as cheap or non-wage labor (both in ports and ships), passengers, "cargoes (prostitutes, women slaves, and ordinary women to "create a normal society" in colonies etc.), and pirates in the modern world-system. On the other hand, it is also true that maritime affairs have been gendered, and the role and situation of women in maritime affairs has become more and more "invisible" again in parallel with the beginning of such historiography (and ideology) of gendering as a justification of this process and of the modern world-system.

The effects of changing apparels on people's daily lives have constituted a fascinating history. Even after the Black Death (1348-1350), laws that were enacted consecutively to prevent expenditures indicates the anxiety of elites against the

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[14] The etymological information is taken from *Online Etymological Dictionary* (http://www.etymonline.com).

enthusiasm of people to ascend socially (not necessarily economically) via changing their apparels (Pelizzon, 2009: 260)[15]. At the first sight, one can claim that this cannot be the case in the capitalist world-economy to ascend socially via changing one's apparel. Yet, such claims will be wrong. One of the best examples of benefiting socially via changing appeals is called cross-dressing. Women in the early capitalist world-economy were excluded from maritime affairs. However, due to being 'officially' excluded from the maritime social order, women created themselves a place in maritime affairs by dressing as men.

Almost all of the historians writing on piracy mention about two women pirates in their works: Anne Bonny and Mary Read. The common point of these two pirates is that they were raised and dressed as boys starting from their childhood. Johnson mentiones that at first they were dressed as a boy due to other reasons.

Before Mary Read was born, her mother had a son from a sailor husband who went on a voyage but never returned, it was not known whether he cast away or died on the voyage. Her mother got pregnant one more time for Mary Read. In order to hide it from her husband's relations she went away on the plea that she would go to live with her friends. Shorly after her departure her son died and Mary Read was born. She lived in that country for three or four years, until she run out of money. Then, with a subtle plan, she dressed Mary up as a boy to mulct the grandmother as if Mary was her grandson (Johnson, 1998: 117-118).

Anne Bonny's mother was a servant-maid in the house of an attorney at law in the kingdom of Ireland and got pregnant after a liaison with him.He sent his maid away; however, he had a greater affection for the girl:

> He had a mind to take it home, to live with him; but all the town knew it to be a girl, the better to disguise the matter from them… He had it put into breeches, as a boy, pretending it was a relation's child he was to breed up to be his clerk (Johnson, 1998: 127-129).

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[15] She claims further that the important part of this anxiousness was because of women – these were the wives of artisans, and even wives of rich peasants, imitating those elites.

However, in the case of Mary Read and Anne Bonny, there are arguments that criticizes the views of historians that mentions about them:

> Female pirates of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, women such as Anne Bonny and Mary Read, were mythologized. Their lives became famous popular stories. However, anomalies are particularly telling and the discourse surrounding these women points clearly to the way things 'ought' to be. Their narratives are of the deviant, the wanton. Their stories de-feminize them and recount masculine qualities (Ransley, 2005: 623).

Ransley's contribution is important due to the fact that there were other women that used cross-dressing to participate in maritime affairs as soldiers, crew members, captains' clerks (in the dress of men, of course), and so on. Although it is impossible to give exact number of cross-dressers due to the fact that they were written down with male names in the records, Hympendahl claims that there are a lot of resources that mentions about cross-dressers in the sailing ship (Hympendahl, 2007: 198). However, putting cross-dresser women into a masculine historiography and attributing masculine qualities to them are the same absence of perception with the "colleagues" of these two women which misperceived them as men. It is another way to erase women from maritime history: exceptionalizing women from maritime history and attributing masculine qualities to these "exceptions". On the contrary to these masculine qualities, women sometimes benefited from this situation:

> It happened that the grandmother [of Mary Read] died, by which means the subsistance that came from that quarter ceased… [Read] took on in a regiment of horse [in Flanders, and falls in love with one of her comrades]… The story of the two troopers marrying each other made a great noise… But this happiness lasted not long, for the husband soon died… [As a result of it, she] was forced to give up house-keeping, and her subsistence being by degrees quite spent, she again assumes her man's apparel, and going into Holland, she there takes on in a regiment of foot, quartered in one of the frontier towns. Here she did not remain long as there was no likelihood of preferment in time of peace, therefore she took resolution of seeking her fortune another way, and withdrawing from the regiment, ships herself on board of a vessel bound the West Indies (Johnson, 1998: 118-120).

However, this ship was captured by English pirates under the command of 'Calico' Jack Rackam, and being the only English onboard, they decided to keep her amongst them (Johnson, 1998: 120). On the other hand, Anne Bonny's parents moved to Carolina after her father's relation with her mother came forth from obscurity. In Carolina, Anne Bonny married a young sailor who later shipped himself and Bonny to the island of Providence to seek their fortune. However, in the very same island, Bonny met a pirate captain and sailed to sea with him. The pirate captain was Rackam (Johnson, 1998: 130-131). Yet, both Mary and Anne were recruited in the pirate ship of 'Calico' Jack Rackham. In the presence of the crew both of them dressed as men, and only Rackam knew the secret behind these clothes.

Although it was not possible to track women pirates who had been documented with male names in the records, there were two other pirates in the seventeenth century that sailed under the Jolly Roger without disguising their sex: Anne Dieu-le-Veut, alias Marianne or Marie-Anne, and Jacquotte Delahaye. Anne was believed to be a French criminal who was deported to Tortuga under the governorship of Bertram D'Oregon (Latimer, 2009: 272). She was married to Le Long (Pierre Length) in Tortuga. However, their marriage did not last long. De Graff killed Le Long in a bar fight. She challenged de Graff for a duel. He did not accept it, but proposed on the spot. After this incident she was claimed to be the pistol-wielding wife of the famous pirate captain Laurens de Graff (Latimer, 2009: 272). De Graff and his crew were captured by the joint forces of England and Spain in 1695 in the seizure of the strongholds of pirates on the shore of Hispaniola such as Port-de-Paix, Port Margot, and Planemon. Although de Graff was exonerated after the trial, they kept Anne as a prisoner. She and her two daughters were not freed from Santo Domingo 'until the final prisoner exchange of October 1698' (Latimer, 2005: 272; Marley, 1994: 116).

On the other hand, there was not enough historical data for the life of Jacquotte Delahaye and existing data were inconsistent in terms of dates. For one

claim, her father died when she was eight or nine, and an old family friend Firmin who was responsible for raising the orphan died when she was eighteen in 1663 (Vázquez, 2004: 202). However, another claim on the life of Delahaye was that she was leading a gang of pirates to capture the island of Tortuga in 1656, and shortly after the expedition she died in 'a shootout defending her freebooter republic' (Parker, 2010: 77). However, after she lost all her relatives, she joined the raids of pirates.

Another occupation of women in port cities was selling local goods in local markets. Because of the gendering process, this job of women was undervalued, perceived as non-productive and non-paid job. Yet, there were again some exceptional port cities in the hinterlands. There were female shop-keepers such as Jane Cook who owned a high class cook house near the market place in the late-seventeenth century Port Royal (National Geographic, 2011). Some of those inns and taverns were the places in which prostitution was organized, and some of these tavern and inn-keepers were ex-prostitutes that were exceptionally lucky ones compared to the situation of most prostitutes (Hympendahl, 2007: 195). The ports of Havana, Port Royal, Martinique, and Tortuga were famous for their brothels and punch houses (Hympendahl, 2007: 31, 176-177). Women in these port cities from all over the world were forced to 'satisfy' seamen in order to establish 'proper' settlements. By the transportation of women, and 'direct and indirect'[16] coercion to work in *brothels*, prostitution was institutionalized inside the capitalist world-economy, and became one of the main facts of gendering process. The institutionalization of prostitution went so far that each seaman had *a wife in every port*; ship wives or season wives. They gave a part of their wage to these women who were like a "unofficial wife" to men, and women did the subsistence work as if they were "housewives of many men" (Hympendahl, 2007: 116, 186-187; Cordingly, 2001: 138-153). Thus, the reason of transportation of women to colonies was to create a "normal society". The shipload of fifty French women sent to Tortuga in 1665 to 'civilize' the buccaneers can be an example of this effort (Galvin, 1999: 113-114).

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[16] Until the mid-nineteenth century, if a lower-class English woman lived alone it would be enough to be 'blacklisted' as a prostitute (Hympendahl, 2007: 23).

Hympendahl also claims that prostitutes from all over the world came to Jamaica due to the fact that it was easy to get rich in Port Royal. One of the most famous of them was Mary Carleton also known as Henrietta Maria de Wolway. She faked herself as victimized foreign aristocrat from Cologne. She even wrote her own fake account, *The Case of Madam Mary Carleton Lately Stiled the German Princess, truely stated, with an historical relation of her birth, education, and fortunes*, and acted herself as the leading role in this play. She was tried two times for bigamy and imposture – last one in the Old Bailey in 1663, and one time for theft in 1671. After this last trial she was deported to Port Royal. In Port Royal, she became the most famous prostitute with her nickname, the German Princess. She spent two years in Port Royal, and then she returned to London secretly. However, she was caught and hanged in 1673 (Hympendahl, 2007: 31; Lilley, 2010: 79-89).

Although 'port wives' were transported to these colonies to 'civilize' buccaneers, marriage was not common in the pirate society in the Caribbean. Historical data shows that only 23 of 521 Anglo-American pirates who caught between 1716 and 1726 were married (Hympendahl, 2007: 35, 38). There were several claims to explain this situation. Hympendahl claims that the scantiness of women population in the seventeenth century West Indies due to the fear of violent daily life and tropic diseases was one of the reasons behind it. Moreover, prisoners of war, rebels, and religious dissenters transported to the colonies in the West Indies consisted of, not completely, but mostly a male population which created an unbalanced demography (Burg, 1995: 82).

However, with the replacement of tobacco production by sugar in the second half of the seventeenth century the demographic balance between the populations of white men and white women started to be restored due to fact that the importation of slaves as the labor force in plantations helped the establishment of 'proper' settlements (Burg, 1995: 96-97). Thus, the theory based on the 'scantiness of white women population' does not make sense if it is compared the numbers of married and single pirates between 1716 and 1726.

Another theory is based on the perception of marriage by male pirates. Firstly, women was perceived as cheap or non-wage laborers in the settlements, trouble bearers in ships, and property or cargo (even as a part of the booty when they seized a ship and captured a woman) (Hympendahl, 2007: 36, 38). Such perceptions of women were related to not only male pirates but also white men in general. Burg mentions the observations of Wood Rogers, the governor of the Bahamas in early eighteenth century, on pirates' relation with women as follows: "they copulated with little restraint, utilizing each other's wives with abandon and their own sisters and daughters when convenient. Every man… considered every woman [as] his property" (Burg, 1995: 99). Moreover, Captain Charles Johnson mentions about another extreme case about a pirate, Edward Teach alias Blackbeard who was among the married ones:

> Before he sailed upon his adventures, he married a young creature of about sixteen years of age, the governor performing the ceremony. As it is a custom to marry here by a priest, so it is there by a magistrate, and this I have been informed, made Teach's fourteenth wife, whereof about a dozen might be still living. His behavior in this state was something extraordinary, for while his sloop lay in Ocracoke Inlet [in the Outer Banks, North Carolina], and he ashore at a plantation where his wife lived, with whom after he had lain all night, it was his custom to invite five or six of his brutal companions to come ashore, and he would force her to prostitute herself to them all, one after another, before his face (Johnson, 1998: 50-51).

Burg claims that multiple wives were not the norm in the seventeenth century and also unusual for buccaneers. However, Blackbeard's treatment to women was not limited with this example: "Determined to enforce his rule of no women at sea, Blackbeard was known to strangle captured women and pitch their bodies overboard" (Burg, 1995: 115).

Secondly, although getting married with a woman was not common, 'single-sex marriage' was widespread among pirates. This single-sex marriage called *matelotage*, pact or bond formed between two buccaneers, was the custom and *modus operandi* of the Brethren of the Coast. It was started with the hunter buccaneers as a

code of living. They had hunted in small groups of six to eight and lived in two men units in an arrangement without having kith or kin. Inside this arrangement (sometimes formalized with written agreements), they lived, hunted, and fought together; shared everything including dogs and their women; forged a system of social security and inheritance; and established a surrogate family structure. Kemp and Lloyd explain that this arrangement was formed between an older man and a younger. In this context, Burg claims that the relation between the old and young was basically a relation of master and servant (or *matelot*) "originating in cases of men selling themselves to other men to satisfy debts or to obtain food". *Matelots* were treated as the way that indentured servants were treated by their masters. They were traded and sold from one hunter to another. When the term of servitude was expired, they were free to select a new mate. This institution of hunter buccaneers, later pirate buccaneer, was adopted by an increasing number of pirates (Burg, 1995: 128-129, 132; Galvin, 1999: 135-136, 217; Haring, 1910: 69; Kemp and Lloyd, 1965: 7; Preston, 2005: 75). These pirates mostly had no wives, families, or children to bequeath their prizes but they had their younger comrades:

> The common ownership of goods even extended in most cases to inheritance. According to European law, wives or children were entitled to all property of the deceased, but in the Caribbean wives and children were as uncommon as observance of legal niceties, and when a man died all goods went to his partner, whether master or *matelot*... On the rare and unfortunate occasions when pirates took wives, the rights of the *matelot* were eroded only in terms of his claim to survivor's benefits. He remained *matelot*, retained access to his master's property, and demanded and usually obtained the same connubial rights as the husband (Burg, 1995: 129).

Although not all of them were homosexuals, homosexuality was quite common among them as it was common in the seventeenth century maritime world (Burg, 1995: 128; Kemp and Lloyd, 1965: 7; Preston, 2005: 75). Galvin accepts that *matelotage* could be evolved partially as an expression of homosexual tendencies; he also claims that homosexuality was still considered as a crime (Galvin, 1999: 113). However, these claims were brought into question. Barry Richard Burg's work,

Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition was an important milestone due to the fact that the perception of pirates' heterosexual identity was eroded and masculine identity was altered with historical data. He compared twentieth century America and England with four hundred years ago and revealed that homosexuality was regarded with much less opprobrium in the seventeenth century. Moreover, he claims that the hostility toward homosexual practice was an 'invented tradition'[17]: "the destruction visited on Sodom by an offended deity when considered in conjunction with modern hostility toward homosexual practice has contributed to the notion that an aversion to homosexuality is a constant in human history" (Burg, 1995: 2). However, it was not constant:

> Seventeenth-century Englishmen on all status levels were remarkably indulgent with homosexuality, at least when judged by the attitudes of their Victorian and twentieth-century counterparts. Their lack of antagonism toward men who gained sexual gratification from other men is especially important in theoretical terms, for it carries with it the implication that society in the Stuart era [1603-1714] fostered the development of homosexuality and encouraged the commission of homosexual acts (Burg, 1995: 43).

And pirates were not exceptions. Although there were laws against homosexual relations enacted during the sixteenth century which prescribed death as punishment, "but their enaction does not indicate legislators necessarily found the offense particularly abhorrent". In most of the cases, felonies of that era such as sodomy or theft of restricted amount of money were not punished by death until the mid-eighteenth century (Burg, 1995: 3). If the example of Mary Carleton was taken into consideration, it can be assumed that some of these 'criminals' would have been transported to the colonies. Moreover, pirates in the Caribbean were outside the direct state jurisdiction of motherlands, thus they were outside the 'legal

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[17] 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with past. In fact, where possible, the normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past" (Hobsbawm, 2003: 1-2).

prohibitions, condemnation by organized religions, and the dominance of heterosexual institutions' (Burg, 1995: 69).

There was, again, a tendency to explain the homosexuality of pirates by the lack of women population. It was true that the population of white women in the West Indies was limited until the 1670s as it was debated above. However, there were native and black women in the region. Hympendahl demonstrates that native population including women was diminished immensely due to the massacres by the Spanish and by diseases" (Hympendahl, 2007: 34-35). However, the population of black women was high in the Caribbean. Plantation owners imported black men and women in equal numbers due to the fact that they realized that black men did not work efficiently without access the women (Burg, 1995: 103). Plantation owners took black women and white female servants as mistresses and concubines, and some of them married them. However, these heterosexual contracts were economically regulated. The possibility of death in child birth, and the loss of work time entailed in pregnancy and child-care were considered as costs by plantation owners. As a result, the low-class white men such as indentured servants were deprived of the sexual access to female servants and slaves. Laws were enacted to take precaution for these low-class men (Burg, 1995: 102). For example, on 26 May 1675, forty-eight acts passed in the island of Nevis, and one of them was entitled "Women Servant Inveigled" (Sainsbury n.d.). According to that law:

> It specified that any man, servant or free, who should keep company with female servants, distract them from their duties, or entice them with promises of marriage and freedom would be punished unless they did so only with the permission of the masters (Burg, 1995: 93).

Thus, black women were the property of plantation owners and not "open to pirates' use" (Hympendahl, 2007: 35).

However, historical data demonstrates the opposite for pirates' access to both native and African women. Although it was not widespread, Burg gives few examples of pirates' relation with Native American women. According to him, pirates gave preference to native women due to the fact that they can be easily

dominated and they were willing to submit to the desires of Europeans "for a rusty knife, or a porringer of thick milk" (cited in Burg, 1995: 116-117)[18]. And for both native and black women, Burg claims that not all pirates were desirous of native or slave females even when they were available" (Burg, 1995: 117). Therefore, the lack of women population does not explain the sexual orientation of pirates.

The attachment of buccaneers to their *matelots* and lovers was quite interesting and compelling. Burg gives few examples of this attachment but the most famous one was the fate of George Rounsivil and Captain Burgess:

> It happened they [the crew of Captain Burgess] were driven upon the rocks to the southward of Green Key Island, and there they were beat to pieces, this Rounsivil, with five others, upon the first shock, step into the canoe, and were going off, when Burgess standing upon the poop of his vessel, called out to him, saying, *Will you go away and leave me to perish in this manner?* Rounsivil begged his companions to put back, and take him in; but they answered, that the rest would be as willing to save themselves as he, and of consequence, so many would crowd into the canoe as would sink it, wherefore they would not venture it; upon which he jumped into the water, and swam to the vessel, and there perished with his friend since he could not save him (Defoe, 1999: 640-641).

Thus, the homosexual relation between pirates were not just a sexual experience caused by the lack of women, but a sexual orientation 'involved deep and abiding love and exhibited many of the traits usually associated with compatible heterosexual couples' including sexual intercourse such as anal intercourse and mutual masturbation of the serial and simultaneous types that was recorded in the trials of seafarers (Burg, 1995: 134-135).

Homosexual orientations can possible be found in the relations of women pirates. When Mary Read was recruited under the crew of Jack Rackham, the first person who found her appealing was Anne Bonny: "Her [Mary Read's] sex was not

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[18] They have different perception on sexual intercourse which is not a material relation and eluded from Western moral values. Thus, the institutionalization of prostitution shows how their culture was Europeanized by the Western European countries.

so much as suspected by any other person on board, till Anne Bonny, who was not altogether so reserved in point of chastity, took a particular liking to her" (Johnson, 1998: 122). After the capture of Rackham's crew, the court decided to execute her by hanging. Yet, due to her pregnancy, they sent her to prison. In prison, she died because of fever. On the other hand, the ex-lover of Rackham, Anne Bonny said to him, as his special favor prior to his execution was to speak with her, that "she was sorry to see him there, but if he had fought like a man, he need not have been hanged like a dog" (Johnson, 1998: 124, 131). Probably, not Read but Bonny had homosexual orientations.

Sexual orientation was not apart from gender roles and identities. It can be traced in the metaphor used by Anne Bonny for Rackham as well as the violent treatment of women by pirates as mentioned above. Burg claims that women were perceived as inferior to men as field laborers, for the homosexual pirates, inferior as sex partners. For example, Henry Morgan, who could be a homosexual according to Hympendahl, hated women (especially prostitutes due to being the cause of pirates' poorness), and perceived them as inferior creatures (Hympendahl, 2007: 32, 38). Such treatment of women, of course, scared women and most probably caused them to be afraid of homosexual male pirates. In 1655, Madam Margaret Heathcote wrote a letter to her cousin, John Winthrop, Jr. from the island of Antigua that "And truly, Sir, I am not so much in love with any as to go much abroad… they all be a company of sodomites that live here" (cited in 1995: 105).

Port Royal: Institutionalization of Piracy[19]

Port Royal can be counted as one of those cities in the history that geography affected and highly involved in all aspects of history. And in the context of the history of piracy, it could be right to assert that geography both prepared the

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[19] Due to the fact that the literature on piratical activities in Port Royal, especially the plunders of Henry Morgan was researched and studied in volumes of books and immense number of articles, this part will focus on the geographical features of Port Royal and the support of England to pirates.

efficient conditions for piracy and dealt a fatal blow for its demise. On the southern coast of Jamaica was situated the famous harbor called Port Royal. Its geographical location was perfectly suited for piratical activities due to being close to the channels from where Spanish treasure fleets sailed and the major ports of the Spanish (Zahedieh, 2005: 512). This harbor was deep and spacious thanks to the Palisedoes spit which was formed by the torrential and gravel-laden waters of the Hope River, south-easterly winds, and strong westerly current (Galvin, 1999: 103; Pawson and Buisseret, 2000: 1).

Although the Spanish had provisional settlements on the north coast such as Santiage de la Vega, Caguaya, and Sevilla de la Nueva, the Spanish was not interested in this island due to the fact that 'Jamaica's lush mountains and clear streams carried no gold' (Galvin, 1999: 104; Lane, 1998: 102). However, it had been one of the pirates' gathering points thanks to Cayo de Carena (Careening Cay). Moreover, there had been pirate raids. French corsairs had attacked Sevilla de la Nueva in 1540s, and Shirley and Jackson had attacked its shorelines in 1597 and 1643 (Galvin, 1999: 103; Lane, 1998: 102). There were geography-based reasons of these pirate raids . In 1660, Thomas Lynch, Jamaica's future governor mentioned the secure, convenient, and capacious harbor landlocked by the Palisedoes; the river and many springs provided fresh water; and flora provided convenient wood (Galvin, 1999: 103). Thus, Jamaica might not be convenient for Spanish settlers who sought for gold and silver, but it was convenient for who sought for a good port to in which design their raids and plunders.

Towards the end of sixteenth century, A French chronicler, Joseph Justus Scaliger wrote, "*Nulli melius piraticum exercent quam Angli*" (No one exercises piracy better than the English) (cited in Gosse, 2007: 143). Although it was possible to assert this sentence for the sixteenth century piracy, for the mid-seventeenth century piracy, "no one supports piracy better than the English" would be more suitable claim regarding the multinational, multicultural, and multiracial characteristics of pirates with the English support such as letters of marque and provisions. Although Andrews claims that 'the English only plundered those who were at open war with

their nation; and they treated prisoners with humanity", in the Caribbean "war at sea" and "the Royal Navy" started to be the synonyms for "robbery and pirate ships" (Andrews, 1796: 265). Even Edward Long accepted in 1774 that "it is to the bucaniers that we owe the possession of Jamaica at this hour (cited in Galvin, 1999: 102).

Around 1650, England in the motherland took important steps. The new government mobilized the shipyards at Chatham, Portsmouth, Woolwich, and Deptford. They passed two famous acts called 'the Navigation Act of 1651' and 'the Articles of War of 1652' for respectively the merchant shipping industry and the Royal Navy. These laws were reaffirmed in 1660. The Navigation Act of 1660 detailed the regulation on the Atlantic shipping. Another act 'Laws and Ordinances Martial' was passed in order to provide the means for necessary labor. This law authorized the state for oppressing the resistances with death penalty (Rediker and Linebaugh, 2000: 145). The ideology behind these laws, according to Rediker ad Linebaugh, was Braithwaite's term 'hydrarchy': "the organization of the maritime state from above, and the self-organization of sailors below (Rediker and Linebaugh, 2000: 144). The organization of the maritime state from above provided that decentralized freelance *adelantados* (governors and commanders), traders, and planters were employed as agents of the English government (Richter, 2011: 234). This ideology of hydrarchy can be easily traced in the relation of commissions issued from above and the organization of pirates as privateers from below. This was the period of institutionalization of piracy in Port Royal where pirates turned into privateers, and at the end, *vice versa*.

Under the authorization of Cromwell, a fleet with 2500 men set sail from England in December 1654 in order to gain an interest in a part of the West Indies in possession of the Spaniards. When they arrived at Barbados at the end of January 1655, an additional 4000 men from that island as well as 1200 from Nevis and neighboring islands joined the expedition. Admiral Penn who commanded the fleet and General Venables who commanded the land forces were defeated by the Spanish forces in Santo Domingo. They sailed to Jamaica and reached Port Royal at

the end of May (Haring, 1910: 85-86). In 1655 and 1656 there were no attacks from the Spanish side to the island of Jamaica due to the pestilence in the nearest island, Cuba. In 1657 and 1658 there were several attempts to recapture the island by the Spaniards. However, Colonel Edward D'Oyley who had been the lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of General Venables stood the Englishmen's ground in Jamaica successfully. He was the acting commander-in-chief in 1656 and 1657-61. Later he was appointed as the first governor of Jamaica in 1661 one year after the proclamation of Charles II as the King of England (Haring, 1910: 90-100, Zahedieh, 2005: 148). One of his first actions was to invite 250 buccaneers from Tortuga and Hispaniola and commission them as privateers in order to provide an efficient protection for the settlement (Zahedieh, 2005: 517-518).

However, protection was not the only service expected from buccaneers. According to Zahedieh, all colonies required a source of income in the short-term before they managed to establish one for the long-term. In the case of Jamaica in the seventeenth century, the long-term source of income would be agriculture of tobacco, sugar, cacao and other high-price products as well as their byproduct and industries such as rum, refined sugar, and processed tobacco due to the fact that Jamaica did not have silver and gold resources. Thus, in the short term, privateering provided an ideal start-up trade with the characteristics of small capital and quick return (Zahedieh, 2005: 511).

In terms of investment, the ship constituted the largest portion of the capital expenditure. According to Zahedieh's research on deeds of sale in the Jamaica Island Record Office, ships which were mostly small, 60 tons or less, and often island-built were bought and sold for less than £100; and fitting costs changed between £100 and £200 (Zahedieh, 2005: 513).

Pirates had larger ships which were provided by the state. The flagship of Christopher Myngs' expedition on Cuba and Campeche in 1662 and 1663, *Centurion* was a forty gun fourth-rate frigate supplied by the Royal Navy (Zahadieh, 2005: 514). Moreover, HMS (His Majesty's Ship) *Oxford* was assigned to Port Royal in October 1668. However, it was accidentally destroyed in the following January. 250

officers died in the accident (Pawson and Buisseret, 2000: 57-58). Actually, *Oxford* which was the flagship of Henry Morgan in the sack of Porto Bello was en route back to Port Royal. On the southern coast of Hispaniola, they met with a French warship. Morgan invited French naval officers (most probably French privateers) onboard for dinner. However, the gun powder below the deck caught fire from a lantern; and the ship exploded. Most of the crew and French officers were killed. Miraculously, Henry Morgan was survived the incident (Sub Sea Research Productions, 2013). Figure VI presents the number of navy vessels visited Port Royal.

However, the ones that the Royal Navy provided to pirates were not the only large ships under pirates' command. Captured Spanish galleons were also employed, bought, and sold as privateering vessels. First, D'Oyley without having admiralty court under martial law decided to keep some of the prize vessels for the state's service and sell others off. Later this system was formalized and an admiralty court was set up by Lord Windsor who arrived as governor of Jamaica in 1662 (Zahedieh, 2005: 514). The comparison of prices of ships in England and Spain, and in Jamaica reveals the support:

> On Myngs' return from Campeche in 1663, nine ships were sold for a total £797. Size was recorded for seven vessels, giving an average 127 tons and an average price £85. Between 1666 and 1668 fourteen ships were condemned and sold for an average price of £113… According to Ralph Davis it cost about £2,000 to buy and fit out a ship of this size in England. In 1664, Morris Williams captured the patache of the galleons, the *Santo Christo*, when it was separated from the fleet by a hurricane. The owner, Ximenes de Bohorques, was indignant that a ship which he claimed was worth several thousand pounds was sold in a Jamaican court for £50. The vessel was renamed the *Speaker* and, commanded by Morris Williams, provided the flagship for an expedition against Curacao in 1665 (Zahadieh, 2005: 514).

Port Royal was like a black market. Not only ships or armaments but all kind of stolen precious products started to be bought and sold in the market place of Port Royal inexpensively. The successful raids of pirates played a crucial role in this situation:

> Between 1655 and 1671 the buccaneers had sacked eighteen cities, four towns and more than 35 villages. They had raided Tolu eight times, Rio de la Hacha five times, Granada and Santa Marta three times, Santa Catalina and Cumanagoto twice, Campeche, Chagres, Portobello, Panama, Maracaibo, Merida, Cumana and Santiago de Cuba. Smaller towns and villages in Cuba and Hispaniola were plundered over and over again (Zahedieh, 2005: 520).

Captured and seized ships were not included in the plunders mentioned above. After these successful piratical activities, Port Royal became the store house or treasury of the West Indies (History Channel International, 1998). The marine archeologists described Port Royal as the miniature scale of London after they excavated the sunken city and formed a 3D model of the city (National Geographic, 2011).

Just before the earthquake sunk Port Royal, it was long-established settlement with: Fort Charles and Fort James; Fort Carlisle and Fort Rupert; the King's House and fish market; The Feathers (marked '49' in Figure VII)[20] and The Three Mariners (50)[21]; William Hanson's black smith shop and The Green Dragon[22] (both 21); Waterman's Wharf and carpenter shop of Richard Brock (56); St. Paul's Church and John Starr's brothel; Jane Cook's cookhouse and Samuel Baning's pewter shop; Thomas and Ann Lockyer's drapery shop (50); the Jewish synagogue, Quaker meeting house, Catholic chapel; the prisons and the cemetery; and 1500 homes crowded with 6500 people (see, Figure VII and VIII) (Galvin, 1999: 105; Pawson and Buisseret[23], 2000: 114-115; National Geographic, 2011; History Channel International, 1998).

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[20] The Feathers was a tavern leased by Thomas and Ann Mills from Edward Moulder who owned the whole site.

[21] The Three Mariners was a tavern owned by Peter Bartaboa, a Frenchman.

[22] The Green Dragon was a tavern owned by Jacob Haynes.

[23] The list of shops, shopkeepers, artisans, and craftsmen was listed in detail in the fascinating study of Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica*.

The island's trade consisted of precious products brought in by pirates and sold cheap to merchants (Zahedieh, 2005: 519). Codfish from the Newfoundland Banks, herring from England, and Irish salmon was easily available. For the wealth merchants, cheesecakes, custards, and tarts was baked locally (Burg, 1995: 95). The city was full of taverns which had plenty of casks of wine, rum, and beer. The trade in Port Royal markets was exorbitant. These claims were proven by goods found in underwater excavations: hundreds of bottles, onion-shaped flasks, tables, chairs, ceramics, tankards, silver goods (plates, cups, and cutlery), pipes, brass slave collars gaming dices, tortoise shell combs and tresure boxes, pewter plates, Japanese swords, Chinese statues and porcelains, Arawak artifacts, pocket watches, thousands of pieces of eight, gold, silver and pearl jewelries, guns, muskets, swords, canonballs, ships' caulking tools and others (History Channel International, 1998; National Geographic, 2011; Galvin, 1999: 105). Even the whole sunken area has not been excavated yet.

The one advantage of issuing letters of marque for the state was to provide both protection and plundered goods for the settlement. However, another advantage of these letters was about controlling the cargoes brought by pirates. This control over the cargo institutionalized the support and the share of the state as taxation for the 'legal' procedures. The English state demanded its share from the prize and guaranteed it with a written document in return for its 'services' and supports to pirates:

> Windsor's admiralty court charged a flat fee of £50 for a commission, although their validity ranged from six to 23 months. Modyford claimed he charged £20 for a commission. The court also required that two gentlemen should give bond that the privateer would 'observe, perform, fulfill' his commission and instructions to enter all prize in the admiralty court and pay the expenses, fifteenths to the King, and tenths to the admiralty. Under Windsor's government the security varied between £200 and £2,000 (Zahedieh, 2005: 515).

However, controlling pirates was not always easy. This multinational, multiracial, multicultural, and multi-faith crew of pirates from every segment of the society was

not loyalty to the King or the governor, but loyal to their rules, traditions, and pieces of eight. Most of these pirates found the symbiotic gain between themselves and the state reasonable and brought the cargo to the admiralty. However, others did not. Then, they were treated by the English governors as the same way they treated by the Spanish ones when they were caught: accused with piracy. In 1661, a pirate, George Freebourne tried to bring a prize cargo secretly, but was arrested and sent back to England (Zahedieh, 2005: 515).

However, there were arguments that piracy in Port Royal started to diminish in the beginning of 1670; and at the end of the decade, it was prohibited totally. Zahedieh argues:

> But it [privateering] was not a strategy for long-term growth. Just as fisherman must take care not to overfish, freebooters must take care not to overplunder if their prey is to survive and provide further sustenance. This is why the level of privateering which reached a peak at Jamaica in 1671, fell a little, and subsequently stabilized at a lower rate. It had reached the practical limit of growth… But, while privateering remained an important part of the economy throughout the seventeenth century, it was increasingly outstripped in value by planting and merchandizing (Zahedieh, 2005: 511).

Moreover, Galvin claims that by 1680 the source of Port Royal's wealth had changed from piracy to planting, slaving, and trade. Moreover, piracy in Port Royal was exaggerated and had never been 'the unbridled buccaneer lair' as popular imagination claimed (Galvin, 1999: 105). Burg explains the decline of piracy in Port Royal with the outcomes of the Treaty of Madrid between England and Spain and the anti-piracy law in 1678.

Either the outcomes of the Treaty of Madrid and the anti-piracy law passed by the Jamaica Assembly or 'reaching the practical limit of growth' did not explain what happened the pirates in Port Royal. With the Treaty of Madrid in 1670, Spain recognized the English possessions which had already settled by the English in the Americas and permitted English ships freedom of movement in the Caribbean. In return, England agreed to recall its privateers to end hostilities and not to engage in

illegal trade (Leonard, 2010). However, locals in Port Royal continued to act as 'promoters of privateering and receivers of the loot' after the treaty (Zahedieh, 2005: 525). Even England did not observe the treaty. Almost the half of the more than 200 ships entering Port Royal in 1688 was dealing with contraband trade of linens, provisions, and liquor for bullion, indigo, cacao, and dyewoods (Gragg, 2000). In 1678, the Jamaica Assembly passed the anti-piracy law. According to this law, the captured pirates were claimed to be sentenced to death (Burg, 1995: 97). Yet, "authorities arrested some pirates and executed a few", and even after the anti-piracy law, "there were more than a thousand pirates active in the Caribbean fourteen years later, and many brazenly operated from Port Royal" (Gragg, 2000).

However, Zahedieh was right to assert that the number of plantations and slaves started to increase in 1670s as it was increased in the other parts of the West Indies. The reason was the so-called sugar revolution which was mentioned above. However, piracy was still the most populated profession in Port Royal due to the fact that proper conditions for planting sugar in terms of capital (investments of big planters), labor (African slaves provided by slave trade), and the monopolization of violence in the hands of England in the West Indies was not reached a level to outstrip piracy. England was not organized well enough to control its settlements for establishment of great plantations. Piracy still brought more wealth to Port Royal than any another plantations did in the West Indies. Moreover, for the ordinary people, it provided much more income than any other occupation when it was compared to hard work and low return such as in peasantry and the Royal Navy.

At peacetime the English state could not support a privateer openly; and piracy was illegal due to the Treaty of Madrid and the anti-piracy law. However, in these years, a well-known pirate was titled as 'Sir' and became the governor of Jamaica: Sir Henry Morgan. His design was not about getting rid of pirates, but using them slyly. He managed to get commission for pirates from the French in Tortuga (National Geographic, 2011). Although the number of pirates in Tortuga diminished with the rise of Port Royal, it was still one of the important places for pirate rendezvous. Moreover, Henry Morgan was not unfamiliar with pirates in

Tortuga. Before his previous raids, he had recruited some of his crew from the island of Tortuga:

> [H]is name being now so famous through all those islands, that that alone would readily bring him in more men than he could well employ. He undertook therefore to equip a new fleet of ships; for which purpose he assigned to south side of the Isle of Tortuga, as a place of rendezvous. With this resolution, he wrote diverse letters to all the ancient and expert pirates there inhabiting, as also to the governor of the said isle, and to the planters and hunters of Hispaniola, giving them to intentions, and desiring their appearance at the said place, in case they intended to go with him (Esquemeling, 1967: 184).

Morgan, on the other hand, was not in the position of on-scene commander of these expeditions after he was appointed as governor. He acted as previous governors of his times of active piracy: taking his share from the plunder as a governor. Moreover, in in-land Jamaica, he bought land and mansion, and established a sugar plantation for himself with 44 men, 45 women, and 50 children. All were African slaves (History Channel, 2007). It might seem strange for a pirate like Morgan to establish a sugar plantation due to the fact that he had been one of witnesses of the conflict of interests between plantation owners and pirate captains as it was mentioned in the second chapter. Thomas Lynch and Henry Morgan had been in struggle for finding labor at the time of the governorship of Modyford (National Geographic, 2011). However, in Morgan's governorship he managed to consolidate the population for both plantations and piracy by drawing a physical color line.

Port Royal in 1689 was still the capital of piracy in the Caribbean, and welcoming the privateers' large purchasing power as it had been in the past (Zahedieh, 2005: 528). These were the years that privateers turned back into pirates again, and the foundations of sugar plantations in Port Royal were established. This was the end of the era of institutionalization of piracy in Port Royal.

Yet, the decline of piracy in Port Royal was not also related to 'reaching its practical limit of growth' but related to a geological event that harmed Port Royal in

all aspects: the earthquake in 1692. On the 7th June 1692 at 11.43[24] a.m., an earthquake and a tsunami struck Port Royal and caused the disappearance of two thirds of the town into the sea. Around 2,000 inhabitants died because of earthquakes and the tsunami, and thousands died because of diseases following the disaster. The earthquake along with a fire catastrophe in 1703 and a hurricane disaster in 1722, meant that the town did not recover its leading mercantile character (National Geographic, 2011; History Channel International, 1998; Gragg, 2000). Therefore, not the prohibition of piracy in 1678 nor 'the practical limits of growth', but the earthquake "destroyed the great buccaneer redoubt of Port Royal in 1692, finally being interred by the Treaty of Rijswijk in 1697" (Wallerstein, 2008: 159).

New Providence: Ultimum Remedium at the Age of Two Wars

The island of New Providence was located near the Florida Straits and the Providence Channel. These were the sea routes which connected Havana to Cadiz and this was an intercepting point for Europe-bound cargoes. Additional to this strategic location, its harbor was convenient for careening, large enough for five hundred sloops to anchor, and too shallow for large warships of navies. Moreover, it abounded with turtles, fish, wood, and fresh water (Galvin, 1999: 108). All geographical features of the island were quite suitable for seafaring. Thus, the roots of piracy in New Providence should be researched in the first settlement of the Bahama Islands although the epoch of the pirates' flood into the harbor of New Providence was triggered by a known disaster: the earthquake at Port Royal in 1692.

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[24] As Hamilton stated, pocket watch, made ca. 1686 by Paul Blondel, a Frenchman living in the Netherlands, was recovered during Link's underwater excavations near Fort James. Its hands, frozen at 11:43 a.m., serve as an eerie reminder of the catastrophe (Hamilton, 2000; History Channel International, 1998).

Around 1645, an English explorer, who had been sheriff and twice governor of Bermuda colony, William Sayle, arrived in England to promote a settlement for Independents[25] in Bahamas. His timing could not have been any better:

> In the seventeenth century a spirit of independence was characteristic of the English common man. In June, 1647 Charles I had been confined by the army which dominated the political scene, and the Independents, a political party of which the Independent Churches formed the chief element, had a majority in the army (Miller, 1945: 35).

Soon, he sailed to the Bahamas with seventy settlers from both England and Bermuda, and landed to the Eleuthera Island (fifty kilometers east of New Providence). However, the settlement was not a successful one. In a decade, most of the settlers including Sayle and his family turned back to Bermuda (Miller, 1945: 35-42). In 1666, another group of Bermudians who had been searching for Spanish shipwrecks and ambergris in the coasts of the Bahama Islands settled in New Providence. The first settlers were soon joined by others from Bermuda. However, the poverty of these islanders was so great that these late-comers did not have enough money for transportation to the island and were financially assisted by Bermudians such as John Dorrell and Hugh Wentworth (Miller, 1945: 44). Dorrell settled a plantation in the island with eight black slaves and five white Englishmen and wrote a letter to ask for provisions, arms, ammunitions, a governor, and a good smith. He mentioned in his letter that this healthful island had potential for good cotton and gallant tobacco although they harvested a little amount so far. (Miller, 1945: 44-45).

Besides cotton and tobacco, the Bahamian archipelago was important due to wrecking, ambergris, turtling, woodcutting, hunting monk seals and various types of whales, and the salt industry. Firstly, shipwrecks were quite common to find in the Bahamian waters. Treasure galleons, even whole fleets, were sunk in these

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[25] Independents were English Christians who supported the congregational system of church governance without any wider geographical hierarchy, either ecclesiastical or political.

waters thanks to Bahamian shoals, reefs, and disastrous hurricanes (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 86-87). Secondly, ambergris which is an intestinal concretion of the sperm whale had been utilized even in ancient times due to the fact that a whale could vomit the ambergris which was washed up onto beaches (Cousteau, 1988, 43-44). Before the development of whaling techniques, ambergris was either found on the shore or collected from sperm whales washed ashore. As well as cosmetics and luxury goods (perfumery, pastiles, precious candles, hair-powders, and pomatum), historically it was used as a healing property in the ancient Greece and Rome; an antispasmatic drug in the Middle East and Asia; an aphrodisiac by the Turks; an incense of fumigation in Mecca; as a spice in the Orient; as well as used in the treatment of epilepsy, typhoid and asthma, laxative, incorporated into creams, candles, face powder, lipstick (Berzin, 1972, 320; Melville, 2009). Thirdly, turtling was important as turtles were used as food. Especially for the long voyages, the turtle food was crucial due to the fact that crew could keep turtle the alive either by putting it in a pond called "*kraals*" or simply turning the turtle upside-down to keep it paralyzed and provide fresh meat during the whole voyage. Moreover, from the turtle shell, they made luxurious goods such as combs, costumes, and jewelries. Fourthly, woodcutting was important for two reasons: shipbuilding industry and medicine. There was good quality of timber in Bahamas. Although at the beginning of the settlement, locals in New Providence relied on ships, built in Bermuda. As soon as they found the availability of suitable woods such as timbers, Caribbean pines, and local lignum vitae in the island they started to build their own ships (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 87-88). Moreover, there were other types of flora:

> There was some market from the beginning for Bahamian hardwoods —mahogany *(Swietenia mahogani),* horseflesh *(Lysoma sabicu),* and mastic *(Mastichodendron foetidissimum)*... Rather more lasting was the trade in braziletto *(Caesalpina vesicaria),* a splendid cabinet wood which also produced a red or purple dye, and lignum vitae *(Guaiacum sanctum* or *Guaiacum officinale),* the sap of which was found to have some efficacy against the spirochetes of syphilis... Besides lignum vitae, other Bahamian flora were valued for their real or imagined medicinal properties. These included "gum elemi" *(Bursera simaruba),* a tree resin used... for staunching wounds; Winter's bark *(Canella winterana),* a form of cinnamon used in the east for perfume and

incense; and, above all, cascarella bark *(Croton cascarella)*, used for making incense, laxatives, and tonics (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 88).

Fifthly, the oil of whales and monk seals were used as fuel and lubricant for the sugar mills in Jamaica and Barbados. Lastly, the southern parts of the Bahamas were quite suitable for the salt industry (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 88-89). Salted fish such as codfish and herring were also crucial for long sailing expeditions. Most of these resources and industries were controlled by the Bermudians. Yet, thanks to the letter of Dorrell explaining the potential of the island, England appointed Hugh Wentworth, a friend and colleague of Sayle, as the first governor under the Proprietary pattern (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 89). After Hugh Wentworth, his brother, John Wentworth became the governor. However, the colony was still in need of protection. Men among the first settlers were not looking for a settled life. As Dorrel complained to Sir Thomas Lynch, the governor of Jamaica, men preferred to "run a-coasting in shallops [Bermuda sloops] which is a lazy course of life and leaveth none but old men, women and children to plant" (cited in Craton and Saunders, 1999: 89).

The fourth governor (1677-1682), Robert Clarke found the solution. He started to issue letters of marque against Spanish vessels on the plea of raids on English vessels by ships out of Havana (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 97; Lane 1998: 165). Actually, the foundation of pretext was the Spanish shipwrecks. Not only Bahamian sloops but also larger English vessels were attracted by these wrecks (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 97). Thus, Clarke used them as baits for issuing commissions and attracting pirates to New Providence. Most probably, he had the example of the rise of Port Royal on his mind that pirates would provide protection and wealth to his settlement. Yet, he missed a point. It was a peacetime. Thus, these commissions were technically illegal (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 97; Lane, 1998: 165).

One of the pirates who took a letter of marque from the said governor and continued his piratical raids with a false-commission was the infamous pirate

captain, John Coxon. His actions caused great trouble for both Spain and England. He showed this false-commission to Thomas Lynch, the governor of Jamaica. Lynch sent this commission to England and revealed this intrigue. He also wrote a vigorous note of reproof to Clarke. On the other hand, Coxon caused such depredations to the Spanish that they complained about his actions to London which led to a debate about the legality of privateering commissions (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 97; Haring, 1910: 237; Lane 1998: 165). At the end, Clarke was replaced by Robert Lilburne and ordered back to England. Yet, the main intrigue had not even begun. Meanwhile, Thomas Lynch noted that:

> While busy at Port Royal over the dispatch of vessel[26] one Captain Clarke, a very honest useful man, solicited me about one Payn [*sic*], in a bark with 80 men. He told me Payn had never done the least harm to any and that if I would allow him to come in, he would engage to bring in or destroy these pirates (cited in Marley, 1994: 304).

Thomas Paine was commissioned by Lynch to "seize, kill and destroy pirates" and reached the Bahamas at March 1683 (Marley, 1994: 304). In New Providence, he encountered the privateering vessels of Captains Conway Woolley, John Markham, Jan Corneliszoon, and the French *flibustier* Captain Bréhal, who were jointly preparing "to fish for silver from a Spanish wreck" (Marley, 1994: 304). Instead of "seizing, killing, and destroying" these vessels, Paine joined them; and the five decided to raid the Spanish outpost of Saint Augustine. Yet, they only managed to raid few hamlets in the countryside (Marley, 1994: 304; Lane 1998: 165). They sailed back to New Providence, and were welcomed by Governor Lilburne himself. However, the Spanish garrison commander was aware of the identity of the raiders. In his official report, he mentioned Thomas Paine as Tomás de la Peña. Thus, Lilburne could not accommodate the raiders too long. Paine departed from New Providence to the wreck site. At his departure, Lilburne manned a large ship, and supposedly chased Paine into the said wreck site, yet he could not find him. The

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[26] The mentioned vessel was belonging to Captain George Johnson, an English privateer. Lynch commissioned Johnson with a letter of marque to capture the 30-gun frigate, *Trompeuse* (Marley, 1994: 203-204).

reason of this act was to create an excuse to explain his illicit acquisition of Spanish silver. Moreover, it was known that the wreck site was also looted. The Boston salvor William Phipps later claimed that when he had arrived at the same site, it was largely picked clean (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 97; Marley, 1994: 304). Several weeks later, Paine's ship *Pearl* entered the harbor of Newport, Rhode Island (Marley, 1994: 304). Yet, all these intrigues had consequences:

> Rejecting Proprietary regulations along with the rigors of a settled life, they followed their bent for instant riches, challenging Spanish authority at the most profitable wrecks or even attacking Spanish ships and towns on the strength of questionable privateering commissions. This inevitably led to reprisals from Havana, which almost extinguished the Proprietary (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 92).

Spain retaliated by sacking New Providence twice, first on 19 January 1684 and the second was later in the same year. In total, the Spanish burned the settlement to the ground, looted a plunder worthy of fourteen thousand pounds, and captured people suspected of piracy including, not surprisingly, Robert Clarke (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 98; Haring, 1910: 239; Lane, 1998: 165). Two hundred Bahamians took refuge in Jamaica, fifty went to Massachusetts, and others went to the Carolinas (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 99; Lane, 1998: 165). New Providence was shut down but not for a long time.

In 1686, a small group of people came from Jamaica and resettled in New Providence. In a short span of time, New Providence became the focus of interest for both England and pirates. The reason was the treasure found in the wreck of the Spanish galleon *Concepción* off the coast of Hispaniola in 1687 by a famous savor of the Bahamas' wrecks, Captain William Phipps. This event proved the importance of wrecking, and all the eyes turned to the most famous wreck place area in the West Indies, the Bahamas:

> Phipps, who had already exploited three modest wrecks northwest of Grand Bahama in 1684, arrived off the Silver Shoal wreck in January 1687 and by July was back in England with bullion weighing twenty-six tons. His chief backer, Lord Albemarle, one of the Bahamian Proprietors and recently appointed governor of Jamaica, received a

return of ninety thousand pounds on his investment of eight hundred. Phipps himself was instantly wealthy and famous, being rewarded with a knighthood and the governorship of Massachusetts (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 99-100).

It is not hard to imagine how the rumors of these events bandied about in the taverns of Port Royal and St. Domingue and attracted all pirates.

In the governorships of Morgan (1674-1675, 1678, and 1680-82), the base of piratical attacks shifted to French Hispaniola due to fact that the Treaty of Madrid forced him to commission English pirates with French letters of marque as it was mentioned above. In 1684, there were between 2000 and 3000 pirates with seventeen vessels ranging from forty to fifty guns whose base of operations were French Hispaniola and Tortuga (Haring, 1910: 240). These pirates who were supported by both French and English governors found themselves in a confusing situation because of the King William's War (1688-1697) between France and England in North America. English officers no longer found the French-sponsored marauding amusing. Not only French and Dutch but even English buccaneers with commissions from Petit Goâve in French Hispaniola started to raid English merchants and vulnerable coastal settlements. On the other hand, Spain increased its pressure on England to suppress pirates. After the earthquake at Port Royal in 1692, English privateers had no base for their privateering enterprises. Moreover, French *flibustiers* launched a raid on the southern coasts of Jamaica in 1693 to loot the remaining after the earthquake. The Governor of St. Domingue, Ducasse and his 1500 followers succeeded only in damaging the sugar economy and harrying shipping. Thus, the rumors of wrecks full of treasures must had been attracted them. On top of it, with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 after the King William's War, all the buccaneers found themselves unwelcomed in the waters they used to raid (Lane, 1998: 166-171).

Not only pirates from the West Indies, but from other parts of the world came to the Bahamas due to the reasons mentioned above. Captain Henry Avery (or Every) was one of them. He had a glamorous life before he arrived at New

Providence. He had served in the Royal Navy, he had been the midshipman then chief mate in HMS *Rupert*, and mate in HMS *Albermarle* in early 1690s. He had commissioned by Isaac Richier, the governor of Bermuda as a slave trader. Moreover, he had also hired and promised to be commissioned with a letter of marque by Charles II of Spain to raid the French pirates in the West Indies. However, he had mutinied with the crew of the *Charles II* due to the absence of the promised letter of marque and non-payment of wages. Becoming the captain of this ship, he started his pirate career. His famous plunder had been the capture of the Great Mogul's ship[27] which was going to pilgrimage to Mecca and full of prizes including jewels, gold, silver, great sums of money, and slaves as well as greatest persons of his court, even one of his daughters. This event had happened in the Arabian Sea. Some of the crew was captured and put on trial:

> The Witnesses for the King being Sworn, the Grand Jury withdrew, and after a little time returned, finding *Billa vera*[28] against Henry Every not yet taken, Joseph Dawson, Edward Foreseith, William May, William Bishop, James Lewes, and John Sparkes, Prisoners, for Feloniously and Piratically taking, and carrying away, from persons unknown, a certain Ship called the *Gunsway* with her Tackle, Apparel and Furniture, to the value of 1000 [pounds] and of Goods to the value of 110 [pounds] together with 100000 Pieces of Eight, and 100000 Chequins[29], upon the High Seas, ten Leagues from the *Cape St. Johns* near *Surat* in the *East-Indies*. Then *Dawson, Forseith, May, Bishop, Lewes,* and *Sparkes,* were brought to the Bar, and their indictment was read...
>
> My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury,
>
> The Prisoners are indicted for Piracy, in Robbing and Plundering the Ship *Gunsway*, belonging to the Great Mogul, and his subjects, in the Indian Seas, to a very great value.
>
> And the End was suitable to their Beginning, they first practiced these Crimes upon their own Country-men, the English, and then

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[27] "Great Mogul was the most powerful ruler in India. His name was Aurangzeb and he was the emperor of Mogul (Mughal) Empire from 1659 to 1707" (Johnson, 1998: 366).

[28] *Billa vera* means 'a true bill'.

[29] Chequin means coin. Most probably, they were mentioning about sequins which means a gold coin of the Venetian Republic.

continued them on to Strangers and foreigners: For the Ship in which this Piracy was committed, was an English Vessels, called, *The Charles the Second¸* belonging to several Merchants of this City, designed for other Ends, and a far different Voyage, which by these Criminals, with the Assistance of one Every, their Captain, in all these Villainies, was seized near Groyn in Spain, in May 1694 (The Tryals of Joseph Dawson, Edward Forseith, William May, William Bishop, James Lewis, and John Sparkes, 1696)

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After the plunder he had settled in Madagascar; yet decided to make his way towards America. The first land he arrived was the island of New Providence. Due to the trial of his crew members, he was not looking for more riches in New Providence but only protection. So he bribed the governor with purloined gold and ivory (Burgess, 2009: 132-138; Johnson, 1998: 23-31, 366; Lane, 1998: 175).

Thus, with wrecks full of treasure, Europe-bound Spanish ships passing close by, and weak control of states and governors, New Providence became the new capital of piracy in 1690s (Craton and Saunders, 1999: 114; Galvin, 1999: 107; Kuhn, 2010: 140). Yet, all these relations changed with the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession.

In 1701 the England and the United Provinces waged war on Spain and its ally France. The reason for England to wage war was France's increasing share from the Spanish pie in Spain and the Mediterranean; and for Spain, the reason was to "break out of the structural constraints the world-economy had imposed on Spain" (Wallerstein, 2008: 188, 221). On the other hand, there were also attempts to control the Spanish crown by the French and the Habsburg. As well as those reasons, there were also increasing rivalry in military techniques, and economic and political spheres between European states. Moreover, this rivalry also shaped the new balance of power in Europe. An example will be more lucid to show this rivalry, Jeremy Black shows that:

> Fighting over the control of the Spanish empire between the Bourbon candidate, Philip Duke of Anjou, and his Habsburg rival, Charles, began in northern Italy in 1701; and in 1702 Austria, Britain and

> Dutch declared war simultaneously on France… The projection of naval power was more important in the War of the Spanish Succession. The British fleet was better balanced than those of France and the United Provinces… It enabled the Britain to play major role in Iberia, capturing positions, particularly Gibraltar in 1704, and supporting British forces operating in the peninsula. Fear of British naval attack encouraged Portugal to abandon France in 1703 (Black, 1994: 109-110).

The American front of the war called the Queen Anne's War which was much more an economically motivated war. Spain's aim was again to rescue itself from its economic constraints and declining world-economic role in the West Indies. England and the United Provinces tried to capture the trade routes of the western part of the North Atlantic and the main ports. Wallerstein argues that the war as a whole in the continental Europe and West Indies was far beyond the war of Spain, but a war caused by the rivalry between France and England. It can be even described as a war between French and English privateers:

> The war was fought by France and Britain ranged far beyond Spain and represented an attempt to destroy each other's trade networks, especially by privateering (Wallerstein, 2008: 188)… [D]uring the War of the Spanish Succession, the privateers of England's Channel Islands operated so effectively that they "caused serious alarm to the French [and] were able, above all, to inflict wounds on French port-to-port trade."(Wallerstein, 2008: 249-250).

Between 1701 and 1713, pirates in the Caribbean were employed by states as they have been used to do until that time. However, as Tilly's claims on *brokerage* mentioned in Chapter 2, they were hired this time not as paramilitary tools but more like as "mercenary armies" due to the fact that they were not only commissioned but directly employed by navies. Thus, states' responsibilities over these pirates increased. They were the only military power of the European states in the West Indies. Thus they were respected and to be in demand. Moreover, if the continental Europe was perceived as the center of the war, then, the metaphor of pawns can be seen clearly in the wars of so-called privateers in the West Indies.

After those 12 war years which meant full-employment for pirates, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed by the parties in 1713. With this treaty, England had the Asiento[30], and also Gibraltar and Minorca from Spain. Moreover, France ceded Newfoundland, Rupert's land, and Acadia in the New World to England. After the new balance of power restored, the "ex-pirate" mercenaries who had found themselves employment as privateers were suspended from duty (Johnson, 1998: 41). However, old habits die hard:

> It is generally admitted that unemployment among privateers caused the almost world-wide outbreaks of piracy after King William's War and the War of the Spanish Succession. Moreover, after the Treaty of Utrecht the seamen of England and Spain in America were asked to forget, not merely the tradition of two long wars, but that of a century of skirmishing and marauding. Indeed, the remarkable thing is, not that they should have continued for a time the hostilities and pillage to which they had become accustomed, but that they should finally have been put down at all (Pares, 1963: 17).

In order give the correlation between piracy of the early eighteenth century and unemployment after the War of Spanish Succession, another example from history should be mentioned:

> This was the case with the Bokkerijder bands that flourished between 1720s and 1770s on the east bank of the Meuse River in a zone politically divided between the Dutch Republic, the Austrian Netherlands, the Duchy of Jülich, and various autonomous and semiautonomous German seigneuries… Those arrested were neither members of religious minorities nor rootless vagrants; rather, the bands' members usually had homes and families in the area of its operations. All of these factors are essential. Many were skinners. Slaughtering sick animals, disposing of dead cattle, and carrying away the bodies of executed criminals, skinners formed an essential but scorned and marginal group living a largely endogamous existence on the fringes of society. They shared this status with other reputedly "dishonorable people" (*unehrliche Leute*) like executioners, knackers, mole catchers, charcoal burners, and practitioners of other distasteful trades. Early modern German society excluded such

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[30] Asiento is a contract for monopoly on slave-trading. According to this agreement, England had the right to supply black slaves to the Spanish colonies in America (Johnson, 1998: 366).

people from much of routine social life, and even required that they be buried apart from ostensibly honorable members of their communities. But their trade made skinners mobile, put them beyond much of traditional social control, gave them wide-ranging ties with others of their profession, and instilled in them skill with knives. The nature of their trade brought them knowledge of many famrs and made familiar figures carrying bundles along rural roads.

All of these factors are essential to understanding how skinners, along with impoverished artisans like spinners, weavers, cobblers, and iron workers, begaved after the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1714. Peace diminished the need for the services of all these men, so they used their connections and training in organized crime. Under the cover of night, and with disguises like blackened faces and false beards to conceal their identities, they preyed on their neighbors – and perhaps as a form of social protest – on such symbols of the rural establishment as churches. Often they tortured their victims to learn the location of valuables, and they killed with some frequency. Their name, which translates as "Billy-goat Riders," indicates the fear they inspired in an age in which many still associated the male goat with the devil (Ruff, 2001: 233-234).

The explanation of this band described the history of piracy better than a metaphor. From buccaneer-hunters and privateer-heroes to indictees as "*humani hostis generis*", from employment in the war to unemployment after it, from knowing the surroundings to using disguises by raising the flags of different nations, this was the exact history of buccaneers raiding in the West Indies.

Additional to unemployment, there was also contraction of wages due to the surplus of labor at the end of war. The wage of a merchant seaman was around 45-55 shillings in 1707 decreased to the half of that amount in 1713 (Rediker, 1987: 282).

Although piracy in the seventeenth century "represented a response to the decline in trade and to the Spanish government's tightened control", in the early eighteenth century, it was merely a resistance to states (Phillips, 1991: 89). Analogically, Eric Hobsbawm theorized the banditry in a similar way: "[the 'programme' of banditry] is the defence or restoration of the traditional order of things 'as it should be'" (Hobsbawm, 1981: 26). One of the infamous pirates in the post-war period, Edward Teach who was known as Blackbeard had sailed with the

privateers in Jamaica during the war. Around 1715, he turned out to be a pirate (Johnson, 1998: 46). He was also one of the victims of the period of unemployment after the war. In the simplest term, the name of his ship, a captured French Guineaman, can be an example: *The Queen Anne's Revenge* (Johnson, 1998: 46).

After the treaty their custom, their activities, and the people dealing with seafaring were same, but the difference was the states' withdrawal of support. Thus, after 1713 it was not the independent, free-from-state, and romantic pirates who sailed the sea for plundering and seizing as the popular image suggests, but rather non-supported so-called privateers trying both to seek retaliation and also not to be captured by states. In the final analysis, this treaty turned out to be not a cue sign for the curse of piracy upon colonies and trade, but rather it was a curse for piracy itself:

> There was a diminishing need in the core states for piracy as a way of primitive accumulation… At first the existence of pirates aided this process [contraband trade]. They were, after all, not true pirates since they pillaged only the Spanish and often did it with authorization of their own government. But sugar planting became more important… and when the Spanish in 1670 finally renounced their ancient claim to the exclusive right of settlement, the buccaneers came to be seen by the English as a nuisance… Buccaneers were no longer needed… Contraband in Spanish America was only the smaller part of the picture. The bigger part was sugar (Wallerstein, 2008: 160-161).

Besides the problem of dating the demise with the Treaty of Madrid of 1670, his explanation was to the point. This diminishing need was the reason behind why states withdraw support from pirates. The Treaty of Utrecht marked that England no longer needed pirates to enter prosperous trade relations. Pirates and sailors employed by states in the times of war were the real losing party after the treaty. They became unemployed, illegal, and punishable by death. As it was cited above from Pérotin-Dumon, England fully established its power, and was not a "newcomer" to the trade route anymore. Thus, the condition of the Caribbean became unsuitable for piratical activities gradually.

According to Cordingly, there were few methods in the manner of dealing with pirates, especially after the treaty: enacting laws, pardons, increasing the numbers of navy patrols, and rewarding these who captured a pirate (Cordingly, 2004: 242). Laws alone were insufficient as it can be seen from the examples mentioned above. They should be applied by enforcements. In 1700, an Act of Parliament had passed called the 'Act of the More Effectual Suppression of Piracy'. According to this law, the requirement to send the accused men back to England was ended. It enabled Admiralty Courts to be held over-seas, even at sea (Cordingly, 2011: 161). Moreover, Piracy Act of 1721 claimed that all the goods, including ships, would be shared as half to the crown and half to the discoverers which had been claimed as rewards to informers in 1700 (Raithby, 1820). This encouraged pirate hunters. However, the profession of pirate hunter was also a confusing phenomenon.

In 1715, a Spanish treasure fleet with 11 Spanish treasure galleons sailed from Havana to Cadiz. However, at the middle of their journey, ships entered into a hurricane. Seven million pesos' worth of silver coins, and bullions along with the dyestuffs, tobacco, hides, and other raw materials scattered into the sea. Half of the 2,500 crewmembers and passengers were lucky to be alive. After recovering 300,000 of the silver coins, the Spanish established a temporary base with sixty guards in Palmar de Ayes, Florida. While the Spanish were trying to recover these scattered coins, rumors of the accident, as well as of the shipload of course, reached the taverns in Jamaica, Carolinas, and other seafaring havens. The first outsiders who reached the wreck site in a hurry were not pirates but "pirate hunters" commissioned by the English government in Jamaica. These so-called pirate hunters under the command of Henry Jennings attacked the island, captured the treasure, and sailed back to Port Royal as rich men. On the way back, they captured another Spanish vessel under the command of Fernando Hernandez, a black captain. However, they found out that Hernandez was also a renegade Spanish subject also commissioned by the governor of Jamaica and had plundered Spanish goods worth of 250,000 pesos. Spanish officers again complained to English authorities about the situation. The same procedure was implemented as before: Governor Hamilton was

recalled and the three hunters were accused of piracy. However, Jennings could not be captured. The next destination of Jennings was the ramshackle settlement of New Providence in the Bahamas (History Channel, 2006; Lane, 1998: 184-185). As the example suggests, even in the years after the Treaty of Utrecht, New Providence managed to continue its legacy of the capital of piracy; however, not for long.

Woodes Rogers who was an English privateer published a book entitled *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* in which he described his raid on the town Guayaquil, his capture of a Spanish treasure galleon and the most famous one the rescue of Alexander Selkirk whose life was the source of inspiration of Defoe's famous book *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (Cordingly, 2011: 1-4). Actually, he was just another pirate of his age. However, in 1718, he arrived at New Providence as his Excellency Woodes Rogers, Esquire, Governor, Captain-General, and Vice-Admiral of the Bahama Islands. He acted more as the captain-general of pirate hunters. Actually, pirate hunters were also ex-pirates. He wrote in his journal about one of his pirate hunters, Captain Hornigold who was on an expedition to capture pirate captain Charles Vane: "I was afraid he was either taken by Vane or [had] begun his old practice of pirating again which was the general opinion here in his absence" (cited in Cordingly, 2011: 159).

Besides enacting laws and commissioning pirates as pirate hunters, another method used was amnesty. In 5 September 1717, George II offered a general pardon for pirates:

> We have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this Royal Proclamation; and we do hereby promise, and declare, that in case any of the said pirates, shall on or before the 5th of September, in the year of our Lord 1718, surrender him or themselves, to one of our principal secretaries of state in Great Britain or Ireland, or to any governor or deputy governor of any of our plantations beyond the Seas; every such pirate and pirates so surrendering him, or themselves, as aforesaid, shall have our gracious pardon, of and for such, his or their piracy, or piracies, by him or them committed before the fifth of January next ensuing. And we do strictly charge and command all our admirals, captains, and other officers at sea, and all our governors and commanders of any forts, castles, or other places in our plantations, and all other our

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officers civil & military, to seize and take such of the pirates, who shall refuse or neglect to surrender themselves accordingly (cited in Johnson, 1998: 14).

The tone of this proclamation was more threatening than pardoning. In the letter parts of the letter, George II mentioned the details of rewards for a "pirate hunter". These pardons were valid for only certain times and particular regions that "pirates saw enormous latitude of official trickery and refused to surrender" (Rediker, 1987: 283). In the seventeenth century and the War of the Spanish Succession, pirates had been used by states for Spanish prey, and then they started to be used by the state to hunt down their own kind.

Between 1716 and 1726, more than four-hundred pirates were hanged. Moreover, states also conducted these executions open to the public on waterfronts of Boston, Charleston, James Town, Nassau, Newport, and Williamsburg. Executed pirates were displayed on gibbets set up at harbor entrance as warnings. The feature of *hostis humani generis* of pirates became systemically emphasized by prosecutors, judges, and religious leaders "through sermons, proclamations, pamphlets, and the newspapers press to create an image of the pirate that would legitimate his extermination" (Cordingly, 2004: 268-269; Cordingly, 2011: 161-162; Rediker, 1987: 285). Accusing pirates with illegality shows that the monopoly of violence and "legitimate" use of force was being accumulated in the hands of states and governors. Thus, prosperous and violent sugar production and slave trade took the place of piracy. Due to not having bases of operations in the West Indies, pirates started to regulate their voyages according to seasons of the year and rumors of executions and navies as well as of the treasure fleets and slave trading ships. Pirate Round' became a popular phenomenon (Galvin, 1999: 70). Once again, pirates turned to the deep-seas.

CHAPTER IV

ENEMIES OF ALL MANKIND?

> Analyzing a whole into parts and then attempting to model it by *adding up* the components will fail to capture any property that emerged from complex interactions, since the effect of the latter may be multiplicative (e.g. mutual enhancement) and not just additive (Landa, 2000: 17-18).

The main claim of this study is that piracy in the Caribbean between 1650 and 1713 was not merely an act of crime but used as paramilitary tool by European states in the lucrative trade routes of the Atlantic. Due to being easy to disown and practical to seize ships and settlements without causing an 'official' war between European states, pirates were supported and even 'employed' by England, France, and the Netherlands against Spain. They were supported by letters of marque and reprisal as well as the resources of English and French settlements. They were employed in navies by Europeans states in times of 'official' war. In return, they brought great wealth to these states in the sense of silver, gold, cochineal, indigo, tobacco, and others as well as fought in wars for 'officially recognized' settlements and right to trade for the 'new comers'. Pirates were named as pawns in the title not to make an analogy that they were unimportant and weakest piece in a chess game but because they were the frontier between two parties. In the context of the Atlantic trade, they were the frontier of the 'new comer' (England, France, and the Netherlands) to a trade which dominated and monopolized by the "old established power" (Spain).

1713 was the beginning of the period of unemployment and resistance after the employment period in the War of Spanish Succession. Accusation of pirates as being *hostis humani generis* started to be institutionalized. This accusation became 'universally accepted' thanks to the discourses of political and religious leaders, prosecutors, and judges after the war. In the end, pawns were the expendable ones.

The echoes of this artificially established universal value, *hostis humani generis*, can be found in the recent piratical events. The importance of understanding the piracy of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries with its complex interactions including the legacy of these pirates inherited to the *hic et nunc* should be emphasized. The most important two surviving legacies of pirates are the debates of both the popular image of pirates and the universalized '*hostis humani generis*' perception.

Trying not to be romantic in the sense of narrating the piratical activities is a challenging task to deal with. It can be seen in history that piratical activities and the *belles lettres* themed with piracy have constituted a synchronous pattern. The most well-known classics are: Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605); Daniel Defoe's *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *The General History of the Pyrates* (1724); Sir Walter Scott's *The Pirate* (1821); Prosper Merimee's story *Tamango* (1829); Edgar Allan Poe's story *The Gold-Bug* (1843); Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851); Mark Twain's *Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876); Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883); Howard Pyle's *Book of Pirates* (assembled in 1921); Joseph Conrad's *An Outcast of the Islands* (1896); Sir James Matthew Barrie's *Peter Pan*; and John Steinbeck's *Cup of Gold* (1929). All of these authors were inspired by both the stories of history's most famous pirates and the piratical activities of their age.

Piracy of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the West Indies had a direct impact on Daniel Defoe's two books. Eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century piracy in the North America, and the rivers of Mississippi and Ohio, most probably, revived the piracy fictions for American authors such as Melville, Poe, Twain, and Pyle. Moreover, starting from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth

century, Barbary coasts had been one of the important havens for pirates and corsairs. Since the nineteenth century, paying tributes to Barbary kingdoms, or "piratedoms", was a European state practice including France and Great Britain. In 1784, the United States also authorized a payment of $80,000 to Morocco (Kraska, 2011: 23). And starting from Cervantes, they affected western authors' works. Another example can be found in the Conrad's *An Outcast of the Islands*. He was inspired by pirate nations of the Sulu and Illanun in the Strait of Malacca (Clemens, 1990: 22). Between 1900 and 1930, there was 'Great Lakes' piracy in the United States who most probably had influenced Steinbeck to consider pirates as a historical fiction character. Most of the pirate characters of these novels and stories such as Long John Silver (from *Treasure Island*) or Captain Ledoux (from *Tamango*) were antiheroes with the characteristics of having freedom-loving, heterosexually masculine, romantic, and brave as well as greedy, brutal, and cunning at the same time. This image was exaggerated and even commodified with the visual arts in the twentieth century. The best example of these movies: *Captain Blood* (1935) and *The Sea Hawk* (1940, both starred by Errol Flynn and directed by Michael Curtiz); *Pirates* (1986, directed by Roman Polanski); and *Pirates of the Caribbean* series (2003, 2006, 2007, and 2011). However, these characteristics were not the case in both seventeenth century licensed pirates and eighteenth century 'criminalized' and unemployed pirates.

In this study so far, it had been mentioned the shift in the state's stance from promoters to executioners of pirates. The same shift can be traced in intellectual world, academic circles, and interpreters of law. The thoughts have changed from the explicit support of pirates by Hugo Grotius, Walter Raleigh, and Humphrey Gilbert in the seventeenth century to accusations of the same sailors as pirates by almost all the intellectuals lived after the Treaty of Utrecht. According to Perotin-Dumon:

> The historiography of piracy, which flourished particularly between 1880 and 1940, was contemporary with the second wave of European expansionism, after a victory over indigenous piracy that was considered definitive. It was influenced by the belief that the progress of "civilization" was served by commercial expansion. This framed an

interpretation of piracy along cultural lines, distinguishing indigenous piracy from Western civilization. The suppression of non-European piracy became the equivalent on the sea of the "civilizing mission" in French colonial territories… Only the era of decolonization made it possible to begin to approach the history of piracy critically, at the same time the history of European expansion was being revised. In the decade of the 1960s, the work of Nicholas Tarling on British imperialism in Malaysia, with its maritime implications, illuminated the colonialist premises that had caused non-European rivals to be designated as pirates (Perotin-Dumon, 1991: 200-201).

In this context, an analogy with claims of Wallerstein on slavery would be useful that "states controlled the relations of production… They first legalized, later outlawed particular forms of coerced labor" (Wallerstein, 1983: 52). The criminalization of pirates was institutionalized by referring to universal values[1] and invented traditions derived from 'designedly selected past'. The paradigm of *hostis humani generis* is the best and widespread example of these values. The conditions that brought pirates in to the historical scene in the times of Cicero and George II were quite different. *Hostis humani generis* like other universal values founded during the capitalist world-economy was presented as not "a moral good but a historical necessity" (Wallerstein, 2006: 33). The mainstream authors investigated the history of piracy through this paradigm. Yet, it should be kept in mind that "the paradigm… determines the direction of the whole historical investigation. The history can only be reinterpreted if the paradigm itself is abandoned" (Skinner, 1969: 13).

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[1] Wallerstein describes European universalism as follows: "The belief in universalism has been the keystone of the ideological arch of historical capitalism. Universalism is a faith, as well as an epistemology. It requires not merely respect but reverence for the elusive but allegedly real phenomenon of truth… The search for truth, proclaimed as the corner-stone of progress… The process involved in the expansion of the capitalist world-economy – the peripheralization of economic structures, the creation of weak state structures participating in and constrained by an interstate system – involved a number of pressures at the level of culture: Christian proselytization; the imposition of European language; instruction in specific technologies and more; changes in the legal codes. Many of these changes were made *manu militari*" (Wallerstein, 1983: 81, 82).

The books based on this paradigm rise from the grave with each and every piracy-related event. Aside from referring the conditions, reasons, and sources of the actual event, accusations for pirates as being immemorially *hostis humani generis* started to be rumbled out. Therefore, seventeenth-century piracy in the West Indies became the most salient era. In the last two decades, such declamations again started to increase in relation to Somali piracy in the Gulf of Aden and offshore Somalia. These piratical events engaged their attention because their cargo ships started to be seized. These authors did not perceive Somali people as people in poverty because of exploitation but as mere criminals who should be punished. However, source of the problem was not the new *hostis humani generis* but the core states.

Overfishing and waste dumping by foreign vessels appear to be the most important factors that explain the beginning and increase of the piracy in Somalia. Firstly, Somalia has 1,100 kilometers coastline. Illegal fishing fleets from Asia, Middle East, and Europe came to these undefended coasts with naval vessels to protect them and devastated Somalia's fishing. The decrease from five to six tons per day before the illegal fishing to three hundred kilograms explains the rates of overfishing by trawlers (ABC Australia, 2009; KRO Broadcast Company, 2011). Ali, one ex-fisherman pirate in the jail of Bosaso mentions about illegal fishing fleets greed: "They came by the coast at night, and we could hear them working. They stole everything – even the stones on the seabed (ABC Australia, 2009).

Yet, this was only the one side of the problem. Secondly, due to being located on a vital waterway for the world-economy, the coastline of Somalia was one of the anchorage points of merchant and cargo ships as well as navies which were started to dump their wastes in the area in the early 1990s. The size of the damage caused by these wastes was understood after the tsunami hit in 2004 and washed up rusting containers of toxic wastes on the shore. Pirates accused European firms and demanded eight million dollars ransom for a captured Ukrainian ship to clean up the waste (Abdullahi, 2008). Januna Ali Jama, a spokesman for the pirates claim that "The Somali coastline has been destroyed, and

we believe this money is nothing compared to the devastation that we have seen on the seas" (Abdullahi, 2008). One of these pirates, Dahir Mohamed Hayeysi explains the general situation in an interview as follows:

> Years ago we used to fish a lot, enough for us to eat and sell in the markets. Then illegal fishing and dumping of toxic wastes by foreign fishing vessels affected our livelihood, depleting the fish stocks. I had no other choice but to join my colleagues… The only way the piracy can stop is if [Somalia] gets an effective government that can defend our fish. And then we will disarm, give our boats to that government and will be ready to work (Hayeysi 2009).

Yet, these were the recently developed problems in a historical system that has continuously produced similar problems: the capitalist world-economy. They have a violent history caused by the core states that they were exploited, colonized, underdeveloped, polluted, left for starving, and when they revolted against these problems, they were accused as *hostis humani generis*. The feature of their activities is one of the best examples of both anti-systemic movements and persistent obstacles to long distance trade. The last words, then, should be yielded to these pirates. After an earthquake and a tsunami hit Haiti in 2010 and caused a great devastation for people, Somali pirates generously offered a "share" from their loot as an aid to Haitian people. Although pirates mentioned that they have capability to deliver this aid without being detected by the navies of "enemy" governments thanks to their connections in various places around the world, the spokesman for pirates forwardly claimed that: "the humanitarian aid to Haiti cannot be controlled by the United States and European countries; they have no moral authority to do so. They [have been] the ones pirating mankind for many years."

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

RULES OF BARTHOLOMEW ROBERTS' CREW

I. *Every man has a vote in affairs of moment; has equal title to fresh provisions, or strong liquors, at any time seized, and may use them at pleasure, unless a scarcity make it necessary, for the good of all, to vote a retrenchment.*

II. *Every man to be called fairly in turn, by list, on board prizes, because they there on these occasions allow'd a shift of cloaths: but if they defrauded the company to the value of a dollar, in plate, jewels, or money, marooning was their punishment.*

III. *No person to game at cards or dice for money.*

IV. *The lights and candles to be put out eight a-clock at night. If any of the crew, after that hour, still remained inclined for drinking, they were to do it on the open deck.*

V. *To keep their piece, pistols, and cutlash clean and fit for service.*

VI. *No boy or woman to be allowed amongst them. If any man were found seducing any of the latter sex, and carried her to sea, disguised, he was suffer to death.*

VII. *To desert the ship, or their quarters in battle, was punished with death or marooning.*

VIII. *No striking one another on board, but every man's quarrel to be ended on shore, at sword and pistols. Thus: the quartermaster of the ship, when the parties will not come to any reconciliation, accompanies them on shore with what assistance he thinks proper, and turns disputants back to back, at so many paces distance. At the word of command, they turn and fire immediately. If both miss, they come to their cutlasses, and then he is declared victory who draws the first blood.*

IX. *No man to talk of breaking up their way of living, till each had shared a 1000l. If in order to this, any man should lose a limb, or become a cripple in their service, he was to have 800 dollars, out of the public stock, and for lesser hurts, proportionably.*

X. *The Captain and quarter-master to receive two shares of a prize; the master, boatswain, and gunner, one share and a half, and officers one and a quarter.*

XI. *The musicians to have rest on the Sabbath Day, but other six days and nights, without special favor.*

*Taken from in Johnson, 1998: 180-181

APPENDIX II

CHRONOLOGY OF TORTUGA FROM 1603 TO 1701

1603-1605   Prompted by colonists' illicit trade with foreigners, Spain orders and enforces evacuation of Hispaniola's *Banda del Norte* (North Coast). *Bucaniers* [buccaneers] of mixed nationalities settle in their place, hunting feral cattle and pigs, trading preserved meat and skins to passing interlopers.

1611   An English pirate is captured by the Spaniards at Tortuga.

1629   By this date (probably much earlier), French, English, and Dutch [buccaneers] (hunters) from Hispaniola have established a trading post on Tortuga.

1630   Punitive force from Santo Domingo raids Tortugan settlement and installs garrisons, which fails to hold the island. Anthony Hilton takes and settles Tortuga with refugees from Nevis and St. Kitts.

1631   Charles I of England extends 20° latitudinal limit of Providence Company's charter to include Tortuga, which is renamed Association. Hilton appointed governor.

1634-35   Guided by Irishman John Murphy, Spaniards launch a second strike from Santo Domingo under de Fuenmayor. Governor Wormeley flees the island. Spanish troops land in canoes and raze the settlement.

Surviving settlers are massacred by victorious Spaniards, who depart after a month's occupation.

1636-37 Futile attempt to resettle the island under Englishman Nicholas Reskeimer's governance. Providence Company's control ends.

1637-40 Returning French refugees are joined by three hundred English, brought by William Summers from Nevis and St. Kitts. Tortuga settlers elect Captain Roger Floud, formerly sheriff of Providence Island, as leader. He is soon replaced by 'President' James. French occupants urge de Poincy, *Gouverneur-General* of the French West Indies, to seize Tortuga for France.

1640 De Poincy dispatches fifty men from St. Christopher under the Huguenot, Le Vasseur. These seize Tortuga from English. Le Vasseur fortifies the harbor with the *Fort de la Roche*.

1643 Santo Domingo sent 6 ships and 600 men to dismantle buccaneer base. Le Vasseur repeals the attack, grows progressively despotic.

1647-49 Le Vasseur remains independent strongman of Tortuga while the islands' title officially transfers to Knights of Malta.

1652 De Poincy dispatches the *Chevalier* de Fontenay to oust Le Vasseur and install himself as the governor. Le Vasseur assassinated by his own men, who capitulate to de Fontenay. *Chevalier* is first to assume the title of *Gouvernour pour le Roi de la Tortue & Cote Saint-Domingue*. De Fontenay restores Catholicism and commerce, strengthens defenses. Tortuga home to 700 French, 200 Negroes, and 250 Indians.

1653-54 Santo Domingo sends third flotilla under Don Gabriel Roxas de Valle-Figueroa. Spaniards lay siege, reduce the fort, raze the settlement, and install a new garrison to ensure Spanish repossession of Tortuga.

1656	Spanish garrison evacuates Tortuga to counter invasion of Penn and Venables. Jamaica's Port Royal emerges thereafter as a new buccaneer bastion, attracting many Tortugans. Elias Watts arrives from Jamaica with authority to re-settle Tortuga. He re-fortifies the port and attracts buccaneers.
1660	French Jeremie Deschamps de Moussac et du Rausset, a former colonist on Tortuga with influence in the English court, persuades English crown to name him governor of the island. After taking control, he proclaims the colony one again for France. He is later succeeded by his nephew, Frederic Deschamps de la Place. Tortuga's most nefarious pirate l'Ollanais (Jean-David Nau), launches his career under the auspices of the new governor.
1662-64	Separate attempts by James Arundell and Abraham Langford fail to re-establish English control. Tortuga's title is granted to the French West India Company.
1665-75	Bertrand d'Ogeron serves French West India Company as Lieutenant Governor of Tortuga and the Coast of Saint-Domingue. His capital, Tortuga, shelters 250 colonists; another 300 or so reside across the Channel. Commerce and colonization prosper, hand in hand with commissioned acts of piracy. A new fortification, *La Tour*, is built near Cayonne.
1676	Jacques de Pouancey succeeds his uncle d'Ogeron as governor. The colonial capital of Saint-Domingue by this date has moved across the Channel, from Tortuga to Port-de-Paix. Tortuga is now practically devoid of regular colonists, but serves occasionally as a base for buccaneers.
1691	Saint-Domingue's Governor Jean Baptiste du Casse evacuates Tortuga's few remaining inhabitants. Intending to rebuild Tortuga's

fortresses, he forbids any trespassing on the island so that multiplying animals can provide food for future workmen. The fort is never rebuilt.

1701   On a voyage through the Tortuga Channel, Pere Labat witnesses a still-deserted Tortuga.

*Taken from Peter R. Galvin's *Patterns of Pillage: A Geography of Caribbean-based Piracy in Spanish America, 1536-1718* (1999: 119-121).

III. MAPS
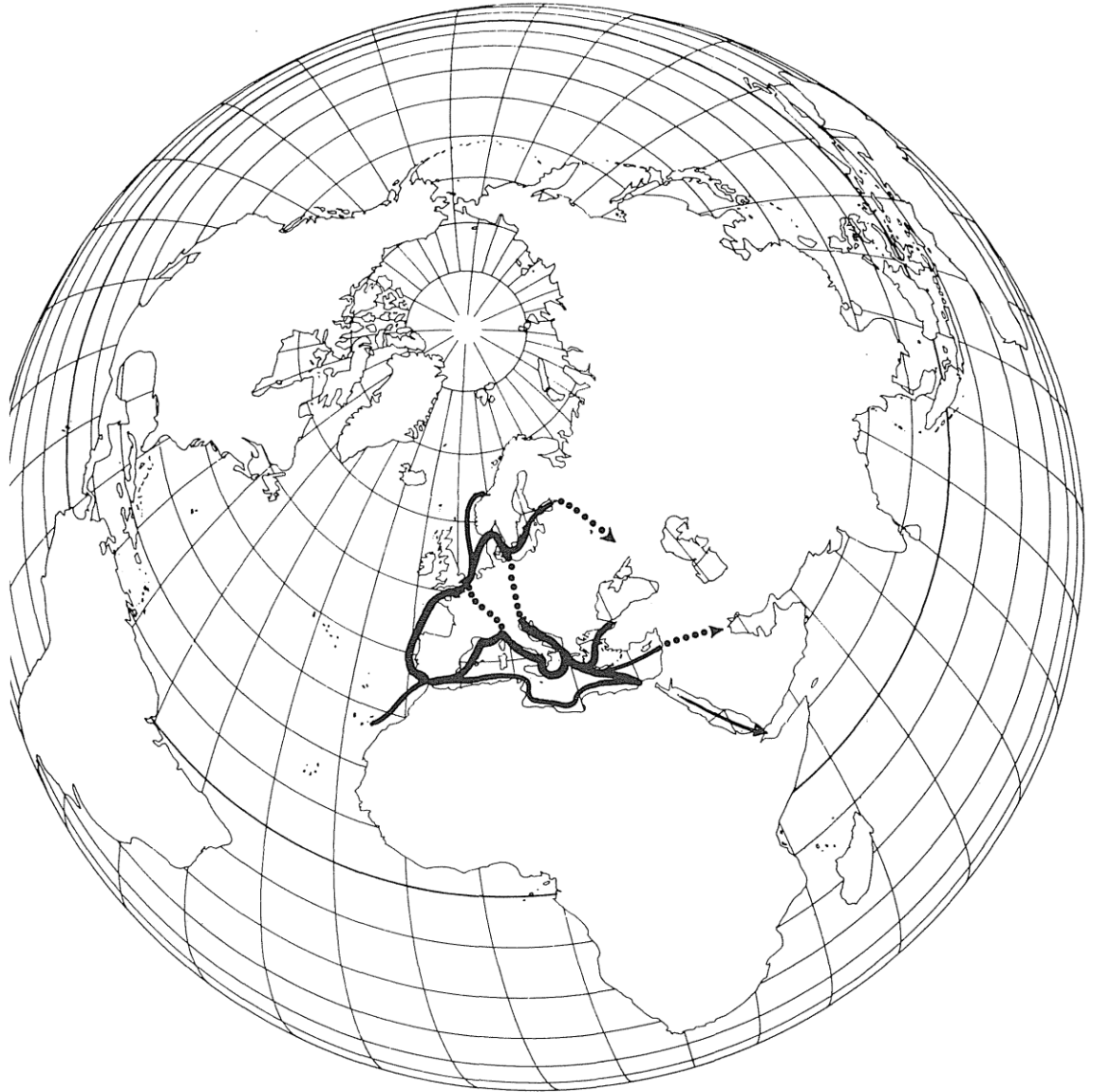
MAP I – "The expanding European economy represented, by its major commodity trades on a world scale. In 1500, the world-economy with Venice at its centre was directly operating in the Mediterranean and western Europe; by way of intermediaries, the network reached the Baltic, Norway and, through the Levant ports, the Indian Ocean" (Braudel, 1992: 28).
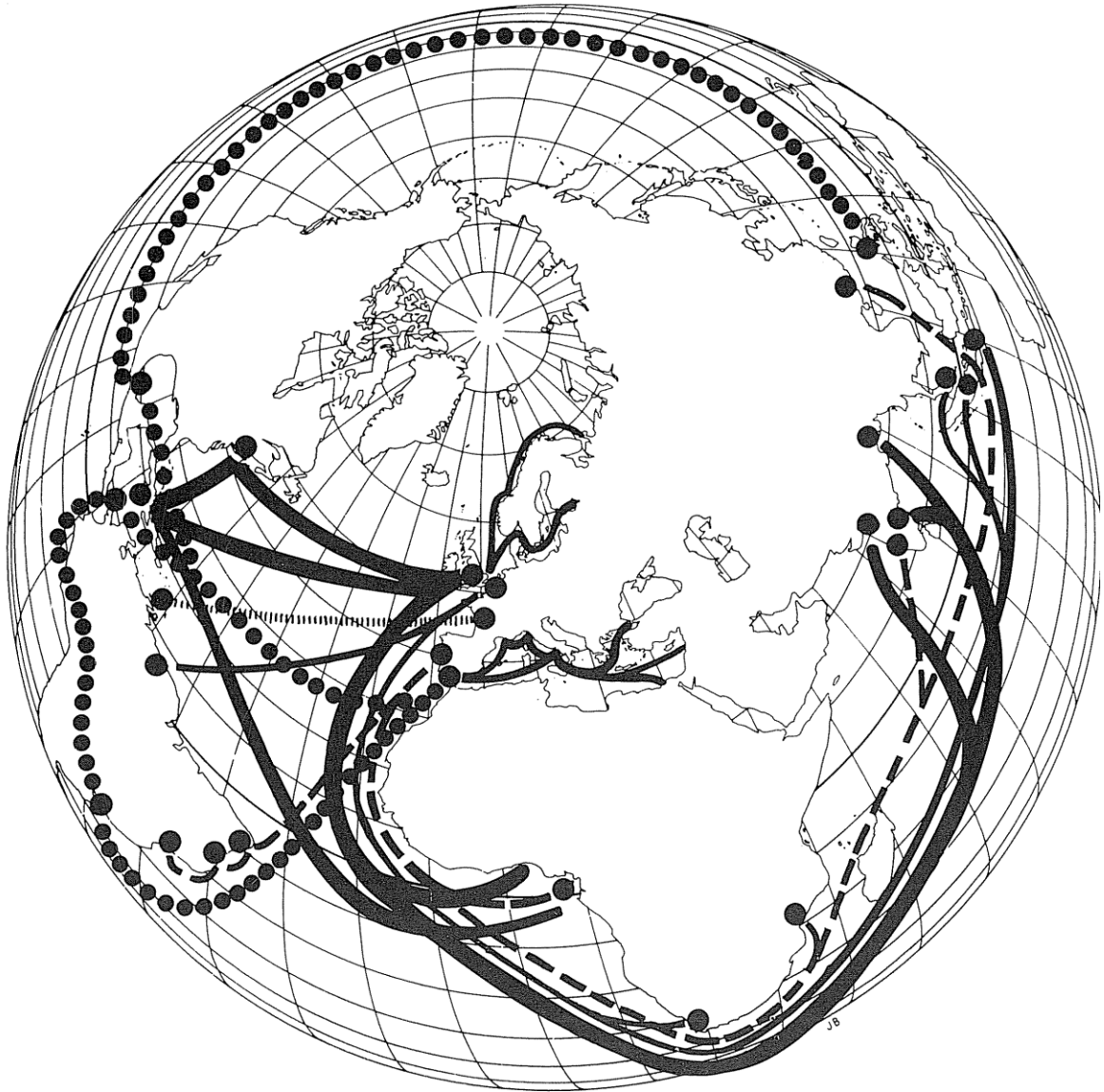
MAP II – "In 1775, the octopus grip of European trade had extended to cover the whole world: this map shows English, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and French trade networks, identifiable by their point of origin. (The last-named must be imagined as operating in combination with other European trades in Africa and Asia.) The important point is the predominance of the British trade network which is difficult to represent. London had become the centre of the world. The routes shown in the Mediterranean and the Baltic simply indicate the major itineraries taken by all the ships of the various trading nations" (Braudel, 1992: 29).

MAP III

Collection: JCB Archive of Early American Images

Description: Map of Hispaniola showing present-day Haiti and Dominican
Republic, including scenes of warfare and naval warfare. Also includes
Cuba, Jamaica, and the island of Tortuga. Cartographic elements
include topographical details, location of rivers (for fresh water),
towns, dwellings, and fortifications, compass rose, and scale. Also
includes ships, fort, sugar mill, churches, battalions of soldiers, and
dwellings. Items in the image are numbered for identification in text.

Date: 1658

Owner: ©John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Brown University
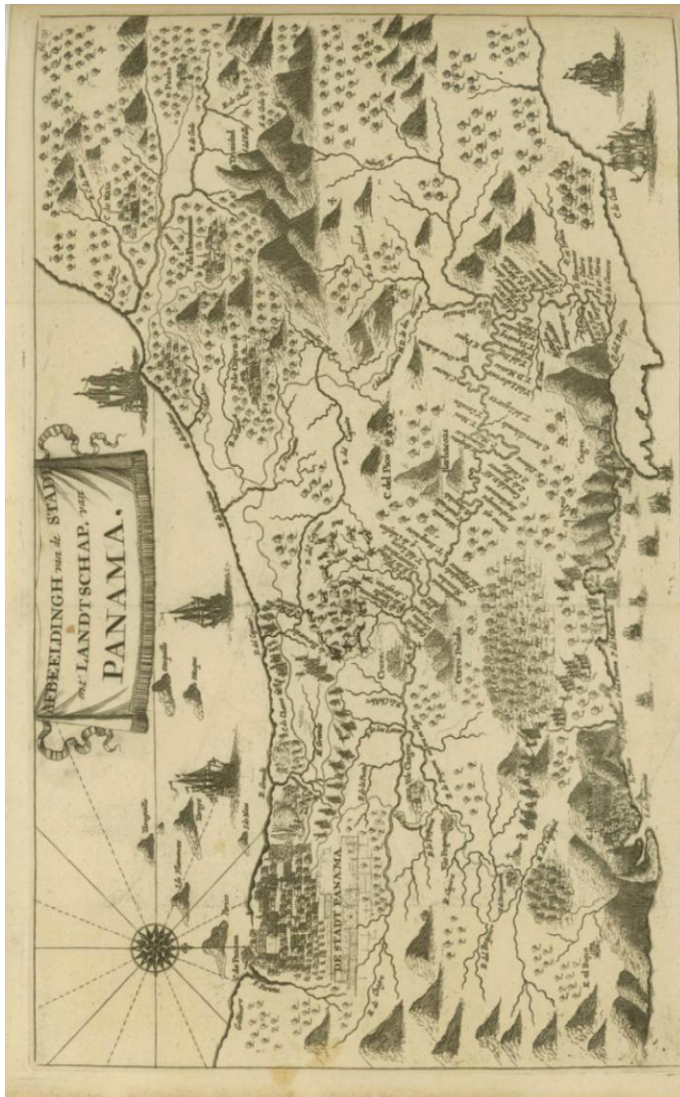
MAP IV

Collection: JCB Map Collection
Publication date: 1678
Geographical   Plan of the coast of Panama showing some topographical details,
description: location of rivers and settlements, compass rose, and ships.
Source author: Exquemelin, A.O. (Alexander Olivier)
Historical notes: Captain Henry Morgan, buccaneer and pirate, attacked the town
                  of Panama in January 1671. In a daring attack, he took the town
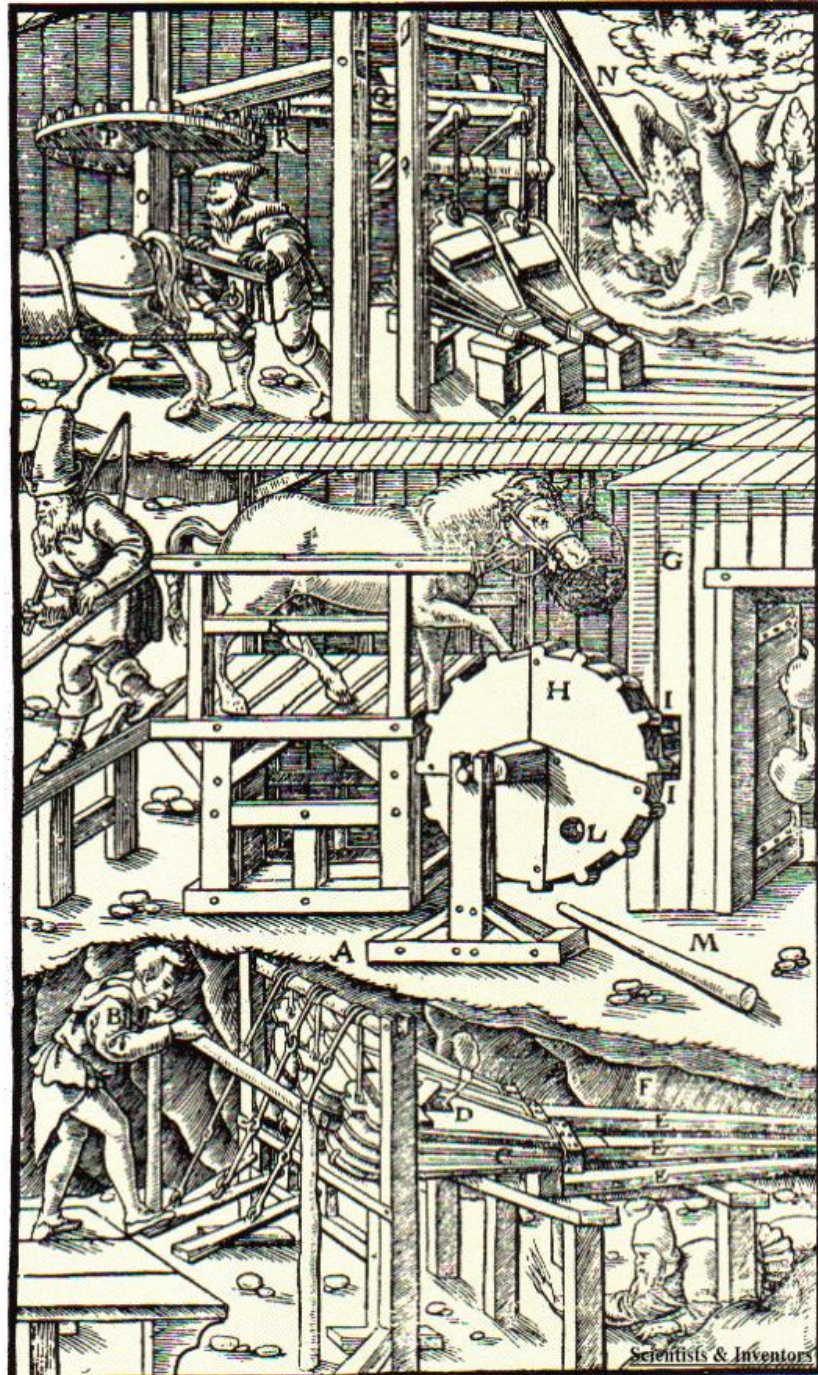   which burned during the seige.

FIGURE I – A machine designed by Agricola for sending air to the stope by horse
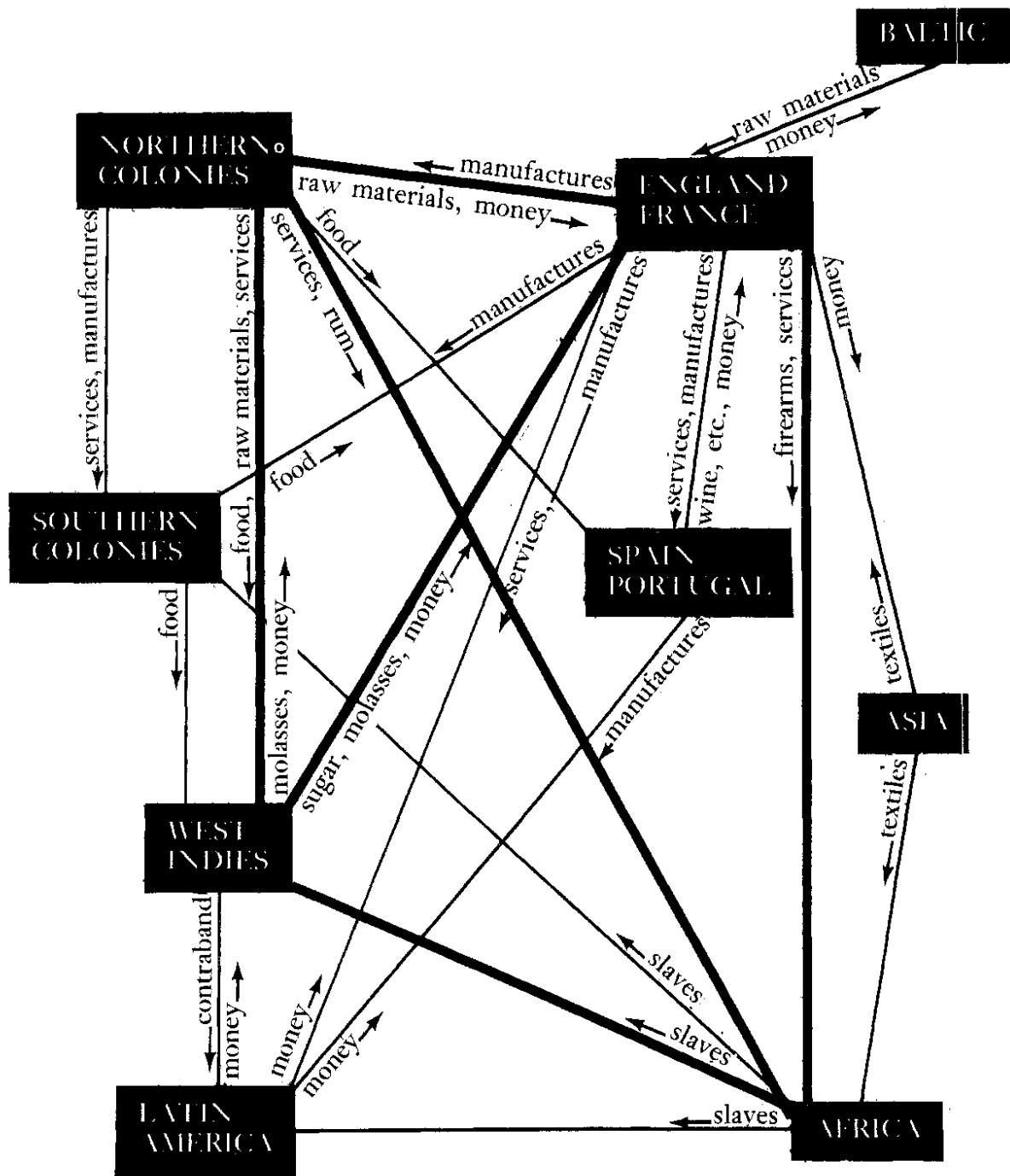and man power (cited in Tez, 2011: 164).

FIGURE II – "LEGEND: Manufactures: especially textiles, not necessarily self-produced or consumed; food: including tobacco and fish; services: especially shipping; money: in coin, bullion, and drafts; raw materials: especially timber and other natal stores, and iron (from Baltic) adapted from Mauro (1961)" (Frank, 1978: 221). Although this image shows the complex networks of so-called "triangular trade" in the eighteenth century, these trading networks were established in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in which we should add the United

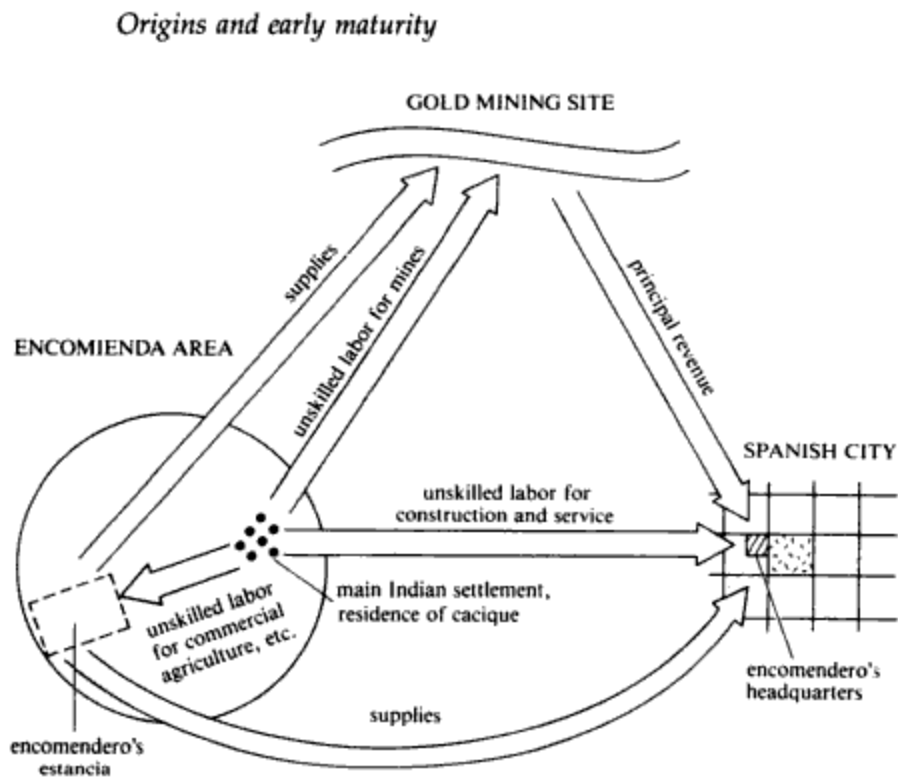Provinces to the northwestern European states as the hegemonic power of this system.

Origins and early maturity

GOLD MINING SITE

ENCOMIENDA AREA

supplies

unskilled labor for mines

principal revenue

SPANISH CITY

unskilled labor for
construction and service

unskilled labor
for commercial
agriculture, etc.

main Indian settlement,
residence of cacique

encomendero's
headquarters

supplies

encomendero's
estancia

Figure 3. Schema of an encomienda on the Caribbean islands.

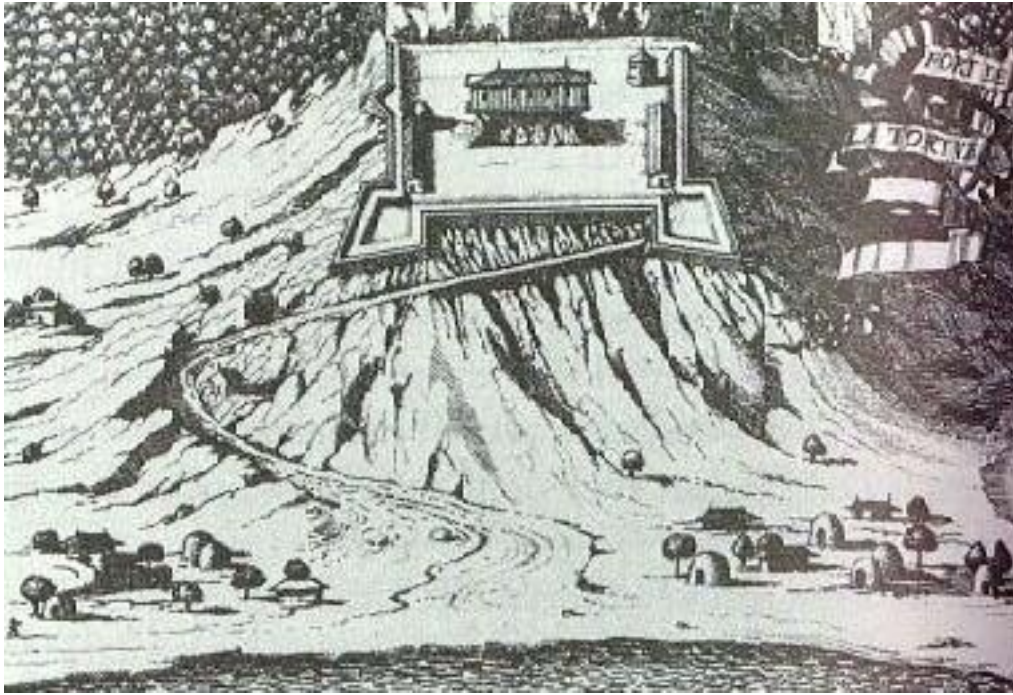FIGURE III –This image was taken from (Lockhart and Schwartz, 1983: 70).

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FIGURE IV – PLAN OF THE FORT DE ROCHER IN THE ISLAND OF TORTUGA –
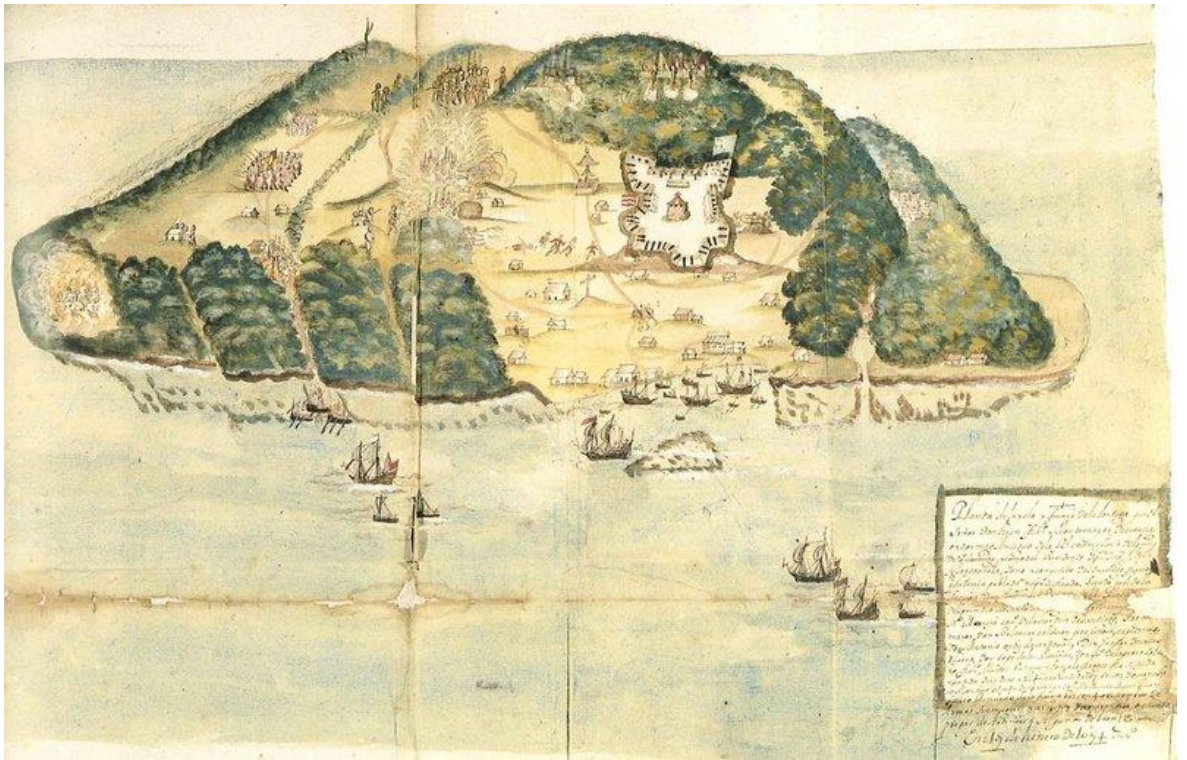1678 – JOHN ESQUEMELING
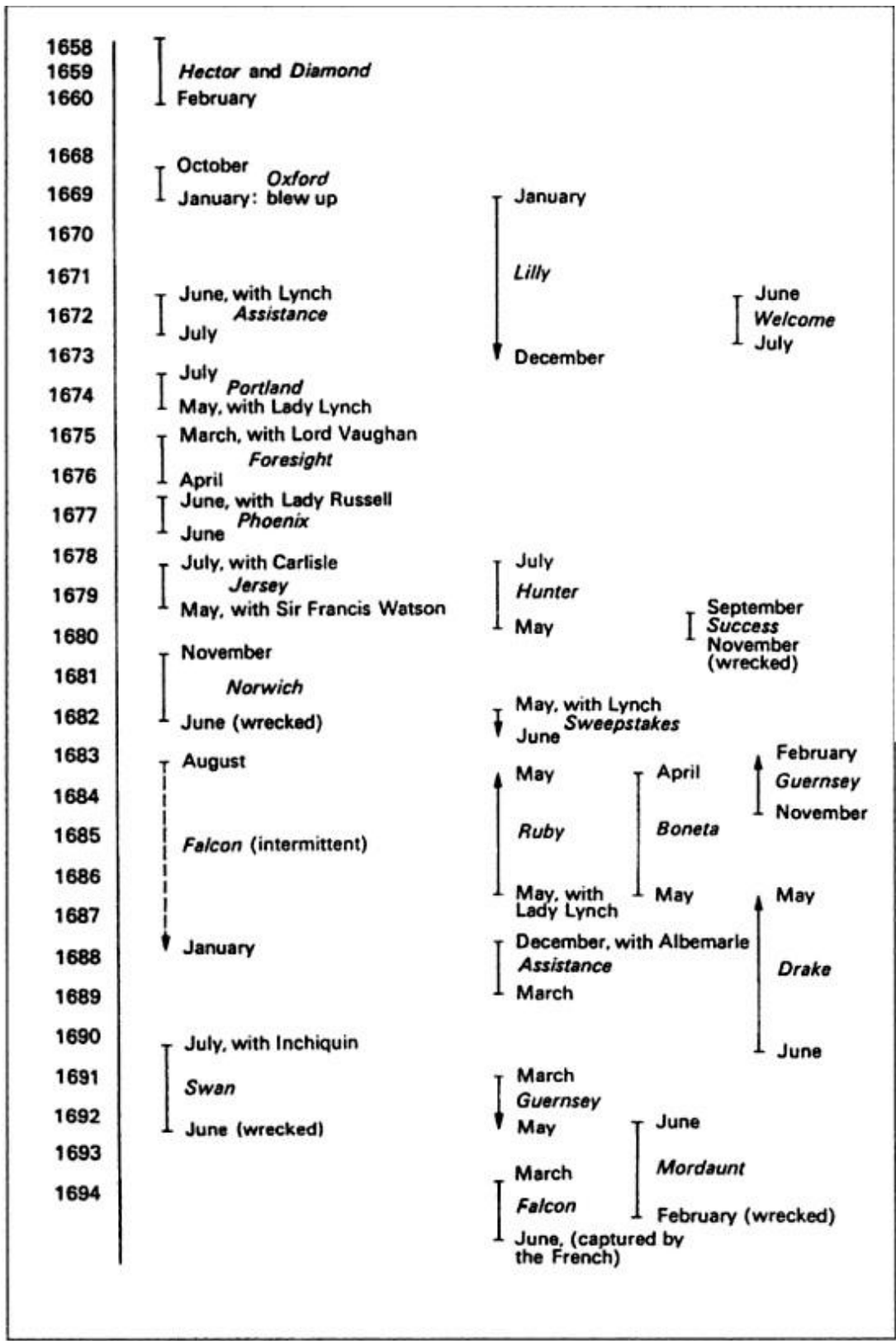
FIGURE V – PLAN OF TORTUGA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

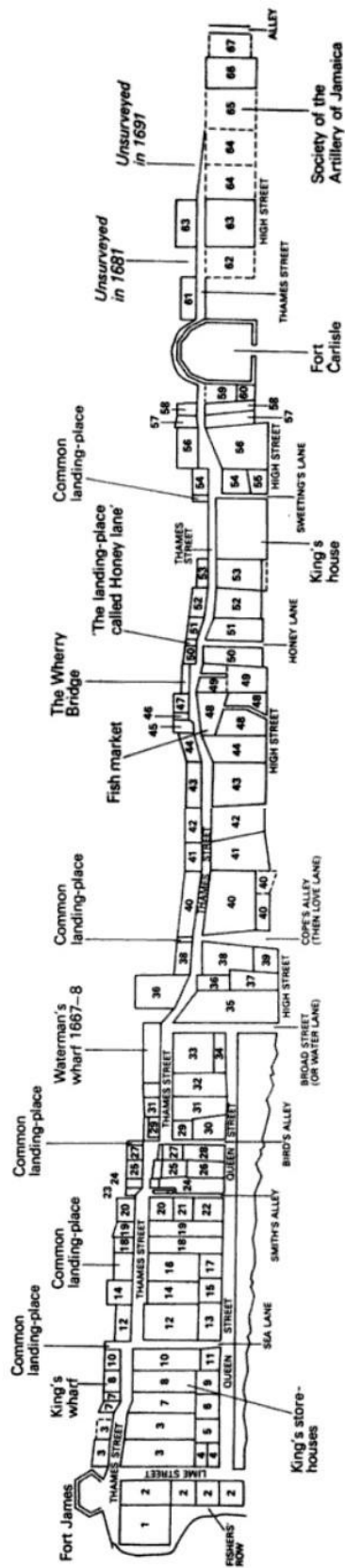FIGURE VI – SEQUENCE OF NAVY VESSELS IN PORT ROYAL (Pawson and Buisseret, 2000: 59).

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FIGURE VII – DETAILED PLAN OF PORT ROYAL BEFORE THE EARTHQUAKE
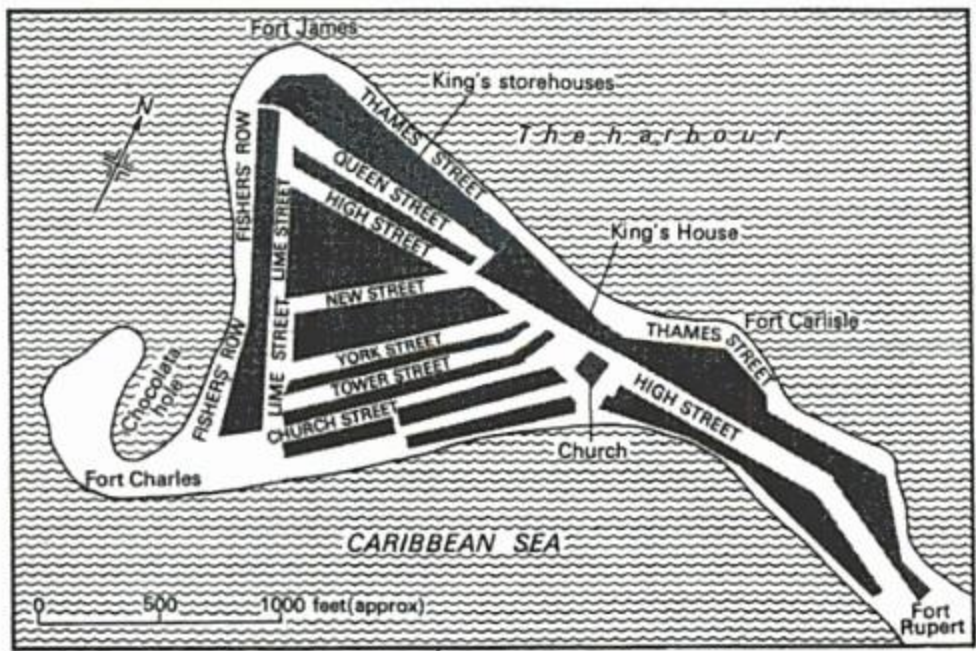(Pawson and Buisseret, 2000: 114-115).

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FIGURE VIII – STREET PLAN OF PORT ROYAL BEFORE 1692 (Pawson and Buisseret: 2000: 111).

V. TABLES

TABLE I

## 1786: THE DUTCH WERE STILL SHIPPERS FOR THE REST OF EUROPE

Statistics compiled by the French consul in Amsterdam in 1786, of the 1504 ships arriving in the harbour. In spite of the late date, almost all the ships were Dutch.

Coming from	Number of ships	Dutch-registered
Prussia	591	581
Russia	203	203
Sweden	55	35
Denmark	23	15
Northern Germany	17	13
Norway	80	80
Italy	23	23
Portugal	30	30
Spain	74	72
Levant	14	14
Barbary Coast	12	12
France	273	273
American colonies (not the United States)	109	109

From Brugmans, *Geschiednis von Amsterdam*, IV, pp. 260-1.

This table of Brugmans was cited in the book, the Perspective of the World by Fernand Braudel (Braudel, 1992: 238).

TABLE II - Treasure imports into Spain
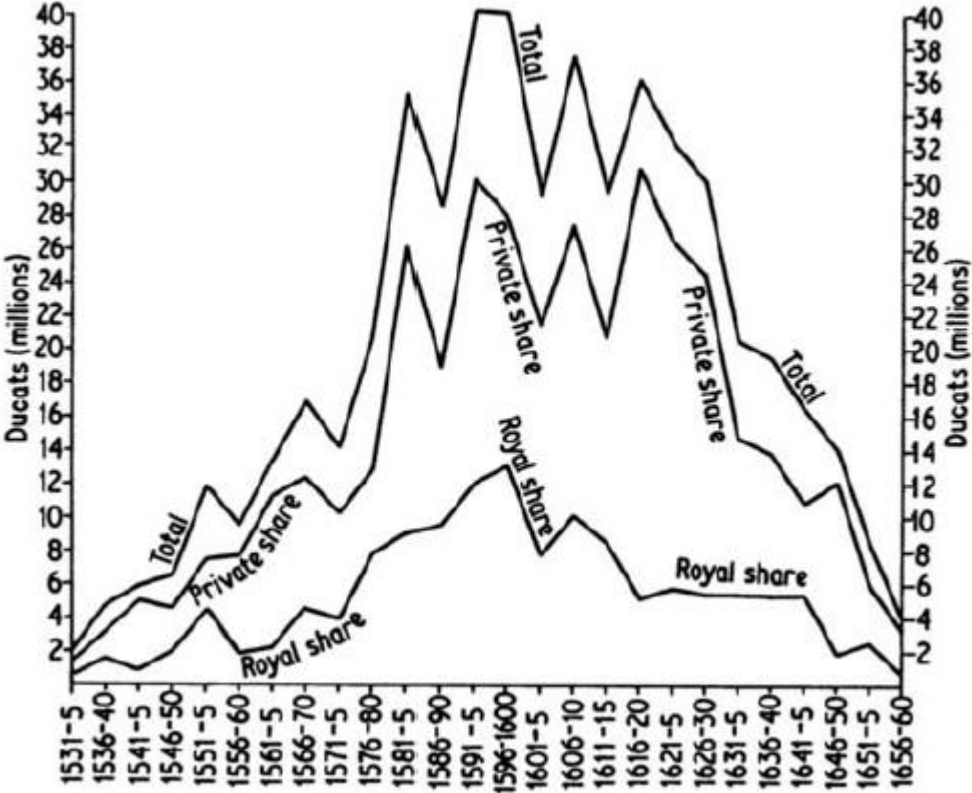
Source: Taken from Stephen J. Lee's *Aspects of European History, 1494-1789* (1984).

TABLE III - Gold and Silver Flow from America to Spain (Tons)

Years	Gold	Silver
1502-1510	5	-
1511-1520	9	-
1521-1530	5	-
1531-1540	14	86
1541-1550	25	178
1551-1560	43	303
1561-1570	12	943
1571-1580	9	1.119
1581-1590	12	2.103
1591-1600	19	2.708
1601-1610	12	2.214
1611-1620	9	2.192
1621-1630	4	2.145
1631-1640	1	1.397
1641-1650	2	1.056
1651-1660	0.5	443

Source: Hamilton, American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650 (1934:42)

VI.   TURKISH SUMMARY

(TÜRKÇE ÖZET)

Korsanlar, kendi tarihleri mevzu bahis olduğunda hep aynı sıfatla anılıyorlar: *hostis humani generis*, yani bütün insanlığın düşmanı. Özellikle, korsanlık faaliyetlerinin arttığı zamanlara paralel artışlar gösteren korsanlıkla ilgili akademik ve görsel/yazınsal eserlerde bu tonun yankılarını takip etmek hiç de zor değil. Fakat evrensel değerlere atıflarda bulunarak *hostis humani generis* savının doğruluğunu ispatlamaya ve bunu tarihsel bir bağlama oturtmaya çalışan eserlerin kaçırdıkları çok önemli bir nokta var. İşte bu nokta, bu çalışmanın tam da merkezinde duruyor. Bu çalışmanın amacı, 1650 ve 1713 yıllarını içeren süreçte, Latin Amerika ve Avrupa kıtalarını da kapsayan, Atlantik Dünyası'nda vuku bulmuş olan korsanlığın yalnızca bir suç faaliyeti değil, daha önemlisi dönemin Avrupalı devletlerinin Atlantik ticaret yollarını kontrol etme rekabetinde kullandıkları paramiliter bir araç olduklarını göstermektir. Korsanlığın bu rekabetteki rolünü, tarihsel veriler ve çağdaşlarının yazdıklarıyla açıklamak bu tezin en önemli gayesidir.

Bu bağlamda, korsanlarla devletlerin kurduğu ve devletlerin birbiriyle korsanlar üzerinden kurdukları ilişkinin anlatılması kritik bir önem taşımaktadır. Korsanların bu ilişkideki iki özelliği, bu insanları tarihin önemli öznelerinden biri haline getirdi. Birincisi, korsanlık, devletlere birbirlerime resmi olarak savaş açmadan gemileri yağmalama ve adaları ele geçirme gibi olanaklar sağlıyordu.

İkincisi, korsanlar yakalandıkları takdirde, devletler korsanlarla kurdukları bu ilişkiyi kolaylıkla inkâr edebiliyordu. Bu sayede, devletler resmi bir sorumluluk altına girmemelerine rağmen, istediklerini alabiliyordu.

Tabii, bu iki özellik, tarihte de örnekleri görüldüğü üzere, aynı eylemi yapan farklı kişilerden birini asillik unvanıyla ödüllendirirken, diğerini asılmak üzere ipe gönderebiliyordu. Bu noktada, korsanların yakalanıp yakalanmamaları ya da devletleri karşılarına alıp almamaları önemli hale geliyordu. Bu mütereddit durum, korsanlık tarihini ve bu konudaki kaynak taramasını çetrefilli bir hale getirmiştir. Bu konudaki hâkim eğilim ise, korsanlığın farklı alt kollara bölünmesi konusunda mutabakata varmış görünüyor. Eleştirilere geçmeden önce Türkçe terimlerin korsanlık literatüründeki yetersizliğini özetlemekte fayda var.

Korsanların farklı kollarını anlatmak için kullanılan yabancı kökenli bir sürü terimin Türkçe karşılığı bulunmamakta. 'Korsan' kelimesi Türkçede bu farklı dalların hepsi yerine kullanılabiliyor. Korsanlık tarihi bağlamında, İngilizce literatürde yapılan ana ayrım ise şu şekilde gelişmiştir: '*pirate*' (korsan ya da deniz haydutu) ve '*privateer*' (devletin özel teşebbüs kaynaklı savaş gücü). Korsan kelimesi köken olarak, Fransızca '*corsaire*' ve İngilizce '*corsair*' kelimelerinden türemiştir ve kraliyet tarafından yetkilendirilmiş deniz haydutları için kullanılır. İngilizce '*privateer*' olarak kısaltılmış olan '*Private Men-Of-War*' (özel teşebbüs kaynaklı savaş gücü) korsan/*corsair* tanımına bu bağlamda daha yakındır. Fakat 'korsan'ın Türkçedeki yaygın kullanımı *pirate* kelimesine yaklaşmıştır. Bu belirsizlikten kaçmak için yapılan ayrım ise deniz haydudu (*pirate*) ve korsan (*corsair* ya da *privateer*) şeklindedir.

Bunların yanı sıra, on yedinci yüzyılın ortalarında Karayipler'de geçen özel bir tür deniz haydutluğundan daha bahsedilmektedir: *buccaneer*. Yerel Amerikalıların bulduğu *Boucan* adlı ızgaralarda yapılan özel bir et tütsüleme yöntemini kullanmaları yüzünden *Buccaneers* olarak bilinen Avrupalı yerleşimciler, avcı-toplayıcı olarak sürdürdükleri hayatlarına İspanyol gemilerini avlayarak

devam etmişlerdir. Bu sebeple *buccaneer* kelimesi deniz haydutluğuyla birlikte anılmaya başlanmıştır.

Tarihçilerin, on yedinci ve erken on sekizinci yüzyıllarda, deniz haydutluğuyla korsanlık arasındaki farkı belirlerken, en çok üzerinde durdukları nokta, deniz haydutluğunun bağımsız gruplar tarafından herhangi bir millet ya da devlet gözetmeksizin, herkese karşı yapılıyor olmasıdır. Oysa korsanlık belli bir devlet tarafından yasal bir izinle desteklenip bir diğer devlete karşı yapılmaktadır. Bu konuda devlet tarafından diğer devletleri yağmalamak için verilen izinler, yani *letters of marque* (işaretleme lisansı) ya da *letters of reprisal* (misilleme mektubu) örnek gösterilir. İşaretleme lisansı ya da misilleme mektubu adıyla bilinen bu izinlerin, Türkçedeki yaygın kullanımı ise olayı açıklama konusunda daha faydalıdır. Bu yaygın kullanım, 'korsanlık fermanı'dır. Konuşma dilindeki anlamıyla düşünüldüğünde ise bu ferman, deniz haydutlarına devlet tarafından verilmiş yağmalama iznidir. Fakat bu izinler, deniz haydutlarını sadece izni veren devletin donanmasından korur. Diğer devletin donanması tarafından yakalanan korsanlar, 'korsanlık fermanı' olmayan diğer deniz haydutları gibi asılır ve tarihe deniz haydudu olarak geçerler. Bu konuya, yasal izinleri olmasına ve kendi devletleri tarafından korsan ya da özel teşebbüs kaynaklı savaş gücü olarak tanınmalarına rağmen daha sonradan deniz haydudu olarak anılan ve asılan bir sürü insan örnek olarak verilebilir. William Kidd büyük ihtimalle bu konudaki en meşhur örnektir. Yasal izni olduğu halde deniz haydudu damgası yiyen ve kendi ülkesi tarafından Londra'da asılan Kidd, kendi döneminde uluslararası politikanın ve devletlerarası çekişmenin 'mağdur'larından biridir.

Bir diğer örnek ise Henry Morgan'dır. İspanya ve İngiltere arasında Madrid Antlaşması yapılırken İngiltere'ye bağlı olan Jamaika'dan İspanya'ya bağlı olan Panama'ya yaptığı bir sefere korsan olarak çıkmış, deniz haydudu olarak dönmüştür. Londra'da hapis tutulduktan bir süre sonra ise asillik unvanıyla onurlandırılmış ve vali olarak Jamaika'ya atanmıştır. Korsanlık ile deniz haydutluğu arasındaki çizgi işte bu kadar belirsizdir. Kısacası, Türkçedeki terim

yetersizliği bu noktada bir avantaja dönüşüyor bile denilebilir. Yukarıdaki kısımda *privateer*, *corsair*, *buccaneer* ve *pirate* diye adlandırılan herkes aslında 'korsan'dır.

İspanya'nın Latin Amerika'nın büyük kısmını sömürgeleştirmiş olması ve uluslararası hukuk bağlamında bu sömürgelerle yasal ticaret tekelini elinde bulundurması, Hollanda, Fransa ve İngiltere'yi korsanlığa ve deniz haydutluğuna başvurmak durumunda bırakmıştır. Bu devletler, korsanlık fermanlarını sadece kendi vatandaşlarına değil, kendilerine yarar sağlayacağını düşündükleri bütün milletlerden ve bütün dinlerden insanlara vermişlerdir. Bir taraftan devletlerarası rekabet artarken diğer bir taraftan ise uluslararası hukuk alanında, bu devletler kendi uygulamalarını haklı çıkarma yarışına düşmüşlerdir.

Mare clausum (kapalı deniz) ve *mare liberum* (açık deniz) tartışması bu konunun en iyi örneğidir. İspanya, 'Yeni' Dünya'daki sömürgeleriyle kurduğu ticaret tekelini kaybetmemek adına *mare clausum* savını savunuyordu. Yani, bu bölgedeki denizleri yetki alanı içerisinde görüyordu ve kendisi izin vermeden hiçbir yabancı geminin bu alana girmesine izin vermiyordu. Öte tarafta, İngiltere ve Hollanda, *mare liberum* savını, yani bu bölgedeki denizlere herkesin eşit ulaşım hakkını savunuyordu. On yedinci yüzyılda yaşamış Hollandalı bir hukuk bilgini olan Hugo Grotius, özel teşebbüs kaynaklı güçlerin savaş ilan etme haklarını savunurken, hukuki izinli ve devlet destekli örgütsel şiddeti, küresel yönetimin normatif temeli olarak alıyordu. Korsanlık faaliyetleri bu iki kutup arasındaki çatışmanın tam da merkezindeydi.

Bir yandan paralı askerler gibi kiralanan ya da yağmalama izni verilen bu korsanlar, uzun mesafe ticaret ağlarını da etkiliyorlardı. Korsanlar ilişkide bulundukları devletleri, bu uzun mesafe meta zincirlerinde yer alan işlenmiş gümüş ve altın, kakao, tütün, şeker, kahve, rom, tropik ağaç türlerinden elde edilen ve gemi yapımı ve tamirinde kullanılan farklı türde keresteler, çivitotu, inci ve kırmız böceği boyasının üretim süreçlerinde yapılan harcamalardan azat ediyorlardı. Özellikle gümüş konusunda, madenlerin açılması, cıva üretimi ve kullanımı, madenlerde çalışanları doyurmak için kurulan plantasyonlar gibi üretim maliyetlerinden

kurtulan Avrupalı devletler için korsanlar bulunmaz nimetti. Port Royal'de yapılan kazılarda yukarıda bahsedilen malların yanı sıra Manila ticaretinde kullanılan Çin porselenleri ve Japon kılıçlarının bulunması korsanların bu meta zincirini ne kadar değiştirdiğini göstermektedir.

Yukarıda bahsedilen politik ve hukuki etmenler bir yana, Karayipler'in coğrafi özellikleri, bu bölgede korsanlık faaliyetlerinin başarılı olmasında çok önemli bir rol oynadı. Bölgede, yiyecek ve temiz su temini için gayri meskun küçük adaların ve kayların oluşu ve korunmak için körfezlerin, lagünlerin ve doğal limanların fazlalığına bir de Avrupalı devletlerin iştah kabartan ticareti eklenince Karayipler korsanlık için bir cazibe merkezi haline geldi. Korsanlar, Panama'dan Avrupa'ya doğru yönelen altın, gümüş, tütün, indigo, kırmız böceği boyası, kakao, kahve ve diğer değerli malları, ticaret gemilerinden bir süzgeç gibi uzanan küçük adalar arasındaki geçitleri kullanarak süzdüler.

Bu adalardan belki de en meşhuru Tortuga'dır. Hispanyola'nın kuzeybatı açıklarında bulunan bu küçük ada, on yedinci yüzyıldaki en önemli korsan karargahlarından biri olmuştur. 1500'lerde, İspanyol yerleşimciler küçük yerleşkeler kurmuş olsalar da değerli doğal kaynaklarının az oluşu sebebiyle hiçbir zaman Tortuga'ya tam anlamıyla yerleşmediler. Bu, yerleşilmemiş ada kısa sürede Fransız ve Hollandalı gezginlerin uğrak yeri haline geldi. Küçük plantasyonlar kuruldu, avcılığa başlandı. Buralardan elde edilen ürünler, anavatanlarına dönen gemilere satılıyordu. Bir süre sonra, bu küçük yerleşke İngiliz, Fransız ve Hollandalı kaçaklar, köleler, ıssız adalarda terk edilenler ve maceraperestlerle dolmaya başladı. Hispanyola'nın kuzey kıyılarına avcılık için seferlere çıkıldı. Kısa sürede, bu avcılık faaliyetleri İspanyol gemilerine yöneldi. Tortuga, her milletten, her dinden, her etnik kökenden ve her sınıftan İspanyol gümüşü peşine düşen korsanlarla dolup taşıyordu.

1652 yılında Jamaika'nın Port Royal kasabasını ele geçiren İngiltere, Tortuga'da bulunan bütün korsanlara ve deniz haydutlarına korsanlık fermanı vermeyi teklif etmişti. Tortuga gibi Port Royal'de kısa sürede korsanlarla doldu. Bu

sefer, korsanlık daha da kurumsallaşmıştı. Lisanslı korsanlık, ya da devlet eliyle korsanlık, Port Royal'daki ve Karayipler'deki en popüler meslek haline geldi. Port Royal bir anda döneminin en zengin şehirlerinden biri olmuştu. Korsan kiralamak bir yerleşkeyi kısa dönemde zengin hale getirmek için iyi bir girişimdi. İngilizler, bu girişimi sistematikleştirmek ve kurumsallaştırmak konusunda çok başarılıydılar. Korsanlık fermanı sadece koloniye mal akışını garanti altına almıyordu. Aynı zamanda, limana gelen kargoyu kontrol imkânı sağlıyor ve devlet tarafından talep edilen payı da yazılı bir belgeyle garanti altına alıyordu. Port Royal karaborsasında eskiden donanmaya ait olan savaş gemileri çok ucuz fiyatlara satılıyordu. Savaş gemileri ve silah haricinde Port Royal'de her çeşit değerli çalıntı malı bulmak mümkündü. 1655 ile 1671 yılları arasında Port Royal'e bağlı korsanlar, sekiz şehir, dört kasaba ve otuz beş köy yağmaladılar (Zahedieh, 2005: 520).

1680 yılı civarında Jamaika'nın geliri korsanlıktan plantasyonlara doğru kayıyordu. Fakat 1678 yılındaki korsanlık karşıtı yasaya ve İspanya'yla imzalanan Madrid Antlaşması'na rağmen korsanlık Port Royal'de hala en popüler mesleklerden biriydi. Port Royal'de korsanlık, çoğu tarihçinin inandığı gibi 1678 yılında çıkarılan korsanlık karşıtı yasa yüzünden değil, coğrafi bir olayın sebep olduğu yıkım yüzünden bitti. 1692 yılındaki büyük bir deprem ve onu izleyen bir tsunami şehrin üçte ikisini sulara gömdü. İki bin insan ilk felaketin hemen sonrasında öldü. Bunu, hastalıklar yüzünden ölen binlercesi takip etti. Bu felaketten sonra şehir bir daha kendisini hiç toplayamadı.

Karayipler'de o dönem korsanların gözdesi olan bir başka ada da Bahamalar'daki New Providence adasıydı. Bölgedeki yıkıcı fırtınalar, sığlıklar ve resifler yüzünden İspanyol ticaret gemilerinin batıklarının sayısı azımsanamayacak kadar çoktu. Hazine avcıları ve korsanlar bu bölgeyi zaten kullanıyorlardı fakat Port Royal'daki deprem sonrası New Providence'daki korsan nüfusu arttı. Artık yeni korsan sığınağı Bahamalar'a kaymıştı.

Batık ekonomisi bir yana Bahamalar'ın sunduğu daha bir sürü ürün vardı. Tütün ve şeker endüstrileri bunların en dikkat çekenleri gibi gözükse de

tomrukçuluk, balina ve kaplumbağa avcılığı, tuz ve akamber endüstrisi bu bölgeye bakan korsanların iştahını kabartıyordu. Ama New Providence adasının yöneticileri, erkek nüfustan şikâyetçilerdi. Erkekler bütün gün boş gezerken kadınlar ve çocuklar toprakla uğraşıyorlardı. Adanın dördüncü valisi olan Robert Clarke (1677-1682), bu duruma bir çözüm getirdi. Bir İngiliz gemisini yağmaladıkları bahanesiyle Havana çıkışlı İspanyol gemilerinin yağmalanması için korsanlık fermanları dağıtmaya başladı.

Devlet eliyle korsanlığın Bahamalar'a sıçraması İspanya'yı hiç memnun etmedi. 1684 yılında İspanya Bahamalar'ı iki kere yağmaladı. Buradaki yerleşimcilerin büyük çoğunluğu Jamaika'ya sığınmak zorunda kaldılar. Küçük bir kısmı da Massachusetts'e ve Karolina'ya sığındı. 1686 yılında Jamaika'ya kaçan sığınmacıların bir kısmı New Providence'a geri döndü. Kısa sürede ada, eski popülerliğine tekrar kavuştu. 1687 yılında, Kaptan William Phipps Bahama açıklarında bir İspanyol kalyonu olan *Concepcion*'un batığını ve içindeki hazineyi bulduğunda bütün gözler tekrar Bahamalar'a döndü. New Providence'ın korsanlar tarafından kullanılması, İspanyol Veraset Savaşı'na kadar devam etti.

1701 yılında, İngiltere ve Hollanda, İspanya'ya ve müttefiki Fransa'ya savaş açtı. İngiltere, Fransızların İspanya üzerindeki artan etkisinden bıkmıştı. İspanya ise dünya-ekonomisi tarafından üzerine binmeye başlayan yapısal kısıtlamalardan kurtulmak istiyordu. İspanyol Veraset Savaşı, Amerika kıtasına da sıçradı. Kraliçe Anne Savaşı olarak bilinen bu cephede, iki taraf adına da çoğunlukla donanmaya alınan korsanlar savaşıyordu. Korsanlar için tam istihdam anlamına gelen 1701 ile 1713 yılları arasındaki savaş, Utrecht Anlaşması'yla bitti. İngiltere, Cebelitarık ve Minorka bölgelerinin yanı sıra, İspanyol sömürgeleriyle yapılan köle ticaretinin tekelini (*asiento*) de almış oldu. Fransa ise, Amerika kıtasındaki Newfoundland, Rupert's Land ve Acadia'yı İngiltere'ye teslim etti. İngilizlerin bu zafer sonrasında korsanlara ihtiyacı kalmamıştı, artık özgürce ticaret yapabilecekleri alana sahiptiler.

Savaş zamanı donanmada görev yapan korsanlar işsiz kaldılar. Bunun yanı sıra, İngiltere'nin Amerika'da kazandığı topraklar ve ticaret hakkı artık devletlerden

destek göremeyecekleri anlamına geliyordu. Esasen, tam olarak işsiz kaldılar denilemez, çünkü korsanlardan bazıları bu duruma ayaklanan meslektaşlarını avlamak için kiralandı. Bu korsan avcılarının bir kısmı ise, tekrar aynı durumla karşı karşıya kalmamak için, devletler tarafından asıldı.

Savaş sonrası maaşlar da düşmüştü. İşsizlik bir tarafta, düşük maaşlar diğer tarafta, savaş sonrası korsan nüfusunda kısa süreli bir artış oldu. Fakat bu aldatıcı olmamalıdır. Devlete ayaklanan her korsan, bir dönemler kendilerini destekleyenler tarafından acımasızca katledildi, asıldı ve liman girişlerinde demir kafesler içerisinde teşhir edildi. Bir yandan Kral II. George tehditkar ve hilekar bir tonda korsanlara af ilan ederken, diğer tarafta korsanları yakalayanlara ödüller vaat ediyordu. Aflar kısıtlı yer ve kısıtlı zamana hitap ettiği için aflardan hiçbir korsan yararlanamıyordu. Sadece kral değil, savcılar, hakimler ve dini liderler gibi sistemin bütün kurumsallaşmış yapılarında görev yapanlar, korsanları lanetleyen bildiriler yayınlıyor, vaazlar veriyor ve gazeteler çıkarıyorlardı. Şiddetin tekelinin devletin ve yönetimdekilerin elinde toplanması meşrulaşırken korsanlar bunun dışında kalıyordu. Kazançlı olduğu kadar vahşi ve kanlı da olan şeker endüstrisi korsanlığın yerini alıyordu. Bir zamanlar asillik unvanlarıyla ödüllendirilen korsanlar, *hostis humani generis* olarak lanetleniyor ve uluslararası hukuktaki 'evrensel' suçlu kategorisine itiliyorlardı.

Korsanlarla ilgili önemli bir diğer nokta da kendi içlerindeki örgütlenme şekilleriydi. Dönemin alışılagelidik kalıpları dışında korsanlar, kaptanlarının kim olacağına ve nereye saldıracaklarına birlikte karar veriyorlardı. Sadece çatışma anlarında kaptanın tayfa üzerinde tam otoritesi vardı. Nereye saldırılacağına karar verildikten sonra tayfalar, aralarında ganimeti nasıl pay edileceklerine ve uzvunu kaybeden ya da yaralanan birine ne kadar ödeme yapılacağına karar veriyorlardı. Kaptanın gücünü kısıtlamak için korsan tayfası kendi arasından birini levazım subayı olarak görevlendiriyordu. Levazım subayı, bir yandan kaptanın görevini kötü kullanmasını önlerken diğer taraftan tayfa arasında problemlerin çıkmasını önlemekle de görevliydi. Suç işleyenin ne ceza alacağından ganimetin adil bir

biçimde paylaşımına kadar geminin iç düzeniyle ilgili işlerin yürütülmesi levazım subayının göreviydi. Fakat bir korsan gemisindeki esas gücü, geminin meclisi de diyebileceğimiz, tayfalar ellerinde tutuyorlardı. Kaptan ve levazım subayı da tayfanın oylarıyla konulan bu kurallara uymak zorundaydı.

Bu kurallardan günümüze kalan en ilginç örneklerden biri Kaptan Bartholomew 'Kara Bart' Roberts'a aittir. Bu kurallara göre, gemideki her korsanın gelişen olaylar için bir oy hakkı vardı. Bununla birlikte, elde edilen yiyeceklere ve içeceklere eşit ulaşım hakkı vardı. Kaptan ve levazım subayı ganimetten iki pay alıyorlardı. Ustabaşı, lostromo ve topçular bir buçuk; geriye kalan tayfa ise bir tam ve bir çeyrek pay alıyorlardı. Gemide geliştirilen sigorta sistemi de bir hayli ilginçti. Kolunu ya da bacağını kaybedenlere 800 pound; diğer sakatlıklara, sakatlığın ciddiyetiyle orantılı bir para ödeniyordu. Bunun yanı sıra cezalar da bu kurallar içerisinde belirtilmişlerdi. Gemiden kaçmaya çalışmanın ve savaş sırasında görev yerini terk etmenin cezası ölüm ya da ıssız bir adaya bırakılmaktı. Eğer iki tayfa arasında kavga çıkarsa, iki taraf kıyı da düello yapmak durumundaydı. Bu düellolarda, ilk kanı akıtan taraf kazanıyordu. Eğer düello konusunda anlaşma sağlanamazsa levazım subayı taraflara kıyıya kadar eşlik ediyor ve düellonun uygun koşullar altında yapılmasını sağlıyordu. Gemiye kadın ve çocuk getirmek yasaktı. Gemiye kadın getirenlerin cezası ölümdü. Para karşılığı kart veya zar oyunları oynamak yasaktı. Bu yasaklar dışında ilginç kurallar da göze çarpıyordu. Akşam sekizde bütün ışıklar kapatılıyordu, hala içmeye hevesli olanlar bunu açık güvertede yapmak zorundaydılar. Gemideki müzisyenlerin sadece sebt gününde dinlenme izinleri vardı. Diğer altı günün sabahında ve akşamında müzik yapmakla yükümlüydüler.

Yine de dönemin donanmalarıyla, plantasyonlardaki zorunlu hizmetle ya da kölelikle karşılaştırıldığında korsanlık, daha az hiyerarşik disiplin, daha kısa çalışma saatleri ve daha fazla kazanç demekti. Bu yüzden hem Avrupalı devletlerin donanmalarından, ticaret ve köle gemilerinden hem de Karayipler'deki kolonilerden kaçan farklı etnik kökenlerden, farklı dinlerden ve farklı sınıflardan

insanlar, kısa zamanda zengin olmanın hayaliyle korsan gemisinde bir araya geliyorlardı.

Korsan tayfasını oluşturanlar sadece kendi rızalarıyla gelenler değildi. Korsanlar bir gemiyi ele geçirdiklerinde işlerine yarayacaklarını düşündükleri denizcileri zorla kendi tayfalarına alıyorlardı. Bunlar genelde, aşçı, marangoz, rotacı ya da seyir zabiti gibi daha kalifiye veya denizcilik anlamında tecrübeli adamlar oluyordu. Her zaman güvenli bir liman bulamayan korsanlar için bu kalifiye ve tecrübeli adamlar kritik bir öneme sahipti. Bu adamlar sayesinde, ıssız koylarda gemilerin bakımlarını ve tamirlerini yapmak, bulunabilen yiyeceklerle tayfanın karnını doyurmak, kaybolunduğunda rotayı bulmak ve Karayipler'in tehlikelerle dolu sığlıklarını ve resiflerini bilmek korsanlara büyük avantaj sağlıyordu. Yukarıda bahsedilen Barholomew Roberts da korsanlar tarafından zorla alınmadan önce İngiltere'ye bağlı, köle ticaretiyle uğraşan bir gemide seyir zabitiydi. Orta sınıf bir aileden geliyordu ve dönemin sıradan denizcisi için pek de beklenmedik bir şekilde okuma yazması vardı. Aynı zamanda denizcilikle ilgili bilgileri sayesinde tayfası tarafından kaptan olarak seçildi.

Bu farklı geçmişlerden gelen ama aynı amaç için toplanan tayfalar arasında *matelotage* diye adlandırılan hemcinsler arası evlilik antlaşmasını andıran bir kavram doğdu. Buna göre, birbiriyle antlaşan iki tayfa bir aile gibi, her şeylerini paylaşıyor, birlikte avlanıp birlikte savaşıyorlardı. Bu antlaşma her zaman eşcinsel bir ilişkiye işaret etmese de, korsanlar arasında eşcinsellik oldukça yaygındı. *Matelotage* her zaman için iktisadi bir ilişki anlamına gelmiyordu. Çoğu tarihçi tarafından bu eşcinsel ilişkiler Karayipler'deki kadın nüfusunun azlığıyla ilişkilendirildi. Tarihsel verilere baktığımızda bunun pek de doğru olmadığını görüyoruz.

Korsanların kadınlar karşısındaki tutumu, dönemin batılı devletlerindeki beyaz erkeklerin ortalama algısıyla aynıydı. İkinci sınıf vatandaş olarak algıladıkları kadınları sadece satılacak birer meta ya da kargo olarak görüyorlardı ve gemilerinde kadın bulundurmuyorlardı. Fakat bu kadınların korsanlık tarihinden

ya da dönemin denizcilik tarihinden tamamen dışarı itildikleri anlamına da gelmiyordu. Anne Bonny ve Marry Read gibi kadın korsanlar on sekizinci yüzyılın başlarında Karayipler'de faaliyetlerini sürdürebiliyorlardı. Bunun dışında erkek kıyafeti giyerek ve erkek isimleri kullanarak hem donanmalara ve ticaret gemilerine hem de korsan gemilerine katılan bir sürü kadın denizci vardı. Bunun yanı sıra, kadınların limanlardaki görevleri de önemliydi fakat kapitalist dünya-ekonomisinde kurumsallaştığı üzere bu kadınların görevleri ve işleri ya yok sayılıyor ya da ucuz iş gücü olarak görülüyordu. Kendi eşcinsel toplulukları içerisinde dahi korsanlar kadınlara karşı kapitalizm tarafından sunulan bu ataerkil özellikleri uyguluyorlardı.

Yukarıda bahsedildiği üzere, 1713 sonrası korsanlara karşı yapılan sistematik ve kurumsal suçlamaların izlerini günümüze kadar izlemek mümkün. Tarihte yer alan ve 1713 öncesi dönemdeki korsanlık, görsel ve yazınsal sanatlar tarafından romatikleştirildi ve içi boşaltıldı. Öte yandan, günümüzdeki korsanlığı 'lanetlemek' için retrospektif tarih yazımı ve akademik diğer çevreler büyük bir gayret içerisine girdiler. Bu sebepten ötürü bu çalışmanın son sözleri, bu mağduriyeti ve suçlamaları bugün en derinden yaşayanların, Somali korsanlarının tecrübelerine ve sözlerine bırakıldı. Somali kıyılarında balıkçılık yapan insanların nasıl ve neden korsan olduklar konusunda yaptıkları açıklamalar, akademik çevrelerin ve ana akım medyanın suçlamaları arasında hep 'gözden kaçtı'. Bir zamanlar, balıkçılıkla geçinen bu insanlar, Asya, Avrupa ve Orta Doğu'dan gelen yasadışı balıkçı filolarının trol tekneleri ve uzun mesafeli ticaret yollarını kullanan filoların kimyasal atıkları yüzünden açıklıkla burun buruna gelmiş ve korsan olmayı seçmişlerdi. Fakat kapitalist dünya-sistemine ve onun kurumlarına karşı çıktığınız ya da sesinizi yükselttiğiniz anda 'terörist' ya da 'yasadışı örgüt' olarak yaftalanmak kaçınılmazdır. Bütün dünya Somali korsanlarını akademisyenlerin, medyanın ve görsel/yazınsal sanatların sayesinde tarihsel ve evrensel temellere dayanan ya da dayandırılan *hostis humani generis*, yani 'bütün insanlığın düşmanı' olarak tanıdılar.

2010 yılında Haiti'deki depremden sonra insani yardımlar konusundaki tekeller olan ABD ve Avrupalı devletler, Somalili korsanların yardım taleplerini geri çevirdiler. Buna karşın korsanlar yayımladıkları bildiride, başka bağlantılar yoluyla bu parayı ulaştırma imkânları olduğundan bahsetti. Fakat korsanların basın sözcüsünün bir konudaki sözleri bu yardım meselesinin ötesinde tarihsel bir gerçeklik taşıyor: Haiti'ye yapılan insani yardım ABD ve Avrupalı devletler tarafından kontrol edilemez, onların böyle bir ahlaki otoritesi yoktur. Zaten yıllardan beri insanlığa karşı deniz haydutluğu yapanlar da onlardır.

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