

Endnotes

Abbreviations:

C.O.—Colonial Office Paper

HCA—High Court of Admiralty Papers

PRO—Public Record Office

Prologue

1. Will of Sarah Rousby, *New York County, Wills and Administrations 1742-1751*, 15:262–264.

1. Sarah's New World

1. J.H. Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), 249.
2. Joyce Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 78.
3. George J. Lankevich, *New York City, A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 26.
4. Morton Pennybacker, "Captain Kidd: Hung, Not for Piracy but for Causing the Death of a Rebellious Seaman Hit with a Toy Bucket"

- in *New York History*, vol. 25, no. 4 (October 1944), 485. Accessed March 7, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23148755>.
5. Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 87.
 6. Alice Morse Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896; Singing Tree Press, Detroit, Michigan, 1968), 58.
 7. Gideon J. Tucker, *Names of Persons for Whom Marriage Licenses were Issued by the Secretary of the Province of New York Previous to 1784* (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1860), 577; Peter R. Christoph and Florence A. Christoph., eds, *New York Historical Manuscripts: English Books of General Entries of the Colony of New York 1674-1688* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982), 325.
 8. Sarah Bradley was born about 1670 in England. <https://records.myheritagelibraryedition.com/research/record-1-394707701-1-25/sarah-bradl>. Accessed February 7, 2019.
 9. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives, Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650-1750* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 6.
 10. William Cox was granted a pass from New York governor Edmund Andros on April 16, 1676, to be a passenger on the ketch *Beginning* bound from New York to Barbados. This means he was old enough to travel on his own and lived in New York at least eight years before he met Sarah in 1684. Peter R. Christoph and Florence A. Christoph, eds., *New York Historical Manuscripts: English-Books of General Entries of the Colony of New York, 1674-1688* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982), 111–112.
 11. Author interview with Hallie Borstel, researcher, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, by email October 2, 2019.
 12. This information taken from the inventory of William Cox.

13. Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*, 110.
14. This information taken from the inventory of William Cox.
15. "American Needlework in the Eighteenth Century." www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/need/hd_need.htm. Accessed January 15, 2022.
16. This information taken from the inventory of William Cox.
17. <https://www.college-of-arms.gov.uk>. Accessed February 2, 2022.
18. Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*, 70.
19. *Ibid.*, 56–60.
20. *Ibid.*, 64–65.

2. William Cox and the She-Merchant

1. David T. Valentine, *History of the City of New York* (New York: G.P. Putnam & Co., 1853), 180.
2. Lankevich, *New York City, A Short History*, 26.
3. The colony had a reputation as a flour-producing entity and the city's viability and development was dependent on the flour merchants doing their job well. The flour monopoly was so successful that the city's wealth and population tripled before the end of the seventeenth century, according to historian George J. Lankevich in *New York City, A Short History*. Flour barrels and windmills are on the seal of New York City to represent one of the city's earliest trade products and the great wealth generated by the Bolting Act.
4. William Cox and John Robinson and wife Greetje. Deed dated February 12, 1683, *Liber Deeds*, IX:3 (Albany). 13:28. "New York Land Records, 1630–1975," images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-99WG-KHX4?cc=2078654&wc=M7CX-B3N%3A358138101%2C360793801>; 22 May 2014), New York > Conveyances 1654–1687 vol. 13 > image 263–264 of 431; county courthouses, New York. Accessed January 2, 2020.

5. Michael Pollak, "FYI: Name that Island," *New York Times*, December 14, 2012. <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/16/nyregion/before-it-was-called-roosevelt-island.html>. Accessed August 22, 2021.
6. Henry Crosswell Tuttle, *Abstracts of Farm Titles in the City of New York, East Side, Between 75th and 120th Streets* (New York: The Spectator Company, 1878), 4.
7. <https://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/history-and-heritage/additional-resources/dutch-treats/peter-schagen-letter/>. Accessed December 3, 2021. Value of the guilder/euro conversion at International Institute of Social History, www.ilsg.nl.
8. Berthold Fernow and Arnold J. F. Van Laer, *Calendar of Council Minutes 1688-1783* (Harrison, NY: Harbor Bill Books, 1987), 34.
9. The names of Cox's enslaved workers, Moll and Titus, taken from the inventory of his estate made in 1689.
10. Michelle Marchetti Coughlin, *One Colonial Woman's World: The Life and Writings of Mehetabel Chandler Coit* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2021), 27.
11. Dunbar Maury Hinrichs, *Mrs. Captain Kidd* (New York: Vantage Press, 1952), 41.
12. Zimmerman, Jean. *The Women of the House*. New York: Harcourt, 2006.
13. Carol Berkin and Leslie Horowitz, *Women's Voices, Women's Lives* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 96.
14. "New York Land Records, 1630-1975," images, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-L9W5-G5TC?cc=2078654&wc=M7CX-B3X%3A358138101%2C360792501:22_May_2014), New York > Conveyances 1683-1896 vol 18 > images 28-31 of 418; county courthouses, New York. Accessed January 2, 2020.

15. Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People*, 241; Valentine, *History of the City of New York*, 178.
16. Valentine, *History of the City of New York*, 289.
17. Valentine, *History of the City of New York*, 76; Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People*, 235.
18. “New York Land Records, 1630–1975,” images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-L9W5-G5TC?cc=2078654&wc=M7CX-B3X%3A358138101%2C360792501:22May2014>), New York > Conveyances 1683–1896 vol 18 > images 28–31 of 418; county courthouses, New York. Accessed January 2, 2020.
19. This information is taken from the inventory of Cox’s estate from August 1689.
20. This information is taken from the inventory of Cox’s estate from August 1689; explanation of where things originated from in Cathy Matson, *Merchants & Empire Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 90.
21. Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*, 179.
22. *Ibid.*, 180.
23. Zimmerman, *The Women of the House*, 237.
24. Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*, 292.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Information about Cox’s business practices in the shop taken from the inventory of his estate.
27. The inventory from Cox’s estate lists these people as some of his customers who bought their goods on credit.
28. Frederick de Peyster, “The Life and Administration of Richard,

Earl of Bellmont,” an address delivered before the New York Historical Society, November 18, 1879 (New York: *New York Historical Society Collections*, 1879), 29.

3. Mayhem and Tragedy

1. <http://www.nycourts.gov/history/legal-history-new-york/legal-history-eras-01/history-new-york-legal-eras-leisler.html>. Accessed February 12, 2020; Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 94–95.
2. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 95.
3. www.u-s-history.com/pages/h547.html. Accessed January 15, 2022.
4. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 96.
5. *Ibid.*, 98.
6. Peter R. Christoph, ed. *The Dongan Papers 1683-1688: Admiralty Court and other Records of the Administration of New York Governor Thomas Dongan* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 238.
7. Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot, Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 61.
8. Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People*, 249; Land record in [www.FamilySearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org), April 8, 1689, 18:97.
9. *New York: Abstracts of Wills, Admins. and Guardianships, 1787-1835*. (Online database: AmericanAncestors.org. New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2006.) Original manuscript in: Eardeley Genealogy Collection: New York State Abstracts of Wills, Brooklyn Historical Society. <https://www.americanancestors.org/DB7/i/6903/679/417487>).

10. Men of wealth and standing in colonial New York followed the fashion trends in Europe. www.fashionhistory.fitnyc.edu/1680-1689. Accessed December 4, 2021.
11. Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People*, 250; E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., "Mr. Tuder to Captain Nicholson," in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. 3 (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1852-53), 617.
12. Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People*, 250; Hinrichs, *Mrs. Captain Kidd*, 38.
13. Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, *History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century, Volume 2: New York Under the Stuarts* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2007), 408.
14. Robert C. Ritchie, *The Duke's Province: A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664-1691* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 26.
15. Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*, 306.
16. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 174.
17. Cathy Matson, *Merchants & Empire Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 74.
18. "Turkey work embroidery." www.britannica.com/art/Turkey-work. Accessed January 15, 2022.
19. This information taken from the inventory of William Cox.
20. Berkin and Horowitz, *Women's Voices, Women's Lives*, 96.
21. This information is taken from the 1691 inventory of William Cox's estate appraised by Jacob Mayle and Richard Jones.
22. Zimmerman, *The Women of the House*, 184.

23. Valentine, *History of the City of New York*, 221.
24. Matson, *Merchants & Empire Trading in Colonial New York*, 61.

4. Debts and Bills

1. Harold T. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 1937), 32; Dunbar Maury Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd* (New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1955), 17.
2. Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 19.
3. Robert C. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 30–31.
4. Kidd referred to this in his letter to the Earl of Orford, April 11, 1700, on board HMS *Advice*, Portland MSS., British Museum. Also cited in Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 19.
5. <https://beyond-the-shore.obsidianportal.com/wikis/ship-types>. Accessed March 28, 2020.
6. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 32; Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 20.
7. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 113; Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 31.
8. E.B. O'Callaghan, ed. *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, vol. 2 (Albany: Weed Parsons & Co. Public Printer, 1849), 380; Lankevich, *New York City*, 30.
9. Hugh Hastings, *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York*, vol. 2 (Albany: James B. Lyon, State Printer, 1901), 998.
10. Richard Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter* (New York: Hyperion, 2002), 83.
11. Linda Briggs Biemer, *Women and Property in Colonial New York*:

The Transition from Dutch to English Law, 1643-1727 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 1.

12. Linda Grant DePaul, *Women and the Law: The Colonial Period*, an article from a Symposium: Women and the Law, A Retrospective View, 109. HeinOnline 6 Hum.Rts.107 1976-1977. Accessed February 10, 2020.
13. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 30.
14. New York Title and Guarantee Company, *New York Land-Holding Sea Rover* (New York: Lotus Press, 1901), 1-5.
15. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 124.
16. C.O. 323:2, no. 124, PRO, "Deposition of Benjamin Franks."
17. Steven Struzinski, "The Tavern in Colonial America," *The Gettysburg Historical Journal* 1, Article 7, 2002, 31. <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ghj/vol1/iss1/7>. Accessed June 1, 2021.
18. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 32; De Peyster, *The Life and Administration of Richard, Earl of Bellomont*, 32.
19. Details of Kidd taken from an anonymous portrait of him. Tradition has it that Sir James Thornhill drew Kidd when he was appearing before the House of Commons in London at the age of fifty-six. This is the only known portrait of Kidd done from real life.

5. Dead Men Tell No Tales

1. Robert Hendre Kelby and Kenneth Scott, *New York Marriages Previous to 1784* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publications Co., 1968). Kidd could not get a marriage license the same way Cox and Oort did. With so short notice he had to apply for a penal bond that showed there was no "lawful let or impediment of Pre-Contract, Affinity or Consanguinity to hinder the parties being joined in the Holy

Bonds of Matrimony and afterwards their living together as Man and Wife.”

2. Gideon J. Tucker, *Names of Persons for Whom Marriage Licenses Were Issued by the Secretary of the Province of New York, Previous to 1784* (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1860), 578.
3. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 102.
4. Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 22; *Trial of Jacob Leisler, New York Historical Society Collections*, 1868; Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People*, 247.
5. Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People*, 247.
6. Administration of the Estate of John Oort in *Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York, 1665-1801*, 1:180, 1:183.
7. This information is taken from the inventory of John Oort's estate done by Captain William Kidd and Sarah Kidd, October 17, 1692, found in Kenneth Scott and James A. Owre, *Genealogical Data from Data from Inventory of New York Estates 1666-1825* (New York: New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 1970), 110.
8. Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*, 102–103.
9. *Ibid.*, 108.
10. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 89–90.
11. Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 18.
12. *Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York, 1665-1707*, 1:197; Library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=nys;cc=nys;idno=nys054;q1=kidd;view=image;seq=220;size=75;page=root;print=1. Accessed March 2020.
13. Kenneth Scott and James A. Owre, *Genealogical Data from Data*

from *Inventory of New York Estates 1666-1825* (New York: New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 1970), 110.

14. *Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York, 1665-1707*, 1:365.
15. <http://www.bradleyfoundation.org/genealogies/Bingley/tobg04.htm#21952>. Accessed March 28, 2020.
16. For a modern recipe of groaning cake see: <https://www.pbs.org/food/recipes/groaning-cake/#.Xfo51HNIGDU.email>.
17. Hannah Woolley, *The Gentlewomans Companion or, A Guide to the Female Sex* (Devon, Great Britain: Prospect Books, 2001), 187.
18. John A. Grigg, *British Colonial America* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO, 2008), 63.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., 65.
21. "New York Land Records, 1630-1975," images, *FamilySearch* ([https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G9W5-GRHL?cc=2078654&wc=M7CX-B3X%3A358138101%2C360792501:22 May 2014](https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G9W5-GRHL?cc=2078654&wc=M7CX-B3X%3A358138101%2C360792501:22%20May%202014%2C360792501:22%20May%202014)), New York > Conveyances 1683-1896 vol 18 > image 301 of 418; county courthouses, New York.
22. "New York Land Records, 1630-1975," images, *FamilySearch* ([https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G9W5-GRHL?cc=2078654&wc=M7CX-BWP%3A358138101%2C360797701:22%20May%202014%2C360797701:22%20May%202014](https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G9W5-GRHL?cc=2078654&wc=M7CX-B3X%3A358138101%2C360792501:22%20May%202014%2C360792501:22%20May%202014)), New York > Conveyances 1698-1701 vol 23 > image 429 of 632; county courthouses, New York.
23. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 2459 and no. 2460, "Governor Fletcher to William Blathwayt," September 10, 1692.
24. Ibid.

6. The Golden Age of Piracy

1. Philip Gosse, *The History of Piracy* (New York: Dover Publications, 2007), 176.
2. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Fat Mutton and Liberty of Conscience: Society in Rhode Island, 1636-1690* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1974), 130.
3. *Ibid.*, 188.
4. Hubert Jules Deschamps, *Les Pirates á Madagascar* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1972) quoted from Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 41.
5. Marcus Rediker, *Villains of all Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 87.
6. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 59.
7. Rediker, *Villains of all Nations*, 93.
8. Alexander O. Exquemelin, translated by Alexis Brown. *The Buccaneers of America* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1969; Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2000), 10.
9. Joel H. Baer, *Pirates of the British Isles* (Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing, 2005), 19.
10. David Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag* (New York: Random House, 1995), 192.
11. Robert C. Ritchie, "Samuel Burgess, Pirate," in *Authority and Resistance in Early New York*, eds. William Pencak and Conrad Edick Wright (New York: New York Historical Society, 1988), 131.
12. George Francis Dow and John Henry Edmonds, *The Pirates of the New England Coast 1630-1730* (New York: Dover Publications, 1996), 197.

13. David Cordingly, *Spanish Gold* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 255, cited in his footnote 27, HCA.1/99.3, PRO.
14. Joel Baer, ed., *British Piracy in the Golden Age: History and Interpretation, 1660-1730* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), 1:340. This is a copy of the deposition of George Gibson from December 9, 1721, published in Philadelphia in the December 7-12, 1721, *American Weekly Mercury*.
15. Kenneth J. Kinkor, interview with author by telephone, McLean, Virginia, March 1, 2006.
16. Rediker, *Villains of all Nations*, 10.
17. Ritchie, "Samuel Burgess, Pirate," in *Authority and Resistance in Early New York*, 131.
18. Gosse, *The History of Piracy*, 321.
19. John C. Appleby, *Women and English Piracy 1540-1720* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2013), 2.
20. C.R. Pennell, ed., *Bandits at Sea: A Pirates Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 198-199.
21. Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, "The Seaman as Pirate" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 256.
22. Brett Rushfort and Paul W. Mapp, *Colonial North America and the Atlantic World: A History in Documents* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2009), 180.
23. "The term buccaneer is generally used now to describe the privateers and pirates of the West Indies who raided Spanish towns and shipping in the Caribbean and along the coasts of Central and South America in the period from around 1600 to the 1680s. The word originally applied to the groups of men, mainly French, who lived off the wild herds of cattle that roamed the northern regions

of Hispaniola. They became known as *boucaniers* or *bucaniers* from their practice of roasting meat on a *boucan*, a type of barbecue, in the manner of the local Indigenous people. Armed with an assortment of weapons and dressed in bloodstained hides, these rough men were described by a French missionary as the butcher's vilest servants who have been eight days in the slaughterhouse without washing themselves. Driven off Hispaniola by the Spanish in the 1630s, they migrated to the rocky island of Tortuga and used this as a base from which to attack passing ships and particularly those of the hated Spanish. After the capture of Jamaica by the British in 1655 many of the buccaneers moved to the harbor and town of Port Royal, which soon acquired the reputation of being the wickedest city in Christendom. The successive Governors of Jamaica encouraged the buccaneers to base themselves at Port Royal and issued privateering commissions for their ships. The buccaneers' presence protected the island from attack by the French or Spanish; and the ships and loot which they seized were of considerable benefit to the island's economy." David Cordingly, *Spanish Gold* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 8.

24. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America*, 18.
25. Dow and Edmonds, *The Pirates of the New England Coast 1630-1730*, 228.
26. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America*, 53–54; Joel H. Baer, "The Complicated Plot of Piracy: Aspects of English Criminal Law and the Image of the Pirate in Defoe," *The Eighteenth Century*, vol. 23, no. 1, (Winter 1982): 23.
27. Some historians, Robert C. Ritchie and Hans Turley, have suggested that pirates lived in a male-only homosexual world, but they bring forward little evidence in support of their assertions. I do not think the partnership of two pirates in the contract of *matelotage* was a partnership between two gay men.
28. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America*, 53–54.

29. Kenneth J. Kinkor, interview with author by telephone, McLean, Virginia, March 1, 2006.
30. Malcolm Cowley, "The Sea Jacobins," *The New Republic*, February 1, 1933, 329.
31. Peter Earle, *The Pirate Wars* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2003), 164.
32. Rediker, *Villains of all Nations*, 68.
33. David Cordingly, *Spanish Gold*, 18.
34. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America*, 70.
35. Ibid., 71.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., 72.
40. Dow and Edmonds, *The Pirates of the New England Coast 1630-1730*, 163.
41. Joel Baer, ed., *British Piracy in the Golden Age: History and Interpretation, 1660-1730* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), 2:xix.
42. Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag*, 229.
43. Baer, ed., *British Piracy in the Golden Age: History and Interpretation, 1660-1730*, 2:xii.
44. Joel Baer, ed., *British Piracy in the Golden Age*, 2:xii. Baer cited this quote in his text as from James F. Stephen. More information is in his footnote 19.
45. Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag*, 228.

7. Fletcher's Friends

1. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 473, "Governor the Earl of Bellomont to Council of Trade and Plantations," May 18, 1698.
2. Ibid.
3. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 1077, "Benjamin Fletcher to Council of Trade and Plantations," December 24, 1698.
4. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 473, "Governor the Earl of Bellomont to Council of Trade and Plantations," May 18, 1698.
5. Ibid.
6. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, xxi, no. 2459 and no. 2460, "Governor Fletcher to William Blathwayt," September 10, 1692.
7. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 15, "Governor Fletcher to the Lords of Trade and Plantations," May 30, 1696; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 106.
8. Ibid.
9. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 105.
10. Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*, 156.
11. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 15, "Governor Fletcher to the Lords of Trade and Plantations," May 30, 1696; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 106.

12. HCA 1/98 f. 85, PRO. Captain Samuel Burgess's Cargo list of the Margaret.
13. HCA 1/98 f. 42, PRO. "Deposition of Captain Samuel Burgess," March 1699.
14. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City*, 106–107.
15. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 30.
16. Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*, 102–103.
17. I.N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island 1498-1909*, (New York: Robert H. Dodd Publisher, 1915), 1:182.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 184.
20. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 27.
21. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 112.
22. HCA 13-81-001, PRO, sworn statement of William Kidd dated October 15, 1695, giving his age and birthplace; Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 17.
23. William J. Broad, "Seeking Pirate Treasure: Captain Kidd's Sunken Ship" in the *New York Times*, February 22, 2000.

8. London

1. Coughlin, *One Colonial Woman's World: The Life and Writings of Mehetabel Chandler Coit*, 27.
2. Robert T. Augustyn and Paul E. Cohen, *Manhattan in Maps 1527-1995* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1997), 52.
3. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 193.

4. John Romeyn Brodhead, "Letter of Lord Bellomont to Secretary Vernon, October 10, 1700" in *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1853), 4:759–760.
5. Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 28.
6. Ibid.
7. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 932, "Earl of Bellomont to William Popple," April 14, 1697.
8. Thomas Green, *The Tryal of Captain Thomas Green and his crew, pursued before the judge of the High Court of Admiralty of Scotland; And the Assessors appointed by the Lords of Privy Council*, 6 [book online](Edinburgh: printed by the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queens most excellent Majesty, 1705); available from *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/ecco/infomark.do?type=search&tabID=T001&queryId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28BN%2CNone%2C7%29N013613%24&sort=Author&search-Type=AdvancedSearchForm&version=1.0&userGroupName=wash43584&prodId=ECCO>. Accessed February 8, 2013.
9. Cornelius Neale Dalton, *The Real Captain Kidd* (New York: Duffield and Co., 1911), 229–238.
10. Baer, *Pirates of the British Isles*, 93.
11. Ibid., 100.
12. Ibid., 101–102.
13. John Franklin Jameson, ed., C.O. 323:2, no. 124, I PRO, Footnote 1 in *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents* (Gloucester, United Kingdom: Dodo Press, 2008), 217.
14. Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People*, 254.

15. Don C. Seitz, ed., *The Tryal of Capt. William Kidd: for Murther & Piracy* (New York: Rufus Rockwell Wilson, 1936), 7.
16. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 54–55.
17. Baer, *Pirates of the British Isles*, 121.
18. Ibid.
19. Dalton, *The Real Captain Kidd*, 250–251.
20. Ibid., 238–250.
21. Kidd worked with Colonel Hewson in 1688 to fight off the French for Governor Codrington. Hewson testified in support of Kidd at his trial. He said Kidd told him this information about Bellomont and Livingston. This is found in Howell's *State Trials, Hewson's testimony*, 14:208.
22. Seitz, ed., *The Tryal of Capt. William Kidd: for Murther & Piracy*, 64.
23. Ibid., 64–66.
24. Ibid.
25. Portland MSS., Harley papers, vol. 25, f. 213; also, vol. 36, f. 72.
26. Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 35.
27. New York Title and Guarantee Company, *New York Land-Holding Sea Rover* (New York: Lotus Press, 1901), 1–5.

9. Provisioning in New York

1. C.O. 323:2, no. 124 I, PRO, Footnote 1 in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 217.
2. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 58.
3. Ibid.

4. HCA 1/15, PRO.
5. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 28.
6. William Berrian, *An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New York* (New York: Stanford and Swords, 1847), 24.
7. www.slaveryinnewyork.org/history.htm. Accessed March 26, 2020.
8. Clifford P. Morehouse, *Trinity: Mother of Churches* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1973), 18.
9. Ibid.
10. Sarah's Last Will and Testament had very strong religious overtones and strong biblical directives that she implored her adult children to follow after her death.
11. Author interview with Whitey Flynn, Assistant Archivist of Trinity Church, March 2020, by phone; I.N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island 1498-1909* (New York: Arno Press, 1967), 1:183.
12. The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, "Records of Trinity Church Parish New York City," in *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, vol. 67, no. 3, July 1936.
13. Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*, 275.
14. Ibid., 207–209.
15. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 70.
16. Ibid., 64.
17. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 113.
18. *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 140:106; "New York LandRecords, 1630-1975," images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.com>).

org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-99W5-G5X3?cc=2078654&wc=M7CX-B3X%3A358138101%2C360792501: 22 May 2014), New York > Conveyances 1683-1896 vol 18 > image 254,293,294 of 418; county courthouses, New York.

19. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 66.
20. HCA 1/15, pt. 1, fol. 8, PRO. Kidd's contract is dated September 10, 1695.
21. Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 34.
22. Pennybacker, "Captain Kidd: Hung, Not for Piracy but for Causing the Death of a Rebellious Seaman Hit with a Toy Bucket" in *New York History*, 485; Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 59.
23. Fletcher to the Board of Trade, July 1696, in *New York Colonial Documents*, 4:273-276, as cited by Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 68.
24. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXV, PRO, in Jameson, ed. *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 239.
25. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 61.
26. *Ibid.*, 69.

10. Waiting

1. Lankevich, *New York City: A Short History*, 31.
2. Valentine, *History of the City of New York*, 215.
3. *Ibid.*
4. HCA 1/98 f. 116, PRO, Letter from Ede Wilday to her husband Richard Wilday, June 1698.
5. Jill Lepore, *New York Burning* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 235.

6. James Emott generously gave four pistoles, a Spanish coin sometimes called a doubloon, for the construction of the church.
7. Matson, *Merchants & Empire Trading in Colonial New York*, 63–64.
8. Bellomont's speech about pirates is in CO 5/1040, fols. 133–134, PRO.
9. HCA 1/98 fol. 209, PRO, Letter to Captain Kidd from James Emott, June 4, 1698, from New York.
10. HCA 1/98 fol. 128, second copy fol. 214 PRO Letter from Lord Bellomont to Captain Kidd written from New York, June 8, 1698.
11. HCA 1/98 f. 118, PRO, Letter from Sarah Horne to husband Jacob Horne, June 5, 1698.

11. Emott's Secret

1. Edwin Francis Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey: Including the Early History of Union County* (Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books, 1868), 257. Accessed September 1, 2018. https://books.google.com/books?id=qMrMmjsinxAC&pg=PA257&lpg=PA257&dq=james+emo+tt+lawyer+in+ny+in+1699&source=bl&ots=_89_zPXgUS&sig=metjq_WnO1JmYcG_wyxUC5_NNt9s&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwibz5P6hs_eAhUJvIMKHdQ0DdUQ6AEw-BXoECAQQAQ#v=onepage&q=james%20emott%20lawyer%20in%20ny%20in%201699&f=false.
2. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 173; Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 226.
3. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 740 XVII, Copy of Minutes of Council of New York, July 20, 1699.
4. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 680 vi. "Letter to Lord Bellomont from Captain Kidd," June 24, 1699.

5. C.O. 323:2, no. 124 I, PRO, Footnote 1 in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 217.
6. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 226.
7. Petition of Sarah Kidd, July 16, 1699, Massachusetts State Archives, vol. 62, no. 316; Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 141, "Statement by Duncan Campbell to Governor Bellomont." July 12, 1699, Boston. Campbell said Kidd gave him 90-100 pieces of eight (New York money) which he said was Sarah's money for charges and things Duncan Campbell bought for him.
8. Petition of Sarah Kidd, July 16, 1699, Massachusetts State Archives, vol. 62, no. 316.
9. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 240.

12. Taking Precautions

1. Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 22:123-131, Jameson, ed. *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 259; Dow and Edmonds, *The Pirates of the New England Coast 1630-1730*, 73.
2. C.O. 5:860, no. 62, PRO, "Lord Bellomont to the Board of Trade," July 8, 1699.
3. C.O. 5:860, no. 64, PRO, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 680, "Governor the Earl of Bellomont to the Council of Trade and Plantations," Boston, July 26, 1699.
4. Ibid.
5. Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People*, 259.
6. Examination of Hugh Parrot, July 10, 1699, in Dalton, *The Real Captain Kidd*, 291.
7. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*,

- no. 680, "Governor the Earl of Bellomont to the Council of Trade and Plantations," July 26, 1699.
8. C.O. 5:860, no. 62, PRO, Letter from the Earl of Bellomont to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, Boston, July 8, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 243.
 9. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXI, PRO, "Narrative of John Gardiner," July 17, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 251.
 10. Examination of William Jenkins, C.O. 5:860, fols. 174-176, PRO; Barleycorn, C.O. 5:860, fol. 176, PRO; C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXI, PRO, "Narrative of John Gardiner," July 17, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 251.
 11. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXI, PRO, "Narrative of John Gardiner," July 17, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 251.
 12. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXI, PRO, Commons Journal, XIII, 30-31. "Narrative of John Gardiner," July 17, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 253.
 13. David Gardiner, "The Gardiner Family and the Lordship and Manor of Gardiner's Island," in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, vol. 23, no. 4, October 1892, 178.
 14. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXI, PRO, "Narrative of John Gardiner." July 17, 1699.

13. Safe Haven on Block Island

1. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, no. 680 xi, July 6, 1699.
2. Samuel Truesdale Livermore, *The History of Block Island: From its*

Discovery, in 1514 To the Present Time, 1876 (Hartford: The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1877), 268.

3. Colin Woodward, *The Republic of Pirates* (New York: Harcourt, 2007), 96.
4. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 228, “Minutes of Council of Massachusetts,” April 1, 1699; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 343, “Governor the Earl of Bellomont to Council of Trade and Plantations,” May 3, 1699; Livermore, *The History of Block Island*, 115.
5. *Ibid.*, 237.
6. Livermore, *The History of Block Island*, 188. In 1700 the population was 550 people—350 of them were Indigenous people. Kidd arrived in June 1699 so I have estimated the population to be approximately 550.
7. *Ibid.*, 274.
8. *Ibid.*, 268–286.
9. George R. Burgess and Jane Fletcher Fiske, *New Shoreham Town Record Book 1, from dates 1666-1717*, Manuscript transcription (Boston: The New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1924), 433.

14. Reunited

1. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, August 28, 1699, no. 746.
2. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 288.
3. C.O. 5:860, no.65 XIX, PRO, *Declaration of William Kidd*, September 4, 1699.
4. C.O. 5:860 no. 64 IV, PRO, Memorial of Duncan Campbell, June 19, 1699.

5. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 120.
6. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXV, PRO, Narrative of William Kidd, July 7, 1699.
7. *Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York 1665-1707*. <http://www.blacksheepancestors.com/pirates/kidd.shtml>. Accessed November 18, 2018.
8. Ralph Paine, *The Book of Buried Treasure* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), 62–63.
9. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXV, PRO, Narrative of William Kidd, July 7, 1699.
10. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXV, PRO, Narrative of William Kidd, July 7, 1699.
11. “Information of Henry Bolton,” February 4, 1701 in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 277–280.
12. Ibid.

15. Accomplice

1. C.O. 5:714, no. 70 VI, PRO, “Deposition of Theophilus Turner.” Gilliam murdered Captain Edgecombe, commander of the *Mocha* frigate for the East India Company.
2. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, no. 680 vi, “Captain Kidd to Lord Bellomont,” June 24, 1699.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

16. Buried Treasure

1. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXI, PRO, *Commons Journal*, XIII, 30–31.

- “Narrative of John Gardiner,” July 17, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 251–254.
2. All of Kidd’s treasure was rumored to be “near half a million sterling in bullion” or about \$88 million in today’s dollars. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial America and West Indies*, no. 740 XIII.
 3. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, no. 746 XIX Boston, “Deposition of Captain Kidd,” September 4, 1699.
 4. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, no. 746 XIX Boston, “Deposition of Captain Kidd,” September 4, 1699; C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXI, PRO, *Commons Journal*, XIII, 30–31; “Narrative of John Gardiner,” July 17, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 251–254.
 5. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXI, PRO, *Commons Journal*, XIII, 30–31. “Narrative of John Gardiner,” July 17, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 251–254.
 6. As reported by David Lion Gardiner, the sixteenth lord of the manor of Gardiner’s Island, in a YouTube video of Gardiner’s Island in 1978.
 7. www.rdlgfoundation.org.
 8. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 141. “Statement by Duncan Campbell to Governor Bellomont.” July 12, 1699, Boston.
 9. A 1978 YouTube video of David Gardiner, the sixteenth lord of the manor of Gardiner’s Island, reported that his grandmother installed the marker where Kidd buried treasure and it was visible then.
 10. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 242.
 11. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXI, PRO, *Commons Journal*, XIII, 30–31. “Narrative of John Gardiner,” July 17, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 251–254.
 12. *Ibid.*, 253.

13. Ibid., 251.
14. Ibid., 252.
15. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 282.
16. Pennybacker, “Captain Kidd: Hung, Not for Piracy but for Causing the Death of a Rebellious Seaman Hit with a Toy Bucket” in *New York History*, 498.
17. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, no. 1011 IX “Deposition of Mary Sands,” August 7–10, 1699.
18. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 289.
19. Ibid.
20. William P. Quinn, *Shipwrecks around Cape Cod* (Orleans, MA: Lower Cape Publishing, 1973), 7.
21. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 289.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial North America the West Indies*, no. 680 IX, “Examination of William Jenkins,” July 6, 1699.
25. Some pirates, like Thomas Paine, went on to marry a governor’s daughter. Henry Morgan became the lieutenant governor of Jamaica.
26. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 392.

17. Confronting Bellomont

1. Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 178.
2. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 141.
3. Williard Hallam Bonner, “Clamors and False Stories the Reputa-

- tion of Captain Kidd,” *New England Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (June, 1944), 191; Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 180.
4. Pennybacker, “Captain Kidd: Hung, Not for Piracy but for Causing the Death of a Rebellious Seaman Hit with a Toy Bucket” in *New York History*, 498.
 5. C.O. 5:860, no. 64, PRO, “Lord Bellomont to the Board of Trade,” July 26, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 258.
 6. Justin Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston, Including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630-1880*, vol. 2 (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1881), 185.
 7. Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 131.
 8. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 680 XXIV, “Examination of Captain Kidd before the Governor and Council,” July 3, 1699,
 9. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 181.
 10. Pennybacker, “Captain Kidd: Hung, Not for Piracy but for Causing the Death of a Rebellious Seaman Hit with a Toy Bucket” in *New York History*, 499.
 11. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 680 XXIV, “Examination of Captain Kidd before the Governor and Council,” July 3, 1699.

18. Kidd’s Narrative

1. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 680, “Letter from Lord Bellomont to the Board of Trade,” July 26, 1699.
2. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 93.
3. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXV, PRO, *Narrative of William Kidd*. July 7, 1699.

19. Bellomont's Secret

1. C.O. 5:860, no. 62, PRO, "Lord Bellomont to the Board of Trade," July 8, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 245.
2. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, vol. 17: "Preface" 1699 and Addenda 1621-1698 (1908), VII-LIX. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=71017>. Accessed: January 23, 2020.
3. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 289.
4. C.O. 5:860, no. 64, PRO, Lord Bellomont to Board of Trade, July 26, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 261.

20. Imprisoned

1. Annie Haven Thwing, *The Crooked & Narrow Streets of Boston 1630-1822* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1920), 94.
2. Samuel Sewall, *Diary of Samuel Sewall 1674-1729*, vol. 1 in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. 5 (Boston: Published by the Society, 1878), 503.
3. C.O. 5:860, no. 64, PRO, Lord Bellomont to Board of Trade, July 26, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 261.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, 258.
6. C.O. 5:860, no. 64, PRO, Lord Bellomont to Board of Trade, July 26, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 258.
7. Petition of Sarah Kidd to Lord Bellomont, Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, vol. 62, no. 316.
8. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 282.

21. The Pirate's Wife

1. Thwing, *The Crooked & Narrow Streets of Boston 1630-1822*, 94.
2. C.O. 5:861, no. 4 XVIII, PRO, "Sarah Kidd to Thomas Payne," July 18, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 255.
3. Ibid.
4. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial: America and West Indies*, no. 1011 XVII, "Examination of Andrew Knott, Boston, November 13-14, 1699."
5. C.O. 5:861, no. 4, PRO, "Lord Bellomont to the Board of Trade," November 29, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 269.
6. Ibid.
7. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, no. 1011, "Governor the Earl of Bellomont to the Council of Trade and Plantations," November 29, 1699.
8. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 138; Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 264.
9. Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts, vol. 62, no. 316.
10. Ibid.
11. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 275.
12. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial: America and West Indies*, no. 952, "Lord Bellomont to the Lords of Trade," November 28, 1700.
13. Ibid.; Fernow Berthold, *New York (Colony) Council Calendar of Council Minutes 1668-1783* (Harrison, NY: Harbor Hills Books, 1987), 142.
14. Ibid., 138.

15. C.O. 5:860, no. 64 XXI, PRO, "Narrative of John Gardiner," July 17, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 253.
16. *Ibid.*, Footnote 6, 254.
17. Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, vol. 61, no. 317, July 25, 1699.
18. Petition of Sarah Kidd. July 25, 1699. Massachusetts State Archives, vol. 62, no. 317.
19. John Russell Bartlett, ed., *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island, vol. 3, 1678-1706* (Providence: A.C. Greene and Brothers, 1856), 393.
20. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial: America and West Indies*, no. 1011, "Governor the Earl of Bellomont to the Council of Trade and Plantations," November 29, 1699.
21. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial: America and West Indies*, no. 890, "Governor the Earl of Bellomont to the Council of Trade and Plantations," October 24, 1699.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial: America and West Indies*, no. 1011, "Governor the Earl of Bellomont to the Council of Trade and Plantations," November 29, 1699.
24. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial: America and West Indies*, no. 929, "Governor the Earl of Bellomont to Mr. Popple," October 1699.
25. Walter A. Nebiker and David Chase, *Historic and Architectural Resources of Jamestown, Rhode Island* (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Preservation & Heritage Commission, 1995), 56–57.
26. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial: America and West Indies*, no. 668, "Minutes of the Council of New York."
27. C.O. 5:860, no. 64, PRO, "Lord Bellomont to the Board of Trade,"

- July 26, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 259.
28. Ibid., 260.
 29. Ibid.
 30. Mark Peterson, *The City-State of Boston* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 199.
 31. Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston, Including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630-1880*, 179.
 32. Charles E. Clark, *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665-1740* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 77.
 33. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 140.
 34. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 275.
 35. Ibid.
 36. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 14, Boston, "Lord Bellomont to the Lords of Trade," January 5, 1700; Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston, Including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630-1880*, 179.
 37. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 14, Boston, "Lord Bellomont to the Lords of Trade," January 5, 1700.
 38. C.O. 5:860, no. 64, PRO, Bellomont to Board of Trade, July 26, 1699, in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 261.
 39. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 14, Boston, "Lord Bellomont to the Lords of Trade," January 5, 1700.
 40. Captain William Kidd: <https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/family-tree/person/tree/15990650>; Sarah Bradley: <https://www.ancestry>

library.com/family-tree/person/tree/10138974/. Accessed March 1, 2018.

41. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 850, October 11, 1699.
42. Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 217.
43. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 312, Whitehall, "Council of Trade and Plantations to Governor the Earl of Bellomont," April 11, 1700.
44. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 1015, November 30, 1699, Boston; Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston, Including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630-1880*, 182.
45. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series*, no. 769, Boston, "Lord Bellomont to the Lords of the Admiralty," September 7, 1699.
46. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series*, no. 1015, November 30, 1699.
47. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series*, no. 746, "Governor the Earl of Bellomont to the Council of Trade," August 28, 1699.
48. Samuel Sewell, *Diary of Samuel Sewell, 1674-1729*, vol. 2, February 6, 1700, in <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hc4w42&view=1up&seq=152&q1=kidd>. Accessed December 16, 2020.

22. The King's Ship

1. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 22, January 9, 1700.
2. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 890, "Governor the Earl of Bellomont to the Council of Trade and Plantations," October 24, 1699.
3. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 282.
4. *Ibid.*, 277.

5. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 310, "Admiralty Office, List of Pirates," April 11, 1700.
6. Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 135.
7. C.O. 5:787, fol. 289, PRO.
8. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, no. 680, "Lord Bellomont to the Board of Trade," July 26, 1699.
9. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 277.
10. *Ibid.*, 286.
11. Margarette Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society 1680-1730* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2014), 199.
12. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 286.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*

23. Newgate

1. Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 135.
2. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 184.
3. *Ibid.*

24. Kidd's Good Deed

1. HCA 24/127, April 1701, PRO. Petition of Elizabeth Mead, wife of Henry Mead and Gertrude Beck, wife of William Beck.
2. Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter*, 340.
3. HCA 24/127, April 1701, PRO. Petition of Elizabeth Mead, wife of Henry Mead and Gertrude Beck, wife of William Beck.

25. Trial

1. Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*, 307.
2. Valentine, *A History of the City of New York*, 210.
3. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, no. 280, March 24, 1701.
4. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial: America and West Indies*, no. 769, "Countess Bellomont to Secretary Vernon," August 21, 1701.
5. William Kidd to the Speaker of the House of Commons (Robert Harley) in Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents*, 282.
6. www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/The-old-bailey.jsp#location. Accessed February 2, 2022.
7. John Riggs to Robert Livingston, Collection Reference Number GLC03107, The Livingston Family Papers [025]1699; John Nanfan to Robert Livingston, Collection Reference Number GLC03107.00599, The Livingston Family Papers [026] January-June 1700; James Graham to Robert Livingston Collection Reference Number GLC03107.00593 and GLC03107.00551, The Livingston Family Papers [026] January-June 1700; Duncan Campbell to Robert Livingston, The Livingston Family Papers, March 7, 1700.
8. James Graham to Robert Livingston, Collection Reference Number GLC03107.00551, The Livingston Family Papers [026] January-June 1700.
9. John Nanfan to Robert Livingston regarding a Parliamentary hearing on Captain William Kidd's Commission, Collection Reference Number GLC03107.00599, The Livingston Family Papers [026] January-June 1700.
10. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial: America and West Indies*, no. 205, March 4, 1701.

11. HCA 1/29, pt. 3, fol. 285, PRO.
12. Captain Charles Johnson, *A General History of the Pyrates*, edited by Manual Schonhorn (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1972; New York: Dover Publication, 1999), 450.
13. Baer, *Pirates of the British Isles*, 157.
14. Seitz, ed., *The Tryal of Capt. William Kidd: for Murther & Piracy*, 225–226.
15. Baer, *Pirates of the British Isles*, 159.
16. Hinrichs, *The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd*, 139.

26. Tragic News

1. E.B. O'Callaghan, ed. "Attorney-General Broughton to the Lord of Trade, September 3, 1701" in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. 4 (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1854), 914.
2. Seitz, ed., *The Tryal of Capt. William Kidd: for Murther & Piracy*, 227–30.
3. Edmund Bailly O'Callaghan, *Lists of Inhabitants of Colonial New York Excerpted from The Documentary History of the State of New-York* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1979), 23; Lepore, *New York Burning*, 235. Table 1 lists the population in 1703 as 4375.
4. Will of Samuel Bradley in *Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York, 1665-1801*. 1:366–367.
5. Ibid.
6. Tuttle, *Abstracts of Farm Titles in the City of New York*, East Side, Between 75th and 120th Streets, 5.
7. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial: West Indies and America*, no. 1011,

Bellmont passed the information on to the Council of Trade and Plantations, November 29, 1699.

8. <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/-2/22/science/seeking-pirate-treasure-captain-kidd-s-sunken-ship.html>. "Seeking Pirate Treasure: Captain Kidd's Sunken Ship," by William J. Broad, February 22, 2000.
9. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664–1730*, 246, footnote 39.

27. New Beginnings

1. Tuttle, *Abstracts of Farm Titles in the City of New York, East Side, Between 75th and 120th Streets*, 4.
2. *Ibid.*, 7
3. Christopher Rousby, <https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/family-tree/person/tree/15990650>. Accessed June 26, 2019.
4. Gideon J. Tucker, *Names of Persons for Whom Marriage Licenses Were Issued by the Secretary of the Province of New York Previous to 1784* (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1860), 189.
5. Tuttle, *Abstracts of Farm Titles in the City of New York, East Side, Between 75th and 120th Streets*, 7; Samuel Bradley to Christopher Rousby in New York Deeds, 1659–1846, 10:1–4.
6. E.B. O'Callaghan, *Calendar of New York Colonial Manuscripts Endorsed Land Papers in the Office of the Secretary of State of New York 1643-1803* (New York: Harbor Hill Books, 1987), 70.
7. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 115.
8. Valentine, *History of the City of New York*, 253.
9. Tuttle, *Abstracts of Farm Titles in the City of New York, East Side, Between 75th and 120th Streets*, 7–8.

10. Ibid., 8.
11. Ibid.
12. Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People*, 266.
13. Evelyn Sidman Wachter, *Sidman-Sidman Families of Upstate New York* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1981), 49.
14. Ibid.
15. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044097878532;view=2up;seq=318;size=125>. Accessed March 15, 2021.
16. Wilkins, *Captain Kidd and His Skeleton Island*, 272; *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1885* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1885), 92.
17. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 140.
18. Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society, 1680-1730*, 201.
19. C.O. 323:6, no. 79-81, PRO, also *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial: North America and the West Indies*, 620ii, vol. 24 (1709).
20. <https://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=DictNatBiogV1&h=2939>.
21. In 1932 the American scholar John Robert Moore announced at a literary meeting that after years of careful research he believed Captain Charles Johnson was the anonymous pen name for the novelist, journalist, and sometimes historian, Daniel Defoe. Professor Moore's reputation as the leading Defoe scholar convinced libraries around the world to recatalog *A General History of the Pyrates* with the author's name as Daniel Defoe. But in 1988 two scholars, P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens, disputed the plausibility of Defoe as the author in their book *The Canonisation of Daniel Defoe*. Many scholars today accept the conclusion that Defoe could not have

penned the book, but there are those who also believe otherwise. The editor of the 1999 edition of *A General History of the Pyrates*, Manuel Schonhorn, believed Defoe was the author and dedicated the first five pages of the introduction to Defoe's life, works, and maritime interests. Although the identity of the author is unclear, it is certain that the book has greatly influenced the popular opinion of pirates from the eighteenth century to now. David Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag*, xx.

22. Johnson, *A General History of the Pyrates*, 6.
23. *Ibid.*, 41.
24. *Ibid.*, xxxiii.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Boston News-Letter*, from Monday, June 26, to Monday, July 3, 1704, no. 11, Boston, Massachusetts.
27. Baer, ed., *British Piracy in the Golden Age*, 1:xxxiv.
28. *Ibid.*, 13.
29. *Ibid.*, xxxiv.
30. *Ibid.*, 303. "The British Journal," no. 1, Saturday, September 22, 1722.
31. *Ibid.*, xix.
32. Johnson, *A General History of the Pyrates*, xxxvi.
33. Wachter, *Sidman-Sidman Families of Upstate New York*, 52.
34. Will of Christopher Rousby in *Abstracts of Wills*, vol. 1, 1670-1730. *Archives of the State of New Jersey-First Series*, vol. 23, 395.
35. *Ibid.*

36. Ibid.
37. William Nelson, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*, vol. 13, *Calendar of New Jersey Wills*, vol. 1, 1670-1730 (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1994), 395.
38. Dorothy Denneen Volo and James M. Volo, *Daily Life in the Age of Sail* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002), 5.
39. Nelson, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*, 395.

28. Full Circle

1. Augustyn and Cohen, *Manhattan in Maps 1527-1995*, 56; Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York*, 113.
2. Augustyn and Cohen, *Manhattan in Maps 1527-1995*, 54. The map of Manhattan from 1730 was drawn by the cartographer James Lyne.
3. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York*, 205-206.
4. Augustyn and Cohen, *Manhattan in Maps 1527-1995*, 54.
5. Will of Joseph Latham in *Abstracts of Wills on file in the Surrogate's office, City of New York, 1730-1744*, vol. 3, liber 11, 60-61.
6. Will of Sarah Rousby, *New York County, Wills and Administrations 1742-1751*, 15:262-264.
7. https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/interactive/20637/dvm_LocHist006746-00166-1. James Riker, "The Annals of Newtown in Queens County, New-York: containing its history from its first settlement, together with many interesting facts concerning the adjacent towns: also, a particular account of numerous Long Island families now spread over this and various other states of the Union" (New York: D. Fanshaw, 1852), 303. Accessed February 3, 2021.

8. Will of Sarah Rousby, *New York County, Wills and Administrations 1742-1751*, 15:262–264.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Zimmerman, *The Women of the House*, 220.
14. Will of Sarah Rousby, *New York County, Wills and Administrations 1742-1751*, 15:262–264.
15. James Davey, ed., *Tudor & Stuart Seafarers: The Emergence of a Maritime Nation, 1485-1707* (London: Adlard Coles Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018), 237.
16. Nancy L. Struna, *People of Prowess: Sport, Leisure, and Labor in Early Anglo-America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 146–147.
17. Struzinski, “The Tavern in Colonial America,” 31; Struna, *People of Prowess: Sport, Leisure, and Labor in Early Anglo-America*, 147.
18. *The New-York Weekly Journal*, October 15, 1739. https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info%3Aasid%2Finfoweb.newsbank.com&svc_dat=EANX&req_dat=0D52805756D8EA80&rft_val_format=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=document_id%3Aimage%252Fv2%253A1036CD36DBC06A78%2540EANX-1062A47A62C49A1F%25402356504-1062A47AA84571FD%25403-1062A47AEF637380%2540. Accessed June 2019.
19. Lepore, *New York Burning*, 5.
20. Zimmerman, *The Women of the House*, 257.

21. Ibid.
22. Lepore, *New York Burning*, 45.
23. Ibid., 62.
24. Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 196; Lankevich, *New York City: A Short History*, 37.
25. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 160.
26. Ibid., 161.
27. Valentine, *History of the City of New York*, 268–276.
28. Lepore, *New York Burning*, 9.
29. Valentine, *History of the City of New York*, 268–276.
30. Ibid.
31. Lepore, *New York Burning*, 268, Appendix C.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., 105.
34. Ibid.
35. Lankevich, *New York City: A Short History*, 37.
36. Thomas L. Purvis, *Almanacs of American Life, Colonial America to 1763* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1999), 174.
37. Ibid., 173.
38. Will of Sarah Rousby, *New York County, Wills and Administrations 1742-1751*, 15:262–264.
39. Ibid.

40. Purvis, *Almanacs of American Life, Colonial America to 1763*, 174.
41. New York death record liber 15, 330.
42. Author interview with Kimberley Sulik, archivist/records manager, New York County Surrogate's Court, April 17, 2019, by email. Author interview with Rhonda McClure, genealogist with American Ancestors, in person, August 3, 2019, Boston, MA.