

The Buccaneer's Realm

Notes & Errata Provided by the Author, Benerson Little (September 28, 2011)

Extensive notes on content, based on research and discovery subsequent to publication, are provided below. Critical typos are also noted. Recommend reviewing notes and errata for *The Sea Rover's Practice*, *Pirate Hunting*, and *How History's Greatest Pirates...* as well, and also the probably forthcoming title on pirate myths. Copyright Benerson Little 2008-2011.

Errata

Page 27, 3rd paragraph, typo, change "returned to briefly to Cartagena" to "returned briefly to Cartagena."

Page 31, 2nd paragraph, *Conversos*. Strictly speaking, the Spanish Inquisition persecuted "*Conversos*," that is, Jews who pretended or professed to be Catholics. Jews were expelled from Spain by order of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the faith was prohibited. My thanks to Professor Philip P. Boucher, Distinguished Professor of History at the University of Alabama in Huntsville. Professor Boucher is the author of *France and the American Tropics to 1700* and *Cannibal Encounters*. (<http://www.philipboucher.com/>.)

Page 35, 1st paragraph, typo, change "of profitably and of honorable vengeance" to "of profitable and honorable vengeance."

Page 40, 3rd paragraph. Father Dutertre was, like Father Labat, a Dominican, not a Jesuit. My thanks to Professor Boucher.

Page 43, 3rd paragraph. Although English texts of the period use the word "planters" to describe the settlers or inhabitants of Saint-Domingue, the word today conveys a sense of large scale agriculture. In the 1670s, most Saint-Domingue "planters" were small scale, and "settlers" or "habitants" better describes them. My thanks to Professor Boucher.

Page 43, last paragraph, buccaneer gun caliber. Typo, caliber should read "roughly .68 inches". A gun of eighteen balls to the pound would be roughly .65 inches.

Page 44, second paragraph, last sentence number of cartridges from 20 pounds of powder. Revise to read, "two shots per day if they stayed a year...and six to eight per day, depending on powder quality and musket caliber, if they stayed three to four months..." However, if larger charges than conventional were used, these quantities would be reduced. For some foolish reason, doubtless inattention, I calculated from 40 pounds instead of 20. See also "Page 64" and "Page 65" in *The Sea Rover's Practice* notes and errata.

Page 49, 2nd paragraph, replace "as he moved closer" with "as he did".

Page 62, 2nd paragraph, endnote 28 on page 280: replace "Anonymous" with "Weiss."

Page 62, 3rd paragraph, typo. Replace "the retreat of the corsains" with "the retreat of the corsairs".

Page 66, 2nd paragraph, 5th sentence should read: "Rum-punch-women," prostitutes, and others, with reputed names such as Unconscionable Nan and Salt-Beef Peg, were known in taverns with tame names like The Green Dragon, The Catt and Fiddle, and The Sign of the Mermaid, and were commonly observed engaging in "*Swearing, Drinking, and Obscene Talk*." Obviously an egregious typesetting error.

Page 113, second paragraph, typo. Add a parenthesis mark after "Shellbacks,".

Page 125, 2nd paragraph, editing oversight, delete "a roughly equal diameter throughout, and" as it is redundant to a phrase later in the sentence.

Page 185, 1st paragraph, 4th sentence, the reference to Rodrigo should read "Rodrigo's *Fantasia para un gentilhombre*..." and not "Rodrigo's *Concierto de Aranjuez*...." Some music scholars do suggest that Gaspar Sanz's music influenced the *Concierto*, although his themes are actually heard in the *Fantasia*. This error, however, was a case of the author thinking one thing, writing another, and overlooking it during the review process.

Page 191, third paragraph, comte de Forbin, should read, "...when he disemboweled an attacking dog. He later mortally wounded..."

Page 192, third paragraph, last sentence should read, "...even a barber come to shave a man." Additional word apparently added by editor, altering the meaning: even barbers wore rapiers.

Page 196, last paragraph, typo, replace "known in New" with "known in the New".

Page 197, 1st paragraph, the final parenthesis mark should be placed after "[or against the many]".

Page 203, second paragraph, La Garde's ship. Although Taylor indicates that both Banister and La Garde's ships were largely destroyed, he also notes that La Garde's ship (*La Chevale*, trans. the *Mare*) escaped without great damage. Similarly, the journal of the filibusters aboard *La Chevale* notes no such great damage, and the ship went on to cruise into the South Sea. See Taylor, *Jamaica in 1687*, 47-50, and *Journal de Bord d'un Flibustier* (1686-1693), edited by Edward Ducéré in the "Bulletin of the Société des Sciences et Arts de Bayonne," years/editions 1894 and 1895, page 479 of the 1894 article. Taylor incorrectly gives the year as 1687.

Page 213, destruction of the small fort near New Providence. Captain George *Lenham*, not Needham, attacked the pirates. See *CSP 1685-1688*, no. 1555.

Page 218, 2nd paragraph, typo, author's error. Replace "John Banister" with "Joseph Banister."

Page 254, St. Augustine, typo or typesetting error, entry of "1683, 1686": 1683 should be in the "Attacked" column, and 1686 in the "Threatened" column.

Page 261, illustration caption should read, "Examples of Merchants' Marks."

Page 278, endnote 52, should read, "nos. 2, 1360, 1425."

Page 297, endnote 13, should read "Cook" not "Look".

Endnotes. Juan Juarez Moreno should be cited as Juarez Moreno according the correct usage and citation of Spanish names, as opposed to simply Moreno. (My thanks to Mary E. Crouch for directing my attention to this.)

Endnotes and bibliography. Saint-Méry should have been cited as Moreau de Saint-Méry. In the bibliography, his full name should have been given as Moreau de Saint-Méry, Louis-Élie. (My thanks to Professor Philip Boucher.)

Page 334, index, delete the three question marks after "Campeche" under "Mexico." Sloppy editing on everyone's part.

Notes, Comments, and Observations

Pages 14-15, regarding the *barcalonga*. Some 18th and early 19th century sources indicate that the Spanish *barcalonga* was rigged with a lug sail on each mast. For example, see J. J. Moore, *The Midshipman's or British Mariner's Vocabulary* (London: Vernor and Hood, 1805), and other dictionaries. An earlier 18th century illustration in the Museo Naval de Madrid from the Marquis de la Victoria's *Albúm* (the image is reprinted in Apesteguí's *Pirates of the Caribbean* and Konstam's *The Pirate Ship*) indicates a "*virga al tercio*" or lug spar for a lug sail. This sail plan would make the *barcalonga* an excellent vessel for chasing or escaping to windward. *Barque longues*, however, are often shown with what appear to be square sails. It is possible that both vessels—the two terms are

often used interchangeably—were rigged with lug sails in the Caribbean, or that the *barcalonga* carried lugs while the *barque longue* carried squares.

Page 15, 3rd paragraph, note on sails. Ships of this period never carried sails (later called royals) above the topgallants, and only exceedingly rarely carried topgallants on the sprit and mizzen. Captain Kidd's *Adventure Galley* would do so in 1697, and from 1673 is a report of a Spanish ship carrying topgallants on the mizzen and sprit. See Barlow, *Journal*, 2:484, and *Mariner's Mirror* 4, no. 3 (1914), 288, query 59.

Page 17, 4th paragraph, and page 251, 1st paragraph, treasure chests. In 1655 soldiers of the English conquest of Jamaica "found soe greate and strong an iron chest that it could neither be remov'd nor broken by such of the soldiery as attempted it." Opening it required "more forcible meanes." Typically, however, treasure was carried aboard ship in smaller chests, although there were exceptions, as noted in the *Buccaneer's Realm* text. See "Letters Concerning the English Expedition into the Spanish West Indies in 1655." In C. H. Firth, ed., *The Narrative of General Venables* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900), page 129.

Page 22, Spanish pirates. The greater part of the crews of Spanish *guardas costas* and pirates was typically "mulatto," probably taken to indicate a crew of various white, black, and Native American mixed blood. Some of the ships carried crews as large as 150, with 20 to 30 guns. *CSP 1685-1688*, no. 678iv.

Page 40, third paragraph, jerked meat. According to John Taylor, a visitor to Jamaica in 1687, Jamaicans referred to smoked pork (i.e. *boucan*) as "jerck't hog." This usage appears to have originated from the local usage of "jerk" for sun-dried beef ("jerk'd beef") and hog. See John Taylor, *Jamaica in 1687*, edited by David Buisseret (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2008), pages 83, 135.

Page 41, 2nd paragraph, mosquito netting. According the anonymous author of a pamphlet on making war against the French and Spanish in the New World, *boucaniers* and others who traveled through the "woods or such like places" had "his pavilion to sleep under, and defend him from gnats....This pavilion is made of thin canvas, in such a form that, being spread and supported upon some sticks planted in the ground, a man lies under it, the canvas falling like the curtains of a bed, and so leaves no room for gnats to get in. The man has his fusee [flintlock musket] between his legs, and lies upon some grass or leaves, and in a march carries his pavilion like a shoulder-belt....This is the buccaneers fashion, and by these means their incampments are soon made and soon raised." Exquemelin's French edition (cited in the book) also describes the netting: "They have with this [belt] a small tent (pavilion, awning) made of fine "toile"...which they carry with them like a bandoleer" (i.e. they wear it across the shoulder like a bandoleer). *Toile* is generally translated as linen, sailcloth (usually of linen), or canvas in general. However, it can also be other materials. The 1609 edition of the dictionary of the *Academy francaise* indicates cloth that could be of any sort, usually defined (*toile de lin*, etc), while the 1694 edition (closer to our era) states that *toile* is cloth of linen or hemp. The *boucanier's* netting was most likely of fine (probably meaning light or thin) but relatively sturdy linen or hemp. *Fine* in French can mean fine, thin, slender, delicate, and so forth. See Anon. "Proposals for Carrying on an Effectual War in America, Against the French and Spaniards" (London: n.p., 1702), in *The Harleian Miscellany*, vol. 9. (London: Robert Dutton, 1810), pages 517-518. The netting is also noted by Exquemelin and Dutertre.

Page 44, second paragraph, range of the *fusil boucanier* or "buccaneer gun." range of the *fusil boucanier* or "buccaneer gun." An eighteenth century source states that "*Boucaniers* are assured of killing at 300 paces with this musket [a *fusil boucanier*], and of piercing [probably penetrating, but not passing through] a cow at 200." A pace or *pas geometrique* is equal to five French feet, equal to 5.33 US/Imperial feet, thus 300 *pas* equals 1599 feet or 533 yards, and 200 *pas* equals 1066 feet or 355 yards. However, the text may be referring to the *pas commun* or *pas ordinaire* of 2.5 French feet, which would halve these numbers, and frankly make them more reasonable—killing at 266 yards, piercing a cow at 177 yards. One should view the aforementioned distances, if accurate, as effective ranges, and not as the actual ability to aim and hit a target at these longer distances. There are other reports of buccaneer and similar long-barreled muskets killing at long range: American Revolutionary War veteran Joseph Plumb Martin witnessed a fellow soldier "rest his old six feet barrel across a fence" and hit a British soldier in a tree at half a mile (that is, 880 yards or 2640 feet). The shot was taken for fun, and no one expected it to hit its target, yet it did, and by all accounts killed the man. See M. Le Blond, *Traité de la défense des places*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Alex. Jombert jeune, 1783), sv "ARMES boucaniers," and Joseph Plumb Martin, *A Narrative of a Revolutionary Soldier* (New York: Signet Classic, 2001), page 29. See also "Pages 136, 252" below.

A similar issue is associated with the statement that filibusters and *boucaniers* could hit a piece of eight (actually an *ecu*) at “100 *pas*.” See Anon., *Carthagene*, page 14. This distance is roughly either 90 or 180 yards (almost certainly the former), depending on the *pas* used. Nonetheless, in either case, a buccaneer gun with an un-patched ball is not accurate enough to hit the piece of eight at this range, except occasionally and largely by accident—the error of dispersion is broader than a piece of eight, which is roughly the size of a silver dollar. Modern MLAIC world record scores with smoothbore flintlock muskets with patched ball (which was *not* used by sea rovers and *boucaniers*) fired at 50 meters indicate a majority of shots, perhaps 8 or 9 out of 13, within a roughly three inch bulls-eye (“10 ring”), which is twice the diameter of a piece of eight. And this is under optimum conditions, and at slightly more than half the range of the purported piece of eight shot. It would be a very difficult, but by no means impossible, shot even with a very accurate Pennsylvania long rifle and expert rifleman at 90 yards, and even then the expert rifleman would not hit it every time. Again, see MLAIC typical and world record scores. For that matter, a piece of eight is a small target at 90 yards with the naked eye. The perception of accuracy may in part be factual, however. A heavier long gun is easier to hold on target, assuming the shooter is strong, than a lighter one. Further, the longer barrel of the buccaneer gun, with its front sight farther out than on a conventional military firearm, would make it easier and more accurate aim. Only very rarely was a rear sight fitted, and perhaps not at all during the period under study, at least on common muskets, including buccaneer guns. If the buccaneer gun was loaded with a larger charge than usual for its caliber and if it actually did significantly increase muzzle velocity, this may have made it more accurate as well by diminishing the elevation required for long range shots (see below), may have given the gun its reputed killing power, as described in the previous paragraph, and may have given it its reputed range as well. But this is still somewhat speculative, at least for the moment. Readers should note that after a certain point, a powder charge wastes powder, increases recoil, provides very little relative increase in velocity, and diminishes accuracy.

The question remains as to whether *fusils boucaniers* had a greater range than guns with shorter barrels. Certainly they were perceived to have had greater range. The general belief was that longer barrels permitted powder to burn completely, and thus propel a projectile farther. By the mid to late-18th century, however, the belief that longer barrels shot a ball farther had changed, based on studies that demonstrated that barrels of three and six feet, each loaded with the same size charge, threw a ball the same distance. However, it was acknowledged that duck guns, for example, which were very similar to *fusils boucaniers*, had greater range. This was believed due to the larger charge—two to three times that of a similar caliber sporting gun. Was the buccaneer gun loaded with a larger charge than average for its caliber? Labat, in reference to *fusils boucaniers*, describes what could only be a field expedient powder measure used by *boucaniers*, that of pouring powder over a musket ball in the palm of the hand until it covered the ball (also described by Gaya). Based on my own tests, this is roughly the same amount of powder as was used in a conventional French military musket of the same caliber, although the amount of powder can vary significantly depending on how the palm is held, and cannot be considered accurate, or even a reflection of how much powder was typically used. The question, unfortunately, remains unanswered. My own suspicion is that *fusils boucaniers* were loaded with charges somewhat larger than average, at least when longer range was required. Colonial rifleman varied the charge in their long guns depending on range, for example. A conventional charge may have been used at ranges up to 100 yards, although a larger charge may have made the *fusil boucanier* more accurate—i.e. easier to aim—at this range by reducing the elevation required. If this is correct, that charge size varied, the number of charges that could be made from 20 pounds of powder would have to be revised. Appropriate testing should resolve the issue. This being said, longer barrels do provide for significantly improved aiming. Also, see “Page 44” under the errata section above, and “Page 68” below. These paragraphs are there as well. For references, see *An Essay on Shooting*, 2nd ed. (London: T. Cadell, 1791), 72-94, and *Gaya Traité des Armes* (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1678).

Page 48, alternating fire. This method of keeping a constant fire was not original with the buccaneers, filibusters, and *boucaniers*. Bernal Díaz del Castillo in his *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico* describes its use against Aztecs.

Page 57, oranges. According to John Taylor, a visitor to Jamaica in 1687, both the Seville and China oranges were grown at Jamaica. See Taylor, *Jamaica in 1687*, 208.

Page 73-74. Other sources indicate that the *bodegas* and the attacks on them were in Lake Izabal, probably the southeast corner. Fuerto San Felipe de Lara was also attacked. Marked on a chart is a “Bahia del Rey” where Lake Izabal enters the Bay of Amatique, probably the anchorage of the hulks. See also “Page 80” below and its sources, and the chapter on Bartholomew Sharp in *How History’s Greatest Pirates...*

Page 80, attacks on the “hulke.” Coxon and company captured not only the storehouses, but also the “hulke” at Honduras, according to Beeston’s diary: “[T]he hulk and store-houses at Honduras were taken by the privateers, and much indigo, and other goods, cocoa, hides &c.” The hulk may have been unladed (empty) when captured, probably without much of a fight. From “A journal kept by colonel Beeston, from his first coming to Jamaica,” in *Interesting Tracts, Relating to the Island of Jamaica* (St. Jago de la Vega: Lewis, Lunan, and Jones, 1800), page 298. This is the only account I have seen which states that the “hulke” was also captured during this raid. The raid is noted in *Buccaneer’s Realm* on pages 101, 128, and 216, and in *How History’s Greatest Pirates...* in the Bartholomew Sharp chapter. See also the note above.

Page 80, location of the attacks on the storehouses. Based on the review of a Spanish map and information noting the location of the principal Honduras port, the buccaneers would have ascended the Rio Dulce, attacked Fort San Felipe de Lara (tradition has this as well), then attacked the *bodegas*, probably located along a creek on the southeastern side of Lake Izabal. See *Plano de la costa de Honduras desde el Cavo de Gracias a Dios hasta el de Catoche...*, 1756, in the Library of Congress’ digital map collection, and Department of State, *Mediation of the Honduran-Guatemalan Boundary Question*, Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1919, vol. 1:409, note 1.

Page 80, 2nd paragraph, explosives and incendiaries. *Saucissons* or “sausages,” mentioned by Esquemelin as being thrown by Spaniards defending against L’Ollonois’s attack on the “Hulke” (the “Honduras ship”), were “pipes made of tarred cloth, filled with powder, and rolled up in the form of a gut, about 2 inches in diameter.” They were normally used as large fuses to fire mines under fortifications in siege warfare, but could also be used as an incendiary against an enemy. “Torches,” also mentioned, were probably exactly that, torches lit and thrown upon the attackers decks in hopes of setting fire to their vessel, or of igniting great gun and small arms cartridges. See Anon. *Miscellanies, or a Miscellaneous Treatise, Containing Several Mathematical Subjects* (London: J. Nourse, 1776), page 280, and Esquemelin, *Flibustiers*, 139.

Page 91, 2nd paragraph, black and mulatto pirate and privateer captains. Strictly speaking, the reference to black pirate captains in the Caribbean is limited to the period 1674 to 1688. If there were black pirate or privateer captains during this period, as opposed to mulatto, they probably originated in the Spanish colonies. Mulatto captains were quite common among the Spanish privateers and *guardas costas* of the Caribbean, and the known mulatto captains among the buccaneers and filibusters originated in the Spanish colonies. Although the Spanish Americas were indeed a racially stratified society, people of color generally had more opportunity and freedoms there than in the English, French, and Dutch colonies. However, black pirate captains, especially in the sense of escaped African slaves, are unlikely, however romantic the idea may be. See also the slavery chapter in my forthcoming pirate myths book.

Page 91, 2nd paragraph, Captain Diego the Mulatto. Upon further examination, it seems likely that there may have been only one Diego the Mulatto. The possibility is not so far-fetched as it may seem. Also, it is unlikely that he was an escaped slave. See Moreau, Jean-Pierre. *Pirates: Flibuste et Piraterie dans la Caraïbe et les Mers du Sud, 1522-1725* (Paris: Tallandier, 2006), and Little *How History’s Greatest Pirates Pillaged, Plundered, and Got Away with It*.

Page 91, 2nd paragraph, Captain Francis. In the endnote to the paragraph, I suggest that Captain Francis, a mulatto privateer sailing under a Dutch commission, might be the Spanish privateer “Don Francisco.” I have no evidence for or against the proposition, other than the similarity of their names. We do know that the Dutch sometimes protected Spanish privateers and pirates, and probably employed them at times as well. “Capt. Francisco Galesio, commander of the *St. Nicholas de Tolentino*” was commissioned by “Don Pedro Bayona y Villa Nueva, Captain-General of the province of Paraguay and Governor of the city of St. Jago of Cuba” in 1667, and attacked the English for several years afterward. However, this Captain Francisco may have been Italian, given the name of his ship. See *CSP 1669-1674*, no. 149.

Page 112, 3rd paragraph, superstition: Educated buccaneer-surgeon Lionel Wafer writes that the Native American mummified remains he took aboard the buccaneer ship *Batchelors Delight*, commanded by Edward Davis, in 1686 at Huarmey, Peru, caused an uproar among some of the crew, who forced him to leave it behind. They did not want a dead body—and one they likely thought might be a devil of some sort—aboard, believing the compass would not

read right. See Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America*, 1699, (reprint, London: Oxford, for the Hakluyt Society, 1934), page 123.

Page 125, 2nd paragraph. Diving bells were often referred to as “diving engines.” See for example Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs* (Oxford: University Press, 1857), vol. 3:510.

Page 126, 2nd paragraph, diving disease. The potential for decompression sickness (DCS) from arduous breath-hold diving has been long recognized, and recent studies have found that indeed divers in such circumstances are susceptible to DCS. As I note in the text, it may be that Native American breath-hold divers realized that their symptoms subsided when they dove back under water, as symptoms of DCS typically do, and thus developed the habit of ducking back under the water lest the “land air...destroy them.” Recompression—putting the diver back under pressure—is the standard treatment for DCS, and for omitted decompression as well. (Strictly speaking, returning to the water for decompression after surfacing is considered in-water recompression.) We don't know the depth to which the divers descended, however, nor whether such practice actually reduced the incidence of decompression sickness. As for the divers on the Phips expedition, whose sickness I speculate might be due in part to DCS, we also don't know how much may have been due to the stresses of diving, physical labor, or smallpox or other diseases, or to a combination of them. Physical stress, fatigue, and disease increase susceptibility to DCS.

Page 129, 2nd paragraph, sea turtles. To endnote 4 (page 291) on primary sources describing sea turtles and turtle fishing, add Taylor, *Jamaica in 1687*, 151-155, and Hans Sloane, *A Voyage To the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica* (London: B. M. for the Author, 1707), vol. 1:xvii-xviii, lxxxviii.

Pages 149-150, linguist or interpreter. “Truchman” was another term for interpreter. See Cox, *Adventures*, 80.

Page 151, South Sea incursions. In fact, there were three significant incursions during this period, and although the third—1686 to 1693, with voyages into the Gulf of California, commanded by Capt. La Garde or perhaps by François Massertie—did not do as much damage as the first two. It was during this third voyage that we have the first example of the skull and bones used by New World sea rovers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the only reference, other than among the Barbary corsairs, of pirates flying this flag in the seventeenth century. The filibusters flew a skull with crossed bones underneath, in white, on a red flag ashore on an attack on Acaponeta, Mexico. See *Journal de Bord d'un Flibustier* (1686-1693), edited by Edward Ducéré in the “Bulletin of the Société des Sciences et Arts de Bayonne,” years/editions 1894 and 1895.

Page 155, last paragraph. Buccaneers who crossed overland had to rely on captured vessels and their armament of great guns and swivels. Those who voyaged via the Strait of Magellan carried armament with them. The filibusters who entered the South Sea and raided from 1686 to 1693 under François Massertie carried eighteen spare great guns in the hold specifically for the purpose of outfitting prizes. Whether there were other such instances is unknown. See *Journal de Bord d'un Flibustier* (1686-1693), edited by Edward Ducéré in the “Bulletin of the Société des Sciences et Arts de Bayonne,” years 1894 and 1895.

Page 158, Lancelot Blackbourne. The physical evidence for Blackbourne's presence in the Caribbean is based on two documents, including one dated December 31, 1681, that paid him 20 pounds “bounty” for travel to Antigua, probably to serve as a chaplain. He is listed as a “clerk.” The common speculation that he was engaged in “secret services” derives from the fact that his funds were paid from those used to pay for “secret services,” which were in fact any funds paid by the crown to private citizens for any sort of service to the crown, including clergy serving in foreign plantations. In January 1684 was awarded his M.A. degree at Christ Church College, Oxford, “by convocation,” as he was “engaged in an employment in His Majesty's service in one of the foreign plantations.” (He had earned his B.A. in 1680 and was ordained in 1681). The modern speculation that he was a buccaneer comes largely from an idle comment in Horace Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third*. Biographical entries and brief biographies of Blackbourne do not cite primary sources regarding his buccaneer history. There is no direct evidence of his ever having sailed with buccaneers, not even as a chaplain aboard one, although tradition has it that he did. He is commonly believed to have been in Nevis in 1683, but I have not yet found a document placing him there. In 1682, some of the buccaneers who had accompanied Bartholomew Sharp to the South Sea landed in Antigua, others in Nevis, making it likely that Blackbourne may have had some interaction with them.

Page 172, palisades and stockades: several sources define palisades (“pallisadoes”) as eight foot poles 6 or 7 or so inches in diameter or squared (more effective than mere poles, which palisades often were made of), set 3 feet in the ground, sometimes alternating in height by roughly a foot. The poles are spaced closely enough that only a musket or pike can fit between them. “Stockadoes” are the heavy walls of wooden forts, typically of tightly-fitted vertical timbers. Edward Long in *The History of Jamaica*, vol. 3 (1774) notes that the “Palmetto-Royal” (surely *Roystonea*) makes strong “bullet-proof” stockades. Robert Park in his *Defensive War By Sea* (London: Robert Mount and Thomas Page, 1704), page 235, implies that stockades are stout walls made of tree trunks, and palisades are shorter walls or fences.

Page 175, 2nd paragraph, types of musket shot. According to the sieur de Gaya writing circa 1678, a projectile called a “*balle ramée*”—two musket balls attached by half an inch of small iron rod—was occasionally used by infantry. Sir Henry Mainwaring hints at another shot, probably similar to a cross-bar shot for a great gun (a round shot with an iron bar through its middle and projecting a few inches out each side). These were “armed” with rope yarn and such so that the exposed leading end of the bar would not catch on “flaws” in the barrel. He writes: “We also use to arm some small shot for muskets, like our cross-bars.” John Smith describes quarter shot (musket balls quartered or quartered then cut in half). Spanish wrecks often produce “split-shot”—large caliber (.80 on average) musket ball halves connected by twisted wires cast in the sprues. The shot would expand to several inches after firing and would be good against men and rigging. See Gaya, *Traité des Armes* (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1678); Henry Mainwaring, *The Seaman’s Dictionary*, s.v. “arm;” and John Smith, *A Sea Grammar*, reprinted in *A General History of Virginia* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907), vol. 2:294. For information on deformed or “chewed” musket balls used in order to increase injury, see *Buccaneer’s Realm*, page 175, 2nd paragraph. On poisoned musket balls, see the same, and also *Buccaneer’s Realm* notes and errata, “Page 175.”

Page 175, 2nd paragraph, types of musket shot. According to *A Military Dictionary* by William Duane (Philadelphia: William Duane, 1810), known poisoned bullets were made either of a concoction including “mealed powder,” pitch, rosin, other chemical substances, and poison, or of “glass, small pieces of iron, &c. and were said to be concocted of together by means of a greasy composition which was impregnated with poisonous matter.” See Duane, *A Military Dictionary*, s.v. “Balls: Poisoned Balls.”

Page 179, 3rd paragraph, sack of Campeche. The commanders of the 1678 attack were “Spuire” (George Spurre) and Nevil. See “A journal kept by colonel Beeston,” 296.

Pages 179-80, 182-85, the attacks on Campeche and Veracruz. According to Raynald Laprise, the attacks had the tacit support of the French government, and were diversions intended to distract Spain from France’s real intention, that of founding a substantial colony on the Gulf Coast of North America. See Raynald Laprise, “The Privateers of Saint-Domingue and Louis XIV’s Designs on Spanish America, 1683-1685,” in *Terrae Incognitae* (vol. 39), 2007, 68-82.

Pages 189-199, swordplay: see also the chapter on the myth of dueling for command in the forthcoming pirate myths book by Benerson Little.

Pages 193, last paragraph, to 194, smallsword. According to the sieur de Gaya, in France circa 1678 the smallsword was referred to as the *epee de rencontre*. He gives the average blade length as 32 *pouces* (French inches), equivalent to 34.1 inches, almost the blade length of a modern foil or epee blade (35.4 inches, 90 centimeters). This is longer than the popularly accepted blade length for smallswords (roughly 30 inches). See Gaya. *Traité des Armes*. Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1678.

Page 195, third paragraph, cut versus thrust. There is a strong argument to be made that the thrust is best performed on flat, relatively stable ground. A cut is easier to make on rough or crowded ground or decks, and is also more likely to strike something than is the thrust, which passes through a much more narrow, restricted path. However, when it comes to the swordplay of tight, lighter cuts versus the thrust, the thrust was nearly always considered to be more deadly. See also my forthcoming title on pirate myths, the chapter on the myth of dueling for command.

Page 215-12, Laurens de Graff. According to the *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* by Agustín de Vetancurt (Mexico: por doña Maria de Benavides viuda de Iuan de Ribera, 1697), page 77, de Graff served the Armada de Barlovento as a gunner for three years. The same book, however, misidentifies him with

Lorenzo Jacomé, a pirate of the 1650s, even as it also identifies him as Dutch. The confusion is easy to understand: Lorenzo Jacomé and Lorenzo de Graff are somewhat similar in sound. See also “page 284-85” below, and Little, *The Great Pirate Legends Debunked* (forthcoming, title may be different).

Pages 216-17, brief bio of Bartholomew Sharp. After publication, I discovered that Captain Sharp had also commanded a company of men under Captain-General Codrington in the Caribbean, 1689-1690, during one of the English expeditions against the French. (See Spencer, Thomas. *A True and Faithful Relation of the Proceedings of the Forces of their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, in Their Expedition Against the French in the Caribbee Islands, in the West Indies*. London: 1691. Reprinted in *The Harleian Miscellany*, vol. 9 (London: Robert Dutton, 1810), page 522. See also Little, *How History's Greatest Pirates Pillaged, Plundered, and Got Away with It*, the chapter of Bartholomew Sharp.

Page 218, 2nd paragraph, Captain Yanky's death. After publication I learned that Yanky was wounded in early 1688 during an attack on Spanish storehouses in the Bay of Honduras. This wound may have been the cause of his death later that year. The Spanish attempted a counterattack, but were badly beaten. Soon after attacking the storehouses, Yanky recruited men to attack "Spanish ships" in the area, doubtless the "Hulk" and her consort, the former of which he succeeded in capturing. With Yanky was Captain Jacob; they were joined by Captain Jones in the attack on the hulk. See Duke of Albermarle to Lord Dartmouth, March 8, 1688, in *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887), vol. 1:136, and *CSP 1685-1688*, no. 1877.

Page 219, 3rd paragraph, Captain Laurens's daughter Marie-Catherine by Marie-Anne Dieuleveult. According to Vaissière, she was eleven or twelve in 1705. Her father died May 24, 1704, almost certainly on Saint-Domingue, and his estate was settled on December 9, 1705, thus Marie-Catherine may have been as young as ten, or conceivably even nine, at the time of his death. See Vaissière, *Les origines de la colonisation*, 46-47.

Pages 224-227, shares and outfitting. Buccaneers, filibusters, pirates, and many privateers were required to provide their own arms. According to Captain Thomas Larimore in Boston in 1695, “the person fitted out always allows to the person fitting out One full Quarter part of a whole share of whatsoever is gained on the voyage.” The records of the privateer *Revenge*, out of Rhode Island in 1741, provide “½ of a ¼ Share for a Gun and Cartouch” and “¼ of ¼ of do. [one share] for a pistol”—in other words, 1/8 share for a gun and cartridge box, and 1/16 share for a pistol. A quarter share was probably allowed for a full outfit, including musket, cartouche box, pistol, powder and shot (if not supplied by the vessel) and perhaps cutlass. This practice was almost certainly in place prior to 1695, and it is likely that many buccaneers and filibusters contracted in such a manner with local suppliers, investors, or bankers for the arms and powder required. Raveneau de Lussan was advanced funds for personal arms and outfitting by M. de Franquesnay in Petit Goave in 1684, although de Lussan does not mention the terms of repayment. See the “Deposition of Thomas Larimore, October 28, 1695,” in Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, 152-153; “Abstract of the Shares of the Revenge” in Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, 417; and de Lussan, *Journal of a Voyage*, 36.

In 1686 Bartholomew Sharp, commanding the *Josiah* frigate, formally lists Paul Abney as the “lieutenant” of the *Josiah*. Sharp, a buccaneer, had recently committed piracy at Campeche and on the sea, and was assisting the governor of Bermuda in dealing with an insurrection, under authority of an almost certainly invalid commission. Sailing under, in theory at least, a “lawful” commission and wanting to avoid charges of piracy, Sharp had every reason to organize his vessel as privateer, not a buccaneer. See *CSP 1685-1688*, nos. 532, 841iv, and also the Bartholomew Sharp chapter in *How History's Greatest Pirates...*

Page 232, musician. Pirate captains John Banister and Howell Davis also had a trumpeters aboard in 1687 and 1719, respectively; the practice was common for centuries. Everard mentions a drummer aboard ship, as does the trial record of Charles Harris and his crew, whose drummer beat his drum on the roundhouse of the pirate sloop during action. Aboard the pirate ship *Mocha* Frigate in 1697 were “hautboys” (oboes), drums, and trumpets. See Taylor, *Jamaica in 1687*, 49; William Snelgrave, *A New Account of some parts of Guinea and the Slave Trade* (1727, ???); Everard, “Relation of Three Years Suffering,” 289; “Trials of Thirty-Six Persons for Piracy &c” in *Memoirs of the Rhode Island Bar*, edited by Wilkins Updike (Boston: Thomas H. Webb, 1842), page 289; and the firsthand accounts in *Pirates of the Eastern Seas, 1618–1723: A Lurid Page of History* by Charles Grey, edited by George MacMunn (London: Sampson Low, Marston, & Co., [1933]), pages 140, 145.

Page 233, 1st paragraph, French *page*. A *page* aboard a French ship was not necessarily a midshipman in the usual sense of an officer-in-training, but among his several duties he was tasked, like a midshipman, to carry or pass orders from the master and other officers. He was also tasked with making announcements. See [Cleriac], *Us, et coutumes*, 13.

Page 235, *Banister, Joseph*. Commanded the *Golden Fleece* from 1684 until it was destroyed in 1686.

Page 236, *Beare, John*. Add the following: In 1687 commanded the 400 ton, 30 gun *Golden Fleece*. After losing it, the Spanish at Havana built him another ship. See Taylor, *Jamaica in 1687*, 108.

Page 236, *Conway, Jeremiah*. Conway's first name is also given as Edward. See *CSP 1685-1688*, no. 1135. Also, add the following: In 1687 Conway commanded the *Philip and Martha*, carrying logwood from Campeche. See Taylor, *Jamaica in 1687*, 29, and 29 note 15.

Page 238, *Graff, Laurens de*. His *Neptune*, the former *San Francisco*, had been a ship of the *assiento de Grillos* taken into service as a pirate hunting man-of-war at Cartagena—a former slave ship, in other words. She was mounted with 40 guns when captured. See Juarez Moreno, 290-91. According to Charlevoix, the *Neptune*, of 48 guns and 200 men, was lost near Cartagena in 1687 when she ran aground two leagues from shore while chasing a barque. See Charlevoix, vol. 2:203.

Page 239, *La Garde*. Add the following: In 1686 commanded the small vessel “*La Chavale*” (the *Mare*) in consort with Banister, and appears to have been present when Banister's ship was destroyed. La Garde may have commanded this vessel into the South Sea. Late into its voyage into the South Sea, *La Chavale* was burned. It was replaced by a prize named by the filibusters as “*St.-François*.” It is unknown if La Garde were still in command. (See Taylor, *Jamaica in 1687*, 48-49, and *Mémoire du sieur de Cussy pour monseigneur le marquis de Seigneley*, Port-de-Paix, August 13, 1686, excerpted at http://members.tripod.com/diable_volant/archives/D1686/D8608cussy.html. John Taylor, writing in 1687, reports the name of Banister's consort vessel. In an illustration Taylor shows the vessel as a small ship, which concurs with the anonymous *Journal de Bord d'un Flibustier* (1686-1693), edited by Edward Ducéré in the “Bulletin of the Société des Sciences et Arts de Bayonne,” years 1894 and 1895.

Page 241, *Van Horn*. In French, the *Mary and Martha* would be *la Marie-et-Marthe*.

Page 245, “1686.” The first (1686) French edition of Esquemelin's work was reportedly translated by Frontignères under the direction of the author. See also Little, “In Defense of Alexandre Exquemelin: The Original and Eternal Buccaneer-Author,” in *Pirates Magazine*, Issue 14, May 2011.

Page 250, pieces-of-eight: in the British colonies of Colonial America, pieces-of-eight were referred to as Seville (i.e. from Spain), Mexico, and Peru (i.e. from Potosí and Lima). See *The Merchant's Magazine: or Trades Man's Treasury* by Edward Hatton (1712), page 131.

Page 250, 3rd paragraph, shorthand for piece-of-eight. In John Cox's published journal (*Adventures*, 80) the shorthand for “2,200 pieces-of-eight” is written as follows, indicating pieces of eight reales:

2200 ps. $\frac{8}{8}$

Also, in one of the Hacke copies of the Spanish *derrotero* captured in the South Sea, there is a similar notation on the Bay of Guayaquil map:

100000 p $\frac{s}{8}$

Page 251, first paragraph, number of coins in a king's chest. The source for 3000 pieces-of-eight is Gemelli-Careri's account of his voyage around the world. However, other sources give 2500, and are probably correct. See for example Dave Horner, *Shipwreck: A Saga of Sea Tragedy and Sunken Treasure* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Sheridan House, 1999).

Pages 253-54, places sacked. Add to places threatened and sacked by the buccaneers and filibusters: Acaponeta, Mexico 1688.

Pages 253-54, places sacked. Add to places sacked by the Spanish: Anguilla 1687; Crab Island (Vieques) before 1687; and also New Providence for a second time, probably in the summer or fall of 1684 (it was plundered the first time in January 1684). See below.

The Spanish under the English pirate and renegade Beare sacked the small English colony on Anguilla around 1687, but were repulsed. The Spanish did destroy an intruding English colony on Crab Island (Vieques; “in the Charts ‘tis named Borriquem,” probably Borriqueno, of or relating to an ass or donkey, or possibly Borriquillo, a little ass) off Puerto Rico at roughly the same time, and carried off the inhabitants, probably prior to 1687. The islands each had small English populations for several years, probably not pirates but potential pirates or a potential pirate base nonetheless. See Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands Madera...and Jamaica* (London: B. M., 1707), vol. 1:lxxxvi-lxxxvii.)

In 1686 the Spanish plundered Tortola for three days. Beare, at that time under commission as a privateer to seek pirates, captured a Spanish ship, *La Soldad*, that attacked him as he was seeking the Spanish pirates who plundered Tortola. The ringleader was said to be an English doctor who had worked for Captain Beare. See *CSP 1685-1688*, nos. 678, 913.

New Providence was apparently sacked twice, the second time by Juan Corso, who murdered the governor, probably in the summer or fall of 1684. Corso died in 1685. See Oldmixon, *The History of the British Empire in America*, vol. 2:424. See also Little, *How History's Greatest Pirates Pillaged, Plundered, and Got Away with It*, in the chapter dealing with Corso.

Page 256, 1st paragraph, “Buff Hides.” According to *A Military Dictionary* by William Duane (Philadelphia: William Duane, 1810), buff leather was made from buffalo hide. See Duane, *A Military Dictionary*, sv. “Buff-Leather.” However, according to the *OED*, “buff” leather was typically made from ox-hide, thus the “buff hides” were probably wild European cattle hides from the New World.

Page 260, add to *chest*: of sugar, for example, 10 to 15 hundredweight, of indigo, 1.5 to 2 hundredweight.

Page 267, “Terms Relating to Vessel Types.” Occasionally in the eighteenth century, a ship was affectionately referred to as a “stout sea boat.” To otherwise refer to a ship as a boat (except in the case of a submarine) was and is entirely incorrect. (A sea boat is a boat built for and able to sail well upon the open sea, such a launch or long boat.)

Page 284-85, note 47, regarding Laurens de Graff, the origin of the misidentification of de Graff with Lorenzo Jacomé, a pirate of the 1650s, almost certainly stems from a line in the *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* by Agustín de Vetancurt (Mexico: por doña Maria de Benavides viuda de Iuan de Ribera, 1697) on page 77. In it he is described as “Lorenzo Jacome, Hollander, married in the Islands, who came as Admiral, for he knew the place [Veracruz] well, having served three years as a gunner in the Armada de Barlovento, and then made his residence in Veracruz...” However, in spite of the misidentification of his name, there is no mention here of his being mulatto, and his nationality is given as Dutch. See also the sea battle chapter in my forthcoming pirate myths book.

Page 299, note 36, regarding damp powder. Eighteenth century research suggested that damp powder burned twice as slow as dry, and that dry powder would shoot a ball twice as far as damp. See Anon., *Miscellanies*, 283-284.