

The College of William & Mary was founded on PIRATE LOOT – aaarrrrgh!

Buccaneers Davis, Wafer & Hingson, and the Ship *Batchelors Delight*

By John Fitzhugh Millar, 2010, updated subsequently

College Graduates Form a Plan

In 1682, Charles II (reigned 1660-1685) was regarded by many at the time as the best king England ever had, the two ridiculous wars he waged against the Netherlands (1665-7 and 1672-4) notwithstanding. For example, the charter he issued to Rhode Island in 1662 is a model of liberalism, and his *Habeas Corpus* Act of 1679 is not only a cornerstone of Western law but also completely his own idea. He fostered the advancement of science through founding the Royal Society (still the premier scientific body in the world), and he served as a committed patron of British art, music and architecture (Sir Christopher Wren and his teacher Elizabeth Lady Wilbraham being his leading architects). However, since Charles had no legitimate children and was nearing the end of his life, it was becoming obvious that his brother James would be the next king, and James had a good chance of becoming one of the worst kings England ever had (and he did not disappoint). Therefore, a group of about fifty men in their early twenties, mostly recent graduates of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, decided to get out while the getting was good, and seek their fortunes elsewhere. They intended to go on a “privateering” voyage (a polite word for “pirating”) to the Caribbean, even though they knew little about sailing (the hired captain would know what to do). Technically, privateering meant a privately-owned warship being licensed by the English government to attack enemy ships in wartime, because it was understood that no national navy had enough money to operate all the ships it felt it needed – it was as if Ross Perot had his own aircraft carrier, something that is now outlawed by the Geneva Convention. Of course, our group of men had no such license, which technically made them pirates, but they did not see that as an insurmountable problem; most people regarded the Spanish as permanent enemies, whether war had actually been declared at that moment or not.

They bought an old four-gun ship called *Revenge*, which had been captured by pirates from the French in the Caribbean, and they hired its previous owner, an experienced professional captain, John Cook or Cooke (ca. 1636-1684), who had commanded a pirate fleet a short time previously. Cook was fond of referring to his college-graduate crewmen as “The Merry Boys.” Cook talked James Kelley into joining the crew; in 1681, Kelley had rescued Cook from a rival pirate gang in the Caribbean.

Cook declared that the most important asset for a pirate cruise would be a competent doctor. Therefore, they first sailed to the Caribbean, where they picked up Scottish Dr. Lionel Wafer (also spelled DelaWafer), ship’s “chirurgion” (surgeon) in Panama, and his assistant John Hingson. Wafer (1640-1705) and Hingson had served Cook’s fleet of pirates as surgeon and assistant in 1679, until they had been persuaded to join another group of pirates commanded by Bartholomew Sharp off Cartagena, Colombia. Sharp and his men had abandoned Wafer in the jungles of Panama when the doctor had been seriously wounded in the thigh by the accidental explosion of a keg of gunpowder. The Cuna Indians had not only saved his life but also completely healed the wound, thanks to their skill with herbal medicine, which they also taught Wafer. In fact, when Cook first arrived, he failed to recognize Wafer, since Wafer was dressed and painted exactly like the Indians!

Wafer's friend and assistant, John Hingson (also spelled Hinson and Hingsett), had stood by him in Panama, so he was also welcomed aboard *Revenge* as assistant surgeon.

Wafer and Hingson had heard that another old colleague, William Dampier (1651-1715), was hiding out at Hampton, Virginia (note: Hampton was known as Elizabeth City until 1706, so Dampier would not have known the name Hampton), hoping to escape the notice of the authorities after some notorious pirate adventures. Also hiding with Dampier was the experienced Welshman [John] Edward Davis (ca. 1648 – after 1705) from either Cardiff or Newport, whom Cook appointed as Quartermaster (second in command on a pirate ship) and Davis' free African servant (but not slave) Pierre Cloise; Davis had originally had his pirate training under Bartholomew Sharp and John Coxon. Dampier had sailed around the world in 1679, so his expertise was considered to be crucial to the success of this voyage. The would-be pirates therefore sailed from Panama to Hampton, where they arrived in April 1683. They quickly persuaded Dampier, Davis, and Cloise to join them, and sailed on 23 August for the Guinea Coast of Africa, where they arrived in November 1683.

A Decent Ship

Their ship being rotten, the crewmembers were on the look-out to seize an appropriate replacement. They spotted a small, brand-new Danish ship, *Charlotte Amalia* (Captain Thomas Thorsen), with 14 6-pounder carriage guns (firing an iron ball slightly bigger than a tennis ball) and 22 1-pounder swivel guns (firing an iron ball slightly bigger than a golf ball), anchored in the Sierra Leone River. The ship, which has inaccurately been described as a 36-gun frigate although she was just a corvette, had been built at picturesque Lykstad, Denmark, now known as Gluckstadt, Germany on the Elbe River, and was already on her second trip to Africa. On this voyage, she had accompanied two larger ships from Brandenburg, Germany, who were to establish a new Brandenburger slave-trading fort, known as Gross-Fridrichsburg, and she fired the first 5-gun salute to the new fort. She was presumably waiting for a cargo of slaves, gold, and ivory. There was no possibility of the rotten 4-gun *Revenge* defeating the Danish ship in battle, so Dampier and sailing-master William Ambrosia Cowley (who was possibly a secret Roman Catholic) engaged the Danish owners in an all-night card game (undoubtedly well lubricated with rum) with the ship as the intended stakes. They won the game, and renamed the new ship *Batchelors Delight*, probably a *double-entendre* about the two meanings of "bachelor," in that most of the crew were both unmarried and recent college graduates (spelling was not uniform in those days). The ship was described as "pretty." Some reports describe her as a large frigate of up to 40 guns, but other sources, including two pictures of her, show her to have been a mere corvette or mini-frigate of 14 or 16 six-pounder main guns and probably many swivel-guns (a six-pounder cannon, which often weighed almost a ton, fired a solid iron ball that weighed six pounds or 2.7 kg, and had a diameter of 3.3 inches or 8.5 cm, about the size of a ball used in baseball or cricket).

Presumably, the Danes received the rotten *Revenge* as a consolation prize, but would not want to admit that publicly. Captain Thorsen, embarrassed by having lost his ship in a card game, told Danish officials that he and his crew had been overwhelmed by a powerful pirate ship. One pirate crewmember later asserted with false bravado that they had seized the Danish ship by force, that she was loaded with female slaves, whom the pirates took as consorts, and that they burned the *Revenge* so as to leave no trace, but the surviving evidence does not support such an interpretation.

Here it should be noted that another ship of about the same size and appearance called *Bachelor's Delight*, with Benjamin Gillam/Guillaume (1662-1706) as captain and John Outlaw as mate, sailed from Boston on a "privateering" voyage to Hudson's Bay on 21 June 1682, arriving at Nelson River on 18 August at the southwest corner of Hudson's Bay, in what would later be called Manitoba. The crew founded a private fort that would later be called York Factory (subsequently a principal outpost of the Hudson's Bay Company), but fort, ship and men were all temporarily captured by the French adventurers Radisson and Groseillers. Ship and crew spent the winter under arrest in Hudson's Bay and sailed to Quebec the following summer, where they were released by French authorities in October 1683. This is clearly a different ship.

Toward the Pacific Coast of South America

Cook, Dampier, Davis, and Wafer told the rest of the crew that the Caribbean was not a fruitful place to be a pirate because it was infested with Spanish military patrols. The chief pirate bases at Tortuga and Petit-Goave (Haiti) were being suppressed by French authorities, leaving only Port Royal, near Kingston, Jamaica, which had not yet been destroyed by the earthquake of 1692; the Bahamas had not yet been subjected to repeated capture by French and Spanish forces, so those islands had not yet been taken over by pirates. A far better place for being pirates would be along the Pacific coast of Latin America. No roads could be built along that coast, because it was mostly vertical all the way up to the high peaks of the Andes. Thus, all the tons of Spanish silver, gold and jewels from the mines of Bolivia in the interior had to cross the mountains on the backs of llamas to the seaports of La Villa Pichilemu, La Serena, Arica and Iquique in northern Chile, and then move north along that coast in mostly unarmed merchant ships in order to arrive at Panama, before trans-shipment back to Spain. The Spanish "knew" that it was almost impossible to sail around Cape Horn, so they felt quite safe in not fortifying their cities on the West Coast and in not paying for warships to police the seas there, and not even arming most of their merchant ships.

To the West Coast

Accordingly, the English adventurers in their well-built ship sailed south, apparently navigating through the yet-to-be-colonized Falkland Islands (not even named after Royal Navy official Viscount Falkland by John Strong until 1690; French explorer Louis-Antoine de Bougainville was reminded by the color of the rocks of the Brittany port of Saint-Malo, so he renamed the islands in 1764 the Malouines, or Malvinas in Spanish). The *Batchelors Delight* named East Falkland "Pepys Island," but since they got the latitude wrong by 5 degrees to the north no one ever found Pepys Island *per se* again. In the pirates' defense, they had faced several weeks of solid cloud cover, so they had no possibility of taking sights on sun, moon, or stars. With much improved weather, they sailed carefully around Cape Horn, with Dampier and Wafer reading eastern magnetic variations of 15 and 21 degrees, using an azimuth compass and declination tables (the two had previously made extraordinary latitude and longitude measurements during a 1680 solar eclipse in Peru). The valuable azimuth compass was invented by London cartographer John Seller in 1680, and these longitude measurements would have been impossible without one. This scientific work helps to show that at least some of these pirates had a serious, useful, scholarly side to them.

For the next several years they plundered from Chile to California, with a string of exciting adventures of avoiding and defeating Spanish military opposition. In 1684, they joined forces with Capt. John Eaton and his ship *Nicholas* for a few weeks at Juan Fernandez Island. They were easily able to hide in the numerous islands along the coast, including the Galapagos off the coast of Ecuador and Juan Fernandez off the coast of Chile. They were the first Englishmen ever to see the Galapagos. Dampier and one or two others made extensive notes and observations of the wildlife there that Darwin found of great interest 150 years later. Along with Cowley, Dampier made the first charts of the Galapagos, and gave the geographical features their present-day English names. Their charts were so well drawn that they remained the standard charts of the area for the Royal Navy well into the nineteenth century. Fresh water being scarce in the Galapagos, Cowley noted a sweet spring, still there, at Buccaneer Cove at the northwest end of Santiago. There is even a diminutive Cowley Island to the east of Isabela. Sailing-master Cowley, who said that he did not want to be part of pirating, then joined the crew of *Nicholas* and departed for Gorgona Island, Colombia, before heading across the Pacific and back to England, where he arrived 12 October 1686. Cowley was somehow separated from the elaborate journal he had made of his voyage, so he made several manuscript attempts to rewrite it from memory. Finally, one of them was enough to his liking that he had it published in 1699 as *Cowley's Voyage Round the Globe* in a collection of other voyage stories.

Batchelors Delight fell in with another English ship, *Cygnets* (Captain Charles Swan), which was trying to present a friendly face to the Spanish in hopes of obtaining a trading concession, so Swan attempted to betray the other two ships to the Spanish authorities without much success. *Cygnets* had sailed there by rounding Cape Horn, after having discovered and claimed the Swan Islands in the western Caribbean. The *Batchelors Delight* spent Christmas 1685 at Juan Fernandez, at which time they noted a strong earthquake which they later found out had devastated parts of Peru. The crewmembers of the *Batchelors Delight*, late in their voyage, were also the first Europeans to see Rapa Nui or Easter Island far off the coast of Chile (almost half way to New Zealand), although they gave it a different name, and they did not stop to explore it because Captain Davis would not permit a landing; it was not rediscovered until Easter Day 1772. They had sailed there by accident after one of their visits to Juan Fernandez.

Cook died off Costa Rica in 1684 of an illness he picked up in Chile, and the crew voted to replace him with the experienced Edward Davis, Dampier's Welsh friend. Davis signed one later document with an X, which suggests that he may have been illiterate.

By this time, several English and French "privateer" ships (formerly Pacific Coast Spanish merchant ships, captured and armed by disorganized English and French pirates, who had crossed the Isthmus of Panama on foot) were operating along the west coast of Latin America, and some of them formed an alliance to attack a Spanish treasure convoy. For a while, the fleet mustered about 1000 men, all under nominal command of Davis. Three French captains, Francois Grogner, Pierre le Picard, and the Sieur Raveneau de Lussan, failed to support *Batchelors Delight*, which suffered heavy damage and several deaths during the attack as a result. The English decided, therefore, to avoid any partnerships with the unreliable French corsairs for a time.

Chase to New Zealand and Back

After this incident, a fleet of about seven hastily-armed Spanish government ships (doubtless former merchant-ships seized without payment, with crude holes sawn in the sides for gunports to make an instant navy) gave chase, so the English aboard *Batchelors Delight* sailed due west from Chile with the Spanish in hot pursuit for almost 3 weeks. A period Spanish painting of these seven ships has recently been identified. The slightly slower Spanish gave up the chase in the middle of the night, but the English were unaware of that, so they kept sailing for a few more weeks until the lookout called out, "Land-ho!" They spotted the long, high coast of an unknown land, which they called Davisland after their captain; it did not appear on any charts. They must have been the first westerners ever to see the east coast of North Island, New Zealand, which is what it turned out to be. The Dutch explorer Abel Tasman had seen the west coast of New Zealand in 1642, but without stopping. When French explorers Francois-Marie de Surville and Marc-Joseph Marion du Fresne and the British navigator James Cook came to New Zealand in the period 1769 to 1772, some of their men were eaten by the Maoris (the Maoris, although they were famous for their full-body tattoos, did not use a written language, so it was not recorded that the French sailors, with their garlic, tasted better than the British), so it was probably lucky that Davis, just as he did at Easter Island, prudently gave strict orders that no member of the crew should go ashore. The visit to New Zealand was close to Christmas 1686.

However, if they had gone ashore, perhaps they would have seen giant Moas, a mostly nocturnal, wingless, flightless bird, whose females sometimes stood over 16 feet (5 meters) tall and weighed 600 pounds (275kg) – essentially emus the size of a giraffe! They were considerably taller than the 1000-pound elephant bird of Madagascar. All species of these giant birds became extinct before about 1800, and the Maoris ate the last moa during the American Revolution. Actually, Dampier and Wafer, the two literary members of the crew, never mentioned the birds in their journals, but it is possible that some of the men on lookout duty may have seen the birds (we know that coastal sand-dunes were one of the habitats the birds frequented) and the sailors may have thought merely that they had drunk too much rum! The adventurers then returned to South America as fast as they could sail, taking a more southerly route to catch the strong westerly winds in that latitude.

A Base in the Galapagos Islands, Ecuador

Knowing that the Spanish armed ships were lurking off the coast of Chile, Davis decided to avoid Chile and to intercept the treasure ships as they passed the coast of Ecuador, so he established a base in the Galapagos Islands; the Spanish knew the islands were there, but they thought them to be worthless. This gave the crewmembers of a scientific bent plenty of opportunity to study and write about the flora and fauna of the islands, and Darwin read their observations with great interest a century and a half later. One can even imagine the crew adopting one or more Galapagos Island penguins as shipboard pets, although there is no documentation of that.

While on the west coast of America, Davis' ship sacked Guayaquil, Ecuador and raided various other ports, including Leon and El Realejo in Nicaragua in 1685. In Peru, they attacked Paita (3 November 1684) and Pisco, and, assisted by Capt. William Knight, they attacked Zania/Sana in March 1686, where they seized an enormous treasure worth 25,000 Pounds in silver and jewels; impressive ruins of Sana, destroyed by a natural disaster 35 years later, are now a proud tourist attraction featuring the pirates and even an annual pirate festival, the implication being that the

pirates had caused the damage! In Chile, they attacked La Villa Pichilemu, and La Serena (where they burned the Convent of Santo Domingo in 1686) and Arica (February 1687). However, not all their raids ashore produced useful treasure, and one raid on Panama went badly wrong (28 May 1685, an attempt to capture the annual Spanish silver fleet that was sailing to the Philippines). One Spanish ship they captured was full of slaves from Africa, so they set the Africans free ashore, and welcomed a few into the crew of *Batchelors Delight*. In May 1687, they allied with French Capt. Picard to defeat a Spanish fleet searching for them off Guayaquil, Ecuador.

Dampier eventually tired of this life, so he joined the crew of Captain Charles Swan's *Cygnets* as navigator, replacing the celebrated Basil Ringrose, who had recently died in an unsuccessful attack on a town in Mexico; Dampier sailed west across the Pacific to complete his second voyage around the world. The fractious crew of *Cygnets*, however, left Captain Swan on the beach at Mindanao in the Philippines (where the locals eventually killed Swan in 1690), renamed the ship *Little England*, and made Josiah Teat the new captain. Then, after he had made extensive observations of the geography, flora and fauna of the wild north coast of Australia (which Joseph Banks aboard Cook's *Endeavour* found very useful about 80 years later), Dampier found himself marooned with one colleague by the mutinous crew in the Nicobar Islands (between India and Malaysia), and yet the pair amazingly survived a long ocean voyage on a small raft or dugout-canoe with outrigger they had built, until they were picked up at Banda Aceh in Sumatra by a merchant ship headed for England. Dampier's exploits influenced the Very Reverend Dean Jonathan Swift of Dublin in writing his book, *Gulliver's Travels*.

Antarctica

When asked how much is enough, US mogul John D. Rockefeller, Jr. once said, "Always a little more," but the crew of the *Batchelors Delight* came to the conclusion in mid-1687 that they had indeed gained enough treasure. Their ship was floating dangerously low in the water, thanks to all the weight of gold, so she would not be able to sail back safely around Cape Horn. That was also the same moment that they heard the news at Panama that the dreadful King James was being thrown out by the English Parliament and replaced by his daughter Mary; she would not agree to serve unless her Dutch husband William were made equal king. This move was echoed by the Irish Parliament, but not by the Scottish Parliament, which would cause problems over the next half-century. Life in England would definitely be better under William and Mary than it was under James. Moreover, James had just signed a proclamation offering amnesty to pirates who registered with English authorities. Therefore, they decided to sail back to England.

In order to lighten the ship, the adventurers buried approximately one third of their treasure at Chatham Bay on the north coast of Cocos Island, 300 miles off the coast of Costa Rica, which could also be useful in case they were somehow deprived of the rest of their loot on the way home. It is said that Cocos Island (now Isla del Coco National Park, and it more recently served as the inspiration for the book *Jurassic Park*), which is only five miles (8km) long, is the site of no fewer than three treasures from separate pirate ships, but, in spite of many expeditions mounted over the years by treasure seekers, nothing of value has ever been found from any of them. It is now illegal to dig there.

Several of the crew, who had lost their shares through gambling, asked to be put ashore on Juan Fernandez Island as the ship headed south past Chile. What became of them is not recorded, but they were probably rescued by other visiting ships in a short space of time.

They rounded Cape Horn in dreadful weather in the autumn of 1687. A book published in 1803 asserted that Davis and his crew were the first people ever to see Antarctica (the next people, on two separate ships in late January 1820, were Russian Admiral Fabian Gottlieb von Bellingshausen and Irish Captain Edward Bransfield), the result of the ship being blown off-course through Drake's Channel towards the Antarctic Peninsula at this passage off Cape Horn; perhaps they sailed past the modern base of Port Lockroy. Did they also see some Antarctic Gentoo penguins porpoising through the waves? There is no record, but they would have been familiar with many other species of penguin common along the west coast of South America and in the Falklands. Incidentally, a recent book claims that a Chinese fleet had seen Antarctica years earlier, but the evidence simply is not credible.

When they reached the tropics in the Atlantic, Dr. Wafer called a meeting of the entire crew. He told them that if they all appeared in England at the same time with all their loot, they would probably be recognized to be pirates, and could be arrested and hanged in spite of any royal proclamation. He suggested that they should draw straws. The men with the first four short straws should get off in Barbados with their share of the loot, the next four in Jamaica (including the notorious pirate James Kelley, who had joined the crew because he was an old friend of John Cook), the next in the Bahamas, the next in South Carolina (Georgia did not yet exist), and so forth. They should sell the ship in Philadelphia (which had been founded only a few years earlier), and take passage onwards to other colonies on coastal ferries. After remaining in the colonies for two or three years, they could drift back to England one at a time unnoticed if they wanted to, or simply remain in the colonies. They agreed. Davis accepted a royal pardon from the governor at Port Royal, Jamaica, and let it be known that the coin treasure to be divided among the crew came to more than 50,000 Spanish dollars, plus countless jewels and silver and gold plate and bars.

Jamestown, Virginia

They sold the ship in Philadelphia in May 1688. Unbeknownst to the others, the four crewmembers destined to stay in Pennsylvania secretly hired a lawyer to buy the ship on their behalf. Undoubtedly, the prospect of vegetating as a wealthy country gentleman in England or Pennsylvania paled when compared to the exciting life they had enjoyed for the past few years, to say nothing of having to face two years of living quietly among boring Pennsylvania Quakers. The ship next surfaced in a pirate cruise on the other side of the world.

Wafer and Davis, along with Wafer's assistant John Hingson and the free African Pierre Cloise, drew the straws for Virginia. They sailed down the Chesapeake Bay from Philadelphia on a local ferry and dropped off four crewmen in Sussex County in what later became Delaware (their plantation, named Bachelor's Delight, was located where the village of Laurel now stands), and they dropped off a crewman named Berry (and presumably his three colleagues) in Maryland, where Berry named his land Bachelor's Delight in Charles County. Then they registered as ex-pirates with Commander Thomas Allen of *HMS Quaker*, 10 guns, and managed to deposit their loot (one large chest for each man, filled with coins, bars, and plate) with a local banker. The loot

was said to be valued at around 6000 Pounds. Wafer said he intended settling in Norfolk, Virginia, whereas Davis probably planned to hide out in Hampton the way he had been doing in 1682. They were immediately arrested, however, while crossing Hampton Roads from Point Comfort (Hampton) to the Elizabeth River (Norfolk) on a shallop on 22 June 1688 under suspicion of piracy within hours of their arrival, by order of Captain Simon Rowe of *HMS Dumbarton*, 20 guns; he said he was acting under orders of Admiral Sir Robert Holmes, whose vigorous anti-pirate campaign stepped painfully on the toes of many colonial officials. Davis had been recognized from his previous piratical activities from a decade earlier. The royal pardon he received in Jamaica apparently carried no weight in Virginia, just as Wafer had feared.

The four pirates were interrogated separately by Governor Francis Howard and his council at Jamestown, and not surprisingly their testimony differed. The judge at Jamestown was worried that if he tried them and found them guilty (he was quite sure that he would find them guilty) other pirates might sail up the James River and destroy Jamestown in retaliation. He therefore ignored the new English Bill of Rights' guarantee of a speedy trial, and left the men in jail for about three years. Cloise, whose testimony to the authorities had contradicted Davis' claims, had in the mean time died. Eventually, their lawyer, a man named Perry, assisted by Virginia's new Governor Francis Nicholson (in his first term), got them sprung from jail on a writ of *habeas corpus* (thank you very much, Charles II!). He was able to make a deal with the judge that they should be sent to London for trial. This was actually against the English Bill of Rights of 1689, which guaranteed trial in the closest courthouse to the arrest, but constitutional law was not a prominent field at that time. The London merchant Micajah Perry (probably no relation) was helpful in setting up the arrangements for change of venue to London.

Captain Rowe and Admiral Holmes tried to gain possession of the loot, but managed to confiscate only a small portion of it. The three men sailed without escort or restraint to London aboard the merchant ship *Effingham* late in 1690, their good behavior ensured by their loot being aboard a different ship. Once in London, the men were free on bail, but they still had to wait an unconscionably long time for their trial in 1692. While waiting in London, they were accosted by the Reverend James Blair, who asked them baldly for a big contribution towards building his college in Virginia. On 18 February 1691, Blair wrote, "I do humbly certify that the Petitioners have devoted and secured towards the carrying on the pious design of a free School & College in Virginia, the summe of three hundred pounds, providing that the order be given for restoring to them their money."

Eventually, the trial took place before the Privy Council in London. The presiding magistrate summed up at the end of the trial. He told the three men that he was convinced in his heart that they really were guilty as pirates, but he felt the prosecution had not made a proper case. He therefore offered them a bargain. He could order them to be executed, but if they were to offer the court a large portion of their loot (believed to have been about half the total), the court would exonerate them. The court's offer was not far-fetched, since the crown had recently offered pardon to all English pirates who fulfilled certain conditions. The three men readily complied. The court then turned the money over to King William and Queen Mary, who next considered to what charitable ends it should be put. The monarchs therefore issued this order: *It is this day ordered in council that the money, plate, jewels and other goods belonging to said petitioners and seized by*

Captain Rowe, now lying in their Majesties' warehouse or wherever, the same may be forthwith restored to the petitioners.

The College of William & Mary

The monarchs observed that these alleged pirates had been arrested in Virginia. A delegation led by the Reverend James Blair from Virginia had recently petitioned the crown for financial assistance to establish a college there. Therefore, William and Mary concluded that the money should go to that college. The college was duly established with an official Charter on 8 February 1693, with a combination of the former pirate loot (the College's portion came to over 1000 pounds, far more than the three hundred Blair thought he might receive, with a purchasing power of about twelve or thirteen million dollars in today's money) and some of the Virginia quitrents collected by the crown. The total founding money came to 1985 pounds, 14 shillings, and tenpence, and was supplemented by the endowment income from 10,000 acres south of the Blackwater Swamp and 10,000 acres between the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers, which was land donated by the monarchs. The institution was fittingly named the College of William & Mary, now the second-oldest college or university in the United States and Canada.

The college building was constructed of brick, reportedly to designs donated by Sir Christopher Wren. As a practical matter, Wren was too busy, so he asked Elizabeth Lady Wilbraham (1632-1705), the world's first woman architect and Wren's architectural tutor, to design it for him, and he would put his stamp on her plans. Wilbraham was the architect of many college buildings at Oxford and Cambridge, although since it was erroneously believed that women were barred by law from practicing architecture she felt that she had to be sure not to leave behind any documentation in case it could be used in evidence against her.

The College was to be built at the village of Middle Plantation, about six healthy miles from the malarial swamps of Jamestown. It was the second permanent college established in English America (Harvard being the oldest in 1636, other than the short-lived Prince Henry's College in Virginia, 1618-1622). Wilbraham's first design was for an octagonal building arranged around an arcaded courtyard, and sporting three classical domes – the largest one over the principal lecture hall, and the smaller two over the chapel and a smaller lecture hall. None of the colleges at Oxford or Cambridge had classical domes at this date, and only the College des Quatre-Nations and the Sorbonne in Paris in the whole world had such domes. Wilbraham had dragged Wren to Paris for his only trip abroad in order for him to meet her teacher, Gianlorenzo Bernini, and while she was there she saw the elegant dome of the College des Quatre-Nations designed by Louis LeVau. This dome she copied for the largest dome for her first design at William & Mary. It is this design that is reflected in the official Shield of the College provided by the heralds at the College of Arms. However, local builders in Virginia claimed that the design was too difficult to construct – frontier builders knew nothing of domes or of octagonal brick corners. Therefore, Wren was asked in a letter (now lost) to provide something simpler. Still too busy, Wren asked Wilbraham for help once again. This time, she provided plans for a building arranged around a rectangular courtyard, which is now known as the “Wren” Building. These plans were sent to Virginia in the hands of Wren's retarded son William, who was coming to live with a relation in Isle of Wight County, Virginia (the site is still known as Wrenn's Mill). Six years later, the village of Middle Plantation was greatly enlarged to make it into the new capital of Virginia, so they renamed it after King William:

Williamsburg. Governor Francis Nicholson, an amateur architect, devised the street plan and designed the Capitol and the Governor's Palace, and then slightly redesigned the College after it had been destroyed by fire in 1705.

Unfortunately, no building at the College has ever been named in tribute to Davis, Wafer or Hingson, who had contributed (however reluctantly) a large proportion of the money used to found the College, nor is there any memorial (such as a social club or an award) to the *Batchelors Delight*. This oversight should surely be addressed. The only other American college with such an unusual source of original funding was Brown University at Providence, Rhode Island, founded in the 1760s entirely on the proceeds of rum-smuggling, but that is another story.

Wafer, who was now immune from further prosecution for his piratical voyage, wrote a book about some of his exploits and his observations of the Cuna Indians, *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America*, published in 1695. The rare book section of the College of William & Mary's Earl Gregg Swem Library contains an early copy. Anthropologists and naturalists today still find Wafer's observations useful. Meanwhile, Dampier had finally returned from his harrowing voyage in 1691, so Wafer encouraged him to incorporate the story of the *Batchelors Delight* into his new book, *A New Voyage Round the World*, published in 1697. The College of William & Mary also owns an early edition of that work. A miniature portrait of the ship *Batchelors Delight* has been identified on an early eighteenth-century French map of the Americas, and another miniature portrait is on a period map of the Galapagos. Accurate depictions of specific pirate ships are extremely rare, which makes these two engravings all the more important.

Dampier made another voyage to Australia and New Guinea in 1699-1701 in command of the Royal Navy 26-gun frigate *Roebuck*, and he returned with copious charts and information on the flora and fauna of the region. He went back to the West Coast of Latin America in 1703-1707 in command of the Royal Navy 26-gun frigate *Saint George*, accompanied by the 16-gun privateer *Cinque Ports*. This time, it was all legal, since England and Spain were officially at war – the same war in which England gained Gibraltar from Spain. During this voyage, the captain of *Cinque Ports* marooned crewman Alexander Selkirk on the island of Juan Fernandez off the coast of Chile, shortly before *Cinque Ports* sank with the loss of all hands; the pirates left there by the *Batchelors Delight* in 1687 had presumably meanwhile been picked up by other ships. Selkirk's experience served as the model for Daniel Defoe's *The Life & Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, published in 1719. Dampier sailed around the world a fourth time in 1708-9 as navigator under the command of Woodes Rogers, on two privateer ships, *Duke* and *Duchess*, and Dampier managed to talk Rogers into picking up Selkirk to bring him back to England. Dampier introduced Selkirk to an excited Defoe.

Further Adventures of the Ship in the Indian Ocean

As for Davis, he left Virginia and returned to Jamaica shortly after Port Royal had been destroyed by a devastating earthquake in 1692, hoping to fall into piracy again. Jamaica was no longer a haven for pirates, so he took passage into the Indian Ocean to Madagascar. While there, he

encountered former shipmate James Kelley, who had rediscovered the *Batchelors Delight* and been elected initially her quartermaster and, after she had captured the ship *Unity* in January 1692 near Mumbai, her new captain; Kelley had taken an official privateering commission in Jamaica, joining William Mason on the ship *Jacob*, but at Rhode Island he was elected captain of the sloop *Diamond*, which he sailed with a Rhode Island privateering commission to Madagascar. The *Batchelors Delight*, under the command of George Raynor of New York, had previously arrived at Sainte-Marie's Island (a pirate base just east of Madagascar, governed by New Yorker "King" Adam Baldrige), after capturing a rich prize on the Red Sea that netted each man 1,100 pounds. Raynor had been one of the four crewmembers of *Batchelors Delight's* Pacific voyage who had temporarily settled in New York, but after delivering the ship to Madagascar he announced that he wanted to sail back to Charleston, South Carolina. The other sailors did not care for that idea, so Raynor had taken passage back to Jamaica and settled at Johns Island and Charleston, South Carolina; he married a Charleston woman, Dorcas Davis, and eventually moved to the Cape Fear area of North Carolina.

Batchelors Delight had presumably spent many of the intervening years based at Saint Mary's (now called Ambodifotatra) and Fort Dauphin (now variously called Faradofay and Taolagnaro) at the southeast corner of Madagascar, and cruised among the Comoros Islands, the Seychelles, Reunion and Mauritius. By amusing coincidence, scientists believe that the Madagascar Elephant Bird was just becoming extinct due to human activity at the time *Batchelors Delight* was visiting the island; that bird's closest relative, the Moa of New Zealand, with greater height but lower weight, was nearing the end of its span while the ship visited New Zealand a few years earlier. Close to Madagascar, the dodo bird, a giant relative of the pigeon, had also just become extinct on the island of Mauritius due to human activity.

Kelley and his crew, who were down to only twenty men by this time, were apprehended by a rival pirate ship crewed by Muslim thugs near present-day Mumbai, India. The forced circumcision and torture they had to endure caused the death of several of them. The ship, which was quite rotten by this time, was confiscated, and disappeared from history. A full-sized copy of the ship *Batchelors Delight* is shortly going to be constructed in North Carolina for a sail-training operation (www.colonialnavy.org) based in Hampton Roads.

Davis and Kelley escaped in the spring of 1696. Kelley and some of his associates signed on as sailors aboard the ship *Mocha* belonging to the East India Company, but members of the crew murdered Captain Edgecombe and took over the ship, electing Ralph Stout as captain. They freed Kelley's friend Robert Culliford in the Nicobar Islands (west of Thailand, northwest of Sumatra). Kelley and his friends then signed on as crew aboard *Resolution* under Captain Robert Culliford, but Kelley quarreled with some of the crew and was put ashore at Sainte-Marie in April 1698. Davis became an ordinary seaman aboard *Fidelia*, a pirate ship commanded by Tempest Rogers in 1697, but Rogers apparently did not like his new crewmember. When they sailed into Sainte-Marie's Island, Rogers asked Davis to assist in repairing Scottish pirate William Kidd's ship. Rogers secretly left Davis' share of treasure with Kidd and sailed away without him before daybreak one day in April 1698. Meanwhile, Kelley had tired of the pirate life and moved aboard Kidd's ship for the voyage back to America.

Davis and Kelley therefore thought themselves lucky finally to fall in with Captain William Kidd. Kidd had been commissioned by King William to capture or kill the notorious Rhode Island pirate Thomas Tew, who had been rampaging all over the Indian Ocean, not knowing that Tew was already dead, and to sweep the Indian Ocean clear of other pirates. Kidd had then turned pirate himself for a short time. However, Kidd and his followers had decided to retire from piracy and return to normal life in Britain, but their luck had run out. Davis and Kelley would have been far better off if they had dropped in on Captain Giles Shelley of the 30-gun pirate ship *Nassau* from New York, who returned home safely at about that time, as did Newport pirate William Mayes, Jr. Kidd and his men sailed the large ship *Cara Merchant* (sometimes known as *Quedah Merchant* or *San Antonio*) to Santo Domingo (the wreck of the burned ship has recently been found). From there, they took a sloop to Lewes, Delaware, then to New York City, and next on to Boston. As they moored alongside Long Wharf in Boston, they were all arrested, and shipped to England aboard the 48-gun Royal Navy cruiser *Advice* in 1700, to be tried in London. Kidd, Kelley, and the rest of the crew were convicted, but the court admired Davis' testimony on 8 and 9 May 1701 and released him. Kelley had enough time before his execution on 12 July 1701 to write a memoir of his activities, which was published as *A Full & True Discovery of all the Robberies, Pyracies & other Notorious Actions of that Famous English Pyrate, Captain James Kelley*. In it, he revealed that he had used many aliases, including James Gilliam/Guillaume (apparently no relation to the Boston Captain Benjamin Gillam/Guillaume mentioned above), Sampson Marshall, and Gilliam/Guillaume Gabriel Losse or Lawes. For some reason, Kelley's entire piratical fortune ended in the hands of Rhode Island's elected Governor Samuel Cranston, who was in the habit of passing out privateering commissions to any generous, would-be pirate who paid a fee and asked him.