# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**FOREWORD** ................................................................. xi

**PREFACE** ................................................................. xiii

**I. THE ORIGINS** ....................................................... 1

Introduction ................................................................. 1
The Greek and Roman Conception of “Piracy” ......................... 4
The Reorganization of the Renaissance ................................. 13
“Piracy” Enters Vernacular English as “Privateering” ............... 13
“Piracy” Enters the Legal Vocabulary as “Outlawry” .......... 18
The Legal Order and Outlawry ........................................... 19
Positivist Theory; Law as a Support for Policy ...................... 19
Some Technicalities: Property Law and Privateering .............. 21
Naturalist Theory: Law as a Moral Order Governing Policy .......... 26
Some Implications ........................................................... 30

English Municipal Law and Piracy in the Renaissance ............. 32
Jurisdiction and Substance; Admiralty and Common Law .......... 32
Admiralty Commissions and Common Law: The Statutes of 1535 and 1536 .......... 36
In Rem Property Adjudications ......................................... 38
Outlawry, Crime and Licenses .......................................... 40
Coke’s Synthesis ............................................................. 44
Summary ....................................................................... 48
Notes .......................................................................... 50

**II. THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF PIRACY IN ENGLAND** .......... 66

English Law and International Law ...................................... 66
Commissions: Privateers as “Pirates”; Positivism .................. 66
Rampant and Naturalism Resurgent in the 1690s ...................... 69
English Commissions: Positive Grace v. Natural Justice ........... 78
Animo Furandi and Hostes Humani Generis ............................ 82
Jurisdiction and Legal Interest .......................................... 86
Naturalists v. Positivists (Again): Molloy v. Jenkins .............. 86
The Courts ................................................................. 92
Jurisdiction ............................................................. 92
Commissions Become Evidentiary Instead of Determinative ....... 94

The opinions shared in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of the U.S. Naval War College, the Dept. of the Navy, or Dept. of Defense.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Piracy&quot; or &quot;Felony&quot; in English Law as Adopted in American Courts</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Classical Publicists: Zouche to Bynkershoek</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The &quot;Law of Nations&quot;</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Growth of Positive Law Concepts as an Implication of National Sovereignty</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Classical English Synthesis: Blackstone and Wooddeson</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE LAW OF PIRACY 122

| The Basic Framework                                                   | 122  |
| "Piracy" as a Municipal Law Crime in the United States                | 127  |
| The Court System                                                     | 127  |
| The Substantive Law of 1790                                           | 128  |
| The Definition                                                        | 128  |
| Jurisdiction                                                          | 137  |
| The Substantive Law of 1819                                           | 144  |
| The Attempt to Avoid Problems of Definition, Jurisdiction and Foreign Commissions | 144  |
| Substance Re-Examined                                                 | 147  |
| Jurisdiction Re-Examined                                              | 151  |
| Foreign Commissions and Unrecognized Belligerents                     | 154  |
| The Statutes                                                          | 154  |
| The Early American Experience                                         | 156  |
| The Latin American Wars for Independence                              | 157  |
| Evolution of the Labels                                               | 162  |
| The Civil War of 1861-1865                                            | 174  |
| The Later Practice                                                    | 184  |
| Summary and Conclusion                                                | 186  |
| Notes                                                                  | 188  |

IV. BRITISH PRACTICE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 201

| Eurocentrism and British Imperial Law                                  | 201  |
| "Pirates" as Permanent Enemies in British Imperial Law                 | 203  |
| The Legal Rationale for Naval Action                                   | 203  |
| The Bounty Legislation of 1825 Retroactive to 1820                     | 204  |
| The New Law Applied                                                   | 206  |
| The East India Company in the Persian Gulf                            | 206  |
The British Navy in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea ....... 211
The East India Company, the Navy and the Courts in Southeast Asia .. 220
Politics and "Piracy" in Southeast Asia .......... 220
Mohamed Saad; "Pirate" or Patriot? ............ 226
Lushington Unleashes the Navy's Naturalists ........ 230
British Imperial Legal Policy and Real Public International Law 238
The British Change of Definition .............. 238
Applying the New Definition ................. 240
The Kwok-A-Sing Case ..................... 240
The Law Officers Retreat .................. 242
The Empire Advances ................. 245
The Selangor Incident ............... 245
The Legal Tangle ................. 249
Dropping the Legal Facade ............. 254
The Limits of the British Imperial Law of Piracy .......... 258
Introduction ................................ 258
The Huascar Incident .............. 259
Conclusions ................................ 270
Notes .................................... 275

V. "PIRACY" IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY .......... 292

"Piracy" by Analogy ............... 292
Rebels and War Criminals .......... 292
Aircraft Hijacking .............. 298
Attempts to Codify the International Law of Piracy .......... 305
Introduction ................................ 305
The League of Nations Effort .......... 305
The Harvard Research in International Law .......... 308
Introduction ................................ 308
The Theory Behind the Harvard Draft ............... 309
The Text of the Harvard Research Draft Convention ..... 313
The Anglo-American Position .......... 317
The Law of the Sea Codification of 1958 .......... 319
The International Law Commission Draft .......... 319
"Piracy" Today .................... 337
Notes .................................... 346

APPENDICES

I. English Statutes ............... 359
I.A Offences at Sea Act of 1536, 28 Henry VIII c. 15 .......... 359
I.B  The Piracy Act of 1700, 11 & 12 William III c. 7 .......... 362
I.C  The Bounty Act of 1825, 6 George IV c. 49 .......... 370

II.  American Statutes ......................................................... 373
II.A  15th Cong., 2nd Sess., ch. 77, Piracy Act of 3 March
      1819 with notes by Peters, 3 Stat. (1850) (510-514) .... 373
II.B  16th Cong., 1st Sess., ch. 113, Piracy Act of 15 May 1820,
      3 Stat. 600-601 .............................................. 381
      Vol. 7, pp. 323-325 ........................................ 383

III. CODIFCATIONS ............................................................... 386
III.A The Harvard Research Draft Articles on Piracy, 1932, 26
       American Journal of International Law Special Supplement
       743-747 (1932) ............................................. 386
III.B The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,
       62/122, articles 100-107 .................................... 391

ABBREVIATIONS ............................................................... 393

BIBLIOGRAPHY ................................................................. 397

INDEX .......................................................... 429

INDEX OF CASES ...................................................... 443