

CHAP. 4. regarded this Island as their head quarters, or place of general rendezvous to which to repair in times of danger. They elected no chief, erected no fortification, set up no authorities, nor fettered themselves by any engagement. All was voluntary; and they were negligently contented at having done so much towards their security.

Whence
the Name
Buccaneer.

About the time of their taking possession of *Tortuga*, they began to be known by the name of *Buccaneers*, of which appellation it will be proper to speak at some length.

The flesh of the cattle killed by the hunters, was cured to keep good for use, after a manner learnt from the *Caribbe* Indians, which was as follows: The meat was laid to be dried upon a wooden grate or hurdle (*grille de bois*) which the Indians called *barbecu*, placed at a good distance over a slow fire. The meat when cured was called *boucan*, and the same name was given to the place of their cookery. *Pere Labat* describes *Viande boucannée* to be, *Viande seché a petit feu et a la fumée*. The *Caribbès* are said to have sometimes served their prisoners after this fashion, ‘*Ils les mangent après les avoir bien boucannée, c’est a dire, rotis bien sec* *.’ The *boucan* was a very favourite method of cooking among these Indians. A *Caribbe* has been known, on returning home from fishing, fatigued and pressed with hunger, to have had the patience to wait the roasting of a fish on a wooden grate fixed two feet above the ground, over a fire so small as sometimes to require the whole day to dress it †.

The flesh of the cattle was in general dried in the smoke, without being salted. The *Dictionnaire de Trevoux* explains *Boucaner* to be ‘*faire sorer sans sel*,’ to dry red without salt. But the flesh of wild hogs, and also of the beeves when intended for

* *Hist. des Antilles, par P. du Tertre. Paris, 1667. Tome I. p. 415.*

† *La Rochefort, sur le Repas des Carribes.*

for keeping a length of time, was first salted. The same thing was practised among the Brasilians. It was remarked in one of the earliest visits of the Portuguese to *Brasil*, that the natives (who were cannibals) kept human flesh salted and smoked, hanging up in their houses *. The meat cured by the Buccaneers to sell to shipping for sea-store, it is probable was all salted. The process is thus described: 'The bones being taken out, the flesh was cut into convenient pieces and salted, and the next day was taken to the *boucan*.' Sometimes, to give a peculiar relish to the meat, the skin of the animal was cast into the fire under it. The meat thus cured was of a fine red colour, and of excellent flavour; but in six months after it was boucanned, it had little taste left, except of salt. The boucanned hog's flesh continued good a much longer time than the flesh of the beeves, if kept in dry places.

From adopting the boucan of the Caribbes, the hunters in *Hispaniola*, the Spaniards excepted, came to be called Boucaniers, but afterwards, according to a pronunciation more in favour with the English, Buccaneers†. Many of the French hunters were natives of *Normandy*; whence it became proverbial in some of the sea-ports of *Normandy* to say of a smoky house, *c'est un vrai Boucan*.

The French Buccaneers and Adventurers were also called Flibustiers, and more frequently by that than by any other name. The word Flibustier is merely the French mariner's mode of pronouncing the English word Freebooter, a name which long preceded that of Boucanier or Buccaneer, as the

The name
Flibustier.

* *History of Brasil*, by Robert Southey, p. 17.

† In some of the English accounts the name is written *Bucanier*; but uniformity in spelling was not much attended to at that time. Dampier wrote *Buccaneer*, which agrees with the present manner of pronouncing the word, and is to be esteemed the best authority.

CHAP. 4. the occupation of cruising against the Spaniards preceded that of hunting and curing meat. Some authors have given a derivation to the name *Flibustier* from the word Flyboat, because, say they, the French hunters in *Hispaniola* bought vessels of the Dutch, called Flyboats, to cruise upon the Spaniards. There are two objections to this derivation. First, the word *flyboat*, is only an English translation of the Dutch word *fluyt*, which is the proper denomination of the vessel intended by it. Secondly, it would not very readily occur to any one to purchase Dutch fluyts, or flyboats, for chasing vessels.

Some have understood the Boucanier and Flibustier to be distinct both in person and character*. This was probably the case with a few, after the settlement of *Tortuga*; but before, and very generally afterwards, the occupations were joined, making one of amphibious character. Ships from all parts of the *West Indies* frequented *Tortuga*, and it continually happened that some among the crews quitted their ships to turn Buccaneers; whilst among the Buccaneers some would be desirous to quit their hunting employment, to go on a cruise, to make a voyage, or to return to *Europe*. The two occupations of hunting and cruising being so common to the same person, caused the names Flibustier and Buccaneer to be esteemed synonymous, signifying always and principally the being at war with the Spaniards. The Buccaneer and Flibustier therefore, as long as they continued in a state of independence, are to be considered as the same character, exercising sometimes one, sometimes

* The French account says, that after taking possession of *Tortuga*, the Adventurers divided into three classes: that those who occupied themselves in the chase, took the name of Boucaniers; those who went on cruises, the name of Flibustiers; and a third class, who cultivated the soil, called themselves *Habitans* (Inhabitants.) See *Histoire des Aventuriers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes*. Par. Alex. Ol. Oexmelin. Paris 1688, vol. i. p. 22.

times the other employment ; and either name was taken by them indifferently, whether they were employed on the sea or on the land. But a fanciful kind of inversion took place, through the different caprices of the French and English adventurers. The greater part of the first cattle hunters were French, and the greater number of the first cruisers against the Spaniards were English. The French adventurers, nevertheless, had a partiality for the name of *Flibustier* ; whilst the English shewed a like preference for the name of *Buccaneer*, which, as will be seen, was assumed by many hundred seamen of their nation, who were never employed either in hunting or in the *boucan*.

A propensity to make things which are extraordinary appear more so, has caused many peculiar customs to be attributed to the *Buccaneers*, which, it is pretended, were observed as strictly as if they had been established laws. It is said that every *Buccaneer* had his chosen and declared comrade, between whom property was in common, and if one died, the survivor was inheritor of the whole. This was called by the French *Matelotage*. It is however acknowledged that the *Matelotage* was not a compulsory regulation ; and that the *Buccaneers* sometimes bequeathed by will. A general right of participation in some things, among which was meat for present consumption, was acknowledged among them ; and it is said, that bolts, locks, and every species of fastening, were prohibited, it being held that the use of such securities would have impeached the honour of their vocation. Yet on commencing *Buccaneer*, it was customary with those who were of respectable lineage, to relinquish their family name, and assume some other, as a *nom de guerre*. Their dress, which was uniformly slovenly when engaged in the business of hunting or of the *boucan*, is mentioned as a prescribed costume, but which doubtless

Customs
attributed
to the
Buccaneers.

was

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was prescribed only by their own negligence and indolence; in particular, that they wore an unwashed shirt and pantaloons dyed in the blood of the animals they had killed. Other distinctions, equally capricious, and to little purpose, are related, which have no connexion with their history. Some curious anecdotes are produced, to shew the great respect some among them entertained for religion and for morality. A certain Flibustier captain, named Daniel, shot one of his crew in the church, for behaving irreverently during the performance of mass. Raveneau de Lussan (whose adventures will be frequently mentioned) took the occupation of a Buccaneer, because he was in debt, and wished, as every honest man should do, to have wherewithal to satisfy his creditors.

In their sea enterprises, they followed most of the customs which are generally observed in private ships of war; and sometimes were held together by a subscribed written agreement, by the English called Charter-party; by the French *Chasse-partie*, which might in this case be construed a Chasing agreement. Whenever it happened that *Spain* was at open and declared war with any of the maritime nations of *Europe*, the Buccaneers who were natives of the country at war with her, obtained commissions, which rendered the vessels in which they cruised, regular privateers.

The English adventurers sometimes, as is seen in Dampier, called themselves Privateers, applying the term to persons in the same manner we now apply it to private ships of war. The Dutch, whose terms are generally faithful to the meaning intended, called the adventurers *Zee Roovers*; the word *roover* in the Dutch language comprising the joint sense of the two English words rover and robber.

C H A P. V.

Treaty made by the Spaniards with Don Henriquez. Increase of English and French in the West Indies. Portuga surprised by the Spaniards. Policy of the English and French Governments with respect to the Buccaneers. Mansvelt, his attempt to form an independent Buccaneer Establishment. French West-India Company. Morgan succeeds Mansvelt as Chief of the Buccaneers.

THE Spanish Government at length began to think it necessary to relax from their large pretensions, and in the year 1630 entered into treaties with other European nations, for mutual security of their West-India possessions. In a Treaty concluded that year with *Great Britain*, it was declared, that peace, amity, and friendship, should be observed between their respective subjects in all parts of the world. But this general specification was not sufficient to produce effect in the *West Indies*. CHAP. 5.
1630.

In *Hispaniola*, in the year 1633, the Government at *San Domingo* concluded a treaty with Don Henriquez; which was the more readily accorded to him, because it was apprehended the revolted natives would league with the Brethren of the Coast. By this treaty all the followers of Don Henriquez who could claim descent from the original natives, in number four thousand persons, were declared free and under his protection, and lands were marked out for them. But, what is revolting to all generous hopes of human nature, the negroes were abandoned to the Spaniards. Magnanimity was not to be expected of the natives 1633.

CHAP. 5.
1633.

natives of *Hayti*; yet they had shewn themselves capable of exertion for their own relief; and a small degree more of firmness would have included these, their most able champions, in the treaty. This weak and wicked defection from friends, confederated with them in one common and righteous cause, seems to have wrought its own punishment. The vigilance and vigour of mind of the negro might have guarded against encroachments upon the independence obtained; instead of which, the wretched Haytians in a short time fell again wholly into the grinding hands of the Spaniards: and in the early part of the eighteenth century, it was reckoned that the whole number living, of the descendants of the party of Don Henriquez, did not quite amount to one hundred persons.

Cultivation
in Tortuga.

The settlement of the Buccaneers at *Tortuga* drew many Europeans there, as well settlers as others, to join in their adventures and occupations. They began to clear and cultivate the grounds, which were before overgrown with woods, and made plantations of tobacco, which proved to be of extraordinary good quality.

Increase of
the English
and French
Settlements
in the
West Indies.

More Europeans, not Spaniards, consequently allies of the Buccaneers, continued to pour into the *West Indies*, and formed settlements on their own accounts, on some of the islands of the small *Antilles*. These settlements were not composed of mixtures of different people, but were most of them all English or all French; and as they grew into prosperity, they were taken possession of for the crowns of *England* or of *France* by the respective governments. Under the government authorities new colonists were sent out, royal governors were appointed, and codes of law established, which combined, with the security of the colony, the interests of the mother-country. But at the same time these benefits were conferred, grants of lands were made under royal authority, which dispossessed many persons, who, by labour

labour and perilous adventure, and some who at considerable expence, had achieved establishments for themselves, in favour of men till then no way concerned in any of the undertakings. In some cases, grants of whole islands were obtained by purchase or favour; and the first settlers, who had long before gained possession, and who had cleared and brought the ground into a state for cultivation, were rendered dependent upon the new proprietary governors, to whose terms they were obliged to submit, or to relinquish their tenure. Such were the hard accompaniments to the protection afforded by the governments of *France* and *Great Britain* to colonies, which, before they were acknowledged legitimate offsprings of the mother-country, had grown into consideration through their own exertions; and only because they were found worth adopting, were now received into the parent family. The discontents created by this rapacious conduct of the governments, and the disregard shewn to the claims of the first settlers, instigated some to resistance and rebellion, and caused many to join the Buccaneers. The Caribbe inhabitants were driven from their lands also with as little ceremony.

The Buccaneer colony at *Tortuga* had not been beheld with indifference by the Spaniards. The Buccaneers, with the carelessness natural to men in their loose condition of life, under neither command nor guidance, continued to trust to the supineness of the enemy for their safety, and neglected all precaution. In the year 1638, the Spaniards with a large force fell unexpectedly upon *Tortuga*, at a time when the greater number of the settlers were absent in *Hispaniola* on the chase; and those who were on the Island, having neither fortress nor government, became an easy prey to the Spaniards, who made a general massacre of all who fell into their hands, not only of those they surprised in the beginning, but many who afterwards

1638.

Tortuga
surprised
by the
Spaniards.

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1638. came in from the woods to implore their lives on condition of returning to *Europe*, they hanged. A few kept themselves concealed, till they found an opportunity to cross over to their brethren in *Hispaniola*.

It happened not to suit the convenience of the Spaniards to keep a garrison at *Tortuga*, and they were persuaded the Buccaneers would not speedily again expose themselves to a repetition of such treatment as they had just experienced; therefore they contented themselves with destroying the buildings, and as much as they could of the plantations; after which they returned to *San Domingo*. In a short time after their departure, the remnant of the Hunters collected to the number of three hundred, again fixed themselves at *Tortuga*, and, for the first time, elected a commander.

As the hostility of the Buccaneers had constantly and solely been directed against the Spaniards, all other Europeans in the *West Indies* regarded them as champions in the common cause, and the severities which had been exercised against them created less of dread than of a spirit of vengeance. The numbers of the Buccaneers were quickly recruited by volunteers of English, French, and Dutch, from all parts; and both the occupations of hunting and cruising were pursued with more than usual eagerness. The French and English Governors in the *West Indies*, influenced by the like feelings, either openly, or by connivance, gave constant encouragement to the Buccaneers. The French Governor at *St. Christopher*, who was also Governor General for the French West-India Islands, was most ready to send assistance to the Buccaneers. This Governor, Monsieur de Poincy, an enterprising and capable man, had formed a design to take possession of the Island *Tortuga* for the crown of *France*; which he managed to put in execution three years after, having by that time predisposed
some

1641.

Tortuga
taken pos-
session of
for the
Crown of
France.

some of the principal French Buccaneers to receive a garrison of the French king's troops. This appropriation was made in 1641; and De Poincy, thinking his acquisition would be more secure to *France* by the absence of the English, forced all the English Buccaneers to quit the Island. The French writers say, that before the interposition of the French Governor, the English Buccaneers took advantage of their numbers, and domineered in *Tortuga*. The English Governors in the *West Indies* could not at this time shew the same tender regard for the English Buccaneers, as the support they received from home was very precarious, owing to the disputes which then subsisted in *England* between King Charles and the English Parliament, which engrossed so much of the public attention as to leave little to colonial concerns.

The French Commander de Poincy pushed his success. In his appointment of a Governor to *Tortuga*, he added the title of Governor of the West coast of *Hispaniola*, and by degrees he introduced French garrisons. This was the first footing obtained by the Government of *France* in *Hispaniola*. The same policy was observed there respecting the English as at *Tortuga*, by which means was effected a separation of the English Buccaneers from the French. After this time, it was only occasionally, and from accidental circumstances, or by special agreement, that they acted in concert. The English adventurers, thus elbowed out of *Hispaniola* and *Tortuga*, lost the occupation of hunting cattle and of the boucan, but they continued to be distinguished by the appellation of Buccaneers, and, when not cruising, most generally harboured at the Islands possessed by the British.

Hitherto, it had rested in the power of the Buccaneers to have formed themselves into an independent state. Being composed of people of different nations, the admission of a Governor

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1641.

Policy of
the English
and French
Governments with
respect
to the
Buccaneers.

from any one, might easily have been resisted. Now, they were considered in a kind of middle state, between that of Buccaneers and of men returned to their native allegiance. It seemed now in the power of the English and French Governments to put a stop to their cruising, and to furnish them with more honest employment; but politics of a different cast prevailed. The Buccaneers were regarded as profitable to the Colonies, on account of the prizes they brought in; and even vanity had a share in their being countenanced. The French authors call them *nos braves*, and the English speak of their ‘unparalleled exploits.’ The policy both of *England* and of *France* with respect to the Buccaneers, seems to have been well described in the following sentence: *On laissoit faire des Aventuriers, qu’on pouvoit toujours desavouer, mais dont les succes pouvoient etre utiles: i.e.* ‘they connived at the actions of these Adventurers, which could always be disavowed, and whose successes might be serviceable.’ This was not esteemed *fripotterie*, but a maxim of sound state policy. In the character given of a good French West-India governor, he is praised, for that, ‘besides encouraging the cultivation of lands, ‘he never neglected to encourage the *Flibustiers*. It was a ‘certain means of improving the Colony, by attracting thither ‘the young and enterprising. He would scarcely receive a ‘slight portion of what he was entitled to from his right of ‘bestowing commissions in time of war*. And when we ‘were at peace, and our *Flibustiers*, for want of other employment, would go cruising, and would carry their prizes to the ‘English Islands, he was at the pains of procuring them ‘commissions from *Portugal*, which country was then at war ‘with *Spain*; in virtue of which our *Flibustiers* continued to
‘ make

* The Governor or Admiral, who granted the commission, claimed one tenth of all prizes made under its authority.

' make themselves redoubtable to the Spaniards, and to spread
' riches and abundance in our Colonies.' This panegyric was
bestowed by Père Labat; who seems to have had more of
national than of moral or religious feeling on this head.

It was a powerful consideration with the French and English
Governments, to have at their occasional disposal, without
trouble or expence, a well trained military force, always at
hand, and willing to be employed upon emergency; who
required no pay nor other recompense for their services and
constant readiness, than their share of plunder, and that their
piracies upon the Spaniards should pass unnoticed.

Towards the end of 1644, a new Governor General for the
French West-India possessions was appointed by the French
Regency (during the minority of Louis XIV.); but the Com-
mander de Poincy did not choose to resign, and the colonists
were inclined to support him. Great discontents prevailed in the
French Colonies, which rendered them liable to being shaken
by civil wars; and the apprehensions of the Regency on this
head enabled De Poincy to stand his ground. He remained
Governor General over the French Colonies not only for the
time, but was continued in that office, by succeeding adminis-
trations, many years.

1644.

About the year 1654, a large party of Buccaneers, French
and English, joined in an expedition on the Continent. They
ascended a river of the *Mosquito shore*, a small distance on the
South side of *Cape Gracias a Dios*, in canoes; and after labouring
nearly a month against a strong stream and waterfalls, they
left their canoes, and marched to the town of *Nueva Segovia*,
which they plundered, and then returned down the river.

1654.

The
Buccaneers
plunder
New
Segovia.

In the same year, the Spaniards took *Tortuga* from the
French.

The
Spaniards
retake
Tortuga.

In

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1655.
With the
assistance
of the
Buccaneers,
the English
take
Jamaica :
1660 ;
And the
French
retake
Tortuga.

In the year following, 1655, *England* being at war with *Spain*, a large force was sent from *England* to attempt the conquest of the Island *Hispaniola*. In this attempt they failed ; but afterwards fell upon *Jamaica*, of which Island they made themselves masters, and kept possession. In the conquest of *Jamaica*, the English were greatly assisted by the *Buccaneers* ; and a few years after, with their assistance also, the French regained possession of *Tortuga*.

On the recovery of *Tortuga*, the French *Buccaneers* greatly increased in the Northern and Western parts of *Hispaniola*. *Spain* also sent large reinforcements from *Europe* ; and for some years war was carried on with great spirit and animosity on both sides. During the heat of this contest, the French *Buccaneers* followed more the occupation of hunting, and less that of cruising, than at any other period of their history.

The Spaniards finding they could not expel the French from *Hispaniola*, determined to join their efforts to those of the French hunters, for the destruction of the cattle and wild hogs on the Island, so as to render the business of hunting unproductive. But the French had begun to plant ; and the depriving them of the employment of hunting, drove them to other occupations not less contrary to the interest and wishes of the Spaniards. The less profit they found in the chase, the more they became cultivators and cruisers.

Pierre le
Grand,
a French
Buccaneer.

The *Buccaneer* Histories of this period abound with relations of daring actions performed by them ; but many of which are chiefly remarkable for the ferocious cruelty of the leaders by whom they were conducted. Pierre, a native of *Dieppe*, for his success received to his name the addition of *le grand*, and is mentioned as one of the first *Flibustiers* who obtained much notoriety. In a boat, with a crew of twenty-eight men, he surprised

surprised and took the Ship of the Vice-Admiral of the Spanish galleons, as she was sailing homeward-bound with a rich freight. He set the Spanish crew on shore at *Cape Tiburón*, the West end of *Hispaniola*, and sailed in his prize to *France*. A Frenchman, named *Alexandre*, also in a small vessel, took a Spanish ship of war.

It is related of another Frenchman, a native of *Languedoc*, named *Montbars*, that on reading a history of the cruelty of the Spaniards to the Americans, he conceived such an implacable hatred against the Spaniards, that he determined on going to the *West Indies* to join the *Buccaneers*; and that he there pursued his vengeance with so much ardour as to acquire the surname of the *Exterminator*.

One *Buccaneer* of some note was a native of *Portugal*, known by the name of *Bartolomeo Portuguez*; who, however, was more renowned for his wonderful escapes, both in battle, and from the gallows, than for his other actions.

But no one of the *Buccaneers* hitherto named, arrived at so great a degree of notoriety, as a Frenchman, called *François L'Olonnois*, a native of part of the French coast which is near the sands of *Olonne*, but whose real name is not known. This man, and *Michel le Basque*, both *Buccaneer* commanders, at the head of 650 men, took the towns of *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar* in the *Gulf of Venezuela*, on the *Tierra Firma*. The booty they obtained by the plunder and ransom of these places, was estimated at 400,000 crowns. The barbarities practised on the prisoners could not be exceeded. *Olonnois* was possessed with an ambition to make himself renowned for being terrible. At one time, it is said, he put the whole crew of a Spanish ship, ninety men, to death, performing himself the office of executioner, by beheading them. He caused the crews of four other vessels to be thrown into the sea; and more than

Montbars,
surnamed
the *Exterminator*.

Bartolomeo Portuguez.

L'Olonnois,
a French
Buccaneer,

And *Michel le Basque*,
take *Maracaibo* and
Gibraltar.

Outrages
committed
by
L'Olonnois.

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than once, in his frenzies, he tore out the hearts of his victims, and devoured them. Yet this man had his encomiasts; so much will loose notions concerning glory, aided by a little partiality, mislead even sensible men. Père Charlevoix says, *Celui de tous, dont les grandes actions illustrerent davantage les premieres années du gouvernement de M. d'Ogeron, fut l'Olonnois. Ses premiers succès furent suivis de quelques malheurs, qui ne servirent qu'à donner un nouveau lustre à sa gloire.* The career of this savage was terminated by the Indians of the coast of *Darien*, on which he had landed.

Mansvelt, a
Buccaneer
Chief;
his Plan for
forming a
Buccaneer
Establish-
ment.
1664.

The Buccaneers now went in such formidable numbers, that several Spanish towns, both on the Continent and among the Islands of the *West Indies*, submitted to pay them contribution. And at this time, a Buccaneer commander, named Mansvelt, more provident and more ambitious in his views than any who preceded him, formed a project for founding an independent Buccaneer establishment. Of what country Mansvelt was native, does not appear; but he was so popular among the Buccaneers, that both French and English were glad to have him for their leader. The greater number of his followers in his attempt to form a settlement were probably English, as he fitted out in *Jamaica*. A Welshman, named Henry Morgan, who had made some successful cruises as a Buccaneer, went with him as second in command. The place designed by them for their establishment, was an Island named *S^a Katalina*, or *Providence*, situated in latitude 13° 24' N, about 40 leagues to the Eastward of the *Mosquito shore*. This Island is scarcely more than two leagues in its greatest extent, but has a harbour capable of being easily fortified against an enemy; and very near to its North end is a much smaller Island. The late Charts assign the name of *S^a Katalina* to the small Island, and give to the larger Island that of *Old Providence*, the epithet *Old* having been

Island
S^a Katalina,
or
Providence;
since named
Old
Providence.

been added to distinguish this from the *Providence* of the *Bahama Islands*. At the time Mansvelt undertook his scheme of settlement, this *S^a Katalina*, or *Providence Island*, was occupied by the Spaniards, who had a fort and good garrison there. Some time in or near the year 1664, Mansvelt sailed thither from *Jamaica*, with fifteen vessels and 500 men. He assaulted and took the fort, which he garrisoned with one hundred Buccaneers and all the slaves he had taken, and left the command to a Frenchman, named *Le Sieur Simon*. At the end of his cruise, he returned to *Jamaica*, intending to procure there recruits for his Settlement of *S^a Katalina*; but the Governor of *Jamaica*, however friendly to the Buccaneers whilst they made *Jamaica* their home, saw many reasons for disliking Mansvelt's plan, and would not consent to his raising men.

Not being able to overcome the Governor's unwillingness, Mansvelt sailed for *Tortuga*, to try what assistance he could procure there; but in the passage he was suddenly taken ill, and died. For a length of time after, *Simon* remained at *S^a Katalina* with his garrison, in continual expectation of seeing or hearing from Mansvelt; instead of which, a large Spanish force arrived and besieged his fort, when, learning of Mansvelt's death, and seeing no prospect of receiving reinforcement or relief, he found himself obliged to surrender.

Death of
Mansvelt.

The government in *France* had appointed commissioners on behalf of the French West-India Company, to take all the Islands called the *French Antilles*, out of the hands of individuals, subjects of *France*, who had before obtained possession, and to put them into the possession of the said Company, to be governed according to such provisions as they should think proper. In February 1665, *M. d'Ogeron* was appointed Governor of *Tortuga*, and of the French settlements in *Hispaniola*, or *St. Domingo*, as the Island was now more commonly called. On

French
West-India
Company.

1665.

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1665.

The French
settlers
dispute
their
authority.

his arrival at *Tortuga*, the French adventurers, both there and in *Hispaniola*, declared that if he came to govern in the name of the King of *France*, he should find faithful and obedient subjects; but they would not submit themselves to any Company; and in no case would they consent to the prohibiting their trade with the *Hollanders*, 'with whom,' said the *Buccaneers*, 'we have been in the constant habit of trading, and were so before it was known in *France* that there was a single Frenchman in *Tortuga*, or on the coast of *St. Domingo*.'

1665-7.

M. d'Ogeron had recourse to dissimulation to allay these discontents. He yielded consent to the condition respecting the commerce with the *Dutch*, fully resolved not to observe it longer than till his authority should be sufficiently established for him to break it with safety; and to secure the commerce within his government exclusively to the French West-India Company, who, when rid of all competitors, would be able to fix their own prices. It was not long before M. d'Ogeron judged the opportunity was arrived for effecting this revocation without danger; but it caused a revolt of the French settlers in *St. Domingo*, which did not terminate without bloodshed and an execution; and so partial as well as defective in principle were the historians who have related the fact, that they have at the same time commended M. d'Ogeron for his probity and simple manners. In the end, he prevailed in establishing a monopoly for the Company, to the injury of his old companions the French *Buccaneers*, with whom he had at a former period associated, and who had been his benefactors in a time of his distress.

Morgan
succeeds
Mansvelt;
plunders
Puerto del
Principe.

On the death of Mansvelt, Morgan was regarded as the most capable and most fortunate leader of any of the *Jamaica Buccaneers*. With a body of several hundred men, who placed themselves under his command, he took and plundered the town of *Puerto del Principe* in *Cuba*. A quarrel happened at
this

this place among the Buccaneers, in which a Frenchman was treacherously slain by an Englishman. The French took to arms, to revenge the death of their countryman; but Morgan pacified them by putting the murderer in irons, and promising he should be delivered up to justice on their return to *Jamaica*; which was done, and the criminal was hanged. But in some other respects, the French were not so well satisfied with Morgan for their commander, as they had been with Mansvelt. Morgan was a great rogue, and little respected the old proverb of, Honour among Thieves: this had been made manifest to the French, and almost all of them separated from him.

Maracaibo was now a second time pillaged by the French Buccaneers, under Michel le Basque.

Morgan's next undertaking was against *Porto Bello*, one of the principal and best fortified ports belonging to the Spaniards in the *West Indies*. He had under his command only 460 men; but not having revealed his design to any person, he came on the town by surprise, and found it unprepared. Shocking cruelties are related to have been committed in this expedition. Among many others, that a castle having made more resistance than had been expected, Morgan, after its surrendering, shut up the garrison in it, and caused fire to be set to the magazine, destroying thereby the castle and the garrison together. In the attack of another fort, he compelled a number of religious persons, both male and female, whom he had taken prisoners, to carry and plant scaling ladders against the walls; and many of them were killed by those who defended the fort. The Buccaneers in the end became masters of the place, and the use they made of their victory corresponded with their actions in obtaining it. Many prisoners died under tortures inflicted on them to make them discover concealed treasures, whether they knew of any or not. A large ransom was also extorted for the town and prisoners.

CHAP. 5.
1665-7.

1667.
Maracaibo
again
pillaged.

1668.
Morgan
takes
Porto Bello:

Exercises
great
Cruelty.

CHAP. 5.
1668.

This success attracted other Buccaneers, among them the French again, to join Morgan; and by a kind of circular notice they rendezvoused in large force under his command at the *Isla de la Vaca* (by the French called *Isle Avache*) near the SW part of *Hispaniola*.

A large French Buccaneer ship was lying at *la Vaca*, which was not of this combination, the commander and crew of which refused to join with Morgan, though much solicited. Morgan was angry, but dissembled, and with a show of cordiality invited the French captain and his officers to an entertainment on board his own ship. When they were his guests, they found themselves his prisoners; and their ship, being left without officers, was taken without resistance. The men put by Morgan in charge of the ship, fell to drinking; and, whether from their drunkenness and negligence, or from the revenge of any of the prisoners, cannot be known, she suddenly blew up, by which 350 English Buccaneers, and all the Frenchmen on board her, perished. *The History of the Buccaneers of America*, in which the event is related, adds by way of remark, 'Thus was this unjust action of Captain Morgan's soon followed by divine justice; for this ship, the largest in his fleet, was blown up in the air, with 350 Englishmen and all the French prisoners.' This comment seems to have suggested to Voltaire the ridicule he has thrown on the indiscriminate manner in which men sometimes pronounce misfortune to be a peculiar judgment of God, in the dialogue he put into the mouths of Candide and Martin, on the wicked Dutch skipper being drowned.

1669.
Maracaibo
and
Gibraltar
plundered
by Morgan.

From *Isla de la Vaca* Morgan sailed with his fleet to *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar*; which unfortunate towns were again sacked. It was a frequent practice with these desperadoes to secure their prisoners by shutting them up in churches, where it was easy to keep guard over them. This was done by Morgan at
Maracaibo

Maracaibo and *Gibraltar*, and with so little care for their subsistence, that many of the prisoners were actually starved to death, whilst their merciless victors were rioting in the plunder of their houses.

CHAP. 5.
1669.

Morgan remained so long at *Gibraltar*, that the Spaniards had time to repair and put in order a castle at the entrance of the *Lagune of Maracaibo*; and three large Spanish ships of war arrived and took stations near the castle, by which they hoped to cut off the retreat of the pirates. The *Buccaneer Histories* give Morgan much credit here, for his management in extricating his fleet and prizes from their difficult situation, which is related to have been in the following manner. He converted one of his vessels into a fire-ship, but so fitted up as to preserve the appearance of a ship intended for fighting, and clumps of wood were stuck up in her, dressed with hats on, to resemble men. By means of this ship, the rest of his fleet following close at hand, he took one of the Spanish ships, and destroyed the two others. Still there remained the castle to be passed; which he effected without loss, by a stratagem which deceived the Spaniards from their guard. During the day, and in sight of the castle, he filled his boats with armed men, and they rowed from the ships to a part of the shore which was well concealed by thickets. After waiting as long as might be supposed to be occupied in the landing, all the men lay down close in the bottom of the boats, except two in each, who rowed them back, going to the sides of the ships which were farthest from the castle. This being repeated several times, caused the Spaniards to believe that the *Buccaneers* intended an assault by land with their whole force; and they made disposition with their cannon accordingly, leaving the side of the castle towards the sea unprovided. When it was night, and the ebb tide began to make, Morgan's fleet took up their anchors, and, without

His Contrivances, in effecting his Retreat.

CHAP. 5.
1669.

without setting sail, it being moonlight, they fell down the river, unperceived, till they were nigh the castle. They then set their sails, and fired upon the castle, and before the Spaniards could bring their guns back to return the fire, the ships were past. The value of the booty made in this expedition was 250,000 pieces of eight.

Some minor actions of the Buccaneers are omitted here, not being of sufficient consequence to excuse detaining the Reader, to whom will next be related one of their most remarkable exploits.

C H A P. VI.

Treaty of America. Expedition of the Buccaneers against Panama. Exquemelin's History of the American Sea Rovers. Misconduct of the European Governors in the West Indies.

IN July 1670, was concluded a Treaty between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, made expressly with the intention of terminating the Buccaneer war, and of settling all disputes between the subjects of the two countries in *America*. It has been with this especial signification entitled the *Treaty of America*, and is the first which appears to have been dictated by a mutual disposition to establish peace in the *West Indies*. The articles particularly directed to this end are the following:—

CHAP. 6.
1670.

Art. II. There shall be an universal peace and sincere friendship, as well in *America*, as in other parts, between the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, their heirs and successors, their kingdoms, plantations, &c.

Treaty
between
Great
Britain and
Spain,
called the
Treaty of
America.

III. That all hostilities, depredations, &c. shall cease between the subjects of the said Kings.

IV. The two Kings shall take care that their subjects forbear all acts of hostility, and shall call in all commissions, letters of marque and reprisals, and punish all offenders, obliging them to make reparation.

VII. All past injuries, on both sides, shall be buried in oblivion.

VIII. The King of *Great Britain* shall hold and enjoy all the lands, countries, &c. he is now possessed of in *America*.

IX. The subjects on each side shall forbear trading or sailing to any places whatsoever under the dominion of the other, without particular licence.

XIV. Par-

CHAP. 6.
1670.

XIV. Particular offences shall be repaired in the common course of justice, and no reprisals made unless justice be denied, or unreasonably retarded.

When notice of this Treaty was received in the *West Indies*, the Buccaneers, immediately as of one accord, resolved to undertake some grand expedition. Many occurrences had given rise to jealousies between the English and the French in the *West Indies*; but Morgan's reputation as a commander was so high, that adventurers from all parts signified their readiness to join him, and he appointed *Cape Tiburon* on the West of *Hispaniola* for the place of general rendezvous. In consequence of this summons, in the beginning of December 1670, a fleet was there collected under his command, consisting of no less than thirty-seven vessels of different sizes, and above 2000 men. Having so large a force, he held council with the principal commanders, and proposed for their determination, which they should attempt of the three places, *Carthagen*, *Vera Cruz*, and *Panama*. *Panama* was believed to be the richest, and on that City the lot fell.

A century before, when the name of Buccaneer was not known, roving adventurers had crossed the *Isthmus of America* from the *West Indies* to the *South Sea*; but the fate of Oxnam and his companions deterred others from the like attempt, until the time of the Buccaneers, who, as they increased in numbers, extended their enterprises, urged by a kind of necessity, the *West Indies* not furnishing plunder sufficient to satisfy so many men, whose modes of expenditure were not less profligate than their means of obtaining were violent and iniquitous.

Expedition
of the
Buccaneers
against
Panama.

The rendezvous appointed by Morgan for meeting his confederates was distant from any authority which could prevent or impede their operations; and whilst they remained on the coast of *Hispaniola*, he employed men to hunt cattle, and cure meat.

He

He also sent vessels to collect maize, at the settlements on the *Tierra Firma*. Specific articles of agreement were drawn up and subscribed to, for the distribution of plunder. Morgan, as commander in chief, was to receive one hundredth part; each captain was to have eight shares; provision was stipulated for the maimed and wounded, and rewards for those who should particularly distinguish themselves. These matters being settled, on December the 16th, the whole fleet sailed from *Cape Tiburon*; on the 20th, they arrived at the Island *S^a Katalina*, then occupied by the Spaniards, who had garrisoned it chiefly with criminals sentenced to serve there by way of punishment. Morgan had fully entered into the project of Mansvelt for forming an establishment at *S^a Katalina*, and he was not the less inclined to it now that he considered himself as the head of the Buccaneers. The Island surrendered upon summons. It is related, that at the request of the Governor, in which Morgan indulged him, a military farce was performed; Morgan causing cannon charged only with powder to be fired at the fort, which returned the like fire for a decent time, and then lowered their flag.

CHAP. 6.
1670.
Expedition
against
Panama.

December.

They take
the Island
S^a Katalina.

Morgan judged it would contribute to the success of the proposed expedition against *Panama*, to make himself master of the fort or castle of *San Lorenzo* at the entrance of the *River Chagre*. For this purpose he sent a detachment of 400 men under the command of an old Buccaneer named *Brodely*, and in the mean time remained himself with the main body of his forces at *S^a Katalina*, to avoid giving the Spaniards cause to suspect his further designs.

The Castle of *Chagre* was strong, both in its works and in situation, being built on the summit of a steep hill. It was valiantly assaulted, and no less valiantly defended. The Buccaneers were once forced to retreat. They returned to the attack, and were nearly a second time driven back, when a

Attack of
the Castle
at the River
Chagre.

CHAP. 6.

1670.

Expedition
against
Panama.

powder magazine in the fort blew up, and the mischief and confusion thereby occasioned gave the Buccaneers opportunity to force entrance through the breaches they had made. The Governor of the castle refused to take quarter which was offered him by the Buccaneers, as did also some of the Spanish soldiers. More than 200 men of 314 which composed the garrison were killed. The loss on the side of the Buccaneers was above 100 men killed outright, and 70 wounded.

1671.

January.
March of
the
Buccaneers
across the
Isthmus.

On receiving intelligence of the castle being taken, Morgan repaired with the rest of his men from *S^a Katalina*. He set the prisoners to work to repair the Castle of *San Lorenzo*, in which he stationed a garrison of 500 men; he also appointed 150 men to take care of the ships; and on the 18th of January 1671 *, he set forward at the head of 1200 men for *Panama*. One party with artillery and stores embarked in canoes, to mount the *River Chagre*, the course of which is extremely serpentine. At the end of the second day, however, they quitted the canoes, on account of the many obstructions from trees which had fallen in the river, and because the river was at this time in many places almost dry; but the way by land was also found so difficult for the carriage of stores, that the canoes were again resorted to. On the sixth day, when they had expended great part of their travelling store of provisions, they had the good fortune to discover a barn full of maize. They saw many native Indians, who all kept at a distance, and it was in vain endeavoured to overtake some.

On the seventh day they came to a village called *Cruz*, the inhabitants of which had set fire to their houses, and fled.

They

* It is proper to mention, that an erroneously printed date, in the English edition of the *Buccaneers of America*, occasioned a mistake to be made in the account given of Narbrough's Voyage, respecting the time the Buccaneers kept possession of *Panama*. See Vol. III. of *Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea*, p. 374.

They found there, however, fifteen jars of Peruvian wine, and a sack of bread. The village of *Cruz* is at the highest part of the *River Chagre* to which boats or canoes can arrive. It was reckoned to be eight leagues distant from *Panama*.

CHAP. 6.

1671.

January.

Expedition
against
Panama.

On the ninth day of their journey, they came in sight of the *South Sea*; and here they were among fields in which cattle grazed. Towards evening, they had sight of the steeples of *Panama*. In the course of their march thus far from the Castle of *Chagre*, they lost, by being fired at from concealed places, ten men killed; and as many more were wounded.

Panama had not the defence of regular fortifications. Some works had been raised, but in parts the city lay open, and was to be won or defended by plain fighting. According to the Buccaneer account, the Spaniards had about 2000 infantry and 400 horse; which force, it is to be supposed, was in part composed of inhabitants and slaves.

January the 27th, early in the morning, the Buccaneers resumed their march towards the city. The Spaniards came out to meet them. In this battle, the Spaniards made use of wild bulls, which they drove upon the Buccaneers to disorder their ranks; but it does not appear to have had much effect. In the end, the Spaniards gave way, and before night, the Buccaneers were masters of the city. All that day, the Buccaneers gave no quarter, either during the battle, or afterwards. Six hundred Spaniards fell. The Buccaneers lost many men, but the number is not specified.

27th.

The City of
Panama
taken.

One of the first precautions taken by Morgan after his victory, was to prevent drunkenness among his men: to which end, he procured to have it reported to him that all the wine in the city had been poisoned by the inhabitants; and on the ground of this intelligence, he strictly prohibited every one, under severe penalties, from tasting wine. Before they had well

CHAP. 6.

1671.

Expedition
against
Panama.The City
burnt.

fixed their quarters in *Panama*, several parts of the city burst out in flames, which spread so rapidly, that in a short time many magnificent edifices built with cedar, and a great part of the city, were burnt to the ground. Whether this was done designedly, or happened accidentally, owing to the consternation of the inhabitants during the assault, has been disputed. Morgan is accused of having directed some of his people to commit this mischief, but no motive is assigned that could induce him to an act which cut off his future prospect of ransom. Morgan charged it upon the Spaniards; and it is acknowledged the Buccaneers gave all the assistance they were able to those of the inhabitants who endeavoured to stop the progress of the fire, which nevertheless continued to burn near four weeks before it was quite extinguished. Among the buildings destroyed, was a factory-house belonging to the Genoese, who then carried on the trade of supplying the Spaniards with slaves from *Africa*.

The rapacity, licentiousness, and cruelty, of the Buccaneers, in their pillage of *Panama*, had no bounds. ‘They spared,’ says the narrative of a Buccaneer named Exquemelin, ‘in these their cruelties no sex nor condition whatsoever. As to religious persons and priests, they granted them less quarter than others, unless they procured a considerable sum of money for their ransom.’ Morgan sent detachments to scour the country for plunder, and to bring in prisoners from whom ransom might be extorted. Many of the inhabitants escaped with their effects by sea, and went for shelter to the Islands in the *Bay of Panama*. Morgan found a large boat lying aground in the Port, which he caused to be lanchèd, and manned with a numerous crew, and sent her to cruise among the Islands. A galeon, on board which the women of a convent had taken refuge, and in which money, plate, and other valuable effects, had

had been lodged, very narrowly escaped falling into their hands. They made prize of several vessels, one of which was well adapted for cruising. This opened a new prospect; and some of the Buccaneers began to consult how they might quit Morgan, and seek their fortunes on the *South Sea*, whence they proposed to sail, with the plunder they should obtain, by the *East Indies* to *Europe*. But Morgan received notice of their design before it could be put in execution, and to prevent such a diminution of his force, he ordered the masts of the ship to be cut away, and all the boats or vessels lying at *Panama* which could suit their purpose, to be burnt.

CHAP. 6.
1671.
Expedition
against
Panama.

The old city of *Panama* is said to have contained 7000 houses, many of which were magnificent edifices built with cedar. On the 24th of February, Morgan and his men departed from its ruins, taking with them 175 mules laden with spoil, and 600 prisoners, some of them carrying burthens, and others for whose release ransom was expected. Among the latter were many women and children. These poor creatures were designedly caused to suffer extreme hunger and thirst, and kept under apprehensions of being carried to *Jamaica* to be sold as slaves, that they might the more earnestly endeavour to procure money to be brought for their ransom. When some of the women, upon their knees and in tears, begged of Morgan to let them return to their families, his answer to them was, that 'he came not there to listen to cries and lamentations, but to seek money.' Morgan's thirst for money was not restrained to seeking it among his foes. He had a hand equally ready for that of his friends. Neither did he think his friends people to be trusted; for in the middle of the march back to *Chagre*, he drew up his men and caused them to be sworn, that they had not reserved or concealed any plunder, but had delivered all fairly into the common stock.

Feb. 24th.

The
Buccancers
depart from
Panama.

This

CHAP. 6.
1671.

This ceremony, it seems, was not uncustomary. ‘ But Captain Morgan having had experience that those loose fellows would not much stickle to swear falsely in such a case, he commanded every one to be searched ; and that it might not be esteemed an affront, he permitted himself to be first searched, even to the very soles of his shoes. The French Buccaneers who had engaged on this expedition with Morgan, were not well satisfied with this new custom of searching ; but their number being less than that of the English, they were forced to submit.’ On arriving at *Chagre*, a division was made. The narrative says, ‘ every person received his portion, or rather what part thereof Captain Morgan was pleased to give him. For so it was, that his companions, even those of his own nation, complained of his proceedings ; for they judged it impossible that, of so many valuable robberies, no greater share should belong to them than 200 pieces of eight *per head*. But Captain Morgan was deaf to these, and to many other complaints of the same kind.’

As Morgan was not disposed to allay the discontents of his men by coming to a more open reckoning with them, to avoid having the matter pressed upon him, he determined to withdraw from his command, ‘ which he did without calling any council, or bidding any one adieu ; but went secretly on board his own ship, and put out to sea without giving notice, being followed only by three or four vessels of the whole fleet, who it is believed went shares with him in the greatest part of the spoil.’

The rest of the Buccaneer vessels soon separated. Morgan went to *Jamaica*, and had begun to levy men to go with him to the Island *S^a Katalina*, which he purposed to hold as his own, and to make it a common place of refuge for pirates ; when the arrival of a new Governor at *Jamaica*, Lord John Vaughan, with orders

orders to enforce the late treaty with *Spain*, obliged him to relinquish his plan. CHAP. 6.

The foregoing account of the destruction of *Panama* by *Morgan*, is taken from a History of the Buccaneers of America, written originally in the Dutch language by a Buccaneer named Exquemelin, and published at Amsterdam in 1678, with the title of *De Americaensche Zee Roovers*. Exquemelin's book contains only partial accounts of the actions of some of the principal among the Buccaneers. He has set forth the valour displayed by them in the most advantageous light; but generally, what he has related is credible. His history has been translated into all the European languages, but with various additions and alterations by the translators, each of whom has inclined to maintain the military reputation of his own nation. The Spanish translation is entitled *Piratas*, and has the following short complimentary Poem prefixed, addressed to the Spanish editor and emendator :—

De Agamenôn cantó la vida Homero
Y Virgilio de Eneas lo piadoso
Camoës de Gama el curso presuroso
Gongora el brio de Colon Velero.

Tu, O Alonso! mas docto y verdadoro,
Describes del America ingenioso
Lo que assalta el Pirata codicioso :
Lo que defiende el Español Guerrero.

The French translation is entitled *Les Aventuriers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes*, and contains actions of the French Flibustiers which are not in Exquemelin. The like has been done in the English translation, which has for title *The Bucaniers of America*. The English translator, speaking of the sacking of *Panama*, has expressed himself with a strange mixture of boasting and compunctious feeling. This account, he says, contains the unparalleled and bold exploits of Sir Henry Morgan,

CHAP. 6. Morgan, written by one of the Buccaneers who was present at those tragedies.

It has been remarked, that the treaty of *America* furnishes an apology for the enterprises of the Buccaneers previous to its notification ; it being so worded as to admit an inference that the English and Spaniards were antecedently engaged in a continual war in *America*.

1671. The new Governor of *Jamaica* was authorized and instructed to proclaim a general pardon, and indemnity from prosecution, for all piratical offences committed to that time ; and to grant 35 acres of land to every Buccaneer who should claim the benefit of the proclamation, and would promise to apply himself to planting ; a measure from which the most beneficial effects might have been expected, not to the British colonists only, but to all around, in turning a number of able men from destructive occupations to useful and productive pursuits, if it had not been made subservient to sordid views. The author of the *History of Jamaica* says, ‘ This offer was intended as a lure to
 ‘ engage the Buccaneers to come into port with their effects,
 ‘ that the Governor might, and which he was directed to do,
 ‘ take from them the tenths and fifteenths of their booty as the
 ‘ dues of the Crown [and of the Colonial Government] for
 ‘ granting them commissions.’ Those who had neglected to obtain commissions would of course have to make their peace by an increased composition. In consequence of this scandalous procedure, the Jamaica Buccaneers, to avoid being so taxed, kept aloof from *Jamaica*, and were provoked to continue their old occupations. Most of them joined the French Flibustiers at *Tortuga*. Some were afterwards apprehended at *Jamaica*, where they were brought to trial, condemned as pirates, and executed.

1672. A war which was entered into by *Great Britain* and *France*
 against

against *Holland*, furnished for a time employment for the CHAP. 6.
 Buccaneers and Flibustiers, and procured the Spaniards a
 short respite.

In 1673, the French made an attempt to take the Island 1673.
 of *Curacao* from the Dutch, and failed. M. d'Ogeron, the Flibustiers
 Governor of *Tortuga*, intended to have joined in this expe- shipwreck-
 dition, for which purpose he sailed in a ship named *l'Ecueil*, ed at
 manned with 300 Flibustiers; but in the night of the 25th Porto Rico;
 of February, she ran aground among some small islands and
 rocks, near the North side of the Island *Porto Rico*. The
 people got safe to land, but were made close prisoners by the
 Spaniards. After some months imprisonment, M. d'Ogeron,
 with three others, made their escape in a canoe, and got back
 to *Tortuga*. The Governor General over the French West-
 India Islands at that time, was a M. de Baas, who sent to
Porto Rico to demand the deliverance of the French detained
 there prisoners. The Spanish Governor of *Porto Rico* required
 3000 pieces of eight to be paid for expences incurred.
 De Baas was unwilling to comply with the demand, and sent an
 agent to negociate for an abatement in the sum; but they came
 to no agreement. M. d'Ogeron in the mean time collected five
 hundred men in *Tortuga* and *Hispaniola*, with whom he
 embarked in a number of small vessels to pass over to *Porto*
Rico, to endeavour the release of his shipwrecked companions;
 but by repeated tempests, several of his flotilla were forced back,
 and he reached *Porto Rico* with only three hundred men.

On their landing, the Spanish Governor put to death all his And put to
 French prisoners, except seventeen of the officers. Afterwards death
 in an engagement with the Spaniards, D'Ogeron lost seventeen by the
 men, and found his strength not sufficient to force the Spaniards Spaniards.
 to terms; upon which he withdrew from *Porto Rico*, and returned
 to *Tortuga*. The seventeen French officers that were spared in

CHAP. 6. the massacre of the prisoners, the Governor of *Porto Rico* put
1673. on board a vessel bound for the *Tierra Firma*, with the intention
of transporting them to *Peru*; but from that fate they were
delivered by meeting at sea with an English Buccaneer cruiser.
Thus, by the French Governor General disputing about a
trifling balance, three hundred of the French Buccaneers, whilst
employed for the French king's service under one of his
officers, were sacrificed.

C H A P. VII.

Thomas Peche. *Attempt of La Sound to cross the Isthmus of America. Voyage of Antonio de Vea to the Strait of Magalhães. Various Adventures of the Buccaneers, in the West Indies, to the year 1679.*

IN 1673, Thomas Peche, an Englishman, fitted out a ship in England for a piratical voyage to the South Sea against the Spaniards. Previous to this, Peche had been many years a Buccaneer in the *West Indies*, and therefore his voyage to the *South Sea* is mentioned as a Buccaneer expedition; but it was in no manner connected with any enterprise in or from the *West Indies*. The only information we have of Peche's voyage is from a Spanish author, *Seixas y Lovera*; and by that it may be conjectured that Peche sailed to the *Aleutian Isles*.*

CHAP. 7.

1673.

Thomas
Peche.

About this time the French West-India Company was suppressed; but another Company was at the same time erected in its stead, and under the unpromising title of *Compagnie des Fermiers du domaine d'Occident*.

1675.

Since the plundering of *Panama*, the imaginations of the Buccaneers had been continually running on expeditions to the *South Sea*. This was well known to the Spaniards, and produced many forebodings and prophecies, in *Spain* as well as in *Peru*, of great invasions both by sea and land. The alarm was increased by an attempt of a French Buccaneer, named *La Sound*, with a small body of men, to cross over land to the *South Sea*.

La Sound
attempts to
cross the
Isthmus.

La

* *Theatro Naval Hydrographico*. Cap. xi. See also of Peche, in Vol. III. of *South Sea Voyages and Discoveries*, p. 392.

CHAP. 7.

1675.

La Sound got no farther than the town of *Cheapo*, and was driven back. Dampier relates, 'Before my going to the *South Seas*, I being then on board a privateer off *Portobel*, we took a packet from *Carthagen*. We opened a great many of the merchants' letters, several of which informed their correspondents of a certain prophecy that went about *Spain* that year, the tenor of which was, *That the English privateers in the West Indies would that year open a door into the South Seas.*'

Voyage of
Ant. de Vea
to the
Strait of
Magalhães.

In 1675, it was reported and believed in *Peru*, that strange ships, supposed to be Pirates, had been seen on the coast of *Chili*, and it was apprehended that they designed to form an establishment there. In consequence of this information or rumour, the Viceroy sent a ship from *Peru*, under the command of Don Antonio de Vea, accompanied with small barks as tenders, to reconnoitre the *Gulf de la Santissima Trinidad*, and to proceed thence to the West entrance of the *Strait of Magalhães*. De Vea made examination at those places, and was convinced, from the poverty of the land, that no settlement of Europeans could be maintained there. One of the Spanish barks, with a crew of sixteen men, was wrecked on the small Islands called *Evangelists*, at the West entrance of the *Strait*. De Vea returned to *Callao* in April 1676*.

1676.

The cattle in *Hispaniola* had again multiplied so much as to revive the business of hunting and the *boucan*. In 1676, some French who had habitations in the *Peninsula of Samana* (the NE part of *Hispaniola*) made incursions on the Spaniards, and plundered one of their villages. Not long afterwards, the Spaniards learnt that in *Samana* there were only women and children, the men being all absent on the chase; and that it would be easy to surprise not only the habitations, but the hunters also, who had a boucan at a place called the *Round Mountain*.

* *Not. de las Exp. Magal. p. 268, of Ult. Viage al Estrecho.*

Mountain. This the Spaniards executed, and with such full indulgence to their wish to extirpate the French in *Hispaniola*, that they put to the sword every one they found at both the places. The French, in consequence of this misfortune, strengthened their fortifications at *Cape François*, and made it their principal establishment in the Island.

CHAP. 7.

1676.

Massacre
of the
French in
Samana.

. In 1678, the French again undertook an expedition against the Dutch Island *Curaçao*, with a large fleet of the French king's ships, under the command of Admiral the Count d'Etrées. The French Court were so earnest for the conquest of *Curaçao*, to wipe off the disgrace of the former failure, that the Governor of *Tortuga* was ordered to raise 1200 men to join the Admiral d'Etrées. The king's troops within his government did not exceed 300 men; nevertheless, the Governor collected the number required, the Flibustiers willingly engaging in the expedition. Part of them embarked on board the king's ships, and part in their own cruising vessels. By mistake in the navigation, d'Etrées ran ashore in the middle of the night on some small Isles to the East of *Curaçao*, called *de Aves*, which are surrounded with breakers, and eighteen of his ships, besides some of the Flibustier vessels, were wrecked. The crews were saved, excepting about 300 men.

1678.

French
Fleet
wrecked on
the Isles
de Aves.

The *Curaçao* expedition being thus terminated, the Flibustiers who had engaged in it, after saving as much as they could of the wrecks, went on expeditions of their own planning, to seek compensation for their disappointment and loss. Some landed on *Cuba*, and pillaged *Puerto del Principe*. One party, under Granmont, a leader noted for the success of his enterprises, went to the Gulf of *Venezuela*, and the ill-fated towns *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar* were again plundered; but what the Buccaneers obtained was not of much value. In August this year, *France* concluded a treaty of peace with *Spain* and *Holland*.

Granmont.

The

CHAP. 7.

1678.

The Government in *Jamaica* had by this time relapsed to its former propensities, and again encouraged the Buccaneers, and shared in their gains. One crew of Buccaneers carried there a vessel taken from the Spaniards, the cargo of which produced for each man's share to the value of 400 *l.* After disposing of the cargo, they burnt the vessel; 'and 'having paid the ' Governor his duties, they embarked for *England*, where,' added the author, 'some of them live in good reputation to ' this day *.'

As long as the war had lasted between *France* and *Spain*, the French Buccaneers had the advantage of being lawful privateers. An English Buccaneer relates, 'We met a French ' private ship of war, mounting eight guns, who kept in our ' company some days. Her commission was only for three ' months. We shewed him our commission, which was for three ' years to come. This we had purchased at a cheap rate, having ' given for it only ten pieces of eight; but the truth of the ' thing was, that our commission was made out at first only ' for three months, the same date as the Frenchman's, whereas ' among ourselves we contrived to make it that it should serve ' for three years, for with this we were resolved to seek our ' fortunes.' Whenever *Spain* was at war with another European Power, adventurers of any country found no difficulty in the *West Indies* in procuring commissions to war against the Spaniards; with which commission, and carrying aloft the flag of the nation hostile to *Spain*, they assumed that they were lawful enemies. Such pretensions did them small service if they fell into the hands of the Spaniards; but they were allowed in the ports of neutral nations, which benefited by being made the mart of the Buccaneer prize goods; and the Buccaneers thought themselves well recompensed in having a ready market, and the security of the port.

The

* *Buccaneers of America*, Part III. Ch. xi.

The enterprises of the Buccaneers on the *Tierra Firma* and other parts of the American Continent, brought them into frequent intercourse with the natives of those parts, and produced friendships, and sometimes alliances against the Spaniards, with whom each were alike at constant enmity. But there sometimes happened disagreements between them and the natives. The Buccaneers, if they wanted provisions or assistance from the Indians, had no objection to pay for it when they had the means; nor had the natives objection to supply them on that condition, and occasionally out of pure good will. The Buccaneers nevertheless, did not always refrain from helping themselves, with no other leave than their own. Sometime before Morgan's expedition to *Panama*, they had given the Indians of *Darien* much offence; but shortly after that expedition, they were reconciled, in consequence of which, the *Darien* Indians had assisted *La Sound*. In 1678, they gave assistance to another party of Flibustiers which went against *Cheapo*, under a French Captain named *Bournano*, and offered to conduct them to a place called *Tocamoro*, where they said the Spaniards had much gold. *Bournano* did not think his force sufficient to take advantage of their offer, but promised he would come again and be better provided.

1678.

Darien
Indians.

In 1679, three Buccaneer vessels (two of them English, and one French) joined in an attempt to plunder *Porto Bello*. They landed 200 men at such a distance from the town, that it occupied them three nights in travelling, for during the day they lay concealed in the woods, before they reached it. Just as they came to the town, they were discovered by a negro, who ran before to give intelligence of their coming; but the Buccaneers were so quickly after him, that they got possession of the town before the inhabitants could take any step for their defence, and,

1679.

Porto Bello
surprised
by the
Buccaneers.

CHAP. 7.
1679. and, being unacquainted with the strength of the enemy, they all fled. The Buccaneers remained in the town collecting plunder two days and two nights, all the time in apprehension that the Spaniards would 'pour in the country' upon their small force, or intercept their retreat. They got back however to their ships unmolested, and, on a division of the booty, shared 160 pieces of eight to each man.



CHAP. VIII.

Meeting of Buccaneers at the Samballas, and Golden Island.

Party formed by the English Buccaneers to cross the Isthmus.

Some account of the Native Inhabitants of the Mosquito Shore.

IMMEDIATELY after the plundering of *Porto Bello*, a CHAP. 8.
 number of Buccaneer vessels, both English and French, on
 the report which had been made by Captain Bournano,
 assembled at the *Samballas*, or *Isles of San Blas*, near the coast
 of *Darien*. One of these vessels was commanded by Bournano.
 The Indians of *Darien* received them as friends and allies,
 but they now disapproved the project of going to *Tocamoro*.
 The way thither, they said, was mountainous, and through a
 long tract of uninhabited country, in which it would be difficult
 to find subsistence; and instead of *Tocamoro*, they advised going
 against the city of *Panama*. Their representation caused the
 design upon *Tocamoro* to be given up. The English Buccaneers
 were for attacking *Panama*; but the French objected to the
 length of the march; and on this difference, the English and
 French separated, the English Buccaneers going to an Island
 called by them *Golden Island*, which is the most eastern of the
Samballas, if not more properly to be said to the eastward of
 all the *Samballas*. 1680.

Golden
Island.

Without the assistance of the French, *Panama* was too great
 an undertaking. They were bent, however, on crossing the
Isthmus; and at the recommendation of their *Darien* friends,
 they determined to visit a Spanish town named *Santa Maria*,
 situated on the banks of a river that ran into the *South Sea*.
 The Spaniards kept a good garrison at *Santa Maria*, on
 account of gold which was collected from mountains in its
 neighbourhood.

CHAP. 8. The Buccaneers who engaged in this expedition were the
1680. crews of seven vessels, of force as in the following list:

A vessel of	Guns		Men		
	8	and	97		
—	25	-	107	- - - -	Peter Harris.
—	1	-	35	- - - -	Richard Sawkins.
—	2	-	40	- - - -	Bart. Sharp.
—	0	-	43	- - - -	Edmond Cook.
—	0	-	24	- - - -	Robert Alleston.
—	0	-	20 ⁴	- - - -	— Macket.

It was settled that Alleston and Macket, with 55 men, themselves included, should be left to guard the vessels during the absence of those who went on the expedition, which was not expected to be of long continuance. These matters were arranged at *Golden Island*, and agreement made with the Darien Indians to furnish them with subsistence during the march.

William Dampier, a seaman at that time of no celebrity, but of good observation and experience, was among these Buccaneers, and of the party to cross the *Isthmus*; as was Lionel Wafer, since well known for his *Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, who had engaged with them as surgeon.

Account
of the
Mosquito
Indians.

In this party of Buccaneers were also some native Americans, of a small tribe called Mosquito Indians, who inhabited the sea coast on each side of *Cape Gracias a Dios*, one way towards the river *San Juan de Nicaragua*, the other towards the *Gulf of Honduras*, which is called the *Mosquito Shore*. If Europeans had any plea in justification of their hostility against the Spaniards in the *West Indies*, much more had the native Americans. The Mosquito Indians, moreover, had long been, and were at the time of these occurrences, in an extraordinary degree attached to the English, insomuch that voluntarily of their own choice they acknowledged the King of *Great Britain* for their sovereign. They were an extremely ingenious people, and were greatly esteemed by the European seamen in the *West Indies*, on account of their great
expertness

expertness in the use of the harpoon, and in taking turtle. The following character of them is given by Dampier: 'These Mosquito Indians,' he says, 'are tall, well made, strong, and nimble of foot; long visaged, lank black hair, look stern, and are of a dark copper complexion. They are but a small nation or family. They are very ingenious in throwing the lance, or harpoon. They have extraordinary good eyes, and will descry a sail at sea, farther than we. For these things, they are esteemed and coveted by all privateers; for one or two of them in a ship, will sometimes maintain a hundred men. When they come among privateers, they learn the use of guns, and prove very good marksmen. They behave themselves bold in fight, and are never seen to flinch, or hang back; for they think that the white men with whom they are, always know better than they do, when it is best to fight; and be the disadvantage never so great, they do not give back while any of their party stand. These Mosquito men are in general very kind to the English, of whom they receive a great deal of respect, both on board their ships, and on shore, either in *Jamaica*, or elsewhere. We always humour them, letting them go any where as they will, and return to their country in any vessel bound that way, if they please. They will have the management of themselves in their striking fish, and will go in their own little canoe, nor will they then let any white man come in their canoe; all which we allow them. For should we cross them, though they should see shoals of fish, or turtle, or the like, they will purposely strike their harpoons and turtle-irons aside, or so glance them as to kill nothing. They acknowledge the King of England for their sovereign, learn our language, and take the Governor of *Jamaica* to be one of the greatest princes in the world. While they are among the English, they wear good cloaths, and take delight to go neat and tight; but when they return to their own country, they

CHAP. 8.

Of the
Mosquito
Indians.

‘ put by all their cloaths, and go after their own country
‘ fashion.’

In Dampier's time, it was the custom among the Mosquito Indians, when their Chief died, for his successor to obtain a commission, appointing him Chief, from the Governor of *Jamaica*; and till he received his commission he was not acknowledged in form by his countrymen*.

How would Dampier have been grieved, if he could have foreseen that this simple and honest people, whilst their attachment to the English had suffered no diminution, would be delivered by the British Government into the hands of the Spaniards; which, from all experience of what had happened, was delivering them to certain destruction.

Before this unhappy transaction took place, and after the time Dampier wrote, the British Government took actual possession of the Mosquito Country, by erecting a fort, and stationing there a garrison of British troops. British merchants settled among the Mosquito natives, and magistrates were appointed with authority to administer justice. Mosquito men were taken into British pay to serve as soldiers, of which the following story is related in Long's *History of Jamaica*. ‘ In
‘ the year 1738, the Government of *Jamaica* took into their pay
‘ two hundred Mosquito Indians, to assist in the suppression of
‘ the Maroons or Wild Negroes. During a march on this ser-
‘ vice,

* ‘ They never forfeit their word. The King has his commission from the
‘ Governor of *Jamaica*, and at every new Governor's arrival, they come over to
‘ know his pleasure. The King of the Mosquitos was received by his Grace the
‘ Duke of Portland (Governor of *Jamaica*, A.D. 1722-3) with that courtesy which
‘ was natural to him, and with more ceremony than seemed to be due to a
‘ Monarch who held his sovereignty by commission.’—‘ The Mosquito Indians
‘ had a victory over the Spanish Indians about 30 years ago, and cut off a number;
‘ but gave a Negro who was with them, his life purely on account of his speaking
‘ English.’ *History of Jamaica*. London 1774. Book i. Ch. 12. And *British
Empire in America*, Vol. II. pp. 367 & 371.

‘ vice, one of their white conductors shot a wild hog. The Mosquito men told him, that was not the way to surprise the negroes, but to put them on their guard ; and if he wanted provisions, they would kill the game equally well with their arrows. They effected considerable service on this occasion, and were well rewarded for their good conduct ; and when a pacification took place with the Maroons, they were sent well satisfied to their own country.’

In the year 1770, there resided in the *Mosquito Country* of British settlers, between two and three hundred whites, as many of mixed blood, and 900 slaves. On the breaking out of the war between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, in 1779, when the Spaniards drove the British logwood cutters from their settlements in the *Bay of Honduras*, the Mosquito men armed and assisted the British troops of the line in the recovery of the logwood settlements. They behaved on that occasion, and on others in which they served against the Spaniards, with their accustomed fidelity. An English officer, who was in the *West Indies* during that war, has given a description of the Mosquito men, which exactly agrees with what Dampier has said ; and all that is related of them whilst with the Buccaneers, gives the most favourable impression of their dispositions and character. It was natural to the Spaniards to be eagerly desirous to get the Mosquito Country and people into their power ; but it was not natural that such a proposition should be listened to by the British. Nevertheless, the matter did so happen.

When notice was received in the *West Indies*, that a negotiation was on foot for the delivery of the *Mosquito Shore* to *Spain*, the Council at *Jamaica* drew up a Report and Remonstrance against it ; in which was stated, that ‘ the number of the Mosquito Indians, so justly remarkable for their fixed hereditary hatred to the Spaniards, and attachment to us, were from seven to ten thousand.’ Afterwards, in continuation, the

. Memorial

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Of the
Mosquito
Indians.

Memorial says, ' We beg leave to state the nature of His Majesty's territorial right, perceiving with alarm, from papers submitted to our inspection, that endeavours have been made to create doubts as to His Majesty's just claims to the sovereignty of this valuable and delightful country. The native Indians of this country have never submitted to the Spanish Government. The Spaniards never had any settlement amongst them. During the course of 150 years they have maintained a strict and uninterrupted alliance with the subjects of *Great Britain*. They made a free and formal cession of the dominion of their country to His Majesty's predecessors, acknowledging the King of *Great Britain* for their sovereign, long before the American Treaty concluded at *Madrid* in 1670; and consequently, by the eighth Article of that Treaty, our right was declared*.' In one Memorial and Remonstrance which was presented to the British Ministry on the final ratification (in 1786) of the Treaty, it is complained, that thereby his Majesty had given up to the King of *Spain* the Indian people, and country of the *Mosquito Shore*, which formed the most secure West-Indian Province possessed by *Great Britain*, and which we held by the most pure and perfect title of sovereignty.' Much of this is digression; but the subject unavoidably came into notice, and could not be hastily quitted.

Some mercantile arrangement, said to be advantageous to *Great Britain*, but which has been disputed, was the publicly assigned motive to this act. It has been conjectured that a desire to shew civility to the Prime Minister of *Spain* was the real motive. Only blindness or want of information could give either of these considerations such fatal influence.

The making over, or transferring, inhabited territory from the

* *Case of His Majesty's Subjects upon the Mosquito Shore, most humbly submitted, &c.* •London, 1789.

the dominion and jurisdiction of one state to that of another, has been practised not always with regard for propriety. It has been done sometimes unavoidably, sometimes justly, and sometimes inexcusably. Unavoidably, when a weaker state is necessitated to submit to the exactions of a stronger. Justly, when the inhabitants of the territory it is proposed to transfer, are consulted, and give their consent. Also it may be reckoned just to exercise the power of transferring a conquered territory, the inhabitants of which have not been received and adopted as fellow subjects with the subjects of the state under whose power it had fallen.

The inhabitants of a territory who with their lands are transferred to the dominion of a new state without their inclinations being consulted, are placed in the condition of a conquered people.

The connexion of the Mosquito people with *Great Britain* was formed in friendship, and was on each side a voluntary engagement. That it was an engagement, should be no question. In equity and honour, whoever permits it to be believed that he has entered into an engagement, thereby becomes engaged. The Mosquito people were known to believe, and had been allowed to continue in the belief, that they were permanently united to the British. The Governors of *Jamaica* giving commissions for the instalment of their chief, the building a fort, and placing a garrison in the country, shew both acceptance of their submission and exercise of sovereignty.

Vattel has decribed this case. He says, ‘ When a nation has
‘ not sufficient strength of itself, and is not in a condition to
‘ resist its enemies, it may lawfully submit to a more powerful
‘ nation on certain conditions upon which they shall come to
‘ an agreement ; and the pact or treaty of submission will be
‘ afterwards the measure and rule of the rights of each. For
‘ that

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Of the
Mosquito
Indians.

‘ that which submits, resigning a right it possessed, and conveying it to another, has an absolute power to make this conveyance upon what conditions it pleases ; and the other, by accepting the submission on this footing, engages to observe religiously all the clauses in the treaty.

‘ When a nation has placed itself under the protection of another that is more powerful, or has submitted to it with a view of protection ; if this last does not effectually grant its protection when wanted, it is manifest that by failing in its engagements it loses the rights it had acquired.’

The rights lost or relinquished by *Great Britain* might possibly be of small import to her ; but the loss of our protection was of infinite consequence to the Mosquito people. Advantages supposed or real gained to *Great Britain*, is not to be pleaded in excuse or palliation for withdrawing her protection ; for that would seem to imply that an engagement is more or less binding according to the greater or less interest there may be in observing it. But if there had been no engagement, the length and steadiness of their attachment to *Great Britain* would have entitled them to her protection, and the nature of the case rendered the obligation sacred ; for be it repeated, that experience had shewn the delivering them up to the dominion of the Spaniards, was delivering them to certain slavery and death. These considerations possibly might not occur, for there seems to have been a want of information on the subject in the British Ministry, and also a want of attention to the remonstrances made. The Mosquito Country, and the native inhabitants, the best affected and most constant of all the friends the British ever had, were abandoned in the summer of 1787, to the Spaniards, the known exterminators of millions of the native Americans, and who were moreover incensed against the Mosquito men, for the part they had
always

always taken with the British, by whom they were thus forsaken. The British settlers in that country found it necessary to withdraw as speedily as they had opportunity, with their effects.

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Of the
Mosquito
Indians.

If the business had been fully understood, and the safety of *Great Britain* had depended upon abandoning the Mosquito people to their merciless enemies, it would have been thought disgraceful by the nation to have done it; but the national interest being trivial, and the public in general being uninformed in the matter, the transaction took place without attracting much notice. A motion, however, was made in the British House of Lords, 'that the terms of the Convention with *Spain*, signed in July 1786, did not meet the favourable opinion of this House;' and the noble Mover objected to that part of the Convention which related to the surrender of the British possessions on the *Mosquito Shore*, that it was a humiliation, and derogating from the rights of *Great Britain*. The first Article of the Treaty of 1786 says, 'His Britannic Majesty's subjects, and the other Colonists, who have hitherto enjoyed the protection of *England*, shall evacuate the Country of the Mosquitos, as well as the Continent in general, and the Islands adjacent, without exception, situated beyond the line hereafter described, as what ought to be the extent of territory granted by his Catholic Majesty to the English.'

In the debate, rights were asserted for *Spain*, not only to what she then possessed on the Continent of *America*, but to parts she had never possessed. Was this want of information, or want of consideration? The word 'granted' was improperly introduced. In truth and justice, the claims of *Spain* to *America* are not to be acknowledged rights. They were founded in usurpation, and prosecuted by the extermination of the lawful and natural proprietors. It is an offence to morality and to

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Indians.

humanity to pretend that *Spain* had so clear and just a title to any part of her possessions on the Continent of *America*, as *Great Britain* had to the *Mosquito* Country. The rights of the *Mosquito* people, and their claims to the friendship of *Great Britain*, were not sufficiently made known; and the motion was negatived. It might have been of service in this debate to have quoted Dampier.

In conclusion, the case of the *Mosquito* people deserves, and demands the reconsideration of *Great Britain*. If, on examination, it shall be proved that they have been ungenerously and unjustly treated, it may not be too late to seek to make reparation, which ought to be done as far as circumstances will yet admit. The first step towards this would be, to institute enquiry if there are living any of our forsaken friends, or of their posterity, and what is their present condition. If the *Mosquito* people have been humanely and justly governed since their separation from *Great Britain*, the enquiry will give the Spaniards cause for triumph, and the British cause to rejoice that evil has not resulted from their act. On the other hand, should it be found that they have shared in the common calamities heaped upon the natives of *America* by the Spaniards, then, if there yet exist enough of their tribe to form a nation, it would be right to restore them, if practicable, to the country and situation of which their fathers were deprived, or to find them an equivalent; and at any price or pains, to deliver them from oppression. If only few remain, those few should be freed from their bondage, and be liberally provided with lands and maintenance in our own *West-India Islands*.

C H A P. IX.

Journey of the Buccaneers across the Isthmus of America.

ON the 5th of April, 1680, three hundred and thirty-one Buccaneers, most of them English, passed over from *Golden Island*, and landed in *Darien*, 'each man provided with four cakes of bread called dough-boys, with a fusil, a pistol, and a hanger.' They began their journey marshalled in divisions, with distinguishing flags, under their several commanders, Bartholomew Sharp and his men taking the lead. Many *Darien* Indians kept them company as their confederates, and supplied them with plantains, fruit, and venison, for which payment was made in axes, hatchets, knives, needles, beads, and trinkets; all which the Buccaneers had taken care to come well provided with. Among the *Darien* Indians in company were two Chiefs, who went by the names of Captain Andreas and Captain Antonio.

CHAP. 9.

1680.

April 5th,
Buccaneers
land on the
Isthmus.

The commencement of their march was through the skirt of a wood, which having passed, they proceeded about a league by the side of a bay, and afterwards about two leagues directly up a woody valley, where was an Indian house and plantation by the side of a river. Here they took up their lodging for the night, those who could not be received in the house, building huts. The Indians were earnest in cautioning them against sleeping in the grass, on account of adders. This first day's journey discouraged four of the Buccaneers, and they returned to the ships. Stones were found in the river, which on being broken, shone with sparks of gold. These stones, they were told, were driven

The First
Day's
March.

CHAP. 9. down from the neighbouring mountains by torrents during the
1680. rainy season *.

April. The next morning, at sunrise, they proceeded in their
Second journey, labouring up a steep hill, which they surmounted
Day's about three in the afternoon; and at the foot on the other
Journey. side, they rested on the bank of a river, which Captain Andreas
told them ran into the *South Sea*, and was the same by which
the town of *Santa Maria* was situated. They marched after-
wards about six miles farther, over another steep hill, where the
path was so narrow that seldom more than one man could pass
at a time. At night, they took up their lodging by the side of
the river, having marched this day, according to their compu-
tation, eighteen miles.

7th. The next day, April the 7th, the march was continued by the
Third Day's river, the course of which was so serpentine, that they had to
Journey. cross it almost at every half mile, sometimes up to their
knees, sometimes to their middle, and running with a very
swift current. About noon they arrived at some large Indian
houses, neatly built, the sides of wood of the cabbage-tree, and
the roofs of cane thatched over with palmito leaves. The
interior had divisions into rooms, but no upper story; and
before each house was a large plantain walk. Continuing their
journey, at five in the afternoon, they came to a house belonging
to a son of Captain Andreas, who wore a wreath of gold
about his head, for which he was honoured by the *Buccaneers*
with the title of *King Golden Cap*. They found their enter-
tainment at *King Golden Cap's* house so good, that they
8th. rested there the whole of the following day. *Bartholomew*
Sharp, who published a *Journal* of his expedition, says here,
'The inhabitants of *Darien* are for the most part very hand-
'some, especially the female sex, who are also exceeding
'loving

* Narrative by *Basil Ringrose*, p. 5.

‘loving and free to the embraces of strangers.” This was calumny. Basil Ringrose, another Buccaneer, whose Journal has been published, and who is more entitled to credit than Sharp, as will be seen, says of the Darien women, ‘they are generally well featured, very free, airy, and brisk; yet withal very modest.’ Lionel Wafer also, who lived many months among the Indians of the *Isthmus*, speaks highly of the modesty, kindness of disposition, and innocency, of the Darien women.

CHAP. 9.

1680.

April.

Journey
over the
Isthmus.

On the 9th, after breakfast, they pursued their journey, accompanied by the Darien Chiefs, and about 200 Indians, who were armed with bows and lances. They descended along the river, which they had to wade through between fifty and sixty times, and they came to a house ‘only here and there.’ At most of these houses, the owner, who had been apprised of the march of the Buccaneers, stood at the door, and as they passed, gave to each man a ripe plantain, or some sweet cassava root. If the Buccaneer desired more, he was expected to purchase. Some of the Indians, to count the number of the Buccaneers, for every man that went by dropped a grain of corn. That night they lodged at three large houses, where they found entertainment provided, and also canoes for them to descend the river, which began here to be navigable.

9th.
Fourth
Day's
Journey.

The next morning, as they were preparing to depart, two of the Buccaneer Commanders, John Coxon and Peter Harris, had some disagreement, and Coxon fired his musket at Harris, who was about to fire in return, but other Buccaneers interposed, and effected a reconciliation. Seventy of the Buccaneers embarked in fourteen canoes, in each of which two Indians also went, who best knew how to manage and guide them down the stream: the rest prosecuted their march by land.

10th.
Fifth Day's
Journey.

CHAP. 9. land. The men in the canoes found that mode of travelling
 1680. quite as wearisome as marching, for at almost every furlong
 April. they were constrained to quit their boats to lanch them over
 rocks, or over trees that had fallen athwart the river, and
 sometimes over necks of land. At night, they stopped and
 made themselves huts on a green bank by the river's side.
 Here they shot wild-fowl.

11th. The next day, the canoes continued to descend the river,
 Sixth Day's having the same kind of impediments to overcome as on the
 Journey. preceding day ; and at night, they lodged again on the green
 bank of the river. The land party had not kept up with them.
 Bartholomew Sharp says, ' Our supper entertainment was a
 ' very good sort of a wild beast called a *Warre*, which is much
 ' like to our English hog, and altogether as good. There are
 ' store of them in this part of the world: I observed that
 ' the navels of these animals grew upon their backs.' Wafer
 calls this species of the wild hog, *Pecary* *. In the night a small
 tiger came, and after looking at them some time, went away.
 The Buccaneers did not fire at him, lest the noise of their
 muskets should give alarm to the Spaniards at *S^a Maria*.

12th. The next day, the water party again embarked, but under
 Seventh some anxiety at being so long without having any communi-
 Day's cation with the party marching by land. Captain Andreas
 Journey. perceiving their uneasiness, sent a canoe back up the river,
 which returned before sunset with some of the land party,
 and intelligence that the rest were near at hand.

13th. 'Tuesday the 13th, early in the day, the Buccaneers arrived
 at a beachy point of land, where another stream from the
 uplands joined the river. This place had sometimes been the
 rendezvous of the Darien Indians, when they collected for
 attack

* *De Rochfort* describes this animal under the name *Javaris*. *Hist. Nat. des Isles Antilles*, p. 138, edit. 1665. It is also described by *Pennant*, in his *Synopsis of Quadrupeds*, Art. *Mexican Wild Hog*.

CHAP. 9.

attack or defence against the Spaniards; and herè the whole party now made a halt, to rest themselves, and to clean and prepare their arms. They also made paddles and oars to row with; for thus far down the river, the canoes had been carried by the stream, and guided with poles: but here the river was broad and deep.

1680.

April.

On the Isthmus.

. On the 14th, the whole party, Buccaneers and Indians, making nearly 600 men, embarked in 68 canoes, which the Indians had provided. At midnight, they put to land, within half a mile of the town of *S^a Maria*. In the morning at the break of day, they heard muskets fired by the guard in the town, and a 'drum beating *à travailler**.' The Buccaneers put themselves in motion, and by seven in the morning came to the open ground before the Fort, when the Spaniards began firing upon them. The Fort was formed simply with palisadoes, without brickwork, so that after pulling down two or three of the palisadoes, the Buccaneers entered without farther opposition, and without the loss of a man; nevertheless, they acted with so little moderation or mercy, that twenty-six Spaniards were killed, and sixteen wounded. After the surrender, the Indians took many of the Spaniards into the adjoining woods, where they killed them with lances; and if they had not been discovered in their amusement, and prevented, not a Spaniard would have been left alive. It is said in a Buccaneer account, that they found here the eldest daughter of the King of *Darien*, Captain Andreas, who had been forced from her father's house by one of the garrison, and was with child by him; which greatly incensed the father against the Spaniards.

14th.

15th.

Fort of *S^a Maria* taken.

The

* *Ringrose. Buccaneers of America*, Part IV. p. 10. The early morning drum has, in our time, been called the *Reveiller*. Either that or a *travailler* seems applicable; for according to *Boyer*, *travailler* signifies to trouble, or disturb, as well as to work; and it is probable, from the age of the authority above cited, that the original term was *à travailler*.

CHAP. 9.

1680.

April.

The Buccaneers were much disappointed in their expectations of plunder, for the Spaniards had by some means received notice of their intended visit in time to send away almost all that was of value. A Buccaneer says, 'though we examined our prisoners severely, the whole that we could pillage, either in the town or fort, amounted only to twenty pounds weight of gold, and a small quantity of silver; whereas three days sooner, we should have found three hundred pounds weight in gold in the Fort.'

John Coxon
chosen
Commander.

The majority of the Buccaneers were desirous to proceed in their canoes to the *South Sea*, to seek compensation for their disappointment at *S^a Maria*. John Coxon and his followers were for returning; on which account, and not from an opinion of his capability, those who were for the *South Sea*, offered Coxon the post of General, provided he and his men would join in their scheme, which offer was accepted.

It was then determined to descend with the stream of the river to the *Gulf de San Miguel*, which is on the East side of the *Bay of Panama*. The greater part of the *Darien* Indians, however, separated from them at *S^a Maria*, and returned to their homes. The *Darien* Chief *Andreas*, and his son *Golden Cap*, with some followers, continued with the Buccaneers.

Among the people of *Darien* were remarked some white, 'fairer than any people in Europe, who had hair like unto the finest flax; and it was reported of them that they could see farther in the dark than in the light *.'

The River of *S^a Maria* is the largest of several rivers which fall into the *Gulf de San Miguel*. Abreast where the town stood, it was reckoned to be twice as broad as the *River Thames* is at *London*. The rise and fall of the tide there was two fathoms and a half †.

April

* Narrative by Basil Ringrose, p. 3.

† Ringrose, p. 11.

April the 17th, the Buccaneers and their remaining allies embarked from *S^{ta} Maria*, in canoes and a small bark which was found at anchor before the town. About thirty Spaniards who had been made prisoners, earnestly entreated that they should not be left behind to fall into the hands of the Indians. ‘We had much ado,’ say the Buccaneers, ‘to find boats enough for ourselves: the Spaniards, however, found or made bark logs, and it being for their lives, made shift to come along with us.’ At ten that night it was low water, and they stopped on account of the flood tide. The next morning they pursued their course to the sea.

CHAP. 9.

1680.

April 17th.

18th,

They arrive
at the
South Sea.

C H A P. X.

First Buccaneer Expedition in the South Sea.

CHAP. 12.

1680.

April 19th.

In the Bay
of Panama.

ON the 19th of April, the Buccaneers, under the command of John Coxon, entered the *Bay of Panama*; and the same day, at one of the Islands in the *Bay*, they captured a Spanish vessel of 30 tons, on board of which 130 of the Buccaneers immediately placed themselves, glad to be relieved from the cramped and crowded state they had endured in the canoes. The next day another small bark was taken. The pursuit of these vessels, and seeking among the Islands for provisions, had separated the Buccaneers; but they had agreed to rendezvous at the Island *Chepillo*, near the entrance of the River *Cheapo*. Sharp, however, and some others, wanting fresh water, went to the *Pearl Islands*. The rest got to *Chepillo* on the 22d, where they found good provision of plantains, fresh water, and hogs; and at four o'clock that same afternoon, they rowed from the Island towards *Panama*.

22d.

Island
Chepillo.

By this time, intelligence of their being in the *Bay* had reached the city. Eight vessels were lying in the road, three of which the Spaniards hastily equipped, manning them with the crews of all the vessels, and the addition of men from the shore; the whole, according to the Buccaneer accounts, not exceeding 230 men, and not more than one-third of them being Europeans; the rest were mulattoes and negroes.

23d.

Battle with
a small
Spanish
Armament.

On the 23d, before sunrise, the Buccaneers came in sight of the city; and as soon as they were descried, the three armed Spanish ships got under sail, and stood towards them. The conflict was severe, and lasted the greater part of the day, when

it

1680.

April.

The
Buccaneers
victorious.

it terminated in the defeat of the Spaniards, two of their vessels being carried by boarding, and the third obliged to save herself by flight. The Spanish Commander fell, with many of his people. Of the Buccaneers, 18 were killed, and above 30 wounded. Peter Harris, one of their Captains, was among the wounded, and died two days after.

One Buccaneer account says, 'we were in all 68 men that were engaged in the fight of that day.' Another Buccaneer relates, 'we had sent away the Spanish bark to seek fresh water, and had put on board her above one hundred of our best men; so that we had only canoes for this fight, and in them not above 200 fighting men.' The Spanish ships fought with great bravery, but were overmatchèd, being manned with motley and untaught crews; whereas the Buccaneers had been in constant training to the use of their arms; and their being in canoes was no great disadvantage, as they had a smooth sea to fight in. The valour of Richard Sawkins, who, after being three times repulsed, succeeded in boarding and capturing one of the Spanish ships, was principally instrumental in gaining the victory to the Buccaneers. It gained him also their confidence, and the more fully as some among them were thought to have shewn backwardness, of which number John Coxon, their elected Commander, appears to have been. The Darien Chiefs were in the heat of the battle.

Richard
Sawkins.

Immediately after the victory, the Buccaneers stood towards *Panama*, then a new city, and on a different site from the old, being four miles Westward of the ruins of the city burnt by Morgan. The old city had yet some inhabitants. The present adventurers did not judge their strength sufficient for landing, and they contented themselves with capturing the vessels that were at anchor near the small Islands of *Perico*, in the road before the city. One of these vessels was a ship named the

The New
City of
Panama,
four miles
Westward
of the
Old City.

The
Buccaneers
take several
Prizes.

O 2

Trinidad,

CHAP. 10.

1688.

April.

In the Bay
of Panama.

Trinidad, of 400 tons burthen, in good condition, a fast sailer, and had on board a cargo principally consisting of wine, sugar, and sweetmeats; and moreover a considerable sum of money. The Spanish crew, before they left her, had both scuttled and set her on fire, but the Buccaneers took possession in time to extinguish the flames, and to stop the leaks. In the other prizes they found flour and ammunition; and two of them, besides the Trinidad, they fitted up for cruising. Two prize vessels, and a quantity of goods which were of no use to them, as iron, skins, and soap, which the Spaniards at *Panama* refused to ransom, they destroyed. Besides these, they captured among the Islands some small vessels laden with poultry. Thus in less than a week after their arrival across the *Isthmus* to the coast of the *South Sea*, they were provided with a small fleet, not ill equipped; and with which they now formed an actual and close blockade, by sea, of *Panama*, stationing themselves at anchor in front of the city.

Panama,
the new
City.

This new city was already considerably larger than old *Panama* had ever been, its extent being in length full a mile and a half, and in breadth above a mile. The churches (eight in number) were not yet finished. The cathedral church at the Old Town was still in use, 'the beautiful building whereof,' says Ringrose, 'maketh a fair show at a distance, like unto the church of St. Paul's at *London*. Round the city for the space of seven leagues, more or less, all the adjacent country is what they call in the Spanish language, *Savana*, that is to say, plain and level ground, as smooth as a sheet; only here and there is to be seen a small spot of woody land. And every where, this level ground is full of *vacadas*, where whole droves of cows and oxen are kept. But the ground whereon the city standeth, is damp and moist, and of bad repute for health. The sea is also very full of worms, much prejudicial

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