

CHAP. 14.

1684.

November.

Payta  
burnt.

left them.' 'The Governor would not pay ransom for the town, though he fed the Buccaneers with hopes till the sixth day, when they set it on fire.

At most of the towns on the coast of *Peru*, the houses are built with bricks made of earth and straw kneaded together and dried in the sun; many houses have no roof other than mats laid upon rafters, for it never rains, and they endeavour to fence only from the sun. From the want of moisture, great part of the country near the coast will not produce timber, and most of the stone they have, 'is so brittle that any one may rub it into sand with their finger.'

Part of the  
Peruvian  
Coast  
where it  
never rains.

*Payta* had neither woad nor water, except what was carried thither. The water was procured from a river about two leagues NNE of the town, where was a small Indian village called *Colan*. Dampier says, 'this dry country commences Northward about *Cape Blanco* (in about 4° S latitude) whence it reaches to latitude 30° S, in which extent they have no rain that I could ever observe or hear of.' In the Southern part of this tract however (according to Wafer) they have great dews in the night, by which the vallies are rendered fertile, and are well furnished with vegetables.

Eaton had been at *Payta*, where he burnt a large ship in the road, but did not land. He put on shore there all his prisoners; from which circumstance it was conjectured that he purposed to sail immediately for the *East Indies*; and such proved to be the fact.

Lobos de  
Tierra.

Lobos de la  
Mar.

The vessel commanded by Harris, sailed badly, and was therefore quitted and burnt. On the 14th, the other Buccaneer vessels, under Davis, anchored near the NE end of *Lobos de Tierra*, in four fathoms depth. They took here penguins, boobies, and seals. On the 19th, they were at *Lobos de la Mar*, where they found a letter left by the bark sent in search of Eaton,

Eaton, which gave information that he had entirely departed from the American coast. The bark had sailed for the Island *Plata* expecting to rejoin the ships there.

CHAP. 14.  
1684.

Eaton in his route to the *East Indies* stopped at *Guahan*, one of the *Ladrone Islands*, where himself and his crew acted towards the native Islanders with the utmost barbarity, which Cowley relates as a subject of merriment.

Eaton sails  
for the  
East Indies;  
Stop at the  
Ladrones.

On their first arrival at *Guahan*, Eaton sent a boat on shore to procure refreshments; but the natives kept at a distance, believing his ship to be one of the Manila galleons, and his people Spaniards. Eaton's men served themselves with coconuts, but finding difficulty in climbing, they cut the trees down to get at the fruit. The next time their boat went to the shore, the Islanders attacked her, but were easily repulsed, and a number of them killed. By this time the Spanish Governor was arrived at the part of the Island near which the ship had anchored, and sent a letter addressed to her Commander, written in four different languages, to wit, in Spanish, French, Dutch, and Latin, to demand of what country she was, and whence she came. Cowley says, 'Our Captain, thinking the French would be welcomer than the English, returned answer we were French, fitted out by private merchants to make fuller discovery of the world. The Governor on this, invited the Captain to the shore, and at their first conference, the Captain told him that the Indians had fallen upon his men, and that we had killed some of them. He wished we had killed them all, and told us of their rebellion, that they had killed eight Fathers, of sixteen which were in a convent. He gave us leave to kill and take whatever we could find on one half of the Island where the rebels lived. We then made wars with these infidels, and went on shore every day, fetching provisions, and firing upon them wherever we saw them, so that

CHAP. 14. ' the greatest part of them left the Island. The Indians sent  
 1684. ' two of their captains to us to treat of peace, but we would  
 ' not treat with them\*.'—' The whole land is a garden.  
 ' The Governor was the same man who detained Sir John  
 ' Narbrough's Lieutenant at *Baldivia*. Our Captain supplied  
 ' him with four barrels of gunpowder, and arms.'

Josef de Quiroga was at this time Governor at *Guahan*, who afterwards conquered and unpeopled all the Northern Islands of the *Ladrones*. Eaton's crew took some of the Islanders prisoners: three of them jumped overboard to endeavour to escape. It was easy to retake them, as they had been bound with their hands behind them; but Eaton's men pursued them with the determined purpose to kill them, which they did in mere wantonness of sport†. At another time, when they had so far come to an accommodation with the Islanders as to admit of their approach, the ship's boat being on shore fishing with the seine, some natives in canoes near her were suspected of intending mischief. Cowley relates, ' our people that were in the boat let go in amongst the ' thickest of them, and killed a great many of their number.' It is possible that thus much might have been necessary for safety; but Cowley proceeds, ' the others, seeing their mates ' fall, ran away. Our other men which were on shore, meeting ' them, saluted them also by making holes in their hides.'

From the *Ladrones* Eaton sailed to the North of *Luconia*, and passed through among the Islands which were afterwards named by Dampier the *Bashee Islands*. The account given by Cowley is as follows: ' There being half a point East variation, till we ' came to latitude 20° 30' N, where we fell in with a parcel of ' Islands lying to the Northward of *Luconia*. On the 23d day  
 ' of

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\* *Manuscript Journal in the Sloane Collection.*

† See Cowley's *Voyage*, p. 34. Also, Vol. III. of *South Sea Discoveries*, p. 305.

‘ of April, we sailed through between the second and third  
 ‘ of the Northernmost of them. We met with a very strong  
 ‘ current, like the *Race of Portland*. At the third of the  
 ‘ Northernmost Islands, we sent our boat on shore, where they  
 ‘ found abundance of nutmegs growing, but no people. They  
 ‘ observed abundance of rocks and foul ground near the shore,  
 ‘ and saw many goats upon the Island.’

CHAP. 14.

1684.

Nutmeg  
Island,  
North of  
Luconia.

Cowley concludes the narrative of his voyage with saying  
 that he arrived home safe to *England* through the infinite  
 mercy of God.

To return to Edward Davis: At *Lobos de la Mar*, the Mosquito  
 Indians struck as much turtle as served all the crews. Shortly  
 after, Davis made an attempt to surprise *Guayaquil*, which  
 miscarried through the cowardice of one of his men, and the  
 coldness of Swan to the enterprise. In the *Bay of Guayaquil*  
 they captured four vessels; one of them laden with woollen  
 cloth of *Quito* manufacture; the other three were ships coming  
 out of the *River of Guayaquil* with cargoes of Negroes.

Coast of  
Peru.  
Davis  
attempts  
Guayaquil.Slave Ships  
captured.

The number of Negroes in these vessels was a thousand, from  
 among which Davis and Swan chose each about fifteen, and  
 let the vessels go. Dampier entertained on this occasion dif-  
 ferent views from his companions. ‘Never,’ says he, ‘was put  
 ‘ into the hands of men a greater opportunity to enrich them-  
 ‘ selves. We had 1000 Negroes, all lusty young men and  
 ‘ women, and we had 200 tons of flour stored up at the  
 ‘ *Galapagos Islands*. With these Negroes we might have gone  
 ‘ and settled at *Santa Maria* on the *Isthmus of Darien*, and  
 ‘ have employed them in getting gold out of the mines there.  
 ‘ All the Indians living in that neighbourhood were mortal  
 ‘ enemies to the Spaniards, were flushed by successes against  
 ‘ them, and for several years had been the fast friends of the  
 ‘ privateers. Add to which, we should have had the *North*



## CHAP. 14.

1684.

December.

Coast of  
Peru.

‘ Sea open to us, and in a short time should have received  
 ‘ assistance from all parts of the *West Indies*. Many thousands  
 ‘ of Buccaneers from *Jamaica* and the French Islands would  
 ‘ have flocked to us; and we should have been an overmatch  
 ‘ for all the force the Spaniards could have brought out of  
 ‘ *Peru* against us.’

The proposal to employ slaves in the mines leaves no cause to regret that Dampier's plan was not adopted; but that was probably not an objection with his companions. They naturally shrunk from an attempt which in the execution would have required a regularity and order to which they were unaccustomed, and not at all affected.

Description  
 of the  
 Harbour of  
 Guayaquil.

The Harbour of *Guayaquil* is the best formed port in *Peru*. In the river, three or four miles short of the town, stands a low Island about a mile long, on either side of which is a fair channel to pass up or down. The Western Channel is the widest: the other is as deep. ‘ From the upper part of the  
 ‘ Island to the town is about a league, and it is near as much  
 ‘ from one side of the river to the other. In that spacious place  
 ‘ ships of the greatest burthen may ride afloat; but the best  
 ‘ place for ships is near that part of the land on which the  
 ‘ town stands. The country here is subject to great rains and  
 ‘ thick fogs, which render it very unwholesome and sickly, in  
 ‘ the vallies especially; *Guayaquil* however is not so unhealthy  
 ‘ as *Quito* and other towns inland; but the Northern part of  
 ‘ *Peru* pays for the dry weather which they have about *Lima*  
 ‘ and to the Southward.’

Island  
 St<sup>a</sup> Clara.  
 Shoals  
 near its  
 North Side.

‘ Ships bound into the river of *Guayaquil* pass on the South  
 ‘ side of the Island *Santa Clara* to avoid shoals which are on  
 ‘ the North side, whereon formerly ships have been wrecked.  
 ‘ A rich wreck lay on the North side of *Santa Clara* not far from  
 ‘ the Island, and some plate which was in her was taken up:  
 ‘ more

‘ more might have been saved but for the cat-fish which swarm  
‘ hereabouts. CHAP. 14.

‘ The Cat-fish is much like a whiting ; but the head is flatter 1684.  
‘ and bigger. It has a wide mouth, and certain small strings December.  
‘ pointing out on each side of it like cats’ whiskers. It hath Coast of  
‘ three fins ; one on the back, and one on either side. Each of Peru.  
‘ these fins hath a sharp bone which is very venomous if it Cat Fish.  
‘ strikes into a man’s flesh. Some of the Indians that adven-  
‘ tured to search this wreck lost their lives, and others the use  
‘ of their limbs, by these fins. Some of the cat-fish weigh seven  
‘ or eight pounds ; and in some places there are cat-fish which  
‘ are none of them bigger than a man’s thumb ; but their fins  
‘ are all alike venomous. They are most generally at the  
‘ mouths of rivers (in the hot latitudes) or where there is much  
‘ mud and ooze. The bones in their bodies are not venomous,  
‘ and we never perceived any bad effect in eating the fish,  
‘ which is very sweet and wholesome meat\*.’

The 13th, Davis and Swan with their prizes sailed from the *Bay of Guayaquil* to the Island *Plata*, and found there the bark which had been in quest of Eaton’s ship.

From *Plata*, they sailed Northward towards the *Bay of Panama*, landing at the villages along the coast to seek provisions. They were ill provided with boats, which exposed them to danger in making descents, by their not being able to land or bring off many men at one time ; and they judged that the best places for getting their wants in this respect supplied would be in rivers of the Continent, in which the Spaniards had no settlement, where from the native inhabitants they might obtain canoes by traffic or purchase, if not otherwise. Dampier remarks that there were many such unfrequented rivers in the Continent to the Northward of the *Isle de la Plata* ; and that  
from

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\* Dampier, Vol. I, Chap. 6.

CHAP. 14. from the Equinoctial to the Gulf de San Miguel in the Bay of  
 1684. Panama, which is above eight degrees of latitude, the coast was  
 December. not inhabited by the Spaniards, nor were the Indians who lived  
 Coast of there in any manner under their subjection, except at one part  
 Peru. near the Island Gallo, 'where on the banks of a Gold River  
 'or two, some Spaniards had settled to find gold.'

The Land The land by the sea-coast to the North of Cape San Francisco  
 Northward is low and extremely woody; the trees are of extraordinary  
 of Cape San height and bigness; and in this part of the coast are large and  
 Francisco. navigable rivers. The white cotton-tree, which bears a very  
 The Cotton fine sort of cotton, called silk cotton, is the largest tree in these  
 Tree and woods; and the cabbage-tree is the tallest. Dampier has  
 Cabbage given full descriptions of both. He measured a cabbage-tree  
 Tree. 120 feet in length, and some were longer. 'It has no limbs nor  
 'boughs except at the head, where there are branches some-  
 'thing bigger than a man's arm. 'The cabbage-fruit shoots out  
 'in the midst of these branches, invested or folded in leaves,  
 'and is as big as the small of a man's leg, and a foot long. It  
 'is white as milk, and sweet as a nut if eaten raw, and is very  
 'sweet and wholesome if boiled.'

River of The Buccaneers entered a river with their boats, in or near  
 St. Jago. latitude 2° N, which Dampier, from some Spanish pilot-book,  
 calls the *River of St. Jago*. It was navigable some leagues  
 within the entrance, and seems to be the river marked with the  
 name *Patia* in the late Spanish charts, a name which has allu-  
 sion to spreading branches.

Davis's men went six leagues up the river without seeing  
 habitation or people. They then came in sight of two small  
 huts, the inhabitants of which hurried into canoes with their  
 household-stuff, and paddled upwards against the stream faster  
 than they could be pursued. More houses were seen higher up;  
 but the stream ran here so swift, that the Buccaneers would not  
 be

be at the labour of proceeding. They found in the two deserted huts, a hog, some fowls and plantains, which they dressed on the spot, and after their meal returned to the ships, which were at the *Island Gallo*.

CHAP. 14.

1684.

December.  
Coast of  
Peru.Island  
Gallo.

'The *Island Gallo* is clothed with timber, and here was a spring of good water at the NE end, with good landing in a small sandy bay, and secure riding in six or seven fathoms depth\*.'

They entered with their boats another large river, called the *Tomaco*, the entrance of which is but three leagues from the *Island Gallo*. This river was shoal at the mouth, and navigable for small vessels only. A little within, was a village called *Tomaco*, some of the inhabitants of which they took prisoners, and carried off a dozen jars of good wine.

River  
Tomaco.

On the 1st of January, they took a packet-boat bound for *Lima*, which the President of *Panama* had dispatched to hasten the sailing of the Plate Fleet from *Callao*; the treasure sent from *Peru* and *Chili* to *Old Spain* being usually first collected at *Panama*, and thence transported on mules to *Portobello*. The Buccaneers judged that the *Pearl Islands* in the *Bay of Panama* would be the best station they could occupy for intercepting ships from *Lima*.

1685.

January.

On the 7th, they left *Gallo*, and pursued their course Northward. An example occurs here of Buccaneer order and discipline. 'We weighed,' says Dampier, 'before day, and all got out of the road except Captain Swan's tender, which never budged; for the men were all asleep when we went out, and the tide of flood coming on before they awoke, we were forced to stay for them till the following tide.'

On the 8th, they took a vessel laden with flour. The next day they anchored on the West side of the *Island Gorgona*, in 38 fathoms

Island  
Gorgona.

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\* Dampier.

CHAP. 14. 38 fathoms depth clear ground, a quarter of a mile from the shore. *Gorgona* was uninhabited; and like *Gallo* covered with trees. It is pretty high, and remarkable by two saddles, or risings and fallings on the top. It is about two leagues long, one broad, and is four leagues distant from the mainland. It was well watered at this time with small brooks issuing from the high land. At its West end is another small Island. The tide rises and falls seven or eight feet; and at low water shell-fish, as periwinkles, muscles, and oysters, may be taken. At *Gorgona* were small black monkeys. 'When the tide was out, the monkeys would come down to the sea-shore for shell-fish. Their way was to take up an oyster and lay it upon a stone, and with another stone to keep beating of it till they broke the shell \*.' The pearl oyster was here in great plenty: they are flatter than other oysters, are slimy, and taste cop- perish if eaten raw, but were thought good when boiled. The Indians and Spaniards hang the meat of them on strings to dry. 'The pearl is found at the head of the oyster, between the meat and the shell. Some have 20 or 30 small seed- pearl, some none at all, and some one or two pretty large pearls. The inside of the shell is more glorious than the pearl itself †.'

Pearl  
Oysters.

Bay of  
Panama. They put some of their prisoners on shore at *Gorgona*, and sailed thence on the 13th, being six sail in company; that is to say, Davis's ship, Swan's ship, three tenders, and their last prize. The 21st, they arrived in the *Bay of Panama*, and anchored at Galera Isle. a small low and barren Island named *Galera*.

On the 25th, they went from *Galera* to one of the Southern Pearl Islands, where they lay the ships aground to clean, the rise and fall of the sea at the spring tides being ten feet perpendicular. The small barks were kept out cruising, and on the

\* *Wafer's Voyages*, p. 196.

† *Dampier*, Vol. I, Chap. 7.



the 31st, they brought in a vessel bound for *Panama* from *Lavelia*, a town on the West side of the *Bay*, laden with Indian corn, salt beef, and fowls.

CHAP. 14.

1685.

January.

Bay of  
Panama.

Notwithstanding it had been long reported that a fleet was fitting out in *Peru* to clear the *South Sea* of pirates, the small force under *Davis*, *Swan*, and *Harris*, amounting to little more than 250 men, remained several weeks in uninterrupted possession of the *Bay of Panama*, blocking up access to the city by sea, supplying themselves with provisions from the Islands, and plundering whatsoever came in their way.

The *Pearl Islands* are woody, and the soil rich. They are cultivated with plantations of rice, plantains, and bananas, for the support of the City of *Panama*. *Dampier* says, ‘Why they are called the *Pearl Islands* I cannot imagine, for I did never see one pearl oyster about them, but of other oysters many. It is very pleasant sailing here, having the mainland on one side, which appears in divers forms, beautified with small hills clothed with woods always green and flourishing; and on the other side, the *Pearl Islands*, which also make a lovely prospect as you sail by them.’

The Pearl  
Islands.

The *Buccaneers* went daily in their canoes among the different Islands, to fish, fowl, or hunt for guanoes. One man so employed and straggling from his party, was surprised by the *Spaniards*, and carried to *Panama*.

In the middle of February, *Davis*, who appears to have always directed their movements as the chief in command, went with his ships and anchored near the City of *Panama*. He negotiated with the Governor an exchange of prisoners, and was glad by the release of forty *Spaniards* to obtain the deliverance of two *Buccaneers*; one of them the straggler just mentioned; the other, one of *Harris’s* men.

February.

A short time after this exchange, as the *Buccaneer* ships

Vol. IV.

Z

were

CHAP. 14. were at anchor near the Island *Taboga*, which is about four leagues to the South of *Panama*, they were visited by a Spaniard in a canoe, who pretended he was a merchant and wanted to traffic with them privately. He proposed to come off to the ships in the night with a small vessel laden with such goods as the Buccaneers desired to purchase. This was agreed to, and he came with his vessel when it was dark ; but instead of a cargo of goods, she was fitted up as a fire-ship with combustibles. The Buccaneers had suspected his intention and were on their guard ; but to ward off the mischief, were obliged to cut from their anchors and set sail.

1685. In the morning they returned to their anchorage, which they had scarcely regained when a fresh cause of alarm occurred. Dampier relates, ‘ We were striving to recover the anchors we had parted from, but the buoy-ropes, being rotten, broke, and whilst we were puzzling about our anchors, we saw a great many canoes full of men pass between the Island *Taboga* and another Island, which at first put us into a new consternation. We lay still some time, till we saw they made directly towards us ; upon which we weighed and stood towards them. When we came within hail, we found that they were English and French privateers just come from the *North Sea* over the *Isthmus of Darien*. We presently came to an anchor again, and all the canoes came on board.’

Arrival of  
fresh  
bodies of  
Buccaneers  
from the  
West Indies.

Grognet  
and  
L'Escuyer.

This new arrival of Buccaneers to the *South Sea* consisted of 200 Frenchmen and 80 Englishmen, commanded by two Frenchmen named Grognet and L'Escuyer. Grognet had a commission to war on the Spaniards from a French West-India Governor. The Englishmen of this party upon joining Davis, were received into the ships of their countrymen, and the largest of the prize vessels, which was a ship named the *San Rosario*, was given to the Frenchmen.

From

From these new confederates it was learnt, that another party, consisting of 180 Buccaneers, commanded by an Englishman named Townley, had crossed the *Isthmus*, and were building canoes in the *Gulf de San Miguel*; on which intelligence, it was determined to sail to that Gulf, that the whole buccaneer force in this sea might be joined. Grognet in return for the ship given to the French Buccaneers, offered to Davis and Swan new commissions from the Governor of *Petit Goave*, by whom he had been furnished with spare commissions with blanks, to be filled up and disposed of at his own discretion. Davis accepted Grognet's present, 'having before only 'an old commission which had belonged to Captain Tristian, 'and which, being found in Tristian's ship when she was carried off by Cook, had devolved as an inheritance to Davis.' The commissions which, by whatever means, the Buccaneers procured, were not much protection in the event of their falling into the hands of the Spaniards, unless the nation of which the Buccaneer was a native happened to be then at war with *Spain*. Instances were not uncommon in the *West Indies* of the Spaniards hanging up their buccaneer prisoners with their commissions about their necks. But the commissions were allowed to be valid in the ports of other powers. Swan however refused the one offered him, and rested his justification on the orders he had received from the Duke of York; in which he was directed, neither to give offence to the Spaniards, nor to submit to receive affront from them: they had done him injury in killing his men at *Baldivia*, and he held his orders to be a lawful commission to do himself right.

On the 3d of March, as they approached the *Gulf de San Miguel* to meet the Buccaneers under Townley, they were again surprised by seeing two ships standing towards them. These proved to be Townley and his men, in two prizes they

CHAP. 14.

1685.

February.

Bay of  
Panama.

March.

Townley  
and his  
Crew.

CHAP. 14.

1685.

March.

Bay of  
Panama.Pisco  
Wine.

they had already taken, one laden with flour, the other with wine, brandy, and sugar ; both designed for *Panama*. The wine came from *Pisco*, ' which place is famous for wine, and was ' contained in jars of seven or eight gallons each. Ships which ' lade at *Pisco* stow the jars one tier on the top of another, so ' artificially that we could hardly do the like without breaking ' them : yet they often carry in this manner 1500 or 2000, or ' more, in a ship, and seldom break one.'

On this junction of the Buccaneers, they went altogether to the *Pearl Islands* to make arrangements, and to fit their prize vessels as well as circumstances would admit, for their new occupation. Among the preparations necessary to their equipment, it was not the last which occurred, that the jars from *Pisco* were wanted to contain their sea stock of fresh water ; for which service they were in a short time rendered competent.

The 10th, they took a small bark in ballast, from *Guayaquil*. On the 12th, some Indians in a canoe came out of the River *Santa Maria*, purposely to inform them that a large body of English and French Buccaneers were then on their march over the *Isthmus* from the *North Sea*. This was not all ; for on the 15th, one of the small barks which were kept out cruising, fell in with a vessel in which were six Englishmen, who were part of a crew of Buccaneers that had been six months in the *South Sea*, under the command of a William Knight. These six men had been sent in a canoe in chase of a vessel, which they came up with and took ; but they had chased out of sight of their own ship, and could not afterwards find her. Davis gave the command of this vessel to Harris, who took possession of her with a crew of his own followers, and he was sent to the River *Santa Maria* to look for the buccaneers, of whose coming the Indians had given information.

This was the latter part of the dry season in the *Bay of Panama*.

*Panama*. Hitherto fresh water had been found in plenty at the *Pearl Islands*; but the springs and rivulets were now dried up. The Buccaneers examined within *Point Garachina*, but found no fresh water. They searched along the coast Southward, and on the 25th, at a narrow opening in the mainland with two small rocky Islands before it, about seven leagues distant from *Point Garachina*, which Dampier supposed to be *Port de Pinas*, they found a stream of good water which ran into the sea; but the harbour was open to the SW, and a swell set in, which rendered watering there difficult and hazardous: the fleet (for they were nine sail in company) therefore stood for the Island *Taboga*, 'where,' says Dampier, 'we were sure to find a supply.'

CHAP. 14.

1685.

March.

Bay of  
Panama.Port de  
Pinas,  
25th.Taboga  
Isle.

April.

Their boats being sent before the ships, came unexpectedly upon some of the inhabitants of *Panama* who were loading a canoe with plantains, and took them prisoners. One among these, a Mulatto, had the imprudence to say he was in the fire-ship which had been sent in the night to burn the Buccaneer ships; upon which, the Buccaneers immediately hanged him.

They had chocolate, but no sugar; and all the kettles they possessed, constantly kept boiling, were not sufficient to dress victuals for so many men. Whilst the ships lay at *Taboga*, a detachment was sent to a sugar-work on the mainland, from which they returned with sugar and three coppers.

On the 11th of April, they went from *Taboga* to the *Pearl Islands*, and were there joined by the Flibustiers and Buccaneers of whose coming they had been last apprised, consisting of 264 men, commanded by Frenchmen named Rose, Le Picard, and Des-marais. Le Picard was a veteran who had served under Lolonois and Morgan. In this party came Raveneau de Lussan, whose Journal is said to be the only one kept by any of the French who were in this expedition.

More  
Buccaneers  
arrive.

Lussan's



## CHAP. 14.

1685.

April.

Bay of  
Panama.

Lussan's Narrative is written with much misplaced gaiety, which comes early into notice, and shews him to have been, even whilst young and unpractised in the occupation of a Buccaneer, of a disposition delighting in cruelty. In the account of his journey overland from the *West Indies*, he relates instances which he witnessed of the great dexterity of the monkeys which inhabited the forests, and among others the following: '*Je ne puis me souvenir sans rire de l'action que je vis faire a un de ces animaux, auquel apres avoir tiré plusieurs coups de fusil qui lui emportoient une partie du ventre, en sorte que toutes ses tripes sortoient; je le vis se tenir d'une de ses pates, ou mains si l'on veut, a une branche d'arbre, tandis que de l'autre il ramassoit ses intestins qu'il se refouroit dans ce qui lui restoit de ventre \**'

Ambrose Cowley and Raveneau de Lussan are well matched for comparison, alike not only in their dispositions, but in their conceptions, which made them imagine the recital of such actions would be read with delight.

The Buccaneers in the *Bay of Panama* were now nearly a thousand strong, and they held a consultation whether or not they should attack the city. They had just before learnt from an intercepted packet that the *Lima Fleet* was at sea, richly charged with treasure; and that it was composed of all the naval force the Spaniards in *Peru* had been able to collect: it was therefore agreed not to attempt the city at the present, but to wait patiently the arrival of the Spanish fleet, and give it battle. The only enterprise they undertook on the main-land in the mean time, was against the town of *Chepo*, where they found neither opposition nor plunder.

Chepo.

The small Island *Chepillo* near the mouth of the river which leads to *Chepo*, Dampier reckoned the most pleasant of all the Islands

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\* *Journal du Voyage au Mer du Sud, par Rav. de Lussan, p. 25.*

Islands in the *Bay of Panama*. 'It is low on the North side, and rises by a small ascent towards the South side. The soil is yellow, a kind of clay. The low land is planted with all sorts of delicate fruits.' The Islands in the Bay being occupied by the Buccaneers, caused great scarcity of provision and distress at *Panama*, much of the consumption in that city having usually been supplied from the Islands, which on that account and for their pleasantness were called the Gardens of *Panama*.

CHAP. 14.

1685.

April.

Bay of  
Panama.

In this situation things remained till near the end of May, the Buccaneers in daily expectation of seeing the fleet from *Lima*, of which it is now time to speak.

## C H A P. XV.

*Edward Davis Commander. Meeting of the Spanish and Buccaneer Fleets in the Bay of Panama. They separate without fighting. The Buccaneers sail to the Island Quibo. The English and French separate. Expedition against the City of Leon. That City and Ria Lexa burnt. Farther dispersion of the Buccaneers.*

CHAP. 15.

1685.

May.

Bay of  
Panama.The  
Lima Fleet  
arrives at  
Panama.

THE Viceroy of *Peru* judged the Fleet he had collected, to be strong enough to encounter the Buccaneers, and did not fear to trust the treasure to its protection; but he gave directions to the Commander of the Fleet to endeavour to avoid a meeting with them until after the treasure should be safely landed. In pursuance of this plan, the Spanish Admiral, as he drew near the *Bay of Panama*, kept more Westward than the usual course, and fell in with the coast of *Veragua* to the West of the *Punta Mula*. Afterwards, he entered the *Bay* with his fleet keeping close to the West shore; and to place the treasure out of danger as soon as possible, he landed it at *Lavelia*, thinking it most probable his fleet would be descried by the enemy before he could reach *Panama*, which must have happened if the weather had not been thick, or if the Buccaneers had kept a sharper look-out by stationing tenders across the entrance of the *Bay*. In consequence of this being neglected, the Spanish fleet arrived and anchored before the city of *Panama* without having been perceived by them, and immediately on their arrival, the crews of the ships were reinforced with a number of European seamen who had purposely been sent over land from *Porto Bello*. Thus strengthened, and the treasure

treasure being placed out of danger, the Spanish Admiral took up his anchors, and stood from the road before *Panama* towards the middle of the Bay, in quest of the Buccaneers.

May the 28th, the morning was rainy: the Buccaneer fleet was lying at anchor near the Island *Pacheca*, the Northernmost of the *Pearl Islands*. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the weather cleared up, when the Spanish fleet appeared in sight about three leagues distant from them to the WNW. The wind was light from the Southward, and they were standing sharp trimmed towards the Buccaneers.

Lussan dates this their meeting with the Spanish Fleet, to be on June the 7th. Ten days alteration of the style had taken place in *France* three years before, and no alteration of style had yet been adopted in *England*.

The Buccaneer fleet was composed of ten sail of vessels, of different sizes, manned with 960 men, almost all Europeans; but, excepting the Batchelor's Delight and the Cygnet, none of their vessels had cannon. Edward Davis was regarded as the Admiral. His ship mounted 36 guns, and had a crew of 156 men, most of them English; but as he was furnished with a French commission, and *France* was still at war with *Spain*, he carried aloft a white flag, in which was painted a hand and sword. Swan's ship had 16 guns, with a crew of 140 men, all English, and carried a Saint George's flag at her main-topmast head. The rest of their fleet was well provided with small-arms, and the crews were dexterous in the use of them. Grognet's ship was the most powerful, except in cannon, her crew consisting of 308 men.

The Spanish fleet numbered fourteen sail, six of which were provided with cannon; six others with musketry only, and two were fitted up as fire-ships. The buccaneer accounts say the Spanish Admiral had 48 guns mounted, and 450 men; the Vice-

CHAP. 15.

1685.

May.

Bay of  
Panama.

28th.

Meeting of  
the two  
Fleets.Force of  
the  
Buccaneers.Force of the  
Spanish  
Fleet.

CHAP. 15. Admiral 40 guns, and men in proportion; the Rear-Admiral  
 1685. 36 guns, one of the other ships 24, one 18, and one 8 guns;  
 May. and that the number of men in their fleet was above 2500;  
 Bay of but more than one half of them Indians or slaves.  
 Panama.

When the two fleets first had sight of each other, Grognet's ship lay at anchor a mile to leeward of his confederates, on which account he weighed anchor, and stood close upon a wind to the Eastward, intending to turn up to the other ships; but in endeavouring to tack, he missed stays twice, which kept him at a distance all the fore part of the day. From the superiority of the Spaniards in cannon, and of the buccaneer crews in musketry, it was evident that distant fighting was most to the advantage of the Spaniards; and that the Buccaneers had to rest their hopes of success on close fighting and boarding. Davis was fully of this opinion, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy's fleet being directly to leeward and not far distant, he got his vessels under sail and bore right down upon them, making a signal at the same time to Grognet to board the Spanish Vice-Admiral, who was some distance separate from the other ships of his fleet.

Here may be contemplated the Buccaneers at the highest pitch of elevation to which they at any time attained. If they obtained the victory, it would give them the sole dominion of the *South Sea*; and Davis, the buccaneer Commander, aimed at no less; but he was ill seconded, and was not possessed of authority to enforce obedience to his commands.

The order given to Grognet was not put in execution, and when Davis had arrived with his ship within cannon-shot of the Spaniards, Swan shortened sail and lowered his ensign, to signify he was of opinion that it would be best to postpone fighting till the next day. Davis wanting the support of two of the most able ships of his fleet, was obliged to forego his intention,



intention, and no act of hostility passed during the afternoon and evening except the exchange of some shot between his own ship and that of the Spanish Vice-Admiral.

CHAP. 15.

1685.

May.

Bay of  
Panama.

When it was dark, the Spanish fleet anchored, and at the same time, the Spanish Admiral took in his light, and ordered a light to be shewn from one of his small vessels, which he sent to leeward. The Buccaneers were deceived by this artifice, believing the light they saw to be that of the Spanish Admiral, and they continued under sail, thinking themselves secure of the weather-gage. At daylight the next morning the Spaniards were seen well collected, whilst the buccaneer vessels were much dispersed; Grognet and Townley were to windward of the Spaniards; but all the rest, contrary to what they had expected, were to leeward. At sunrise, the Spanish fleet got under sail and bore down towards the leeward buccaneer ships. The Buccaneers thought it not prudent to fight under such disadvantages, and did not wait to receive them. They were near the small Island *Pacheca*, on the South side of which are some Islands yet smaller. Among these Islands, Dampier says, is a narrow channel in one part not forty feet wide. Townley, being pressed by the Spaniards and in danger of being intercepted, pushed for this passage without any previous examination of the depth of water, and got safe through. Davis and Swan, whose ships were the fastest sailing in either fleet, had the credit of affording protection to their flying companions, by waiting to repulse the most advanced of the Spaniards. Dampier, who was in Davis's ship, says, she was pressed upon by the whole Spanish force. 'The Spanish Admiral and the rest of his squadron began to play at us and we at them as fast as we could: yet they kept at distant cannonading. They might have laid us aboard if they would, but they came not within small-arms shot, intending to maul

29th.

CHAP. 15. ' us in pieces with their great guns.' After a circuitous chase  
 1685. and running fight, which lasted till the evening, the Buccaneers,  
 May. Harris's ship excepted, which had been forced to make off in a  
 Bay of different direction, anchored by the Island *Pacheca*, nearly in  
 Panama. the same spot whence they had set out in the morning.

30th. On the 30th, at daylight, the Spanish fleet was seen at anchor  
 three leagues to leeward. The breeze was faint, and both fleets lay  
 quiet till ten o'clock in the forenoon. The wind then freshened  
 a little from the South, and the Spaniards took up their  
 anchors; but instead of making towards the Buccaneers, they  
 sailed away in a disgraceful manner for *Panama*. Whether they  
 sustained any loss in this skirmishing does not appear. The  
 Buccaneers had only one man killed outright. In Davis's ship,  
 six men were wounded, and half of her rudder was shot away.

The two  
 Fleets  
 separate.

It might seem to those little acquainted with the management  
 of ships that it could make no material difference whether  
 the Spaniards bore down to engage the Buccaneers, or the  
 Buccaneers bore down to engage the Spaniards; for that  
 in either case when the fleets were closed, the Buccaneers  
 might have tried the event of boarding. But the difference  
 here was, that if the Buccaneers had the weather-gage, it  
 enabled them to close with the enemy in the most speedy  
 manner, which was of much consequence where the disparity in  
 the number of cannon was so great. When the Spaniards had the  
 weather-gage, they would press the approach only near enough  
 to give effect to their cannon, and not near enough for musketry  
 to do them mischief. With this view, they could choose their  
 distance when to stop and bring their broadsides to bear, and  
 leave to the Buccaneers the trouble of making nearer approach,  
 against the wind and a heavy cannonade. Dampier, who has  
 related the transactions of the 28th and 29th very briefly, speaks  
 of the weather-gage here as a decisive advantage. He says,  
 " In

" In the morning (of the 29th) therefore, when we found the enemy had got the weather-gage of us, and were coming upon us with full sail, we ran for it."

CHAP. 15.

1685.

May.

Bay of  
Panama.

On this occasion there is no room for commendation on the valour of either party. The Buccaneers, however, knew, by the Spanish fleet coming to them from *Panama*, that the treasure must have been landed, and therefore they could have had little motive for enterprise. The meeting was faintly sought by both sides, and no battle was fought, except a little cannonading during the retreat of the Buccaneers, which on their side was almost wholly confined to the ship of their Commander. Both Dampier and Lussan acknowledge that Edward Davis brought the whole of the buccaneer fleet off safe from the Spaniards by his courage and good management.

On June the 1st, the Buccaneers sailed out of the *Bay of Panama* for the Island *Quibo*. They had to beat up against SW winds, and had much wet weather. In the middle of June, they anchored on the East side of *Quibo*, where they were joined by Harris.

June.

*Quibo* and the smaller Islands near it, Dampier calls collectively, the *Keys of Quibo*. They are all woody. Good fresh water was found on the great Island, which would naturally be the case with the wet weather; and here were deer, guanoes, and large black monkeys, whose flesh was esteemed by the Buccaneers to be sweet and wholesome food.

Keys of  
*Quibo*.The Island  
*Quibo*.

A shoal which runs out from the SE point of *Quibo* half a mile into the sea, has been already noticed: a league to the North of this shoal, and a mile distant from the shore, is a rock which appears above water only at the last quarter ebb. Except the shoal, and this rock, there is no other danger; and ships may anchor within a quarter of a mile of the shore, in from six to twelve fathoms clear sand and ooze \*.

Rock near  
the  
Anchorage.

They

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\* Dampier, Vol. I, Chap. 8.

## CHAP. 15.

1685.

June.

At the  
Island  
Quibo.

They stopped at *Quibo* to make themselves canoes, the trees there being well suited for the purpose, and some so large that a single trunk hollowed and wrought into shape, would carry forty or fifty men. Whilst this work was performing, a strong party was sent to the main-land against *Pueblo Nuevo*, which town was now entered without opposition; but no plunder was obtained.

Serpents.

The  
Serpent  
Berry.

Lussan relates that two of the Buccaneers were killed by serpents at *Quibo*. He says, 'here are serpents whose bite is so venemous that speedy death inevitably ensues, unless the patient can have immediate recourse to a certain fruit, which must be chewed and applied to the part bitten. The tree which bears this fruit grows here, and in other parts of *America*. It resembles the almond-tree in *France* in height and in its leaves. The fruit is like the sea chesnut (*Chataines de Mer*) but is of a grey colour, rather bitter in taste, and contains in its middle a whitish almond. The whole is to be chewed together before it is applied. It is called (*Graine à Serpent*) the Serpent Berry.'

July.  
Disagree-  
ments  
among the  
Buccaneers.

The dissatisfaction caused by their being foiled in the *Bay of Panama*, broke out in reproaches, and produced great disagreements among the Buccaneers. Many blamed Grognet for not coming into battle the first day. On the other hand, Lussan blames the behaviour of the English, who, he says, being the greater number, lorded it over the French; that Townley, liking Grognet's ship better than his own, would have insisted on a change, if the French had not shown a determination to resist such an imposition. Another cause of complaint against the English was, the indecent and irreverent manner in which they shewed their hatred to the Roman Catholic religion. Lussan says, 'When they entered the Spanish churches, it was their diversion to hack and mutilate every thing with their cutlasses, and to fire their muskétts and pistols at the images of

‘ of the Saints.’ In consequence of these disagreements, 330 of the French joined together under Grognet, and separated from the English.

CHAP. 15.  
1685.

The French  
separate  
from the  
English.  
Knight, a  
Buccaneer  
Commander,  
joins Davis.

Before either of the parties had left *Quibo*, William Knight, a Buccaneer already mentioned, arrived there in a ship manned with 40 Englishmen and 11 Frenchmen. This small crew of Buccaneers had crossed the *Isthmus* about nine months before; they had been cruising both on the coast of *New Spain* and on the coast of *Peru*; and the sum of their successes amounted to their being provided with a good vessel and a good stock of provisions. They had latterly been to the Southward, where they learnt that the *Lima* fleet had sailed against the Buccaneers before *Panama*, which was the first notice they received of other Buccaneers than themselves being in the *South Sea*. On the intelligence, they immediately sailed for the *Bay of Panama*, that they might be present and share in the capture of the Spaniards, which they believed would inevitably be the result of a meeting. On arriving in the *Bay of Panama*, they learnt what really had happened: nevertheless, they proceeded to *Quibo* in search of their friends. The Frenchmen in Knight's ship left her to join their countrymen: Knight and the rest of the crew, put themselves under the command of Davis.

The ship commanded by Harris, was found to be in a decayed state and untenantable. Another vessel was given to him and his crew; but the whole company were so much crowded for want of ship room, that a number remained constantly in canoes. One of the canoes which they built at *Quibo* measured 36 feet in length, and between 5 and 6 feet in width.

Davis and the English party, having determined to attack the city of *Leon* in the province of *Nicaragua*, sent an invitation to the French Buccaneers to rejoin them. The French had



CHAP. 15. had only one ship, which was far from sufficient to contain  
 1685. their whole number, and they demanded, as a condition of  
 July. their uniting again with the English, that another vessel should  
 At the be given to themselves. The English could ill spare a ship, and  
 Island would not agree to the proposition; the separation therefore  
 Quibo. was final. Jean Rose, a Frenchman, with fourteen of his coun-  
 trymen, in a new canoe they had built for themselves, left  
 Grognet to try their fortunes under Davis.

In this, and in other separations which subsequently took place among the Buccaneers, it has been thought the most clear and convenient arrangement of narrative, to follow the fortunes of the buccaneer Commander Edward Davis and his adherents, without interruption, to the conclusion of their adventures in the *South Sea*; and afterwards to resume the proceedings of the other adventurers.

Proceed-  
 ings of  
 Edward  
 Davis.

August.  
 Expedition  
 against  
 the City of  
 Leon.

On the 20th of July, Davis with eight vessels and 640 men, departed from the Island *Quibo* for *Ria Lexa*, sailing through the channel between *Quibo* and the main-land, and along the coast of the latter, which was low and overgrown with thick woods, and appeared thin of inhabitants. August the 9th, at eight in the morning, the ships being then so far out in the offing that they could not be descried from the shore, Davis with 520 men went away in 31 canoes for the harbour of *Ria Lexa*. They set out with fair weather; but at two in the afternoon, a tornado came from the land, with thunder, lightning, and rain, and with such violent gusts of wind that the canoes were all obliged to put right before it, to avoid being overwhelmed by the billows. Dampier remarks generally of the hot latitudes, as Lussan does of the *Pacific Ocean*, that the sea there is soon raised by the wind, and when the wind abates is soon down again. *Up Wind Up Sea, Down Wind Down Sea*, is proverbial between the tropics among seamen. The fierceness of the  
 tornado

tornado continued about half an hour, after which the wind gradually abated, and the canoes again made towards the land. At seven in the evening it was calm, and the sea quite smooth. During the night, the Buccaneers, having the direction of a Spanish pilot, entered a narrow creek which led towards *Leon*; but the pilot could not undertake to proceed up till daylight, lest he should mistake, there being several creeks communicating with each other.

CHAP. 15.

1685.

August.

Proceed-  
ings of  
Edw. Davis.

The city of *Leon* bordered on the Lake of *Nicaragua*, and was reckoned twenty miles within the sea coast. They went only a part of this distance by the river, when Davis, leaving sixty men to guard the canoes, landed with the rest and marched towards the city, two miles short of which they passed through an Indian town. *Leon* had a cathedral and three other churches. It was not fortified, and the Spaniards, though they drew up their force in the Great Square or Parade, did not think themselves strong enough to defend the place. About three in the afternoon, the Buccaneers entered, and the Spaniards retired.

Leon.

All the Buccaneers who landed did not arrive at *Leon* that same day. According to their ability for the march, Davis had disposed his men into divisions. The foremost was composed of all the most active, who marched without delay for the town, the other divisions following as speedily as they were able. The rear division being of course composed of the worst travellers, some of them could not keep pace even with their own division. They all came in afterwards except two, one of whom was killed, and the other taken prisoner. The man killed was a stout grey-headed old man of the name of Swan, aged about 34 years, who had served under Cromwell, and had ever since made privateering or buccaneering his occupation. This veteran would not be dissuaded from going on the enterprise against

VOL. IV.

B R

*Leon*;

CHAP. 15.

1685.

August.

Proceed-  
ings of  
Edw. Davis.

*Leon*; but his strength failed in the march; and after being left in the road, he was found by the Spaniards, who endeavoured to make him their prisoner; but he refused to surrender, and fired his musket amongst them, having in reserve a pistol still charged; on which he was shot dead.

The houses in *Leon* were large, built of stone, but not high, with gardens about them. 'Some have recommended *Leon* as the most pleasant place in all *America*; and for health and pleasure it does surpass most places. The country round is of a sandy soil, which soon drinks up the rains to which these parts are much subject\*.'

*Leon* burnt  
by the  
Buccaneers.

The Buccaneers being masters of the city, the Governor sent a flag of truce to treat for its ransom. They demanded 300,000 dollars, and as much provision as would subsist 1000 men four months: also that the Buccaneer taken prisoner should be exchanged. These demands it is probable the Spaniards never intended to comply with; however they prolonged the negotiation, till the Buccaneers suspected it was for the purpose of collecting force. Therefore, on the 14th, they set fire to the city, and returned to the coast. The town of *Ria Lexa* underwent a similar fate, contrary to the intention of the Buccaneer Commander.

*Ria Lexa*.

*Ria Lexa* is unwholesomely situated in a plain among creeks and swamps, 'and is never free from a noisome smell.' The soil is a strong yellow clay; in the neighbourhood of the town were many sugar-works and beef-farms; pitch, tar, and cordage were made here; with all which commodities the inhabitants carried on a good trade. The Buccaneers supplied themselves with as much as they wanted of these articles, besides which, they received at *Ria Lexa* 150 head of cattle from a Spanish gentleman, who had been released upon his parole, and promise

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\* Dampier.

mise of making such payment for his ransom ; their own man who had been made prisoner was redeemed in exchange for a Spanish lady, and they found in the town 500 packs of flour ; which circumstances might have put the Buccaneers in good temper and have induced them to spare the town ; ‘ but,’ says Dampier, ‘ some of our destructive crew, I know not by whose order, set fire to the houses, and we marched away and left them burning.’

CHAP. 15.

1685.

August.

Town of  
Ria Lexa  
burnt.

After the *Leon* expedition, no object of enterprise occurred to them of sufficient magnitude to induce or to enable them to keep together in such large force. Dispersed in small bodies, they expected a better chance of procuring both subsistence and plunder. By general consent therefore, the confederacy which had been preserved of the English Buccaneers was relinquished, and they formed into new parties according to their several inclinations. Swan proposed to cruise along the coast of *New Spain*, and NW-ward, as far as to the entrance of the *Gulf of California*, and thence to take his departure for the *East Indies*. Townley and his followers agreed to try their fortunes with Swan as long as he remained on the coast of *New Spain* ; after which they proposed to return to the *Isthmus*. In the course of settling these arrangements, William Dampier, being desirous of going to the *East Indies*, took leave of his commander, Edward Davis, and embarked with Swan. Of these, an account will be given hereafter.

Farther  
Separation  
of the  
Buccaneers.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Buccaneers under Edward Davis. At Amapalla Bay; Cocos Island; The Galapagos Islands; Coast of Peru. Peruvian Wine. Knight quits the South Sea. Bezoar Stones. Marine productions on Mountains. Vermejo. Davis joins the French Buccaneers at Guayaquil. Long Sea Engagement.*

CHAP. 16.

1685.

August.

WITH Davis there remained the vessels of Knight and Harris, with a tender, making in all four sail. August the 27th, they sailed from the harbour of *Ria Lexa*, and as they departed Swan saluted them with fifteen guns, to which Davis returned eleven.

Proceedings of the  
Buccaneers  
under  
Edw. Davis.  
Amapalla  
Bay.

A sickness had broken out among Davis's people, which was attributed to the unwholesomeness of the air, or the bad water, at *Ria Lexa*. After leaving the place, the disorder increased, on which account Davis sailed to the *Bay of Amapalla*, where on his arrival he built huts on one of the Islands in the Bay for the accommodation of his sick men, and landed them. Above 130 of the Buccaneers were ill with a spotted fever, and several died.

A hot  
River.

Lionel Wafer was surgeon with Davis, and has given a brief account of his proceedings. Wafer, with some others, went on shore to the mainland on the South side of *Amapalla Bay*, to seek for provisions. They walked to a beef farm which was about three miles from their landing. In the way they crossed a hot river in an open savannah, or plain, which they forded with some difficulty on account of its heat. This river issued from under a hill which was not a volcano, though along the coast there were several. 'I had the curiosity,' says Wafer, 'to  
' wade

‘ wade up the stream as far as I had daylight to guide me.  
 ‘ The water was clear and shallow, but, the steams were like  
 ‘ those of a boiling pot, and my hair was wet with them. The  
 ‘ river reeked without the hill a great way. Some of our men  
 ‘ who had the itch, bathed themselves here, and growing well  
 ‘ soon after, their cure was imputed to the sulphureousness or  
 ‘ other virtue of this water.’ Here were many wolves, who  
 approached so near and so boldly to some who had straggled  
 from the rest of their party, as to give them great alarm, and  
 they did not dare to fire, lest the noise of their guns should  
 bring more wolves about them.

CHAP. 16.

1685.

Amapalla  
Bay.

Davis remained some weeks at *Amapalla Bay*, and departed  
 thence for the Peruvian coast, with the crews of his ships reco-  
 vered. In their way Southward they made *Cocos Island*, and  
 anchored in the harbour at the NE part, where they supplied  
 themselves with excellent fresh water and cocoa-nuts. Wafer  
 has given the description following: ‘ The middle of *Cocos*  
 ‘ *Island* is a steep hill, surrounded with a plain declining to the  
 ‘ sea. This plain is thick set with cocoa-nut trees: but what  
 ‘ contributes greatly to the pleasure of the place is, that a  
 ‘ great many springs of clear and sweet water rising to the top  
 ‘ of the hill, are there gathered as in a deep large bason or  
 ‘ pond, and the water having no channel, it overflows the verge  
 ‘ of its bason in several places, and runs trickling down in  
 ‘ pleasant streams. In some places of its overflowing, the  
 ‘ rocky side of the hill being more than perpendicular, and  
 ‘ hanging over the plain beneath, the water pours down in a  
 ‘ cataract, so as to leave a dry space under the spout, and  
 ‘ form a kind of arch of water. The freshness which the  
 ‘ falling water gives the air in this hot climate makes this a  
 ‘ delightful place. We did not spare the cocoa-nuts. One  
 ‘ day, some of our men being minded to make themselves  
 ‘ merry,

Cocos  
Island.



CHAP. 16.

1685.

Cocos  
Island.Effect of  
Excess in  
drinking the  
Milk of the  
Cocoa-nut.

‘ merry, went ashore and cut down a great many cocoa-nut trees;  
 ‘ from which they gathered the fruit, and drew about twenty  
 ‘ gallons of the milk. They then sat down and drank healths  
 ‘ to the King and Queen, and drank an excessive quantity;  
 ‘ yet it did not end in drunkenness: but this liquor so chilled  
 ‘ and benumbed their nerves that they could neither go nor  
 ‘ stand. Nor could they return on board without the help of  
 ‘ those who had not been partakers of the frolick, nor did they  
 ‘ recover under four or five days’ time \*.’

Here Peter Harris broke off consortship, and departed for the *East Indies*. The tender sailed at the same time, probably following the same route.

At the  
Galapagos  
Islands.

Davis and Knight continued to associate, and sailed together from *Cocos Island* to the *Galapagos*. At one of these Islands they found fresh water; the buccancer Journals do not specify which Island, nor any thing that can be depended upon as certain of its situation. Wafer only says, ‘ From *Cocos* we came  
 ‘ to one of the *Galapagos Islands*. At this Island there was but  
 ‘ one watering-place, and there we careened our ship.’ Dampier was not with them at this time; but in describing the *Galapagos* Isles, he makes the following mention of Davis’s careening place. ‘ Part of what I say of these Islands I had from Captain  
 ‘ Davis, who was there afterwards, and careened his ship at  
 ‘ neither of the Islands that we were at in 1684, but went to  
 ‘ other Islands more to the Westward, which he found to be  
 ‘ good habitable Islands, having a deep fat soil capable of  
 ‘ producing any thing that grows in those climates: they are  
 ‘ well watered, and have plenty of good timber. Captain  
 ‘ Harris came hither likewise, and found some Islands that had  
 ‘ plenty of mammee-trees, and pretty large rivers. They have  
 ‘ good anchoring in many places, so that take the *Galapagos*  
 ‘ Islands

\* *Voyage and Description, &c. by Lionel Wafer*, p. 191, and seq. London, 1699.

\* *Islands by and large*, they are extraordinary good places for ships in distress to seek relief at \*.

CHAP. 16.

1685.

At the  
Galapagos  
Islands.

Wafer has not given the date of this visit, which was the second made by Davis to the *Galapagos*; but as he stopped several weeks in the *Gulf of Amapalla* for the recovery of his sick, and afterwards made some stay at *Cocos Island*, it must have been late in the year, if not after the end, when he arrived at the *Galapagos*, and it is probable, during, or immediately after, a rainy season.

The account published by Wafer, excepting what relates to the *Isthmus of Darien*, consists of short notices set down from recollection, and occupying in the whole not above fifty duodecimo pages. He mentions a tree at the Island of the *Galapagos* where they careened, like a pear-tree, 'low and not shrubby, very sweet in smell, and full of very sweet gum.'

Davis and Knight took on board their ships 500 packs or sacks of flour from the stores which had formerly been deposited at the *Galapagos*. The birds had devoured some, in consequence of the bags having been left exposed.

From the *Galapagos*, they sailed to the coast of *Peru*, and cruised in company till near the end of 1686. They captured many vessels, which they released after plundering; and attacked several towns along the coast. They had sharp engagements with the Spaniards at *Guasco*, and at *Pisco*, the particulars of which are not related; but they plundered both the towns. They landed also at *La Nasca*, a small port on the coast of *Peru* in latitude about 15° S, at which place they furnished themselves with a stock of wine. Wafer says, 'This is a rich strong wine, in taste much like Madeira. It is brought down out of the country to be shipped for *Lima* and *Panama*. Sometimes it is kept here many years stopped up in jars, of about eight gallons each: the jars were under no shelter, but exposed

1686.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.

Peruvian  
Wine like  
Madeira.

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\* *Dampier. Manuscript Journal.*

CHAP. 16. 'exposed to the scorching sun, being placed along the bay  
 1686. 'and between the rocks, every merchant having his own wine  
 'marked.' It could not well have been placed more conveniently for the Buccaneers.

On the  
Coast of  
Peru.

They landed at *Coquimbo*, which Wafer describes 'a large town with nine churches.' What they did there is not said. Wafer mentions a small river that emptied itself in a bay, three miles from the town, in which, up the country, the Spaniards get gold. 'The sands of the river by the sea, and round the whole Bay, are all bespangled with particles of gold; insomuch that in travelling along the sandy bays, our people were covered with a fine gold-dust, but too fine for any profit, for it would be an endless work to pick it up.'

Statistical accounts of the Viceroyalty of *Peru*, which during a succession of years were printed annually at the end of the *Lima Almanack*, notice the towns of *Santa Maria de la Perilla*, *Guasca*, *Santiago de Miraflores*, *Cañete*, *Pisco*, *Huara*, and *Guayaquil*, being sacked and in part destroyed by pirates, in the years 1685, 1686, and 1687.

At Juan  
Fernandez.

Davis and Knight having made much booty (*Lussan* says so much that the share of each man amounted to 5000 pieces of eight), they went to the Island *Juan Fernandez* to refit, intending to sail thence for the *West Indies*: but before they had recruited and prepared the ships for the voyage round the South of *America*, Fortune made a new distribution of their plunder. Many lost all their money at play, and they could not endure, after so much peril, to quit the *South Sea* empty handed, but resolved to revisit the coast of *Peru*. The more fortunate party embarked with Knight for the *West Indies*.

Knight  
quits the  
South Sea.

Davis  
returns to  
the Coast  
of Peru.

The luckless residue, consisting of sixty Englishmen, and twenty Frenchmen, with Edward Davis at their head, remained with the Batchelor's Delight to begin their work afresh. They sailed from *Juan Fernandez* for the American coast, which they made

made as far South as the Island *Mocha*. By traffic with the inhabitants, they procured among other provisions, a number of the Llama or Peruvian sheep. Wafer relates, that out of the stomach of one of these sheep he took thirteen Bezoar stones of several forms, 'some resembling coral, some round, and all 'green when first taken out; but by long keeping they turned 'of an ash colour.'

CHAP. 16.

1687.

Coast of  
Peru.  
Bezoar  
Stones,

In latitude 26° S, wanting fresh water, they made search for the River *Copiapo*. They landed and ascended the hills in hopes of discovering it. According to Wafer's computation they went eight miles within the coast, ascending mountain beyond mountain till they were a full mile in perpendicular height above the level of the sea. They found the ground there covered with sand and sea-shells, 'which,' says Wafer, 'I the 'more wondered at, because there were no shell-fish, nor could 'I ever find any shells, on any part of the sea-coast hereabouts, 'though I have looked for them in many places.' They did not discover the river they were in search of; but shortly afterwards, they landed at *Arica*, which they plundered; and at the River *Ylo*, where they took in fresh water. At *Arica* was a house full of Jesuits' bark. Wafer relates, 'We also put ashore at *Vermejo*, in '10° S latitude. I was one of those who landed to see for water. 'We marched about four miles up a sandy bay, which we found 'covered with the bodies of men, women, and children. These 'bodies to appearance, seemed as if they had not been above 'a week dead; but if touched, they proved dry and light as a 'sponge or piece of cork. We were told by an old Spanish 'Indian whom we met, that in his father's time, the soil there, 'which now yielded nothing, was well cultivated and fruitful: 'that the city of *Wormia* had been so numerously inhabited 'with Indians, that they could have banded a fish from hand 'to hand until it had come to the Inca's hand. But that

Marine  
Productions  
found on  
Mountains.

Vermejo.

CHAP. 16.

1687.

Coast of  
Peru.

‘ when the Spaniards came and laid siege to their city, the  
 ‘ Indians, rather than yield to their mercy, dug holes in the  
 ‘ sand and buried themselves alive. The men as they now  
 ‘ lie, have by them their broken bows; and the women their  
 ‘ spinning-wheels and distaffs with cotton yarn upon them. Of  
 ‘ these dead bodies I brought on board a boy of about ten  
 ‘ years of age with an intent to bring him to *England*; but was  
 ‘ frustrated of my purpose by the sailors, who had a foolish  
 ‘ conceit that the compass would not traverse right whilst  
 ‘ there was a dead body on board, so they threw him over-  
 ‘ board to my great vexation\*.’

April.

Near this part of the coast of *Peru*, in April 1687, Davis had a severe action with a Spanish frigate, named the *Katalina*, in which the drunkenness of his crew gave opportunity to the Spanish Commander, who had made a stout defence, to run his ship ashore upon the coast. They fell in with many other Spanish vessels, which, after plundering, they dismissed.

Shortly after the engagement with the Spanish frigate *Katalina*, Davis made a descent at *Payta*, to seek refreshments for his wounded men, and surprised there a courier with dispatches from the Spanish Commander at *Guayaquil* to the Viceroy at *Lima*, by which he learnt that a large body of English and French Buccaneers had attacked, and were then in possession of, the town of *Guayaquil*. The Governor had been taken prisoner by the Buccaneers, and the Deputy or next in authority, made pressing instances for speedy succour, in his letter to the Viceroy, which, according to Lussau, contained the following passage: ‘ *The time has expired some days*  
 ‘ *which was appointed for the ransom of our prisoners. I amuse*  
 ‘ *the enemy with the hopes of some thousands of pieces of eight, and*  
 ‘ *they have sent me the heads of four of our prisoners: but if they*  
 ‘ *send*

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\* *Wager's Voyages*, p. 208.



‘ send me fifty, I should esteem it less prejudicial than our suffering  
 ‘ these ruffians to live. If your Excellency will hasten the arma-  
 ‘ ment to our assistance, here will be a fair opportunity to rid  
 ‘ ourselves of them.’

CHAP. 16.

1687.

May.

Upon this news, and the farther intelligence that Spanish ships of war had been dispatched from *Callao* to the relief of *Guayaquil*, Davis sailed for that place, and, on May the 14th, arrived in the *Bay of Guayaquil*, where he found many of his old confederates ; for these were the French Buccaneers who had separated from him under Grognet, and the English who had gone with Townley. Those two leaders had been overtaken by the perils of their vocation, and were no more. But whilst in their mortal career, and after their separation from Davis, though they had at one time been adverse almost to hostility against each other, they had met, been reconciled, and had associated together. Townley died first, of a wound he received in battle, and was succeeded in the command of the English by a Buccaneer named George Hout or Hutt. At the attack of *Guayaquil*, Grognet was mortally wounded ; and Le Picard was chosen by the French to succeed him in the command. *Guayaquil* was taken on the 20th of April ; the plunder and a number of prisoners had been conveyed by the Buccaneers to their ships, which were at anchor by the Island *Puna*, when their unwearied good fortune brought Davis to join them.

Davis  
 joins other  
 Buccaneers  
 at  
*Guayaquil*.

The taking of *Guayaquil* by the Buccaneers under Grognet and Hutt will be more circumstantially noticed in the sequel, with other proceedings of the same crews. When Davis joined them, they were waiting with hopes, nearly worn out, of obtaining a large ransom which had been promised them for the town of *Guayaquil*, and for their prisoners.

The information Davis had received made him deem it  
 c c c prudent,



CHAP. 16.

1687.

May.

Near the  
Island  
Puna.

prudent, instead of going to anchor at *Puna*, to remain with his ship on the look-out in the offing; he therefore sent a prize-vessel into the road to acquaint the Buccaneers there of his being near at hand, and that the Spaniards were to be expected shortly.

The captors of *Guayaquil* continued many days after this to wait for ransom. They had some hundreds of prisoners, for whose sakes the Spaniards sent daily to the Buccaneers large supplies of provisions, of which the prisoners could expect to receive only the surplus after the Buccaneers should be satisfied. At length, the Spaniards sent 42,000 pieces of eight, the most part in gold, and eighty packages of flour. The sum was far short of the first agreement, and the Buccaneers at *Puna*, to make suitable return, released only a part of the prisoners, reserving for a subsequent settlement those of the most consideration.

26th.

Meeting  
between  
Spanish  
Ships of  
War  
and the  
Buccaneers.

On the 26th, they quitted the road of *Puna*, and joined Davis. In the evening of the same day, two large Spanish ships came in sight. Davis's ship mounted 36 guns; and her crew, which had been much diminished by different engagements, was immediately reinforced with 80 men from *Le Picard's* party. Besides Davis's ship, the Buccaneers had only a small ship and a *barca-longa* fit to come into action. Their prize vessels which could do no service, were sent for security into shallow water.

A Sea  
Engage-  
ment of  
seven days.

On the morning of the 27th, the Buccaneers and Spaniards were both without the Island *S<sup>a</sup> Clara*. The Spaniards were the farthest out at sea, and had the sea-breeze first, with which they bore down till about noon, when being just within the reach of cannon-shot, they hauled upon a wind, and began a distant cannonade, which was continued till evening: the two parties

parties then drew off to about a league asunder, and anchored for the night. On the morning of the 28th, they took up their anchors, and the day was spent in distant firing, and in endeavours to gain or to keep the wind of each other. The same kind of mœuvring and distant firing was put in practice on each succeeding day, till the evening of the 2d of June, which completed the seventh day of this obstinate engagement. The Spanish Commander, being then satisfied that he had fought long enough, and hopeless of prevailing on the enemy to yield, withdrew in the night. On the morning of the 3d, the Buccaneers were surprised, and not displeased, at finding no enemy in sight.

CHAP. 16.  
1687.

June.

The  
Spaniards  
retire.

During all this fighting, the Buccaneers indulged their vanity by keeping the Governor of *Guayaquil*, and other prisoners of distinction, upon deck, to witness the superiority of their management over that of the Spaniards. It was not indeed a post of much danger, for in the whole seven days battle, not one Buccaneer was killed, and only two or three were wounded.

It may be some apology for the Spanish Commander, that in consequence of Davis's junction with the captors of *Guayaquil*, he found a much greater force to contend with than he had been taught to expect. Fortune had been peculiarly unfavourable to the Spaniards on this occasion. Three ships of force had been equipped and sent in company against the Buccaneers at *Guayaquil*. One of them, the *Katalina*, by accident was separated from the others, and fell in with Davis, by whom she was driven on the coast, where she stranded. The Spanish armament thus weakened one-third, on arriving in the *Bay of Guayaquil*, found the buccaneer force there increased, by this same Davis, in a proportion greater than their own had been diminished.

CHAP. 16.

1687.

June.

At the  
Island  
De la Plata.

diminished. Davis and Le Picard left the choice of distance to the Spaniards in this meeting, not considering it their business to come to serious battle unless forced. They had reason to be satisfied with having defended themselves and their plunder; and after the enemy disappeared, finding the coast clear, they sailed to the Island *De la Plata*, where they stopped to repair damages, and to hold council.

They all now inclined homewards. The booty they had made, if it fell short of the expectations of some, was sufficient to make them eager to be where they could use or expend it; but they were not alike provided with the means of returning to the *North Sea*. Davis had a stout ship, and he proposed to go the Southern passage by the *Strait of Magalhanes*, or round *Cape Horne*. No other of the vessels in the possession of the Buccaneers was strong enough for such a voyage. All the French therefore, and many of the English Buccaneers, bent their thoughts on returning overland, an undertaking that would inevitably be attended with much difficulty, encumbered as they were with their plunder, and the Darien Indians having become hostile to them.

Almost all the Frenchmen in Davis's ship, left her to join their countrymen, and many of the English from their party embarked with Davis. All thoughts of farther negotiation with the Spaniards for the ransom of prisoners, were relinquished. Le Picard had given notice on quitting the *Bay of Guayaquil*, that payment would be expected for the release of the remaining prisoners, and that the Buccaneers would wait for it at *Cape Santa Elena*; but they had passed that *Cape*, and it was apprehended that if they returned thither, instead of receiving ransom, they might find the Spanish ships of war, come to renew the attack on them under other Commanders,

manders. On the 10th, they landed their prisoners on the Continent.

CHAP. 16.

1687.

June.

Division of  
Plunder.

The next day they shared the plunder taken at *Guayaquil*. The jewels and ornaments could not well be divided, nor could their value be estimated to general satisfaction: neither could they agree upon a standard proportion between the value of gold and silver. Every man was desirous to receive for his share such parts of the spoil as were most portable, and this was more especially of importance to those who intended to march overland. The value of gold was so much enhanced that an ounce of gold was received in lieu of eighty dollars, and a Spanish pistole went for fifteen dollars; but these instances probably took place in settling their gaming accounts. In the division of the plunder these difficulties were obviated by a very ingenious and unobjectionable mode of distribution. The silver was first divided: the other articles were then put up to auction, and bid for in pieces of eight; and when all were so disposed of, a second division was made of the silver produced by the sale.

Davis and his company were not present at the taking of *Guayaquil*, but the services they had rendered, had saved both the plunder and the plunderers, and gave them a fair claim to share. Neither Wafer nor Lussan speak to this point, from which it may be inferred that every thing relating to the division was settled among them amicably, and that Davis and his men had no reason to be dissatisfied. Lussan gives a loose statement of the sum total and of the single shares. ‘Notwithstanding that these things were sold so dearly, we shared for the taking of *Guayaquil* only 400 pieces of eight to each man, which would make in the whole about fifteen hundred thousand *livres*.’ The number of Buccaneers with Grognet and

CHAP. 16. and Hutt immediately previous to the attack of *Guayaquil*,  
1687. was 304. Davis's crew at the time he separated from Knight,  
June. consisted of eighty men. He had afterwards lost men in  
several encounters, and it is probable the whole number  
present at the sharing of the plunder of *Guayaquil* was short  
of three hundred and fifty. Allowing the extra shares to officers  
to have been 150, making the whole number of shares 500, the  
amount of the plunder will fall short of Lussan's estimate.

They  
separate to  
return home  
by different  
Routes.  
On the 12th, the two parties finally took leave of each other  
and separated, bound by different routes for the *Atlantic*.

## CHAP. XVII.

Edward Davis; *his Third visit to the Galapagos. One of those Islands, named Santa Maria de l'Aguada by the Spaniards, a Careening Place of the Buccaneers. Sailing thence Southward they discover Land. Question, whether Edward Davis's Discovery is the Land which was afterwards named Easter Island? Davis and his Crew arrive in the West Indies.*

DAVIS again sailed to the *Galapagos Islands*, to victual and refit his ship. Lionel Wafer was still with him, and appears to have been one of those to whom fortune had been most unpropitious. Wafer does not mention either the joining company with the French Buccaneers, or the plunder of *Guayaquil*; and particularises few of his adventures. He says, 'I shall not pursue all my coasting along the shore of *Peru* with Captain Davis. We continued rambling about to little purpose, sometimes at sea, sometimes ashore, till having spent much time and visited many places, we were got again to the *Galapagos*; from whence we were determined to make the best of our way out of these seas.'

CHAP. 17.

1687.

Davis sails to the Galapagos Islands.

At the *Galapagos* they again careened; and there they victualled the ship, taking on board a large supply of flour, curing fish, salting flesh of the land turtle for sea store; and they saved as much of the oil of the land turtle as filled sixty jars (of eight gallons each) which proved excellent, and was thought not inferior to fresh butter.

Captain Colnet was at the *Galapagos Isles* in the years 1793 and 1794, and found traces, still fresh, which marked the haunts of the Buccaneers. He says, 'At every place where we landed

VOL. IV.

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' on



CHAP. 17.

1687.

At the  
Galapagos  
Islands.King  
James's  
Island.

‘ on the Western side of *King James's Isle*, we might have  
 ‘ walked for miles through long grass and beneath groves of  
 ‘ trees. It only wanted a stream to compose a very charming  
 ‘ landscape. This Isle appears to have been a favourite resort  
 ‘ of the Buccaneers, as we found seats made by them of earth  
 ‘ and stone, and a considerable number of broken jars scattered  
 ‘ about, and some whole, in which the Peruvian wine and  
 ‘ liquors of the country are preserved. We also found daggers,  
 ‘ nails, and other implements. The watering-place of the  
 ‘ Buccaneers was at this time (the latter part of April or begin-  
 ‘ ning of May) entirely dried up, and there was only found a  
 ‘ small rivulet between two hills running into the sea; the  
 ‘ Northernmost of which hills forms the South point of *Fresh*  
 ‘ *Water Bay*. There is plenty of wood, but that near the shore  
 ‘ is not large enough for other use than fire-wood. In the  
 ‘ mountains the trees may be larger, as they grow to the  
 ‘ summits. I do not think the watering-place we saw is the  
 ‘ only one on the Island, and I have no doubt, if wells were  
 ‘ dug any where beneath the hills, and not near the lagoon  
 ‘ behind the sandy beach, that fresh water would be found in  
 ‘ great plenty\*.’

Since Captain Colnet's Voyage, Captain David Porter of the  
 American United States' frigate *Essex*, has seen and given  
 descriptions of the *Galapagos Islands*. He relates an anecdote  
 which accords with Captain Colnet's opinion of there being  
 fresh water at *King James's Island*. He landed, on its West  
 side, four goats (one male and three female) and some sheep,  
 to graze. As they were tame and of their own accord kept near  
 the landing-place, they were left every night without a keeper,  
 and water was carried to them in the morning. ‘ But one morning,  
 ‘ after they had been on the Island several days and nights,  
 ‘ the

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\* *Colnet's Voyage to the Pacific*, pp. 156-7.

‘ the person who attended them went on shore as usual to give them water, but no goats were to be found : they had all as with one accord disappeared. Several persons were sent to search after them for two or three days, but without success.’ Captain Porter concluded that they had found fresh water in the interior of the Island; and chose to remain near it. ‘ One fact,’ he says, ‘ was noticed by myself and many others, the day preceding their departure, which must lead us to believe that something more than chance directed their movements, which is, that they all drank an unusual quantity of water on that day, as though they had determined to provide themselves with a supply to enable them to reach the mountains \*.’

CHAP. 17.  
1687.  
At the  
Galapagos  
Islands.

Davis and his men had leisure for search and to make every kind of experiment; but no one of his party has given any description or account of what was transacted at the *Galapagos* in this his third visit. Light, however, has been derived from late voyages.

It has been generally believed, but not till lately ascertained, that Davis passed most of the time he was amongst the *Galapagos*, at an Island which the Spaniards have designated by the name of *S<sup>ta</sup> Maria de l'Aguada*, concerning the situation of which the Spaniards as well as geographers of other countries have disagreed. A Spanish pilot reported to Captain Woodes Rogers that *S<sup>ta</sup> Maria de l'Aguada* lay by itself, (i. e. was not one of a groupe of Islands) in latitude  $1^{\circ} 20'$  or  $1^{\circ} 30' S$ , was a pleasant Island, well stocked with wood, and with plenty of fresh water †. Moil, DeVaugondy, and others, combining the accounts  
given

The Island  
*S<sup>ta</sup> Maria de  
l'Aguada*,  
a Carcening  
Place of the  
Buccancers.

\* *Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, by Captain David Porter, in the years 1812-13 & 1814.*

† *Cruising Voyage round the World, by Captain Woodes Rogers, in the years 1708 to 1711, pp. 211 and 265, 2d edition. London, 1718.*

CHAP. 17. given by Dampier and Woodes Rogers, have placed a *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada* several degrees to the Westward of the whole of Cowley's groupe. Don Antonio de Ulloa, on the contrary, has laid it down as one of the *Galapagos Isles*, but among the most South-eastern of the whole groupe. More consonant with recent information, Pascoe Thomas, who sailed round the world with Commodore Anson, has given from a Spanish manuscript the situations of different Islands of the *Galapagos*, and among them that of *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada*. The most Western in the Spanish list published by Thomas is named *S<sup>a</sup> Margarita*, and is the same with the *Albemarle Island* in Cowley's chart. The *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada* is set down in the same Spanish list in latitude  $1^{\circ} 10' S$ , and 19 minutes in longitude more East than the longitude given of *S<sup>a</sup> Margarita*, which situation is due South of Cowley's *King James's Island*.

Captain Colnet saw land due South of *King James's Island*, which he did not anchor at or examine, and appears to have mistaken for the *King Charles's Island* of Cowley's chart. On comparing Captain Colnet's chart with Cowley's, it is evident that Captain Colnet has given the name of *Lord Chatham's Isle* to Cowley's *King Charles's Island*, the bearings and distance from the South end of *Albemarle Island* being the same in both, i. e. due East about 20 leagues. It follows that the *Charles Island* of Colnet's chart was not seen by Cowley, and that it is the *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada* of the Spaniards. It has lately been frequented by English and by American vessels employed in the South Sea Whale Fishery, who have found a good harbour on its North side, with wood and fresh water; and marks are yet discoverable that it was formerly a careening place of the buccaneers. Mr. Arrowsmith has added this harbour to Captain Colnet's chart, on the authority of information communicated by the master of a South Sea whaler.

From

From Captain David Porter's Journal, it appears that the watering-place at *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada*, is three miles distant from any part of the sea-shore; and that the supply it yields is not constant. On arriving a second time at the *Galapagos*, in the latter part of August, Captain Porter sent a boat on shore to this Island. Captain Porter relates, 'I gave directions that our former watering-places there should be examined, but was informed that they were entirely dried up.'

CHAP. 17.

*S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada.*

Cowley's chart, being original, a buccancer performance, and not wholly out of use, is annexed to this account; with the insertion, in unshaded outline, of the *S Maria de l'Aguada*, according to its situation with respect to *Albemarle Island*, as laid down in the last edition of Captain Colnet's chart, published by Mr. Arrowsmith. This unavoidably makes a difference in the latitude equal to the difference between Cowley's and Captain Colnet's latitude of the South end of *Albemarle Island*. In Captain Colnet's chart, the North end of *S<sup>a</sup> Maria de l'Aguada* is laid down in  $1^{\circ} 15' S$ .

The voyage of the *Essex* gives reasonable expectation of an improved chart of the *Galapagos Isles*, the Rev. Mr. Adams, who sailed as Chaplain in that expedition, having employed himself actively in surveying them.

When the season approached for making the passage round *Cape Horne*, Davis and his company quitted their retreat. The date of their sailing is not given. Wafer relates, 'From the *Galapagos Islands* we went again for the Southward, intending to touch no where till we came to the Island *Juan Fernandez*. In our way thither, being in the latitude of  $12^{\circ} 30' S$ , and about 150 leagues from the main of *America*, about four o'clock in the morning, our ship felt a terrible shock, so sudden and violent that we took it for granted she had struck upon a rock. When the amazement was a little over, we

1687.

Davis sails from the *Galapagos* to the Southward.

' cast

CHAP. 17. 1687. ‘ cast the lead and sounded, but found no ground, so we concluded it must certainly be some earthquake. The sea, which ordinarily looks green, seemed then of a whitish colour; and the water which we took up in the buckets for the ship’s use, we found to be a little mixed with sand. Some time after, we heard that at that very time, there was an earthquake at *Callao*, which did mischief both there and at *Lima*.’

Island discovered by Edw. Davis. ‘ Having recovered our fright, we kept on to the Southward. We steered S b E  $\frac{1}{2}$  Easterly, until we came to the latitude of 27° 20’ S, when about two hours before day, we fell in with a small low sandy Island, and heard a great roaring noise, like that of the sea beating upon the shore, right ahead of the ship. Whereupon, fearing to fall foul upon the shore before day, the ship was put about. So we plied off till day, and then stood in again with the land, which proved to be a small flat Island, without the guard of any rocks. We stood in within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and could see it plainly, for it was a clear morning. To the Westward, about twelve leagues by judgement, we saw a range of high land, which we took to be Islands, for there were several partitions in the prospect. This land seemed to reach about 14 or 16 leagues in a range, and there came thence great flocks of fowls. I, and many of our men would have made this land, and have gone ashore at it, but the Captain would not permit us. The small Island bears from *Copiapo* almost due East [West was intended] 500 leagues, and from the *Galapagos* under the line is distant 600 leagues\*.’

Dampier was not present at this discovery; but he met his old Commander afterwards, and relates information he received concerning it in the following words. ‘ Captain Davis told me lately, that after his departing from us at *Ria Liza*, he went, after

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\* *Wafer's Voyages*, p. 214 & seq.

‘ after several traverses, to the *Galapagos*, and that standing  
 ‘ thence Southward for wind to bring him about the *Tierra del*  
 ‘ *Fuego*, in the latitude of  $27^{\circ}$  S, about 500 leagues from *Copayapo*  
 ‘ on the coast of *Chili*, he saw a small sandy Island just by  
 ‘ him ; and that they saw to the Westward of it a long tract  
 ‘ of pretty high land, tending away toward the NW out  
 ‘ of sight \*.’

CHAP. 17.

1687.

Island  
discovered  
by  
Edw. Davis.

The two preceding paragraphs contain the whole which either in Wafer or Dampier is said concerning this land. The apprehension of being late in the season for the passage round *Cape Horne* seems to have deterred Davis from making examination of his discovery. The latitude and specified distance from *Copayapo* were particulars sufficient to direct future search ; and twenty-five years afterwards, Jacob Roggewein, a Dutch navigator, guided by those marks, found land ; but it being more distant from the American Continent than stated by Davis or Wafer, Roggewein claimed it as a new discovery. A more convenient place for discussing this point, which has been a lasting subject of dispute among geographers, would be in an account of Roggewein’s voyage ; but a few remarks here may be satisfactory.

Question  
whether  
Edward  
Davis’s  
Land and  
Easter  
Island are  
the same  
Land, or  
different.

Wafer kept neither journal nor reckoning, his profession not being that of a mariner ; and from circumstances which occur in Davis’s navigation to the *Atlantic*, it may reasonably be doubted whether a regular reckoning or journal was kept by any person on board ; and whether the 500 leagues distance of the small Island from the American coast mentioned by Davis and Wafer, was other than a conjectured distance. They had no superior by whom a journal of their proceedings would be required or expected. If a regular journal had really been kept, it would most probably have found its way to the press.

Jacob

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\* *Dampier*, Vol. I. Chap. 13, p. 352.



## CHAP. 17.

Question  
concerning  
Davis's  
Land and  
Easter  
Island.

Jacob Roggewein, the Dutch Admiral, was more than any other navigator, willing to give himself the credit of making new discoveries, as the following extracts from the Journal of his expedition will evince. 'We looked for *Hawkins's Maiden Land*, 'but could not find it; but we discovered an Island 200 'leagues in circuit, in latitude  $52^{\circ}$  S, about 200 leagues distant 'to the East of the coast of *South America*, which we named '*Belgia Austral*.' That is as much as to say, Admiral Roggewein could not find *Hawkins's Maiden Land*; but he discovered land on the same spot, which he named *Belgia Austral*. Afterwards, proceeding in the same disposition, the Journal relates, 'We directed our course from *Juan Fernandez* towards *Davis's* 'Land, but to the great astonishment of the Admiral (Roggewein) it was not seen. I think we either missed it, or that 'there is no such land. We went on towards the West, and on 'the anniversary of the Resurrection of our Saviour, we came 'in sight of an Island. We named it *Paaschen* or *Oster Eylandt* '(i. e. Easter Island).'

*Paaschen* or *Easter Island* according to modern charts and observations, is nearly 690 leagues distant from *Copiapo*, which is in the same parallel on the Continent of *America*. The statement of Davis and Wafer makes the distance only 512 leagues, which is a difference of 178 leagues. It is not probable that Davis could have had good information of the longitudes of the *Galapagos Islands* and *Copiapo*; but with every allowance, so large an error as 178 leagues in a run of 600 leagues might be thought incredible, if its possibility had not been demonstrated by a much greater being made by the same persons in this same homeward passage; as will be related. In the latitude and appearance of the land, the descriptions of Davis and Wafer are correct, *Easter Island* being a mountainous land, which will make partitions in the distant prospect and appear like a number of Islands.

Roggewein's

Roggewein's claim to *Paaschen* or *Easter Island* as a new discovery has had countenance and support from geographers, some of the first eminence, but has been made a subject of jealous contest, and not of impartial investigation. If Roggewein discovered an Island farther to the West of the American coast than *Davis's Land*, it must follow that Davis's land lies between his discovery and the Continent; but that part of the *South Sea* has been so much explored, that if any high land had existed between *Easter Island* and the American coast, it could not have escaped being known. There is not the least improbability that ships, in making a passage from the *Galapagos Isles* through the South East trade-wind, shall come into the neighbourhood of *Easter Island*.

CHAP. 17.  
Concerning  
Davis's  
Land and  
Easter  
Island.

Edward Davis has generally been thought a native of *England*, but according to Lussan, and nothing appears to the contrary, he was a native of *Holland*. The majority of the *Buccaneers* in the ship, however, were British. How far to that source may be traced the disposition to refuse the *Buccaneers* the credit of the discovery, and how much national partialities have contributed to the dispute, may be judged from this circumstance, that *Easter Island* being *Davis's Land* has never been doubted by British geographers, and has been questioned only by those of other nations.

The merit of the discovery is nothing, for the *Buccaneers* were not in search of land, but came without design in sight of it, and would not look at what they had accidentally found. And whether the discovery is to be attributed to Edward Davis or to his crew, ought to be esteemed of little concern to the nations of which they were natives, seeing the discoverers were men outlawed, and whose acts were disowned by the governments of their countries.

## CHAP. 17.

Concerning  
Davis's  
Land and  
Easter  
Island.

Passing from considerations of claims to consideration of the fact;—there is not the smallest plea for questioning, nor has any one questioned the truth of the Buccaneers having discovered a high Island West of the American coast, in or near the latitude of  $27^{\circ}$  S. If different from *Easter Island*, it must be supposed to be situated between that and the Continent. But however much it has been insisted or argued that *Easter Island* is not *Davis's Land*, no chart has yet pretended to shew two separate Islands, one for Edward Davis's discovery, and one for Roggewein's. The one Island known has been in constant requisition for double duty; and must continue so until another Island of the same description shall be found.

1687.  
At the  
Island  
Juan  
Fernandez.

Davis arrived at *Juán Fernandez* 'at the latter end of the year,' and careened there. Since the Buccaneers were last at the Island, the Spaniards had put dogs on shore, for the purpose of killing the goats. Many, however, found places among precipices, where the dogs could not get at them, and the Buccaneers shot as many as served for their daily consumption. Here again, five men of Davis's crew, who had gamed away their money, 'and were unwilling to return out of these seas as poor as they came in,' determined on staying at *Juan Fernandez*, to take the chance of some other buccaneer ship, or privateer, touching at the Island. A canoe, arms, ammunition, and various implements were given to them, with a stock of maize for planting, and some for their immediate subsistence; and each of these gentlemen had a negro attendant landed with him.

From *Juan Fernandez*, Davis sailed to the Islands *Mocha* and *Santa Maria*, near the Continent, where he expected to have procured provisions, but he found both those Islands deserted and laid waste, the Spaniards having obliged the inhabitants to remove, that the Buccaneers might not obtain supply there.

The

The season was advanced, therefore without expending more time in searching for provisions, they bent their course Southward. They passed round *Cape Horne* without seeing land, but fell in with many Islands of ice, and ran so far Eastward before they ventured to steer a Northerly course, that afterwards, when, in the parallel of the *River de la Plata*, they steered Westward to make the American coast, which they believed to be only one hundred leagues distant, they sailed 'four hundred and fifty' leagues to the West in the same latitude,\* before they came in sight of land; whence many began to apprehend they were still in the *South Sea* \*, and this belief would have gained ground, if a flight of locusts had not alighted on the ship, which a strong flurry of wind had blown off from the American coast.

They arrived in the *West Indies* in the spring of the year 1688, at a time when a proclamation had recently been issued, offering the King's pardon to all Buccaneers who would quit that way of life, and claim the benefit of the proclamation. Davis sails to the West Indies.

It was not the least of fortune's favours to this crew of Buccaneers, that they should find it in their power, without any care or forethought of their own, to terminate a long course of piratical adventures in quietness and security. Edward Davis was afterwards in *England*, as appears by the notice given of his discovery by William Dampier, who mentions him always with peculiar respect. Though a Buccaneer, he was a man of much sterling worth; being an excellent Commander, courageous, never rash, and endued in a superior degree with prudence, moderation, and steadiness; qualities in which the Buccaneers generally have been most deficient. His character is not stained with acts of cruelty; on the contrary, wherever he commanded, he restrained the ferocity of his companions. It is

no

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\* *Waser's Voyages*, p. 220.

CHAP. 17. no small testimony of his abilities that the whole of the Bucca-  
1688. neers in the *South Sea* during his time, in every enterprise wherein he bore part, voluntarily placed themselves under his guidance, and paid him obedience as their leader ; and no symptom occurs of their having at any time wavered in this respect, or shewn inclination to set up a rival authority. It may almost be said, that the only matter in which they were not capricious was their confidence in his management ; and in it they found their advantage, if not their preservation.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Adventures of Swan and Townley on the Coast of New Spain,  
until their Separation.*

THE South Sea adventures of the buccaneer Chief Davis being brought to a conclusion, the next related will be those of Swan and his crew in the *Cygnets*, they being the first of the Buccaneers who after the battle in the *Bay of Panama* left the *South Sea*. William Dampier who was in Swan's ship, kept a Journal of their proceedings, which is published, and the manuscript also has been preserved.

CHAP. 18.

Swan  
and  
Townley.

Swan and Townley, the reader may recollect, were left by Edward Davis in the harbour of *Ria Lexa*, in the latter part of August 1685, and had agreed to keep company together Westward towards the entrance of the *Gulf of California*.

1685.

August.

They remained at *Ria Lexa* some days longer to take in fresh water, 'such as it was,' and they experienced from it the same bad effects which it had on Davis's men; for, joined to the unwholesomeness of the place, it produced a malignant fever, by which several were carried off.

Bad Water,  
and Unhealth-  
iness of  
*Ria Lexa*.

On September the 3d, they put to sea, four sail in company, i. e. the *Cygnets*, Townley's ship, and two tenders; the total of the crews being 340 men.

September.

On the  
Coast of  
New Spain.

The season was not favourable for getting Westward along this coast. Westerly winds were prevalent, and scarcely a day passed without one or two violent tornadoes, which were accompanied with frightful flashes of lightning, and claps of thunder, 'the like,' says Dampier, 'I did never meet with before nor since.' These tornadoes generally came out of the

Tornadoes.



**CHAP. 18.** the NE, very fierce, and did not last long. When the tornado  
 1685. was passed, the wind again settled Westward. On account of  
 September. these storms, Swan and Townley kept a large offing; but  
 On the towards the end of the month, the weather became settled.  
 Coast of New Spain. On the 24th, Townley, and 106 men in nine canoes, went  
 on Westward, whilst the ships lay by two days with furled sails,  
 to give them time to get well forward, by which they would  
 come the more unexpectedly upon any place along the coast.

October. Townley proceeded, without finding harbour or inlet, to the  
 Bay of *Tecuntepeque*, where putting ashore at a sandy beach,  
 the canoes were all overset by the surf, one man drowned, and  
 some muskets lost. Townley however drew the canoes up dry,  
 and marched into the country; but notwithstanding that they  
 had not discovered any inlet on the coast, they found the country  
 intersected with great creeks not fordable, and were forced  
 to return to their canoes. A body of Spaniards and Indians  
 came to reconnoitre them, from the town of *Tecuntepeque*, to  
 seek which place was the chief purpose of the Buccaneers when  
 they landed. 'The Spanish books,' says Dampier, 'mention  
 ' a large river there, but whether it was run away at this time,  
 ' or rather that Captain Townley and his men were shortsighted,  
 ' I know not; but they did not find it.'

October the 2d, the canoes returned to the ships. The wind  
 was fresh and fair from the ENE, and they sailed Westward,  
 keeping within short distance of the shore, but found neither  
 harbour nor opening. They had soundings all the way, the  
 depth being 21 fathoms, a coarse sandy bottom, at eight miles  
 distance from the land. Having run about 20 leagues along  
 the coast, they came to a small high Island called *Tangola*, on  
 which they found wood and water; and near it, good anchorage.  
 ' This Island is about a league distant from the main, which  
 ' is pretty high, and savannah land by the sea; but within land  
 ' it

Island  
 Tangola.

‘ it is higher and woody.’——‘ We coasted a league farther, and came to *Guatulco*, in latitude  $15^{\circ} 30'$ , which is one of the best ports in this Kingdom of *Mexico*. Near a mile from the mouth of the harbour, on the East side, is a little Island close by the main-land. On the West side of the mouth of the harbour, is a great hollow rock, which by the continual working of the sea in and out, makes a great noise, and may be heard a great way; every surge that comes in, forces the water out at a little hole at the top, as out of a pipe, from whence it flies out just like the blowing of a whale, to which the Spaniards liken it, and call it *El Buffadore*. Even at the calmest seasons, the beating of the sea makes the water spout out at the hole, so that this is always a good mark to find the harbour of *Guatulco* by. The harbour runs in NW, is about three miles deep, and one mile broad. The West side of the harbour is the best for small ships to ride in: any where else you are open to SW winds, which often blow here. There is clean ground any where, and good gradual soundings from 16 to 6 fathoms: it is bounded by a smooth sandy shore, good for landing; and at the bottom of the harbour is a fine brook of fresh water running into the sea. The country is extraordinary pleasant and delightful to behold at a distance \*.’

CHAP. 18.

1685.

October.

Guatulco.

El Buffadore,  
a spouting  
Rock.The  
Harbour of  
Guatulco.

There appeared to be so few inhabitants at this part of the coast, that the Buccaneers were not afraid to land their sick. A party of men went Eastward to seek for houses and inhabitants, and at a league distance from *Guatulco* they found a river, named by the Spaniards *El Capalita*, which had a swift current, and was deep at the entrance. They took a few Indians prisoners, but learnt nothing of the country from them. On the 6th, Townley with 140 men marched fourteen miles inland, and in all that way found

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\* *Dampier*, Vol. I, Chap. 8.

CHAP. 18. found only one small Indian village, the inhabitants of which  
 1685. cultivated and cured a plant called *Vinello*, which grows on  
 October. a vine, and is used to perfume chocolate, and sometimes  
 Vinello, tobacco.  
 or Vanilla,  
 a Plant.

Island  
 Sacrificio.

The 10th, the canoes were sent Westward; and on the 12th, the ships followed, the crews being well recovered of the *Ria Lexa* fever. 'The coast (from *Guatulco*) lies along West and a little Southerly for 20 or 30 leagues\*.' On account of a current which set Eastward, they anchored near a small green Island named *Sacrificio*, about a league to the West of *Guatulco*, and half a mile from the main. In the channel between, was five or six fathoms depth, and the tide ran there very swift.

Port  
 de Angeles.

They advanced Westward; but slowly. The canoes were again overset in attempting to land near *Port de Angeles*, at a place where cattle were seen feeding, and another man was drowned. Dampier says, 'We were at this time abreast of *Port de Angeles*, but those who had gone in the canoes did not know it, because the Spaniards describe it to be as good a harbour as *Guatulco*. It is a broad open bay with two or three rocks at the West side. There is good anchorage all over the bay in depth from 30 to 12 fathoms, but you are open to all winds till you come into 12 fathoms, and then you are sheltered from the WSW, which is here the common trade-wind. Here always is a great swell, and landing is bad. The place of landing is close by the West side, behind a few rocks. Latitude 15° N. The tide rises about five feet. The land round *Port de Angeles* is pretty high, the earth sandy and yellow, in some places red.' The Buccaneers landed at *Port de Angeles*, and supplied themselves with cattle, hogs, poultry, maize, and salt; and a large party of them remained feasting three days at a farm-house. The 27th, they sailed on Westward.

Some

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\* Dampier, Vol. I, Chap. 9.

Some of their canoes in seeking *Port de Angeles* had been as far Westward as *Acapulco*. In their way back, they found a river, into which they went, and filled fresh water. Afterwards, they entered a *lagune* or lake of salt water, where fishermen had cured, and stored up fish, of which the *Buccaneers* took away a quantity.

CHAP. 18.  
1685.  
October.  
Coast of  
New Spain.

On the evening of the 27th, *Swan* and *Townley* anchored in 16 fathoms depth, near a small rocky Island, six leagues Westward of *Port de Angeles*, and about half a mile distant from the main land. The next day they sailed on, and in the night of the 28th, being abreast the lagune above mentioned, a canoe manned with twelve men was sent to bring off more of the fish. The entrance into the lagune was not more than pistol-shot wide, and on each side were rocks, high enough and convenient to skreen or conceal men. The Spaniards having more expectation of this second visit than they had of the first, a party of them, provided with muskets, took station behind these rocks. They waited patiently till the canoe of the *Buccaneers* was fairly within the lagune, and then fired their volley, and wounded five men. The buccaneer crew were not a little surprised, yet returned the fire; but not daring to repass the narrow entrance, they rowed to the middle of the lagune, where they lay out of the reach of shot. There was no other passage out but the one by which they had entered, which besides being so narrow was a quarter of a mile in length, and it was too desperate an undertaking to attempt to repass it. Not knowing what else to do, they lay still two whole days and three nights in hopes of relief from the ships.

Adventure  
in a  
Lagune.

It was not an uncommon circumstance among the *Buccaneers*, for parties sent away on any particular design, to undertake some new adventure; the long absence of the canoe therefore created little surprise in the ships, which lay off at sea

CHAP. 18.

1685.

November.

Coast of  
New Spain.

waiting without solicitude for her return ; till Townley's ship happening to stand nearer to the shore than the rest, heard muskets fired in the lagoon. He then sent a strong party in his canoes, which obliged the Spaniards to retreat from the rocks, and leave the passage free for the hitherto penned-up Buccaneers. Dampier gives the latitude of this lagoon, 'about 16° 40' N.'

Alcatraz  
Rock.

They coasted on Westward, with fair weather, and a current setting to the West. On November the 2d, they passed a rock called by the Spaniards the *Alcatraz* (Pelican.) 'Five or six

White  
Cliffs.

' miles to the West of the rock are seven or eight white cliffs, ' which are remarkable, because there are none other so white ' and so thick together on all the coast. A dangerous shoal ' lies S b W from these cliffs, four or five miles off at sea. Two

River to the  
West of  
the Cliffs.

' leagues to the West of these cliffs is a pretty large river, which ' forms a small Island at its mouth. The channel on the East ' side is shoal and sandy ; the West channel is deep enough for ' canoes to enter.' The Spaniards had raised a breastwork on the banks of this channel, and they made a show of resisting the Buccaneers ; but seeing they were determined on landing, they quitted the place ; on which Dampier honestly remarks, ' One chief reason why the Spaniards are so frequently routed ' by us, though much our superiors in number, is, their want of ' fire-arms ; for they have but few unless near their large ' garrisons.'

Snook,  
a Fish.

A large quantity of salt intended for salting the fish caught in the lagoon, was taken here. Dampier says, 'The fish in ' these lagoons were of a kind called Snooks, which are neither ' sea-fish nor fresh-water fish ; it is about a foot long, round, and ' as thick as the small of a man's leg, has a pretty long head, ' whitish scales, and is good meat.'

A Mulatto whom they took prisoner told them that a ship  
of



of twenty guns had lately arrived at *Acapulco* from *Lima*. CHAP. 18.  
 Townley and his crew had long been dissatisfied with their ship; 1685.  
 and in hopes of getting a better, they stood towards the har- November.  
 bour of *Acapulco*. On the 7th, they made the high land over 7th.  
*Acapulco*, 'which is remarkable by a round hill standing High Land  
 ' between two other hills, both higher, the Westernmost of of  
 ' which is the biggest and the highest, and has two hillocks Acapulco.  
 ' like two paps at the top.' Dampier gives the latitude of  
*Acapulco* 17° N \*.

This was not near the usual time either of the departure or of the arrival of the Manila ships, and except at those times, *Acapulco* is almost deserted on account of the situation being unhealthy. *Acapulco* is described hot, unwholesome, pestered with gnats, and having nothing good but the harbour. Merchants depart from it as soon as they have transacted their business. Townley accordingly expected to bring off the *Lima* ship quietly, and with little trouble. In the evening of the 7th, the ships being then so far from land that they could not be descried, Townley with 140 men departed in twelve canoes for the harbour of *Acapulco*. They did not reach *Port Marques* till the second night; and on the third night they rowed softly and unperceived by the Spaniards into *Acapulco Harbour*. They found the *Lima* ship moored close to the castle, and, after reconnoitring, thought it would not be in their power to bring her off; so they paddled back quietly out of the harbour, and returned to their ships, tired and disappointed.

Westward from the Port of *Acapulco*, they passed a sandy bay or beach above twenty leagues in length, the sea all the way

Sandy  
Beach,  
West of  
*Acapulco*.

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\* Late Observations place *Acapulco* in latitude 16° 50' 41" N, and longitude 100° 0' West of Greenwich.