CHAP.18. way beating with such force on the shore that a boat could not approach with safety. 'There was clean anchoring ground at 'a mile or two from the shore. At the West end of this Bay, 'in 17° 30' N, is the Hill of Petaplan, which is a round point 'stretching out into the sea, and at a distance seems an Island *.' This was reckoned twenty-five leagues from Acapulco. A little to the West of the hill are several round white rocks. They sailed within the rocks, having 11 fathoms depth, and anchored on the NW side of the hill. Their Mosquito men took here some small turtle and small jew-fish.

They landed, and at an Indian village took a Mulatto woman and her children, whom they carried on board. They learnt from her that a caravan drawn by mules was going with flour and other goods to *Acapulco*, but that the carrier had stopped on the road from apprehension of the Buccaneers.

Chequetan.

The ships weighed their anchors, and ran about two leagues farther Westward, to a place called *Chequetan*, which Dampier thus describes : 'A mile and a half from the shore is a small ' Key (or Island) and within it is a very good harbour, where ' ships may careen : here is also a small river of fresh water, ' and wood enough.'

14th.

Estapa.

On the 14th, in the morning, about a hundred Buccaneers set off in search of the carrier, taking the woman prisoner for a guide. They landed a league to the West of *Chequetan*, at a place called *Estapa*, and their conductress led them through a wood, by the side of a river, about a league, which brought them to a savannah full of cattle; and here at a farm-house the carrier and his mules were lodged. He had 40 packs of flour, some chocolate, small cheeses, and earthenware. The catables, with the addition of eighteen beeves which they killed,

killed, the Buccaneers laid on the backs of above fifty mules CHAP. 18. which were at hand, and drove them to their boats. A present of clothes was made to the woman, and she, with two of her November. children, were set at liberty; but the other child, a boy seven or eight years old, Swan kept, against the earnest intreaties of the mother. Dampier says, 'Captain Swan promised her to ' make much of him, and was us good as his word. He proved ' afterwards a fine boy for wit, courage, and dexterity.'

They proceeded Westward along the coast, which was high land full of ragged hills, but with pleasant and fruitful vallies between. The 25th, they were abreast a hill, ' which towered ' above his fellows, and was divided in the top, making two ' small parts. It is in latitude 18° 8' Nr The Spaniards men-' tion a town called Thelupan near this hill.'

The 26th, the Captains Swan and Townley went in the canoes with 200 men, to seek the city of Golima, which was reported to be a rich place: but their search was fruitless. They rowed 20 leagues along shore, and found no good place for landing; neither did they see house or inhabitant, although they passed by a fine valley, called the Valley of Maguella, except that towards the end of their expedition, they saw a horseman, who they supposed had been stationed as a sentinel, for he rode off immediately on their appearance. They landed with difficulty, and followed the track of the horse on the sand, but lost it in the woods.

On the 28th, they saw the Volcano of Colima, which is in about 18° 36' N latitude, five or six leagues from the sea, and appears with two sharp points, from each of which issued flames or smoke. The Valley of Colima is ten or twelve leagues wide by the sea : it abounds in cacao-gardens, fields of corn, and plantain walks. The coast is a sandy shore, on which the waves beat with violence. Eastward of the Valley the land is woody. A river

1685. Coast of New Spain.

21st.

Hill of Thelupan.

28th. Volcano of Colima.

Valley of Colima.

BU

c HAP. 18. A river ran here into the sea, with a shoal or bar at its entrance, 1685. which boats could not pass. On the West side of the river was December. savannah land.

Salagua.

December the 1st, they were near the Port of Salagua, which Dampier reckoned in latitude 18° 52' N. He says, 'it is only 'a pretty deep bay, divided in the middle with a rocky point, 'which makes, as it were, two harbours*. Ships may ride 'secure in either, but the West harbour is the best: the depth 'of water is 10 or 12 fathom, and a brook of fresh water runs 'into the sea there.'

Report of a great City named Oarrah.

Two hundred Buccaneers landed at Salagua, and finding a broad road which led inland, they followed it about four leagues, over a dry stony couffiry, much overgrown with short wood, without seeing habitation or inhabitant; but in their return, they met and took prisoners two Mulattoes, who informed them that the road they had been travelling led to a great city called Oarrah, which was distant as far as a horse will travel in four days; and that there was no place of consequence nearer. The same prisoner said the Manila ship was daily expected to stop at this part of the coast to land passengers; for that the arrival of the ships at Acapulco from the Philippines commonly happened about Christmas, and scarcely ever more than eight or ten days before or after.

Swan and Townley sailed on for Cape Corrientes. Many among the crews were at this time taken ill with a fever and ague, which left the patients dropsical. Dampier says, the dropsy is a disease very common on this coast. He was one of the sufferers, and continued ill a long time; and several died of it.

The Land near Cape Corrientes. The coast Southward of Cape Corrientes, is of moderate height, and full of white cliffs. The inland country is high and barren, with sharp peaked hills. Northward of this rugged land,

18

is a chain of mountains which terminates Eastward with a high CHAP. 18. steep mountain, which has three sharp peaks and resembles a crown; and is therefore called by the Spaniards Coronada. On December. the 11th they came in sight of Cape Corrientes. When the Cape bore NbW, the Coronada mountain bore ENE *.

On arriving off Cape Corrientes, the buccaneer vessels spread, for the advantage of enlarging their lookout, the Cygnet taking the outer station at about ten leagues distance from the Cape. Provisions however soon became scarce, on which account Townley's tender and some of the canoes were sent to the land to seek a supply. The canoes rowed up along shore against a Northerly wind to the Bay de Vanderas; but the bark could not get round Cape Corrientes. On the sth, Townley complained he wanted fresh water, whereupon the ships quitted their station near the Cape, and sailed to some small Islands called the Keys of Chametly, which are situated to the SE of Cape Corrientes, to take in fresh water.

The descriptions of the coast of New Spain given by Dampier, in his account of his voyage with the Buccaneers, contain many particulars of importance which are not to be found in any other publication. Dampier's manuscript and the printed Narrative frequently differ, and it is sometimes apparent that the difference is not the effect of inadvertence, or mistake in the press, but that it was intended as a correction from a reconsideration of the subject. The printed Narrative says at this part, 'These Keys or Islands of Chametly are about 16 or ' 18 leagues to the Eastward of Cape Corrientes. They are " small, low, woody, and environed with rocks. There are ' five of them lying in the form of a half moon, not a mile from " the shore of the main, and between them and the main land is

* Dammier's Manuscript Journal.

1685. 11th. Coronada Hills.

Cape Corrientes.

18th.

Keys or Islands of Chametly.

CHAP. 18. ' is very good riding secure from any wind *.' In the manu-1685. script it is said, ' the Islands Chametly make a secure port. December. ' They lie eight or nine leagues from Port Navidad.'

Keys or Islands of Chametly; It is necessary to explain that Dampier, in describing his navigation along the coast of New Spain, uses the terms Eastward and Westward, not according to the precise meaning of the words, but to signify being more or less advanced along the coast from the Bay of Panama. By Westward; he invariably means more advanced towards the Gulf of California; by Eastward, the contrary.

Form a convenient Port.

The ships entered within the Chametly Islands by the channel at the SE end, and anchored in five fathoms depth, on a bottom of clean sand. They found there good fresh water and wood, and caught plenty of rock-fish with hook and line. No inhabitants were seen, but there were huts, made for the temporary convenience of fishermen who occasionally went there to fish for the inhabitants of the city of La Purificación. These Islands, forming a commodious port affording fresh water and other conveniencies, from the smallness of their size are not made visible in the Spanish charts of the coast of New Spain in present use \ddagger . Whilst the ships watered at the Keys or Isles of Chametly, a party was sent to forage on the main land, whence they carried off about 40 bushels of maize.

On the 22d, they left the Keys of Chametly, and returned to their cruising station off Cape Corrientes, where they were rejoined by the canoes which had been to the Bay de Vanderas. Thirty-seven men had landed there from the canoes, who went three miles into the country, where they encountered a body of Spaniards, consisting both of horse and foot. The Buccaneers

took

^{*} Dampier, Vol. I, p. 257.

⁺ In some old manuscript Spanish Charts, the Chametly Isles are laid down SEJS about 12 leagues distant from Cape Corrientes.

took benefit of a small wood for shelter against the attack of CHAP. 18. the horse, yet the Spaniards rode in among them; but the Spanish Captain and some of their foremost men being killed, December. the rest retreated. Four of the Buccaneers were killed, and two desperately wounded. The Spanish infantry were more numerous than the horse, but they did not join in the attack, because they were armed only with lances and swords ; 'nevertheless,' says Dampier, ' if they had come in, they would cer-' tainly have destroyed all our men.' The Buccaneers conveyed their two wounded men to the water side on horses, one of which, when they arrived at their canoes, they killed and drest; not daving to venture into the savannah for a bullock, though they saw many grazing.

Swam and Townley preserved their station off Cape Corrientes only till the 1st of January, 1686, when their crews became impatient for fresh meat, and they stood into the Bay de Vanderas, to hunt for beef. The depth of water in this Bay is very great, and the ships were obliged to anchor in 60 fathoms.

'The Valley of Vanderas is about three leagues wide, with a ' sandy bay against the sea, and smooth landing. In the ' midst of this bay (or beach) is a fine river, into which boats' ' may enter; but it is brackish at the latter part of the dry ' season, which is in March, and part of April. The Valley is ' enriched with fruitful savannahs, mixed with groves of trees ' fit for any use; and fruit-trees grow wild in such plenty as if ' nature designed this place only for a garden. The savannahs ' are full of fat bulls and cows, and horses; but no house ' was in sight.'

Here they remained hunting beeves, till the 7th of the month. Two hundred and forty men landed every day, sixty of whom were stationed as a guard, whilst the rest pursued the cattle ; the Spaniards all the time appearing in large companies on Vol. IV. Ġœ the

1686. January. Bay de Vanderas:

Valley of Vanderas.

1685.

CHAP. 18. the nearest hills. The Buccaneers killed and salted meat suffi-1686. ient to serve them two months, which expended all their salt. January. Whilst they were thus occupied in the pleasant valley of Valley of Valley of Vanderas, the galeon from Manila sailed past Cape Corrientes, and pursued her course in safety to Acapulco. This they learnt afterwards from prisoners; but it was by no means unexpected: on the contrary, they were in general so fully persuaded it would be the consequence of their going into the Bay de Vanderas, that they gave up all intention of cruising for her afterwards.

Swan and Townley part company.

The main object for which Townley had gone thus far Northward being disposed of, he and his crew resolved to return Southward. Some Darien Indians had remained to this time with Swan: they were now committed to the care of Townley, and the two ships broke off consortship, and parted company.

IN THE SOUTH SEA.

CHAP. XIX.

The Cygnet and her Crew on the Coast of Nueva Galicia, and at the Tres Marias Islands.

SWAN and his crew determined before they quitted the American coast, to visit some Spanish towns farther North, in the neighbourhood of rich mines, where they hoped to find good plunder, and to increase their stock of provisions for the passage across the *Pacific* to *India*.

January the 7th, the Cygnet and her tender sailed from the Valley of Vanderas, and before night, passed Point Ponteque, the Northern point of the Vanderas Bay. Point Ponteque is high, round, rocky, and barren: at a distance it makes like an Island. Dampier reckoned it 10 leagues distant, in a direction N 20° W, from Cape Corrientes; the variation of the compass observed near the Cape being 4° 28' Easterly*.

A league West from *Point Ponteque* are two small barren Islands, round which lie scattered several high, sharp, white rocks. The Cygnet passed on the East side of the two Islands, the channel between them and *Point Ponteque* appearing clear of danger. 'The sea-coast beyond *Point Ponteque* runs in NE, ' all ragged land, and afterwards out again NNW, making ' many ragged points, with small sandy bays between. The ' land by the sea is low and woody; but the inland country is ' full of high, sharp, rugged, and barren hills.'

Along this coast they had light sea and land breezes, and fair weather. They anchored every evening, and got under sail in

662

1686. January. Coast of Nuevo Galicia. Point Ponteque.

СНАР. 19.

^{*} According to Captain Vancouver, Point Ponteque and Cape Corrientes are nearly North and South of each other. Dampier was nearest in-shore.

CHAP. 19. in the morning with the land-wind. On the 14th, they had sight 1686. of a small white rock, which had resemblance to a ship under January. sail. Dampier gives its latitude 21° 51' N, and its distance 14th. from Cape Corrientes 34 leagues. It is three leagues from the White Rock, 21° 51' N. fourteen fathoms.

The 15th, at noon, the latitude was 22° 11' N. The coast here lay in a NNW direction. The 16th, they steered 'NNW as the land runs.' At noon the latitude was 22° 41' N. The coast was sandy and shelving, with soundings at six fathoms depth a league distant. The sea set heavy on the shore. They caught here many cat-fish.

20th. On the 20th, they anchored a league to the East of a small Grametlan Isles, agroupe of Isles, named the Chametlan Isles, after the name 1sles, after the District or Captainship (Alcaldia mayor) in the province of Culiacan, opposite to which they are situated. Dampier calls them the Isles of Chametly, ' different from the Isles or Keys of ' Chametly at which we had before anchored. These are six ' small Islands in latitude 23° 11' N, about three leagues distant ' from the main-land *, where a salt lake has its outlet into ' the sea. Their meridian distance from Cape Corrientes is ' 23 leagues [West.] The coast here, and for about ten leagues ' before coming abreast these Islands, lies NW and SE.'

The Penguin Fruit. On the Chametlan Isles they found guances, and seals; and a fruit of a sharp pleasant taste, by Dampier called the Penguin fruit, "of a kind which grows so abundantly in the Bay of Campeachy that there is no passing for their high prickly leaves."

Rio de Sal, In the main-land, six or seven leagues NNW from the Isles and Salt-water of Chametlan, is a narrow opening into a lagune, with depth of Lagune, water sufficient for boats to enter. This lagune extends along 23° 30' N.

^{*} The Manuscript says, the farthest of the Chametlan Isles from the main-land is not more than four miles distant.

the back of the sea-beach about 12 leagues, and makes many CHAP. 19. low Mangrove Islands. The latitude given of the entrance above-mentioned is 23° 30' N, and it is called by the Spaniards Rio de Sal.

Half a degree Northward of Rio de Sal was said to be the River Culiacan, with a rich Spanish town of the same name. Swan went with the canoes in search of it, and followed the coast 30 leagues from abreast the Chametlan Isles, without finding any river to the North of the Rio de Sal. All the coast was low and sandy, and the sea beat high on the shore. The ships did not go farther within the Gulf than to 23° 45' N, in which latitude, on the 30th, they anchored in eight fathoms depth, three miles distant from the main-land; the meridian distance from Cape Corrientes being 34 leagues West, by Dampier's reckoning.

In their return Southward, Swan with the canoes, entered the Rio de Sal Lagune, and at an estancian on the Western side, they took the owner prisoner. They found in his house a few bushels of maize; but the cattle had been driven out of their reach. Dampier relates, 'The old Spanish gentleman who was ' taken at the Estancian near the Riv de Sal was a very intel-' ligent person. He had been a great traveller in the kingdom ' of Mexico, and spoke the Mexican language very well. He ' said it is a copious language, and much esteemed by the . Spanish gentry in those parts, and of great use all over the Language. ' kingdom; and that many Indian languages had some de-' pendency on it.'

The town of Muzatlan was within 5 leagues of the NE part of Mazatlan. the lagune, and Swan with 150 men went thither. The inhabitants wounded some of the Buccaneers with arrows, but could make no effectual resistance. There were rich mines near Mazatlan, and the Spaniards of Compostella, which is the chief town in this district.

The Mexican, a copious

1686. January. Coast of Nueva Galicia.

30th.

CHAP. 19. district, kept slaves at work in them. The Buccaneers however found no gold here, but carried off some Indian corn. 1686.

February 2d. Rosario. an Indian Town.

> 3d. River

February the 2d, the canoes went to an Indian town called Rosario, situated on the banks of a river and nine miles within its entrance. ' Rosario was a fine little town of 60 or 70 houses, with a good church.' The river produced gold, and mines were in the neighbourhood; but here, as at Mazatlan, they got no other booty than Indian corn, of which they conveyed to their ships between 80 and 90 bushels.

On the 3d, the ships anchored near the River Rosario in seven fathoms oozy ground, a league from the shore; the latitude of Rosario, the entrance of the river 22° 51' N. A small distance within the 22" 51' N. coast and bearing NE b N from the ship, was a round hill like Sugar-loaf a sugar-loaf; and North Westward of that hill, was another ' pretty long hill,' called Caput Cavalli, or the Horse's Head.

Cavalli. 8th.

Hill.

Caput

On the 8th, the canoes were sent to search for a river named the Oleta, which was understood to lie in latitude 22° 27' N; but the weather proving foggy they could not find it.

On the 11th, they anchored abreast the South point of the 11th. entrance of a river called the River de Santiago, in seven fathoms soft oozy bottom, about two miles from the shore; a Maxentelbo high white rock, called Maxentelbo, bore from their anchorage Rock. WNW, distant about three leagues, and a high hill in the country, with a saddle or bending, called the Hill Xalisco, Hill of Xalisco. bore SE. 'The River St. Iogo is in latitude 22' 15' N, the River of ' entrance lies East and West with the Rock Maxentelbo. It is Santiago, 22º 15' N. ' one of the principal rivers on this coast : there is ten feet ' water on the bar at low water; but how much the tide rises ' and talls, was not observed. The mouth of the river is nearly ' halt a mile broad, with very smooth entering. Within the · entrance it widens, for three or four rivers meet there, and issue ' all out together. The water is brackish a great way up: but · fresh

* fresh water is to be had by digging two or three feet deep in CHAP. 19.

' a sandy bay just at the mouth of the river. Northward of the

' entrance, and NEbE from Maxentelbo, is a round white rock.'

'Between the latitudes 22° 41' and 22° 10' N, which includes ' the *River de Santiago*, the coast lies NNW and SSE *.'

No inhabitants were seen near the entrance of the River St. Iago, but the country had a fruitful appearance, and Swan sent seventy men in four canoes up the river, to seek for some town or village. After two days spent in examining different creeks and rivers, they came to a field of maize which was nearly ripe, and immediately began to gather; but whilst they were loading the canoes, they saw an Indian, whom they caught, and from him they learnt that at four leagues distance from them was a town named S^{ta} Pecaque. With this information they returned to the ship; and the same evening, Swan with eight canoes and 140 men, set off for S^{ta} Pecaque, taking the Indian for a guide. This was on the 15th of the month.

They rowed during the night about five leagues up the river, and at six o'clock in the morning, landed at a place where it was about a pistol-shot wide, with pretty high banks on each side, the country plain and even. Twenty men were left with the canoes, and Swan with the rest marched towards the town, by a road which led partly through woodland, and partly through savannas well stocked with cattle. They arrived at the town by ten in the forenoon, and entered without opposition, the inhabitants having quitted it on their approach.

The town of Santa Pecaque was small, regularly built after the Spanish mode, with a Parade in the middle, and balconies to the houses which fronted the parade. It had two churches. The inhabitants were mostly Spaniards, and their principal occupation was husbandry. It is distant from Compostella about 21 leagues. Compostella itself was at that time reckoned not

* Dampier, Vol. I, Chap. 9.

1686. February, Coast of Nueva Galicia. River of Suntiago.

16th.

Town of Sta Pecaque. CHAP. 19. not to contain more than seventy white families, which made 1686. about one-eighth part of its inhabitants.

February. There were large storehouses, with maize, salt-fish, salt, and Coast of Nueva Galicia. At S^{*}Pecaque. S^{*}Pecaque. Had come so far North on this coast was to get provisions, and here was more than sufficient to supply her wants. For trans-

- porting it to their cances, Swan divided the men into two parties, which it was agreed should go alternately, one party constantly to remain to guard the stones in the town. The afternoon of the first day was passed in taking rest and refreshment, and in collecting horses. The next morning, fifty-seven men, with a number of horses laden with maine, each man also carrying a small quantity, set out for the cances, to which they arrived, and safely deposited their burthens. The Spaniards had given some disturbance to the men who guarded the cances, and had wounded one, on which account they were reinforced with seven men from the carrying party; and in the afternoon, the fifty returned to Santa Pacaque. Only one trip
- ^{18th.} On the morning of the 18th, the party which had guarded the town the day before, took their turn for carrying. They loaded 24 horses, and every man had his burthen. This day they took a prisoner, who told them, that nearly a thousand men, of all colours, Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and Mulattoes, were assembled at the town of Santiago, which was only three leagues distant from Santa Pecaque. This information made Captain Swan of opinion, that separating his men was attended with much danger; and he determined that the next morning be would quit the town with the whole party. In the mean time he employed his men to catch as many horses as they could, that when they departed they might carry off a good load.

was made in the course of the day.

On

On the 19th, Swan called his men out early, and gave order CHAP. 19. to prepare for marching; but the greater number refused to alter the mode they had first adopted, and said they would not abandon the town until all the provision in it was conveyed to the canoes. Swan was forced to acquiesce, and to allow onehalf of the company to go as before. They had fifty-four horses laden': Swan advised them to tie the horses one to another, and the men to keep in two bodies, twenty-five before. and the same number behind. His directions however were not followed: 'the men would go their own way, every man leading his horse.' The Spaniards had before observed their careless manner of marching, and had prepared their plan of attack for this morning, making choice of the ground they thought most for their advantage, and placing men there in ambush. The Buccaneer convoy had not been gone above a quarter of an hour when those who kept guard in the town, heard the report of guns. Captain Swan called on them to march out to the assistance of their companions; but some even then opposed him, and spoke with contempt of the danger and their enemies, till two horses, saddled, with holsters, and without riders, came galloping into the town frightened, and one had at its side a carabine newly discharged. On this Buccaneers additional sign that some event had taken place which it imported them to know, Swan immediately marched out of the town, and all his men followed him. When they came to the place where the engagement had happened, they beheld their companions that had gone forth from the town that morning, every man lying dead in the road, stripped, and so mangled that scarcely any one could be known. This was the most severe defeat the Buccaneers suffered in all their South Sea enterprises.

The party living very little exceeded the number of those Vol. IV. Ĥн who

1686. February 10th. At Santa Pecaque.

defeated and slain by the Spaniards.

1686. Coast of Nueva Galicia. At Santa Pecaque.

CHAP. 19. who lay dead before them, yet the Spaniards made no endeavour to interrupt their retreat, either in their march to the February. canocs, or in their falling down the river, but kept at a distance. ' It is probable,' says Dampier, ' the Spaniards did not cut off ' so many of our men without loss of many of their own. We ' lost this day fifty-four Englishmen and nine blacks; and among the slain was my ingenious friend Mr. Ringrose, who 6 ' wrote that part of the History of the Buccaneers which relates ' to Captain Sharp. He had engaged in this voyage as super-' cargo of Captain Swan's ship.'- ' Captain Swan had been ' forewarned by his astrologer of the great danger they were in; ' and several of the men who went in the first party had ' opposed the division of their force : some of them foreboded ' their misfortune, and heard as they lay down in the church ' in the night, grievous groanings which kept them from ' sleeping *.'

Swan and his surviving crew were discouraged from attempting any thing more on the coast of New Galicia, although they had laid up but a small stock of provisions. On the 21st, they sailed from the River of St. Jago for the South Cape of California, where it was their intention to careen the ship; but the wind had settled in the NW quarter, and after struggling against it a fortnight, on the 7th of March, they anchored in a bay at the East end of the middle of the Tres Marias Islands, in eight fathoms clean sand. The next day, they took a birth Tres Marias. within a quarter of a mile of the shore, the outer points of the bay bearing ENE and SSW.

At the Middle Island of the

March.

None of the Tres Marias Islands were inhabited. Swan named the one at which he had anchored, Prince George's Island. Dampier describes them of moderate height, and the Westernmost Island to be the largest of the three. ' The soil is stony

and

and dry, producing much of a shrubby kind of wood, trouble- CHAP. 19. some to pass; but in some parts grow plenty of straight large ' cedars. The sca-shore is sandy, and there, a green prickly ' plant grows, whose leaves are much like the penguin leaf; At the Tres Marias. ' the root is like the root of the Sempervive, but larger, and when baked in an oven is reckoned good to eat. The Indians ' of California are said to have great part of their subsistence ' from these roots. We baked some, but none of us greatly ' cared for them. They taste exactly like the roots of our · English Burdock boiled.'

At this Island were guances, raccoons, rabbits, pigeons, doves, fish, turtle, and seal. They carcened here, and made a division of the store of provisions, two-thirds to the Cygnet and onethird to the Tender, ' there being one hundred eaters in the ' ship, and fifty on board the tender.' The maize they had saved measured 120 bushels.

Dampier relates the following anecdote of himself at this A Dropsy place. 'I had been a long time sick of a dropsy, a distemper Sand Bath. ' whereof many of our men died ; so here I was laid and covered all but my head in the hot sand. I endured it near half an ' hour, and then was taken out. I sweated exceedingly while ' I was in the sand, and I believe it did me much good, for I ' grew well soon after.'

This was the dry season, and they could not find here a sufficient supply of fresh water, which made it necessary for them to return to the Continent. Before sailing, Swan landed a number of prisoners, Spaniards and Indians, which would have been necessary on many accounts besides that of the scantiness of provisions, if it had been his design to have proceeded forthwith Westward for the East Indics; but as he was going again to the American coast, which was close at hand, the turning his prisoners ashore on a desolate Island, appears to 'н н 2 have

1686. March. A Root used as Food.

CHAP. 19. have been in revenge for the disastrous defeat sustained at 1686. $S^{\prime a}$ Pecaque, and for the Spaniards having given no quarter on March. that occasion.

Bay of Vanderas.

They sailed on the 26th, and two days after, anchored in the Bay of Vanderas near the river at the bottom of the bay; but the water of this river was now brackish. Search was made along the South shore of the bay, and two or three leagues towards Cape Corrientes, a small brook of good fresh water was found; and good anchorage near to a small round Island which lies half a mile from the main, and about four leagues NEastward of the Cape. Just within this Island they brought the ships to anchor, in 25 fathoms depth, the brook bearing from them $E \notin N$ half a mile distant, and Point Ponteque NW bN six leagues.

The Mosquito men struck here nine or ten jew-fish, the heads and finny pieces of which served for present consumption, and the rest was salted for sea-store. The maize and salted fish composed the whole of their stock of eatables for their passage across the *Pacific*, and at a very straitened allowance would scarcely be sufficient to hold out sixty days.

IN THE SOUTH SEA.

CHAP. XX.

The Cygnet. Her Passage across the Pacific Ocean. At the Ladrones. At Mindanao.

MARCH the 31st, they sailed from the American coast, CHAP. 20. steering at first SW, and afterwards more Westerly till they were in latitude 13° N, in which parallel they kept. 'The ' kettle was boiled but once a day,' says Dampier, ' and there The Cygnet ' was no occasion to call the men to victuals. All hands came ' up to see the Quarter-master share it, and he had need to be ' exact. We had two dogs and two cats on board, and they ' likewise had a small allowance given them, and they waited ' with as much eagerness to see it shared as we did.' In this passage they saw neither fish nor fowl of any kind, except at one time, when by Dampier's reckoning they were 4975 miles West from Cape Corrientes, and then, numbers of the sea-birds Large flight called boobies were flying near the ships, which were supposed of Birds. Lat. 13° N. to come from some rocks not far distant. Their longitude at Long. 180°. this time may be estimated at about 180 degrees from the meridian of Greenwich *.

Fortunately, they had a fresh trade-wind, and made great runs every day. 'On May the 20th, which,' says Dampier, 'we ' begin to call the 21st, we were in latitude 12° 50' N, and ' steering West. At two p. m. the bark tender being two leagues Shoals and ' ahead of the Cygnet, came into shoal water, and those on board ' plainly saw rocks under her, but no land was in sight. They · hauled

1686. March. quits the American Coast.

May 21st.

Breakers SbWAW 10 or 11 leagues from the S end of Guahan.

^{*} Dampier's Reckoning made the difference of longitude between Cape Corrientes and the Island Guahan, 125 degrees; which is 16 degrees more than it has been found by modern observations.

CHAP. 20. ' hauled on a wind to the Southward, and hove the lead, and found ' but four fathoms water. They saw breakers to the Westward. 1686. ' They then wore round, and got their starboard tacks on board May. ' and stood Northward. The Cygnet in getting up to the bark, ' ran over a shoal bank, where the bottom was seen, and fish Bank de Santa Rosa. , among the rocks ; but the ship ran past it before we could ' heave the lead. Both vessels stood to the Northward, keep-' ing upon a wind, and sailed directly North, having the wind ' at ENE, till five in the afternoon, having at that time run ' eight miles and increased our latitude so many minutes. We ' then saw the Island Guum [Guahan] bearing NNE, distant ' from us about eight leagues, which gives the latitude of the ' Island (its South End) 13° 20' N. We did not observe the ' variation of the compass at Guam. At Cape Corrientes we ' found it 4° 28' Easterly, and an observation we made when ' we had gone about a third of the passage, shewed it to be ' the same. I am inclined to think it was less at Guam *.'

The shoal above mentioned is called by the Spaniards the Banco de Santa Rosa, and the part over which the Cygnet passed, according to the extract from Dampier, is about $SbW_{\frac{1}{2}}W$ from the South end of Guahan, distant ten or eleven leagues.

At Guahan.

An hour before midnight, they anchored on the West side of *Guahan*, a mile from the shore. The Spaniards had here a small Fort, and a garrison of thirty soldiers; but the Spanish Governor resided at another part of the Island. As the ships anchored, a Spanish priest in a canoe went on board, believing them to be Spaniards from *Acapulco*. He was treated with civility, but detained as a kind of hostage, to facilitate any negociation necessary for obtaining provisions; and Swan sent a present to the Spanish Governor by the Indians of the canee.

No

^{*} Dampier. Manuscript Journal, and Vol. I, Chap. 10. of his printed Voyages.

No difficulty was experienced on this head. Both Spaniards, CHAP. 20. and the few natives seen here, were glad to dispose of their provisions to so good a market as the buccaneer ships. Dampier conjectured the number of the natives at this time on Guahan not to exceed a hundred. In the last insurrection, which was a short time before Eaton stopped at the Ladrones, the natives, finding they could not prevail against the Spaniards, destroyed their plantations, and went to other Islands. ' Those of the natives who remained in Guahan,' says Dampier, ' if they were not actually concerned in that broil, their hearts ' were bent against the Spaniards; for they offered to carry us ' to the Fort and assist us to conquer the Island.'

Whilst Swan lay at Guahan, the Spanish Acapulco ship came in sight of the Island. The Governor immediately sent off notice to her of the Buccaneer ships being in the road, on which she altered her course towards the South, and by so doing got among the shoals, where she struck off her rudder, and did not get clear for three days. The natives at Guahan told the Buccaneers that the Acapulco ship was in sight of the Island, 'which,' says Dampier, ' put our men in ' a great heat to go out after her, but Captain Swan per-· suaded them out of that humour.'

Dampier praises the ingenuity of the natives of the Ladrone Islands, and particularly in the construction of their sailing canoes, or, as they are sometimes called, their flying procs, of which he has given the following description. 'Their Proe or · Sailing Canoe is sharp at both ends; the bottom is of one · piece, of good substance neatly hollowed, and is about 28 feet · long; the under or keel part is made round, but inclining ' to a wedge; the upper part is almost flat, having a very ' gentle hollow, and is about a foot broad : from hence, both * sides of the boat are carried up to about five feet high with ' narrow

Flying Proc, or Sailing Canoc.

1686.

May.

At the Island

Guahan.

narrow plank, and each end of the boat turns up round very CHAP. 20. 6 ' prettily. But what is very singular, one side of the boat is 1686. ' made perpendicular like a wall, while the other side is May. ' rounding as other vessels are, with a pretty full belly. The Guahan. ' dried husks of the cocoa-nuts serve for oakum. At the Flying Proe. ' middle of the vessel the breadth aloft is four or five feet, or ' more, according to the length of the boat. The mast stands ' exactly in the middle, with a long yard that peeps up and ' down like a ship's mizen yard; one end of it reaches down to ' the head of the boat, where it is placed in a notch made ' purposely to keep it fast: the other end hangs over the • stern. To this yard the sail is fastened, and at the foot of ' the sail is another small yard to keep the sail out square, or ' to roll the sail upon when it blows hard; for it serves ' instead of a reef to take up the sail to what degree they ' please. Along the belly side of the boat, parallel with it, at ' about seven feet distance, lies another boat or canoe very ' small, being a log of very light wood, almost as long as the ' great boat, but not above a foot and a half wide at the upper ' part, and sharp like a wedge at each end. The little boat is fixed firm to the other by two bamboos placed across the ' great boat, one near each end, and its use is to keep the ' great boat upright from oversetting. They keep the flat ' side of the great boat against the wind, and the belly side. ' consequently, with its little boat, is upon the lee*. The vessel ' has a head at each end so as to be able to sail with either foremost:

^{*} The Ladrone flying proa described in Commodore Anson's voyage, sailed with the belly or rounded side and its small canoe to windward; by which it appears that these proas were occasionally managed either way, probably according to the strength of the wind; the little parallel boat or canoe preserving the large one upright by its weight when to windward, and by its buoyancy when to leeward.

⁶ foremost: they need not tack as our vessels do, but when CHAP. 20. ' they ply to windward and are minded to make a board the ' other way, they only alter the setting of the sail by shifting the end of the yard, and they take the broad paddle with which they steer instead of a rudder, to the other end of the vessel. · I have been particular in describing these their sailing canoes, ' because I believe they sail the best of any boats in the . world. I tried the swiftness of one of them with our log: we ' had twelve knots on our reel, and she ran it all out before the half-minute glass was half out. I believe she would run 24 ' miles in an hour. It was very pleasant to see the little boat ' running so swift by the other's side. I was told that one of these proces being sent express from Guahan to Manila, ' [a distance above 4'so leagues] performed the voyage in ' four days.'

Dampier has described the Bread-fruit, which is among the Brcad productions of the Ladrone Islands. He had never seen nor heard of it any where but at these Islands. Provisions were obtained in such plenty at Guahan, that in the two vessels they salted above fifty hogs for sea use. The friar was released, with presents in return for his good offices, and to compensate for his confinement.

June the 2d, they sailed from Guahan for the Island Min-June. danao. The weather was uncertain : ' the Westerly winds were ' not as yet in strength, and the Easterly winds commonly over-mastered them and brought the ships on their way to · Mindanao.'

There is much difference between the manuscript Journal of Dampier and the published Narrative, concerning the geography of the East side of Mindanao. The Manuscript says, "We farrived off Mindanao the 21st day of June; but being come · in with the land, knew not what part of the Island the city VOL. IV. Ii · was

Eastern side of Mindanao, and the Island St. John.

1686. May. At the Island Guahan.

Fruit.

CHAP. 20. ' was in, therefore we run down to the Northward, between ' Mindanao and St. John, and came to an anchor in a bay 1686. " which lieth in six degrees North latitude." June.

In the printed Narrative it is said, 'The 21st day of June, we Mindanao ' arrived at the Island St. John, which is on the East side of St. John. ' Mindanao, and distant from it 3 or 4 leagues. It is in latitude ' about 7° or 8° North. This Island is in length about 38 leagues; ' stretching NNW and SSE, and is in breadth about 24 leagues ' in the middle of the Island. The Northernmost end is ' broader, and the Southern narrower. This Island is of good ' height, and is full of small hills. The land at the SE end ' (where I was ashore) is of a black fat mould; and the whole "Island seems to partake of the same, by the vast number of ' large trees that it produceth, for it looks all over like one ' great grove. As we were passing by the SE end, we saw a ' canoe of the natives under the shore, and one of our boats ' went after to have spoken with her, but she ran to the shore, ' and the people leaving her, fled to the woods. We saw no ' more people here, nor sign of inhabitant at this end. When ' we came aboard our ship again, we steered away for the ' Island Mindanao, which was fair in sight of us, it being ' about 10 leagues distant from this part of St. John's. The · 22d day, we came within a league of the East side of . Mindanao, and having the wind at SE, we steered towards ' the North end, keeping on the East side till we came into ' the latitude of 7° 40' N, and there we anchored in a small ' bay, a mile from the shore, in 10 fathoms, rocky foul ground.' ' Mindunao being guarded on the East side by St. John's Island. ' we might as reasonably have expected to find the harbour ' and city on this side as any where else; but coming into the · latitude in which we judged the city might be, we found no · canoes or people that indicated a city or place of trade being ' mear

249

and

s near at hand; though we coasted within a league of the CHAP. 20. ' shore *.' 1686.

This difference between the manuscript and printed Journal cannot well be accounted for. The most remarkable parti- Mindanao. cular of disagreement is in the latitude of the bay wherein they anchored. At this bay they had communication with the inhabitants, and learnt that the Mindanao City was to the Westward. They could not prevail on any Mindanao man to pilot them; the next day, however, they weighed anchor, and sailed back Southward, till they came to a part they supposed to be the SE end of Mindanao, and saw two small Islands about three leagues distant from it.

There is reason to believe that the two small Islands here Sarangan noticed were Sarangan and Candigar; according to which, Candigar. Dampier's Island St. John will be the land named Cape San Augustin in the present charts. And hence arises a doubt whether the land of Cape San Augustin is not an Island separate from Mindanao. Dampier's navigation between them does not appear to have been far enough to the Northward to ascertain whether he was in a Strait or a Gulf.

The wind blew constant and fresh from the Westward, and it took them till the 4th of July to get into a harbour or sound Harbour or a few leagues to the NW from the two small Islands. This the South harbour or sound ran deep into the land; at the entrance it is Coast of Mindanae. only two miles across, but within it is three leagues wide, with seven fathoms depth, and there is good depth for shipping four or five leagues up, but with some rocky foul ground. On the East side of this Bay are small rivers and brooks of fresh water. The country on the West side was uncultivated land, woody. and well stocked with wild deer, which had been used to live there

July. Sound on

June.

1686. July. At Mindanao.

CHAP. 20. there unmolested, no people inhabiting on that side of the bay. Near the shore was a border of savanna or meadow land which abounded in long grass. Dampier says, 'the adjacent ' woods are a covert for the deer in the heat of the day; but ' mornings and evenings they feed in the open plains, as thick ' as in our parks in England. I never saw any where such ' plenty of wild deer. We found no hindrance to our killing as ' many as we pleased, and the crews of both the ships were ' fed with venison all the time we remained here.'

> They quitted this commodious Port on the 12th : the weather had become moderate, and they proceeded Westward for the River and City of Mindanao. The Southern part of the Island appeared better peopled than the Eastern part; they passed many fishing boats, ' and now and then a small village.'

River of Mindanao.

On the 18th, they anchored before the River of Mindanao, in 15 fathoms depth, the bottom hard sand, about two miles distant from the shore, and three or four miles from a small Island which was without them to the Southward. The river is small, and had not more than ten or eleven feet depth over the bar at spring tides. Dampier gives the latitude of the entrance 6° 22' N.

City of Mindanao.

The buccaneer ships on anchoring saluted with seven guns. under English colours, and the salute was returned with three guns from the shore. 'The City of Mindanao is about two · miles from the sea. It is a mile long, of no great breadth, ' winding with the banks of the river on the right hand going ' up, yet it has many houses on the opposite side of the river.' The houses were built upon posts, and at this time, as also during a great part of the succeeding month, the weather was rainy, and ' the city seemed to stand as in a pond, so that there " was no passing from one house to another but in canoes."

The Island Mindanao was divided into a number of small states.

states. The port at which the Cygnet and her tender now CHAP. 20. anchored, with a large district of country adjacent, was under the dominion of a Sultan or Prince, who appears to have been one of the most powerful in the Island. The Spaniards had not established their dominion over all the Philippine Islands, and the inhabitants of this place were more apprehensive of the Hollanders than of any other Europeans; and on that account expressed some discontent when they understood the Cygnet was not come for the purpose of making a settlement. On the afternoon of their arrival, Swan sent an officer with a present to the Sultan, consisting of scarlet cloth, gold lace, a scymitar, and a pair of pistols; and likewise a present to another great man who was called the General, of scarlet cloth and three yards of silver lace. The next day, Captain Swan went on shore and was admitted to an audience in form. The Sultan shewed him two letters from English merchants, expressing their wishes to establish a factory at Mindanao, to do which he said the English should be welcome. A few days after this audience, the Cygnet and tender went into the river, the former being lightened first to get her over the bar. Here, similar to the custom in the ports of China, an officer belonging to the Sultan went on board and measured the ships.

Voyagers or travellers who visit strange countries, generally find, or think, it necessary to be wary and circumspect: mercantile voyagers are on the watch for occasions of profit, and the inquisitiveness of men of observation will be regarded with suspicion; all which, however familiarity of manners may be assumed, keeps cordiality at a distance, and causes them to continue strangers. The present visitors were differently circumstanced and of different character: their pursuits at Mindanao were neither to profit by trade nor to make observation. Long confined with pockets full of money which they were impatient to

1686. July. Aι

Mindanao.

CHAP. 20. to exchange for enjoyment, with minds little troubled by considerations of economy, they at once entered into familiar 1686. intercourse with the natives, who were gained almost as much At Mindanao. by the freedom of their manners as by their presents, and with whom they immediately became intimates and inmates. The same happened to Drake and his companions, when, returning enriched with spoil from the South Sea, they stopped at the Island Java; and we read no instance of Europeans arriving at such sociable and friendly intercourse with any of the natives of India, as they became with the people of Java during the short time they remained there, except in the similarly circumstanced instance of the crew of the Cygnet among the Mindanayans.

> By the length of their stay at Mindanao, Dampier was enabled to enter largely into descriptions of the natives, and of the country, and he has related many entertaining particulars concerning them. Those only in which the Buccaneers were interested will be noticed here.

The Buccaneers were at first prodigal in their gifts. When any of them went on shore, they were welcomed and invited to the houses, and were courted to form particular attachments. Among many nations of the East a custom has been found to prevail, according to which, a stranger is expected to choose some individual native to be his friend or comrade; and a connexion so formed, and confirmed with presents, is regarded, if not as sacred, with such high respect, that it is held most dishonourable to break it. The visitor is at all times afterwards welcome to his comrade's house. The *tayoship*, with the ceremony of exchanging names, among the South Sea islanders, is a bond of fellowship of the same nature. The people of Mindanao enlarged and refined upon this custom, and allowed to the stranger a *pugally*, or platonic friend of the other sex. The wives

wives of the richest men may be chosen, and she is permitted CHAP. 20. to converse with her pagally in public. ' In a short time,' says Dampier, 'several of our men, such as had good clothes and Mindanao. "store of gold, had a comrade or two, and as many pagallies." Some of the crew hired, and some purchased, houses, in which they lived with their comrades and pagallies, and with a train of servants, as long as their means held out. ' Many of our ' Squires,' continues Dampier, ' were in no long time eased ' of the trouble of counting their money. This created a ' division of the crew into two parties, that is to say, of ' those who had money, and those who had none. As the ' latter party increased, they became dissatisfied and unruly ' for want of action, and continually urged' the Captain to go to sea; which not being speedily complied with, they sold the ' ship's stores and the merchants' goods to procure arrack.' Those whose money held out, were not without their troubles. The Mindanayans were a people deadly in their resentments. Whilst the Cygnet lay at Mindanao, sixteen Buccaneers were buried, most of whom, Dampier says, died by poison. 'The ' people of Mindanao are expert at poisoning, and will do it ' upon small occasions. Nor did our men want for givingfoffence either by rogueries, or by familiarities with their ' women, even before their husbands' faces. They have poisons which are slow and lingering; for some who were poisoned at Mindanao, did not die till many months after.'

Towards the end of the year they began to make preparation for sailing. It was then discovered that the bottom of the tender was eaten through by worms in such a manner that she would scarcely swim longer in port, and could not possibly be made fit for sea. The Cygnet was protected by a sheathing which covered her bottom, the worms not being able 1686.

At

 $\underline{C \text{ HAP. 20}}$ able to penetrate farther than to the hair which was between 1687. the sheathing and the main plank.

January.

In the beginning of January (1687), the Cygnet was removed to without the bar of the river. Whilst she lay there, and when Captain Swan was on shore, his Journal was accidentally left out, and thereby liable to the inspection of the crew, some of whom had the curiosity to look in it, and found there the misconduct of several individuals on board, noted down in a manner that seemed to threaten an after-reckoning. This discovery increased the discontents against Swan to such a degree, that when he heard of it he did not dare to trust himself on board, and the discontented party took advantage of his absence and got the ship under sail. Captain Swan sent on board Mr. Harthope, one of the Supercargoes, to see if he could effect a reconciliation. The principal mutineers shewed to Mr. Harthope the Captain's Journal, ' and repeated to him all ' his ill actions, and they desired that he would take the com-' mand of the ship; but he refused, and desired them to tarry • a little longer whilst he went on shore and communed with * the Captain, and he did not question but all differences ' would be reconciled. They said they would wait till two ' o'clock; but at four o'clock, Mr. Harthope not having re-" turned, and no boat being seen coming from the shore, they " made sail and put to sea with the ship, leaving their Com-' mander and 36 of the crew at Mindanao.' Dampier was among those who went in the ship; but he disclaims having had any share in the mutiny.

FROM MINDANAO.

CHAP. XXI.

The Cygnet departs from Mindanao. At the Ponghou Isles. At the Five Islands. Dampier's Account of the Five Islands. They are named the Bashee Islands.

T was on the 14th of January the Cygnet sailed from before CHAP. 21. the River Mindanao. The crew chose one John Reed, a Jamaica man, for their Captain. They steered Westward along the coast of the South side of the Island, 'which here tends "W b S, the land of a good height, with high hills in the coun-' try.' The 15th, they were abreast a town named Chambongo [in the charts Samboangan] which Dampier reckoned to be 30 leagues distant from the River of Mindango. The Spaniards had formerly a fort there, and it is said to be a good harbour. 'At the distance of two or three leagues from the coast, are many small low Islands or Keys; and two or three leagues to the Southward of these Keys is a long Island stretching NE and SW about twelve leagues *.'

When they were past the SW part of Mindanao, they sailed Among the Northward towards Manila, plundering the country vessels that came in their way. What was seen here of the coasts is noticed slightly and with uncertainty. They met two Mindanao vessels laden with silks and calicoes; and near Manila they took some Spanish vessels, one of which had a cargo of rice.

From the Philippine Islands they went to the Island Pulo Condore,

March. Pulo Condore.

Philippine

Islands.

VOL. IV.

· K ĸ

249

1687. January. South Coast of Mindanao.

^{*} Dampier, Vol. I, Chap. 14. The long Island is named Basseelan in the charts; but the shape there given it does not agree well with Dampier's description.

CHAP. 21. Condore, where two of the men who had been poisoned at 1687. Mindanao, died. 'They were opened by the surgeon, in com-March. ' pliance with their dying request, and their livers were found In the China Seas. ' black, light, and dry, like pieces of cork.'

From Pulo Condore they went cruising to the Gulf of Siam, and to different parts of the China Seas. What their success was, Dampier did not think proper to tell, for it would not admit of being palliated under the term Buccaneering. Among their better projects and contrivances, one, which could only have been undertaken by men confident in their own seamanship and dexterity, was to search at the Prata Island and Shoal, for treasure which had been wrecked there, the recovery of which no one had ever before ventured to attempt. In pursuit of this scheme, they unluckily fell too far to leeward, and were unable to beat up against the wind.

July. Ponghou Isles.

The Five Islands. In July they went to the Ponghou Islands, expecting to find there a port which would be a safe retreat. On the 20th of that month, they anchored at one of the Islands, where they found a large town, and a Tartar garrison. This was not a place where they could rest with ease and security. Having the wind at SW, they again got under sail, and directed their course to look for some Islands which in the charts were laid down between Formosa and Luconia, without any name, but marked with the figure 5 to denote their number. These Buccaneers, or rather pirates, had no other information concerning the Five Islands than seeing them on the charts, and hoped to find them without inhabitants.

Dampier's account of the *Five Islands* would lose in many respects if given in any other than his own words, which therefore are here transcribed.

Dampier's 'August the 6th, We made the Islands; the wind was at Description of the Five Islands. 'South, and we fetched in with the Westernmost, which is the Islands. 'largest.

' largest, on which we saw goats, but could not get anchor- CHAP. 21. ' ground, therefore we stood over to others about three leagues ' from this, and the next forenoon anchored in a small Bay on ' the East side of the Easternmost Island in fifteen fathoms, a ' cable's length from the shore; and before our sails were furled we had a hundred small boats aboard, with three, four, Five Islands, ' and some with six men in them. There were three large ' towns on the shore within the distance of a league. Most ' of our people being aloft (for we had been forced to turn in ' close with all sail abroad, and when we anchored, furled all ' at once) and our deck being soon full of Indian natives, we ' were at first alarmed, and began to get our small-arms ready; ' but they were very quiet, only they bicked up such old ' iron as they found upon our deck. At last, one of our men ' perceived one of them taking an iron pin out of a gun-' carriage, and laid hold of him, upon which he bawled out, ' and the rest leaped into their boats or overboard, and they ' all made away for the shore. But when we perceived their ' fright, we made much of him we had in hold, and gave him ' a small piece of iron, with which we let him go, and he ' immediately leaped overboard and swam to his consorts, who * hovered near the ship to see the issue. Some of the boats ' came presently aboard again, and they were always after-' ward very honest and civil. We presently after this, sent our ' canoe on shore, and they made the crew welcome with a ' drink they call Bashee, and they sold us some hogs. We ' bought a fat goat for an old iron hoop, a hog of 70 or 80 lbs. ' weight for two or three pounds of iron, and their bashee ' drink and roots for old nails or bullets. Their hogs were ' very sweet, but many were meazled. We filled fresh water ' here at a curious brook close by the ship.

. We fay here till the 12th, when we weighed to seek for a KK2 better 1687.

August 7th.

Dampier's

Account

CHAP.21. ' better anchoring place. We plied to windward, and passed 1687. ' between the South end of this Island and the North end of August. ' another Island South of this. These Islands were both full Dampier's Account of the Five Islands. ' at ide under the Southern Island. The tide runs there very is strong, the flood to the North, and it rises and falls eight ' feet. It was the 15th day of the month before we found a

- · place we might anchor at and careen, which was at another
- ' Island not so big as either of the former.



'We anchored near the North East part of this smaller 'Island, against a small sandy bay, in seven fathoms' clean hard sand, a quarter of a mile from the shore. We prescrittly 'set up a tent on shore, and every day some of us went to the towns of the natives, and were kindly entertained by them.' Their boats also came on board to traffic with us every day; so that besides provision for present use, we bought and salted 70 or 80 good fat hogs, and laid up a good stock' of potatoes and yams.

Names given to the Islands.

"These Islands lie in 20° 20' N.* As they are laid down in the ds. "These Islands lie in 20° 20' N.* As they are laid down in

16.5 1.

^{*} M. de Surville in 1769, and much more lately Captain A. Murray of the English E. I. Company's Service, found the South end of *Monmouth Island* to be in 20° 17' N.

* the charts marked only with a figure of 5, we gave them what CHAP. 21.
' names we pleased. The Dutchmen who were among us 1687.
' named the Westeramost, which is the largest, the Prince of Orange
' Orange's Island. It is seven or eight leagues long, about two Island.
' leagues wide, and lies almost North and South. Orange
' Island was not inhabited. It is high land, flat and even at
· the top, with steep cliffs against the sea; for which reason we
' could not go ashore there, as we did on all the rest.
'The Island where we first anchored, we called the Duke of Grafton
" Grafton's Isle, having married my wife out of his Dutchess's Island.
' family, and leaving her at Arlington House at my going
' abroad. Grafton Isle is about four leagues long, stretching
' North and South, and one and a half wide.
The other great Island our seamen called the Duke of Monmouth
' Monmouth's Island. It is about three leagues long, and a Island.
' league wide.
' The two smaller Islands, which lie between Monmouth, and Goat
' the South end of Orange Island; the Westernmost, which is Island.
' the smallest, we called Goat Island, from the number of goats
' we saw there. The Easternmost, at which we careened, our Bashee
' men unanimously called Bashee Island, because of the plen- Island.
' tiful quantity of that liquor which we drank there every day.
' This drink called Bashee, the natives make with the juice of The Drink
' the sugar-cane, to which they put some small black berries. called Bashee.
It is well, boiled, and then put into great jars, in which it
' stands three or four days to ferment. Then it settles clear,
' and is presently fit to drink. This is an excellent liquor,
' strong, and I believe wholesome, and much like our English
· beer both in colour and taste. Our men drank briskly of it
during several weeks, and were frequently drunk with it, The whole
' and never sick in consequence. The natives sold it to us group named the
very cheap, and from the plentiful use of it, our men called Bashee Islands.
all these Islands the Bashee Islands.
• То

CHAP. 21. 1687. Rocks or small Islands North of the Five Islands. Natives described. 'To the Northward of the Five Islands are two high rocks.' [These rocks are not inserted in Dampier's manuscript Chart, and only one of them in the published Chart; whence is to be inferred, that the other was beyond the limit of the Chart.]

These Islanders are short, squat, people, generally round
visaged with thick eyebrows; their eyes of a hazel colour,
small, yet bigger than those of the Chinese; they have short
low noses, their teeth white; their hair black, thick, and lank,
which they wear short: their skins are of a dark copper
colour. They wear neither hat, cap, nor turban to keep off
the sun. The men had a cloth about their waist, and the
women wore short cotton petticoats which reached below the
knee. These people had iron; but whence it came we knew
not. The boats they build are much after the fashion of our
Deal yawls, but smaller, and every man has a boat, which he
builds himself. They have also large boats, which will carry
40 or 50 men each.

⁶ They are neat and cleanly in their persons, and are withal ⁶ the quietest and civilest people I ever met with. I could ⁶ never perceive them to be angry one with another. I have ⁶ admired to see 20 or 30 boats aboard our ship at a time, all ⁶ quiet and endeavouring to help each other on occasion; and ⁶ if cross accidents happened, they caused no noise nor appear-⁶ ance of distaste. When any of us came to their houses, they ⁶ would entertain us with such things as their houses or planta-⁶ tions would afford; and if they had no bashee at home, would ⁶ buy of their neighbours, and sit down and drink freely with ⁶ us; yet neither then nor sober could I ever perceive them ⁶ to be out of humour.

• I never observed them to worship any thing; they had no • idols; neither did I perceive that one man was of greater • power than another: they seemed to be all equal, only every man * man ruling in his own house, and children respecting and CHAP. 21. · honouring their parents. Yet it is probable they have some law ' or custom by which they are governed; for whilst we lay here, ' we saw a young man buried alive in the earth, and it was ' for theft, as far as we could understand from them. There ' was a great deep hole dug, and abundance of people came to ' the place to take their last farewell of him. One woman ' particularly made great lamentations, and took off the con-' demned person's ear-rings. We supposed her to be his mother. ' After he had taken leave of her, and some others, he was put ' into the pit, and covered over with earth. He did not struggle, ' but yielded very quietly to his punishment, and they crammed ' the earth close upon him, and stifled him."

' Monmouth and Grafton Isles are very hilly with steep Situations ' precipices; and whether from fear of pirates, of foreign ' enemies, or factions among their own clans, their towns and ' villages are built on the most steep and inaccessible of these ' precipices, and on the sides of rocky hills ; so that in some of " their towns, three or four rows of houses stand one above ' another, in places so steep that they go up to the first row ' with a ladder, and in the same manner ascend to every street ' upwards. Grafton and Monmouth Islands are very thick set ' with these hills and towns. The two small Islands are flat ' and even, except that on Bashce Island there is one steep ' craggy hill. The reason why Orange Island has no inhabitants, ' though the largest and as fertile as any of these Islands, I take ' to be, because it is level and exposed to attack; and for the ' same reason, Goat Island, being low and even, hath no inha-· bitants. We saw no houses built on any open plain ground. ' Their houses are but small and low, the roofs about eight · feet high.

' The vallies are well watered with brooks of fresh water. The fruits of their Towns.

1687.
THE CYGNET

CHAP. 21. ' fruits of these Islands are plantains, bananas, pine-apples, pumpkins, yams and other roots, and sugar-canes, which last 1687. ' they use mostly for their bashee drink. Here are plenty of Bashee ' goats, and hogs; and but a few fowls. They had no grain of Islands. ' any kind. ' On the 26th of September, our ship was driven to sea, by a September. 26th. ' strong gale at N b W, which made her drag her anchors. Six ' of the crew were on shore, who could not get on board. The ' weather continued stormy till the 29th. The 1st of October, October. ' we recovered the anchorage from which we had been driven, ' and immediately the natives brought on board our six seamen, ' who related that after the ship was out of sight, the natives " were more kind to them than they had been before, and tried ' to persuade them to cut their hair short, as was the custom ' among themselves, offering to each of them if they would, a ' young woman to wife, a piece of land, and utensils fit for a ' planter. These offers were declined, but the natives were not ' the less kind; on which account we made them a present

• of three whole bars of iron.'

Two days after this reciprocation of kindness, the Buccaneers bid farewell to these friendly Islanders.

FROM THE BASHEE ISLANDS.

CHAP. XXII.

The Cygnet. At the Philippines, Celebes, and Timor. On the Coast of New Holland. End of the Cygnet.

FROM the Bashee Islands, the Cygnet steered at first SSW, CHAP. 22. with the wind at West, and on that course passed 'close 1687. ' to the Eastward of certain small Islands that lie just by the October. ' North end of the Island Luconia.'

They went on Southward by the East of the Philippine Islands. On the 14th, they were near a small low woody Island, which Dampier reckoned to lie East 20 leagues from the SE Mindanao. end of Mindanao. The 16th, they anchored between the small Islands Candigar and Sarangan; but afterwards found at Candigar. the NW end of the Eastern of the two Islands, a good and convenient small cove, into which they went, and careened the ship. They heard here that Captain Swan and those of the crew left with him, were still at the City of Mindanao.

The Cygnet and her restless crew continued wandering about the Eastern Seas, among the Philippine Islands, to Celebes, and to Timor. December the 27th, steering a Southerly course, December. they passed by the West side of Rotte, and by another small Island, near the SW end of Timor. Dampier says, ' Being now SW end of ' clear of all the Islands, and having the wind at West and "W b N, we steered away SSW, " intending to touch at New . Holland, to see what that country would afford us.'

The wind blew fresh, and kept them under low sail; sometimes with only their courses set, and sometimes with reefed topsails. The 31st at noon, their latitude was 13° 20' S. About ten o'clock at night, they tacked and stood to the Northward for fear of a shoal, which their charts laid down

VOL. IV.

* Manuscript Journal. LL

near the SE end of

Island

27th. Near the Timor.

31st.

in

THE CYGNET

CHAP. 22. in the track they were sailing, and in latitude 15° 50' S. At three in the morning, they tacked again and stood SbW and SSW. 1688. As soon as it was light, they perceived a low Island and shoal January. Low Island right ahead. This shoal, by their reckoning, is in latitude and Shoal, 13° 50', and lies SbW from the West end of Timor.* ' It is S bW from the West ' a small spit of sand appearing just above the water's edge, end of ' with several rocks about it eight or ten feet high above Tinnor. ' water. It lies in a triangular form, each side in extent about ' a league and a half. We could not weather it, so bore away ' round the East end, and stood again to the Southward, ' passing close by it and sounding, but found no ground. This ' shoal is laid down in our drafts not above 16 or 20 leagues NW Coast ' from New Holland; but we ran afterwards 60 leagues making of New ' a course due South, before we fell in with the coast of New Holland. "Holland, which we did on January the 4th, in latitude ' 16' 50' S.' Dampier remarks here, that unless they were set Westward by a current, the coast of New Holland must have been laid down too far Westward in the charts; but he thought it not probable that they were deceived by currents. because the tides on that part of the coast were found very regular; the flood setting towards the NE.

In a Bay on the NW Coast of New Holland.

The coast here was low and level, with sand-banks. The Cygnet sailed along the shore NE b E 12 leagues, when she came to a point of land, with an Island so near it that she could not pass between. A league before coming to this point, that is to say, Westward of the point, was a shoal which ran out from the main-land a league. Beyond the point, the coast ran East, and East Southerly, making a deep bay with many

^{*} In the printed Voyage, the shoal is mistakenly said to lie S b W from the East end of *Timor*. The Manuscript Journal, and the track of the ship as marked in the charts to the 1st volume of *Dampier's Voyages*, agree in making the place of the shoal S b W from the West end of *Timor*; whence they had last taken their departure, and from which their reckoning was kept.

many Islands in it. On the 5th, they anchored in this bay, <u>cn</u> about two miles from the shore, in 29 fathoms. The 6th, they ran nearer in and anchored about four miles Eastward of the Jar point before mentioned, and a mile distant from the nearest ln or shore, in 18 fathoms depth, the bottom clean sand.

People were seen on the land, and a boat was sent to endeavour to make acquaintance with them; but the natives did not wait. Their habitations were sought for, but none were found. The soil here was dry and sandy, yet fresh water was found by digging for it. They warped the ship into a small sandy cove, at a spring tide, as far as she would float, and at low water she was high aground, the sand being dry without her half a mile; for the sea rose and fell here about five fathoms perpendicularly. During the neap tides, the ship lay wholly aground, the sea not approaching nearer than within a hundred yards of her. Turtle and manatee were struck here, as much every day as served the whole crew.

Boats went from the ship to different parts of the bay in search of provisions. For a considerable time they met with no inhabitants; but at length, a party going to one of the Islands, saw there about forty natives, men, women, and children. ' The Island was too small for them to conceal them-' selves. The men at first made threatening motions with ' lances and wooden swords, but a musket was fired to scare ' them, and they stood still. The women snatched up their ' infants and ran away howling, their other children running ' after squeaking and bawling. Some invalids who could not ' get away lay by the fire making a doleful noise; but after a ' short time they grew sensible that no mischief was intended ' them, and they became quiet.' Those who had fled, soon returned, and some presents made, succeeded in rendering them familiar. Dampier relates, ' we filled some of our barrels with " water at wells, which had 'been dug by the natives, but it · being LL2

CHAP. 22. 1688. January. In a Bay on the NW Coast of New Holland.

Natives.

THE CYGNET

CHAP. 22. ' being troublesome to get to our boats, we thought to have 1688. January. In a Bay on the **NW** Coast of New

Holland.

' made these men help us, to which end we put on them some ' old ragged clothes, thinking this finery would make them ' willing to be employed. We then brought our new servants to ' the wells, and put a barrel on the shoulders of each; but ' all the signs we could make were to no purpose, for they ' stood like statues, staring at one another and grinning like so ' many monkies. These poor creatures seem not accustomed ' to carry burthens, and I believe one of our ship-boys of ten ' years old would carry as much as one of their men. So ' we were forced to carry our water ourselves, and they very ' fairly put off the clothes again and laid them down. They ' had no great liking to them at first, neither did they seem ' to admire any thing that we had.'

ⁱ The inhabitants of this country are the most miserable ' people in the world. The Hottentots compared with them ' are gentlemen. They have no houses, animals, or poultry. " Their persons are tall, straight-bodied, thin, with long limbs : " they have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows. ' Their eyelids are always half closed to keep the flies out of ' their eyes, for they are so troublesome here that no fanning ' will keep them from one's face, so that from their infancy ' they never open their eyes as other people do, and therefore ' they cannot see far, unless they hold up their heads as if ' they were looking at something over them. They have great ' bottle noses, full lips, wide mouths : the two fore-teeth of their ' upper jaw are wanting in all of them : neither have they any ' beards. Their hair is black, short, and curled, and their skins ' coal black like that of the negroes in Guinea. Their only food ' is fish, and they constantly search for them at low water, ' and they make little weirs or dams with stones across little ' coves of the sea. At one time, our boat being among the ' Islands seeking for game, espied a drove of these people ' swimming • swimming from one Island to another; for they have neither CHAP. 22.

' boats, canoes, nor bark-logs. We always gave them victuals ' when we met any of them. But after the first time of our

' being among them, they did not stir for our coming.'

It deserves to be remarked to the credit of human nature, NW Coast that these poor people, in description the most wretched of mankind in all respects, that we read of, stood their ground for the defence of their women and children, against the shock and first surprise at hearing the report of fire-arms.

The Cygnet remained at this part of New Holland till the 12th of March, and then sailed Westward, for the West coast of Sumatra.

On the 28th, they fell in with a small woody uninhabited Island, in latitude 10° 20' S, and, by Dampier's reckoning, 12° 6' of longitude from the part of New Holland at which they had There was too great depth of water every where round been. the Island for anchorage. A landing-place was found near the SW point, and on the Island a small brook of fresh water ; but the surf would not admit of any to be taken off to the ship. Large craw-fish, boobies, and men-of-war birds, were caught, as many as served for a meal for the whole crew.

April the 7th, they made the coast of Sumatra. Shortly after, at the Nicobar Islands, Dampier and some others quitted the End of the Cygnet. Read, the Captain, and those who yet remained with him, continued their piratical cruising in the Indian Seas, till, after a variety of adventures, and changes of commanders, they put into Saint Augustine's Bay in the Island of Madagascar, by which time the ship was in so crazy a condition, that the crew abandoned her, and she sunk at her anchors. Some of the men embarked on board European ships, and some engaged themselves in the service of the petty princes of that Island.

Dampier returned to England in 1691.

1688. March. In a Bay On the of New Holland.

28th. An Island in Lat. 10º 20' S.

April. Cygnet.

CHAP. XXIII.

French Buccancers under François Grogniet and Le Picard, to the Death of Grogniet.

CHAP. 23. LAVING accompanied the Cygnet to her end, the History must again be taken back to the breaking up of the The French Buccancers, general confederacy of Buccaneers which took place at the July 1685. Island Quibo, to give a connected narrative of the proceedings of the French adventurers from that period to their quitting the South Sea.

> Three hundred and forty-one French Buccaneers (or to give them their due, privateers, war then existing between France and Spain) separated from Edward Davis in July 1685, choosing for their leader Captain François Grogniet.

> They had a small ship, two small barks, and some large canoes, which were insufficient to prevent their being incommoded for want of room, and the ship was so ill provided with sails as to be disqualified for cruising at sea. They were likewise scantily furnished with provisions, and necessity for a long time confined their enterprises to the places on the coast of New Spain in the neighbourhood of Quibo, The towns of Pueblo Nuevo, Ria Lexa, Nicoya, and others, were plundered by them, some more than once, by which they obtained provisions, and little of other plunder, except prisoners, from whom they extorted ransom either in provisions or money.

November.

In November, they attacked the town of Ria Lexa. Whilst in the port, a Spanish Officer delivered to them a letter from the Vicar-General of the province of Costa Rica, written to inform them that a truce for twenty years had been concluded between

from

Under Grogniet.

between France and Spain. The Vicar-General therefore re- CHAP. 23. quired of them to forbear committing farther hostility, and offered to give them safe conduct over land to the North Sea, November. and a passage to Europe in the galeons of his Catholic Majesty to as many as should desire it. This offer not according with the inclinations of the adventurers, they declined accepting it, and, without entering into enquiry, professed to disbelieve the Coast of New Spain. intelligence.

November the 14th, they were near the Point Burica. Lussan says, 'we admired the pleasant appearance of the land, and ' among other things, a walk or avenue, formed by five rows ' of cocoa-nut trees, which extended in continuation along the ' coast 15 leagues, with as much regularity as if they had been ' planted by line.'

In the beginning of January 1686, two hundred and thirty of these Buccaneers went in canoes from Quibo against Chiriquita, a small Spanish town on the Continent, between Point Burica and the Island Quibo. Chiriquita is situated up a navigable river, and at some distance from the sea-coast. ' Before this ' river are eight or ten Islands, and shoals on which the ' sea breaks at low water; but there are channels between ' them through which ships may pass *.'

The Buccaneers arrived in the night at the entrance of the river, unperceived by the Spaniards; but being without guides, and in the dark, they mistook and landed on the wrong side of the river. They were two days occupied in discovering the right way, but were so well concealed by the woods, that at daylight on the morning of the third day they came upon the town and surprised the whole of the inhabitants, who, savs Lussan, had been occupied the last two days in disputing which of them should keep watch, and go the rounds.

Lussan

A Voyage by Edward Cooke, Vol. 1, p. 371. London, 1712.

1685. French Buccancers under Grogniet. On the

Point de Burica.

1686. January. Chiriquita.

1686. January, Grogniet on the Coast of New Spain.

CHAP. 23.

Lussan relates here, that himself and five others were decoyed to pursue a few Spaniards to a distance from the town, where they were suddenly attacked by one hundred and twenty men. He and his companions however, he says, played their parts an hour and a half 'en vrai Flibustiers,' and laid thirty of the enemy on the ground, by which time they were relieved by the arrival of some of their friends. They set fire to the town, and got ransom for their prisoners: in what the ransom consisted, Lussan has not said.

At Quibo.

Their continuance in one station, at length prevailed on the Spaniards to collect and send a force against them. They had taken some pains to instil into the Spaniards a belief that they intended to erect fortifications and establish themselves at Quibo. Their view in this it is not easy to conjecture, unless it was to discourage their prisoners from pleading poverty; for they obliged those from whom they could not get money, to labour, and to procure bricks and materials for building to be sent for their ransom. On the 27th of January, a small fleet of Spanish vessels approached the Island Quibo. The buccaneer ship was without cannon, and lay near the entrance of a river which had only depth sufficient for their small vessels. The Buccaneers therefore took out of the ship all that could be of use, and ran her aground; and with their small barks and canoes took a station in the river. The Spaniards set fire to the abandoned ship, and remained by her to collect the ironwork ; but they shewed no disposition to attack the French in February. the river; and on the 1st of February, they departed from the Island.

The Buccaneers having lost their ship, set hard to work to build themselves small vessels. In this month of February, fourteen of their number died by sickness and accidents.

March.

They had projected an attack upon Granada, but want of present

present subsistence obliged them to seek supply nearer, and a CHAP. 23. detachment was sent with that view to the river of Pueblo Nuevo. Some vessels of the Spanish flotilla which had lately been at Quibo, were lying at anchor in the river, which the Unsuccess-Flibustiers mistook for a party of the English Buccaneers. In this belief they went within pistol-shot, and hailed, and were then undeceived by receiving for answer a volley of musketry. They fired on the Spaniards in return, but were obliged to retreat, and in this affair they lost four men killed outright, and between 30 and 40 were wounded.

Preparatory to their intended expedition against Granada, they agreed upon some regulations for preserving discipline and order, the principal articles of which were, that cowardice, theft, drunkenness, or disobedience, should be punished with forfeiture of all share of booty taken.

On the evening of the 22d, they were near the entrance of the Gulf of Nicoya, in a little fleet, consisting of two small barks, a row-galley, and nine large canoes. A tornado came on in the night which dispersed them a good deal. At daylight they were surprised at counting thirteen sail in company. and before they discovered which was the strange vessel, five more sail came in sight. They soon joined each other, and the Grogniet strangers proved to be a party of the Buccaneers of whom is joined by Townley. Townley was the head.

Townley had parted company from Swan not quite two months before. His company consisted of 115 men, embarked in a ship and five large canoes. Townley had advanced with his cances along the coast before his ship to seek provisions, he and his men being no better off in that respect than Grogniet and his followers. On their meeting as above related, the French did not forget Townley's former overbearing conduct towards them: they, however, limited their vengeance to a short Мм triumph. VOL. IV.

1686. March. ful attempt at Pueblo Nuevo.

triumph. Lussan says, 'we now finding ourselves the strongest, ' called to mind the ill offices he had done us, and to shew him ' our resentment, we made him and his men in the cances ' with him our prisoners. We then boarded his ship, of ' which we made ourselves masters, and pretended that we ' would keep her. We let them remain some time under ' this apprehension, after which we made them see that we ' were more bonest and civilized people than they were, and ' that we would not profit of our advantage over them to ' revenge ourselves; for after keeping possession about four ' or five hours, we returned to them their ship and all that had ' been taken from them.' The English shewed their sense of this moderation by offering to join in the attack on Granada, which offer was immediately accepted.

April. Expedition against the City of Granada.

7th.

The city of Granada is situated in a valley bordering on the Lake of Nicaragua, and is about 16 leagues distant from Leon. The Baccaneers were provided with guides, and to avoid giving the Spaniards suspicion of their design, Townley's ship and the two barks were left at anchor near Cape Blanco, whilst the force destined to be employed against Granada proceeded in the canoes to the place at which it was proposed to land, directions being left with the ship and barks to follow in due time.

The 7th of April, 345 Buccaneers landed from the canoes about twenty leagues NW-ward of Cape Blanco, and began their march, conducted by the guides, who led them through woods and unfrequented ways. They travelled night and day till the 9th, in hopes to reach the city before they were discovered by the inhabitants, or their having landed should be known by the Spaniards.

The province of Nicaragua, in which Granada stands, is reckoned one of the most fertile in New Spain. The distance from where the Buccaneers landed, to the city, may be estimated

266

CHAB. 23.

1686.

Grogniet

and Townley. mated about 60 miles. Yet they expected to come upon it CHAP. 23. by surprise; and in fact they did travel the greater part of the way without being seen by any inhabitant. Such a mark of the state of the population, corresponds with all the accounts given of the wretched tyranny exercised by the Spaniards over the nations they have conquered.

The Buccaneers however were discovered in their second day's march, by people who were fishing in a river, some of whom immediately posted off with the intelligence. The Spaniards had some time before been advertised by a deserter that the Buccaneers designed to attack Granada; but they were known to entertain designs upon so many places, and to be so fluctuating in their plans, that the Spaniards could only judge from certain intelligence where most to guard against their attempts.

On the night of the 9th, fatigue and hunger obliged the Buccaneers to halt at a sugar plantation four leagues distant from the city. One man, unable to keep up with the rest, had been taken prisoner. The morning of the 10th, they marched on, and from an eminence over which they passed, had a view of the Lake of Nicaragua, on which were seen two vessels sailing from the city. These vessels the Buccaneers afterwards learnt, were freighted with the richest moveables that at short notice the inhabitants had been able to embark, to be conveyed for security to an Island in the Lake which was two leagues distant from the city.

Granada was large and spacious, with magnificent churches and well-built houses. The ground is destitute of water, and the town is supplied from the Lake; nevertheless there were many large sugar plantations in the neighbourhood, some of which were like small towns, and had handsome churches. Granada was not regularly fortified, but had a place of arms surrounded with a wall, in the nature of a citadel, and furnished

M M 2

267

Grogniet and Townley.

oth.

10th.

with

1686. April. The City of Nueva Granada taken;

CHAP. 23. with cannon. The great church was within this inclosed part of the town. The Buccancers arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately assaulted the place of arms, which they carried with the loss of four men killed, and eight wounded, most of them mortally. The first act of the victors, according to Lussan, was to sing Te Deum in the great church; and the next, to plunder. Provisions, military stores, and a quantity of merchandisc, were found in the town, the latter of which was of little or no value to the captors. The next day 11th. they sent to enquire if the Spaniards would ransom the town, and the merchandise. It had been rumoured that the Buccaneers would be unwilling to destroy Granada, because they proposed at some future period to make it their baiting place, in returning to the North Sea, and the Spaniards scarcely con-And Burnt, descended to make answer to the demand for ransom. The Buccaneers in revenge set fire to the houses. 'If we could have ' found boats,' says Lussan, ' to have gone on the lake, and ' could have taken the two vessels laden with the riches of ' Granada, we should have thought this a favourable oppor-' tunity for returning to the West Indies.'

15th.

On the 15th, they left Granada to return to the coast, which journey they performed in the most leisurely manner. They took with them a large cannon, with oxen to draw it, and some smaller guns which they laid upon mules. The weather was hot and dry, and the road so clouded with dust, as almost to stifle both men and beasts. Sufficient provision of water had not been made for the journey, and the oxen all died. The cannon was of course left on the road. Towards the latter part of the journey, water and refreshments were procured at some villages and houses, the inhabitants of which furnished supplies as a condition that their dwellings should be spared.

On the 26th, they arrived at the sea and embarked in their vessels, taking on board with them a Spanish priest whom the Spaniards. Spaniards would not redeem by delivering up their buccaneer prisoner. Most of the men wounded in the Granada expedition died of cramps.

The 28th, they came upon Ria Lexa unexpectedly, and made one hundred of the inhabitants prisoners. By such means, little could be gained more than present subsistence, and that was rendered very precarious by the Spaniards removing their cattle from the coast. It was therefore determined to put an end to their unprofitable continuance in one place; but they could not agree where next to go. All the English, and one half of the French, were for sailing to the Bay of Panama. The other half of the French, 148 in number, with Grogniet at their head, declared for trying their fortunes North-westward. Division was made of the vessels and provisions. The whole money which the French had acquired by their depredations amounted to little more than 7000 dollars, and this sum they generously distributed among those of their countrymen who had been lamed or disabled.

May the 19th, they parted company. Those bound for the Bay of Panama, of whom Townley appears to have been regarded the head, had a ship, a bark, and some large canoes. Townley proposed an attack on the town of Lavelia or La Villia, Buccancers at which place the treasure from the Lima ships had been landed in the preceding year, and this proposal was approved.

Tornadoes and heavy rains kept them among the Keys of Quibo till the middle of June. On the 20th of that month, they arrived off the Punta Mala, and during the day, they lay at a distance from the land with sails furled. At night the principal part of their force made for the land in the canoes; but they had been deceived in the distance. Finding that they could not reach the river which leads to Lavelia before day, they took down the sails and masts, and went to 5.

CHAP. 23. 1686. April. 28th, At Ria Lexa.

May.

Grognict and Townley part Company. under Townley.

June.

1686. June. under Townley. 23d. Lavelia taken.

CHAP. 23. to three leagues distance from the land, where they lay all the day of the 21st. Lussan, who was of this party of Buccaneers, says that they were obliged to practise the same Buccaneers manœuvre on the day following. In the middle of the night of the 22d, 160 Buccaneers landed from the canoes at the entrance of the river. They were some hours in marching to Lavelia, yet the town was surprised, and above 300 of the inhabitants made prisoners. This was in admirable conformity with the rest of the management of the Spaniards. The fleet from Lima, laden with treasure intended for Panama, had, more than a year before, landed the treasure and rich merchandise at Lavelia, as a temporary measure of security against the Buccaneers, suited to the occasion. The Government at Panama, and the other proprietors, would not be at the trouble of getting it removed to Panama, except in such portions as might be required by some present convenience; and allowed a great part to remain in Lavelia, a place of no defence, although during the whole time Buccaneers had been on the coast of Veragua, or Nicaragua, to whom it now became an easy prey, through indolence and a total want of vigilance, as well in the proprietors as in those whom they employed to guard it.

> Three Spanish barks were riding in the river, one of which the crews sunk, and so dismantled the others that no use could be made of them; but the Buccaneers found two boats in serviceable condition at a landing-place a quarter of a league below the town. The riches they now saw in their possession equalled their most sanguine expectations, and if secured, they thought would compensate for all former disappointments. The merchandise in Lavelia was estimated in value at a million and a half of plastres. The gold and silver found there amounted only to 15,000 piastres.

The first day of being masters of Lavelia, was occupied by the

the Buccaneers in making assortments of the most valuable CHAP. 23 articles of the merchandise. The next m rning, they loaded 80 horses with bales, and a guard of 80 men went with them to the landing-place where the two boats above mentioned were At Lavelia. lying. In the way, one man of this escort was taken by the Spaniards. The two prize boats were by no means large enough to carry all the goods which the Buccaneers proposed to take from Lavelia; and on that account directions had been dispatched to the people in the canoes at the entrance of the river to advance up towards the town. These directions they attempted to execute; but the land bordering the river was woody, which exposed the canoes to the fire of a concealed enemy, and after losing one man, they desisted from advancing. For the same cause, it was thought proper not to send off the two loaded boats without a strong guard, and they did not move during this day. The Buccaneers sent a letter to the Spanish Alcalde, to demand if he would ransom the town, the merchandise, and the prisoners; but the Alcalde refused to treat with them. In the afternoon therefore, they set fire to the town, and marched to the landing-place where the two boats lay, and there rested for the night.

The river of Lavelia is broad, but shallow. Vessels of forty tons can go a league and a half within the entrance. The landing-place is yet a league and a half farther up, and the town is a quarter of a mile from the landing-place*.

On the morning of the 25th, the two boats, laden as deep as was safe, began to fall down the river, having on board nine men to conduct them. The main body of the Buccaneers at the same time marched along the bank on one side of the river for their protection. A body of Spaniards skreened by the woods, and unseen by the Buccaneers, kept pace with them

June.

1686.

The Town set on fire.

> River of Lavelia.

25th.

CHAP. 23. them on the other side of the river, at a small distance within the bank. The Buccaneers had marched about a league, and 1686. the boats had descended as far, when they came to a point of June. At Lavelia. land on which the trees and underwood grew so thick as not to be penetrated without some labour and expence of time, to which they did not choose to submit, but preferred making a circuit which took them about a quarter of a mile from the river. The Spaniards on the opposite side were on the watch, and not slow in taking advantage of their absence. They came to the bank, whence they fired upon the men in the laden boats, four of whom they killed, and wounded one; the other four abandoned the boats and escaped into the thicket. The Spaniards took possession of the boats, and finding there the wounded Buccaneer, they cut off his head and fixed it on a stake which they set up by the side of the river at a place by which the rest of the Buccaneers would necessarily have to pass.

> The main body of the Buccaneers regained the side of the river in ignorance of what had happened; and not seeing the boats, were for a time in doubt whether they were gone forward, or were still behind. The first notice they received of their loss was from the men who had escaped from the boats, who made their way through the thicket and joined them.

> Thus did this crew of Buccaneers, within a short space of time, win by circumspection and adroitness, and lose by negligence, the richest booty they had ever made. If quitting the bank of the river had been a matter of necessity, and unavoidable, there was nothing but idleness to prevent their conveying their plunder the remainder of the distance to their boats by land.

> In making their way through the woods, they found the rudder, sails, and other furniture of the Spanish barks in the river; the barks themselves were near at hand, and the Buccaneers

Buccaneers embarked in them; but the flood tide' making, CHAP. 23. they came to an anchor, and lay still for the night. 1686.

The next morning, as they descended the river, they saw the boats which they had so richly freighted, now cleared of their lading and broken to pieces; and near to their wreck, was the head which the Spaniards had stuck up. This spectacle, added to the mortifying loss of their booty, threw the Buccaneers into a frenzy, and they forthwith cut off the heads of four prisoners, and set them on poles in the same place. In the passage down the river, four more of the Buccaneers were killed by the firing of the Spaniards from the banks.

The day after their retreat from the river of Lavelia, a Spaniard went off to them to treat for the release of the prisoners, and they came to an agreement that 10,000 pieces of eight should be paid for their ransom. Some among them who had wives were permitted to go on shore that they might assist in procuring the money ; but on the 29th, the same messenger again went off and acquainted them that the Alcalde Major would not only not suffer the relations of the prisoners to send money for their ransom, but that he had arrested some of those whom the Buccaneers had allowed to land. On receiving this report, these savages without hesitation cut off the heads of two of their prisoners, and delivered them to the messenger, to be carried to the Alcalde, with their assurance that if the ransom did not speedily arrive, the rest of the prisoners would be treated in the same manner. The next day the ransom was settled for the remaining prisoners, and for one of the captured barks; the Spaniards paying partly with money, partly with provisions and necessaries, and with the release of the Buccaneer they had taken. In the agreement for the back, the Spaniards required a note specifying that if the Buccaneers again met her, they should make prize only of the carge, and not of the vessel.

After the destruction of Layelia, it might be supposed that **Vol.** 1V. NN the 26th.

273

27th.

CHAP. 23. the perpetrators of so much mischief would not be allowed with impunity to remain in the Bay of Panama; but such was 1686. the weakness or negligence of the Spaniards, that this small July. body of freebooters continued several months in this same In the Bay of Panama. neighbourhood, and at times under the very walls of the City. On another point, however, the Spaniards were more active, and with success; for they concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the Indians of the Isthmus, in consequence of which, the passage overland through the Darien country was no longer open to the Buccaneers; and some small parties of them who attempted to travel across, were intercepted and cut off by the Spaniards, with the assistance of the natives.

> The Spaniards had at Panama a military corps distinguished by the appellation of Greeks, which was composed of Europeans of different nations, not natives of Spain. Among the atrocities committed by the crew under Townley, they put to death one of these Greeks, who was also Commander of a Spanish vessel, because on examining him for intelligence, they thought he endeavoured to deceive them; and in aggravation of the deed, Lussan relates the circumstance in the usual manner of his pleasantries, 'we paid him for his treachery by sending ' him to the other world.'

August.

Spanish

armed

Ships.

On the 20th of August, as they were at anchor within sight of the city of Panama, they observed boats passing and repassing between some vessels and the shore, and a kind of bustle Battle with which had the appearance of an equipment. The next day, the Buccaneers anchored near the Island Taboga; and there, on the morning of the 22d, they were attacked by three armed vessels from Panama. The Spaniards were provided with cannon, and the battle lasted half the day, when, owing to an explosion of gunpowder in one of the Spanish vessels, the victory was decided in favour of the Baccaneers. Two of the three Spanish vessels were taken, as was also one other, which during the fight

fight arrived from Panama as a reinforcement. In the last CHAP. 23. mentioned prize, cords were found prepared for binding their prisoners in the event of their being victorious; and this, the Buccaneers deemed provocation sufficient for them to slaughter In the Bay the whole crew. This battle, so fatal to the Spaniards, cost the Buccaneers only one man killed outright, and 22 wounded. Townley was among the wounded.

Two of the prizes were immediately manned from the canoes, the largest under the command of Le Picard, who was the chief among the French of this party.

They had many prisoners; and one was sent with a letter to the President of Panama, to demand ransom for them; also medicines and dressings for the wounded, and the release of five Buccaneers who they learnt were prisoners to the Spaniards. The medicines were sent, but the President would not treat either of ransom, or of the release of the buccaneer prisoners. The Buccaneers dispatched a second message to the President, in which they threatened that if the five Buccaneers were not immediately delivered to them, the heads of all the Spaniards in their possession, should be sent to him. The President paid little attention to this message, not believing that such a threat would be executed; but the Bishop of Panama, regarding what had recently happened at Lavelia as an earnest of what the Buccaneers were capable, was seriously alarmed. He wrote a letter to them which he sent by a special messenger, in which he exhorted them in the mildest terms not to shed the blood of innocent men, and promised if they would have patience, to exert his influence to procure the release of the buccaneer prisoners. His letter concluded with the following remarkable paragraph, which shews the great hopes entertained by the Roman Catholics respecting Great Britain during the Reign of King James the Ild. ' I have information,' says the Bishop, · to

275

NN2

CHAP. 23. ' to give you, that the English are all become Roman Catholics, 1686. ' and that there is now a Catholic Church at Jamaica.'

The good Prelate's letter was pronounced by the Buccaneers August. In the Bay to be void of truth and sincerity, and an insult to their underof Panama. standing. They had already received the price of blood, shed not in battle nor in their own defence; and now, devoting themselves to their thirst for gain, they would not be diverted from their sanguinary purpose, but came to the resolution of sending the heads of twenty Spaniards to the President, and with them a message purporting that if they did not receive a satisfactory answer to all their demands by the 28th of the month, the heads of the remaining prisoners should answer for it. Lussan says, "the President's refusal obliged us, though ' with some reluctance, to take the resolution to send him ' twenty heads of his people in a canoe. This method was ' indeed a little violent, but it was the only way to bring the · Spaniards to reason *.'

> What they had resolved they put into immediate execution. The President of *Panama* was entirely overcome by their inhuman proceedings, and in the first shock and surprise, he yielded without stipulation to all they had demanded. On the 28th, the buccancer prisoners (four Englishmen and one Frenchman) were delivered to them, with a letter from the President, who said he left to their own conscience the disposal of the Spanish prisoners yet remaining in their hands.

> To render the triumph of cruelty and ferocity more complete, the Buccaneers, in an answer to the President, charged the whole blame of what they had done to his obstinacy; in exchange for the five Buccaneers, they sent only twelve of their Spanish prisoners; and they demanded 20,000 pieces of eight

> > 88

* ' Ce moyen étoit a la verité un peu violent, mais c'etoit l'unique pour mettre les ' Espagnols à la raison.

as ransom of the remainder, which demand however, they CHAP. 23. afterwards mitigated to half that sum and a supply of refreshments. On the 4th of September, the ransom was paid, and September. the prisoners were released.

September the 9th, the buccaneer commander, Townley, died of the wound he received in the last battle. The English and French. Buccaneers were faithful associates, but did not mix well as comrades. In a short time after Townley's death. the English desired that a division should be made of the prize vessels, artillery, and stores, and that those of their nation should keep together in the same vessels : and this was done, without other separation taking place at the time.

In November, they left the Bay of Panama, and sailed West- November. ward to their old station near the Point de Burica, where, by On the Coast of surprising small towns, villages, and farms, a business at which New Spain. they had become extremely expert, they procured provisions; and by the ransom of prisoners, some money.

In January (1687) they intercepted a letter from the Spanish Commandant at Sonsonnate addressed to the President of Panama, by which they learnt that Grogniet had been in Amapalla Bay, and that three of his men had been taken The Commandant remarked in his letter, that the prisoners. peace made with the Darien Indians, having cut off the retreat of the Buccancers, would drive them to desperation, and render them like so many mad dogs; he advised therefore that some means should be adopted to facilitate their retreat, that the Spaniards in the South Sea might again enjoy repose. 'They ' have landed,' he says, ' in these parts ten or twelve times, with-' out knowing what they were seeking; but wheresoever they come, ' they spoil and lay waste every thing.'

A few days after intercepting this letter, they took prisoner a Spanish horseman. Lussan says, 'We interrogated him with • the

277

1686. In the Bay of Panama. Death of Townley.

1687. January.

CHAP. 23. ' the usual ceremonies, that is to say, we gave him the torture, 1687. ' to make him tell us what we wanted to know.'

Many such villanies were undoubtedly committed by these January. On the banditti, more than appear in their Narratives, or than they Coast of New Spain. dared to make known. Lussan, who writes a history of his voyage, not before the end of the second year of his adventures in the South Sea, relates that they put a prisoner to the torture ; and it would have appeared as an individual instance, if he had not, probably through inadvertence, acknowledged it to have been their established practice. Lussan on his return to his native land, pretended to reputation and character; and he found countenance and favour from his superiors; it is therefore to be presumed, that he would suppress every transaction in which he was a participator, which he thought of too deep a nature to be received by his patrons with indulgence. A circumstance which tended to make this set of Buccaneers worse than any that had preceded them, was, its being composed of men of two nations between which there has existed a constant jealousy and emulation. They were each ambitious to outdo the other in acts of daringness, and were thereby instigated to every kind of excess.

Grogniet rejoins them. On the 20th, near Caldera Bay, they met Grogniet with sixty French Buccancers in three cances. Grogniet had parted from Townley at the head of 148 men. They had made several descents on the coast. At the Bay of Amapalla, they marched 14 leagues within the coast to a gold-mine, where they took many prisoners, and a small quantity of gold. Grogniet wished to return overland to the West-Indian Sea, but the majority of his companions were differently inclined, and 85 quitted him, and went to try their fortunes towards California. Grogniet nevertheless persevered in the design with the remainder of his crew, to seek some part of the coast of New Spain, thin of inhabitants,

inhabitants, where they might land unknown to the Spaniards, CHAP. 23. and march without obstruction through the country to the shore of the Atlantic, without other guide than a compass. The party they now met with, prevailed on them to defer the execution of this project to a season of the year more favourable, and in the mean time to unite with them.

In February, they set fire to the town of Nicoya. Their February. gains by these descents were so small, that they agreed to leave the coast of New Spain and to go against Guayaguil; but on coming to this determination, the English and the French fell into high dispute for the priority of choice in the prize vessels which they expected to take, insomuch that upon this difference they broke off partnership. Grogniet however, and about fifty of the French, remained with the English, which matle the whole number of that party 142 men, and they all embarked in one ship, the canoes not being safe for an open sea navigation. The other party numbered 162 men, all French, and embarked in a small ship and a Barca longa. The most curious circumstance attending this separation was, that sail for the both parties persevered in the design upon Guayaquil, without any proposal being made by either to act in concert. They sailed from the coast of New Spain near the end of February, not in company, but each using all their exertions to arrive first at the place of destination. They crossed the Equinoctial They meet line separately, but afterwards at sea accidentally fell-in company with each other again, and at this meeting they accommodated their differences, and renewed their partnership.

April the 13th, they were near Point Santa Elena, on the coast of Peru, and met there a prize vessel belonging to their old Commander Edward Davis and his Company, but which had been separated from him. She was laden with corn and wine, and eight of Davis's men had the care of her. They had been

Both Parties Coast of Peru.

again, and reunite

April.

1687.

They

divide.