

CHAP. 23. been directed in case of separation, to rendezvous at the Island
 1687. *Plata*; but the uncertainty of meeting Davis there, and the
 April. danger they should incur if they missed him, made them glad to
 join in the expedition against *Guayaquil*, and the provisions
 with which the vessel was laden, made them welcome associates
 to the Buccaneers engaged in it.

Attack on
 Guayaquil.

15th. Their approach to the City of *Guayaquil* was conducted with
 the most practised circumspection and vigilance. On first
 getting sight of *Point Santa Elena*, they took in their sails and
 lay with them furled as long as there was daylight. In the
 night they pursued their course, keeping at a good distance
 from the land, till they were to the Southward of the *Island*
Santa Clara. Two hundred and sixty men then (April the 15th)
 departed from the ships in canoes. They landed at *Santa Clara*,
 which was uninhabited, and at a part of the *Island Puna* dis-
 tant from any habitation, proceeding only during the night
 time, and lying in concealment during the day.

18th. In the night of the 17th, they approached the *River Guaya-*
quil: At daylight, they were perceived by a guard on watch
 near the entrance, who lighted a fire as a signal to other
 guards stationed farther on; by whom, however, the signal
 was not observed. The Buccaneers put as speedily as they
 could to the nearest land, and a party of the most alert made
 a circuit through the woods, and surprised the guard at the
 first signal station, before the alarm had spread farther. They
 19th. stopped near the entrance till night. All day of the 19th, they
 rested at an Island in the river, and at night advanced again.
 Their intention was to have passed the town in their canoes,
 and to have landed above it, where they would be the least
 expected; but the tide of flood with which they ascended the
 river did not serve long enough for their purpose, and on the
 20th. 20th, two hours before day, they landed a short distance below
 the

the town, towards which they began to march; but the ground was marshy and overgrown with brushwood. Thus far they had proceeded undiscovered; when one of the Buccaneers left to guard the canoes struck a light to smoke tobacco, which was perceived by a Spanish sentinel on the shore opposite, who immediately fired his piece, and gave alarm to the Fort and Town. This discovery and the badness of the road caused the Buccaneers to defer the attack till daylight. The town of *Guayaquil* is built round a mountain, on which were three forts which overlooked the town. The Spaniards made a tolerable defence, but by the middle of the day they were driven from all their forts, and the town was left to the Buccaneers, detachments of whom were sent to endeavour to bring in prisoners, whilst a chosen party went to the Great Church to chant *Te Deum*.

CHAP. 23.

1687.

April.

The City
taken.

Nine Buccaneers were killed and twelve wounded in the attack. The booty found in the town was considerable in jewels, merchandise, and silver, particularly in church plate, besides 92,000 dollars in money, and they took seven hundred prisoners, among whom were the Governor and his family. Fourteen vessels lay at anchor in the Port, and two ships were on the stocks nearly fit for launching.

On the evening of the day that the city was taken, the Governor (being a prisoner) entered into treaty with the Buccaneers, for the City, Fort, Shipping, himself, and all the prisoners, to be redeemed for a million pieces of eight, to be paid in gold, and 400 packages of flour; and to hasten the procurement of the money, which was to be brought from *Quito*, the Vicar General of the district, who was also a prisoner, was released.

The 21st, in the night, by the carelessness of a Buccaneer, one of the houses took fire, which communicated to other

21st.

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houses

CHAP. 23. houses with such rapidity, that one third of the city was destroyed before its progress was stopped. It had been specified
 1687. in the treaty, that the Buccaneers should not set fire to the
 April. town; 'therefore,' says Lussan, 'lest in consequence of this
 At Guayaquil. town; 'therefore,' says Lussan, 'lest in consequence of this
 'accident, the Spaniards should refuse to pay the ransom,
 'we pretended to believe it was their doing.'

Many bodies of the Spaniards killed in the assault of the town, remained unburied where they had fallen, and the Buccaneers were apprehensive that some infectious disorder
 24th. would thereby be produced. They hastened therefore to embark on board the vessels in the port, their plunder and 500 of their prisoners, with which, on the 25th, they fell down the River to the *Island Puna*, where they proposed to wait for the ransom.

At the
Island
Puna.
May.
Grognet
dies.

On the 2d of May, Captain Grognet died of a wound he received at *Guayaquil*. Le Picard was afterwards the chief among the French Buccaneers.

The 5th of May had been named for the payment of the ransom, from which time the money was daily and with increasing impatience expected by the Buccaneers. It was known that Spanish ships of war were equipping at *Callao* purposely to attack them; and also that their former Commander, Edward Davis, with a good ship, was near this part of the coast. They were anxious to have his company, and on the 4th, dispatched a galley to seek him at the *Island Plata*, the place of rendezvous he had appointed for his prize.

The 5th passed without any appearance of ransom money; as did many following days. The Spaniards, however, regularly sent provisions to the ships at *Puna* every day, otherwise the prisoners would have starved; but in lieu of money they substituted nothing better than promises. The Buccaneers would have felt it humiliation to appear less ferocious than on former occasions,

occasions, and they recurred to their old mode of intimidation. They made the prisoners throw dice to determine which of them should die, and the heads of four on whom the lot fell were delivered to a Spanish officer in answer to excuses for delay which he had brought from the Lieutenant Governor of *Guayaquil*, with an intimation that at the end of four days more five hundred heads should follow, if the ransom did not arrive.

CHAP. 23.

1687.

May.

At the
Island
Puna.

On the 14th, their galley which had been sent in search of Davis returned, not having found him at the *Island Plata*; but she brought notice of two strange sail being near the *Cape Santa Elena*. These proved to be Edward Davis's ship, and a prize. Davis had received intelligence, as already mentioned, of the Buccaneers having captured *Guayaquil*, and was now come purposely to join them. He sent his prize to the Buccaneers at *Puna*, and remained with his own ship in the offing on the look-out.

14th.

Edward
Davis
joins
Le Picard.

The four days allowed for the payment of the ransom expired, and no ransom was sent; neither did the Buccaneers execute their sanguinary threat. It is worthy of remark, that intreaty or intercession made to this set of Buccaneers, so far from obtaining remission or favour, at all times produced the opposite effect, as if reminding them of their power, instigated them to an imperious display of it. The Lieutenant Governor of *Guayaquil* was in no haste to fulfil the terms of the treaty made by the Governor, nor did he importune them with solicitations, and the whole business for a time lay at rest. The forbearance of the Buccaneers may not unjustly be attributed to Davis having joined them.

On the 23d, the Spaniards paid to the Buccaneers as much gold as amounted in value to 20,000 pieces of eight, and eighty packages of flour, as part of the ransom. The day following,

23d.

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1687.

May.

At the
Island
Puna.

the Lieutenant Governor sent word, that they might receive 22,000 pieces of eight more for the release of the prisoners, and if that sum would not satisfy them, they might do their worst, for that no greater would be paid them. Upon this message, the Buccaneers held a consultation, whether they should cut off the heads of all the prisoners, or take the 22,000 pieces of eight, and it was determined, not ~~un~~animously, but by a majority of voices, that it was better to take a little money than to cut off many heads.

Lussan, his own biographer and a young man, boasts of the pleasant manner in which he passed his time at *Puna*. ‘ We made good cheer, being daily supplied with refreshments from *Guayaquil*. We had concerts of music; we had the best performers of the city among our prisoners. Some among us engaged in friendships with our women prisoners, who were not hard hearted.’ This is said by way of prelude to a history which he gives of his own good fortune; all which, whether true or otherwise, serves to shew, that among this abandoned crew the prisoners of both sexes were equally unprotected.

26th.

On the 26th, the 22,000 pieces of eight were paid to the Buccaneers, who selected a hundred prisoners of the most consideration to retain, and released the rest. The same day, they quitted their anchorage at *Puna*, intending to anchor again at Point *Santa Elena*, and there to enter afresh into negotiation for ransom of prisoners: but in the evening, two Spanish Ships of War came in sight.

The engagement which ensued, and other proceedings of the Buccaneers, until Edward Davis parted company to return homeward by the South of *America*, has been related. It remains to give an account of the French Buccaneers after the separation, to their finally quitting the *South Sea*.

See pp. 196
to 200.

C H A P. XXIV.

Retreat of the French Buccaneers across New Spain to the West Indies. All the Buccaneers quit the South Sea.

THE party left by Davis consisted of 250 Buccaneers, the greater number of whom were French, the rest were English, and their leaders Le Picard and George Hout. They had determined to quit the *South Sea*, and with that view to sail to the coast of *New Spain*, whence they proposed to march over land to the shore of the *Caribbean Sea*.*

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1687.

June.

Le Picard
and Hout.

About the end of July, they anchored in the *Bay of Amapalla*, and were joined there by thirty French Buccaneers. These thirty were part of a crew which had formerly quitted Grognet to cruise towards *California*. Others of that party were still on the coast to the North-West, and the Buccaneers in *Amapalla Bay* put to sea in search of them, that all of their fraternity in the *South Sea* might be collected, and depart together.

July.

On the
Coast of
New Spain.

In the search after their former companions, they landed at different places on the coast of *New Spain*. Among their adventures here, they took, and remained four days in possession of, the Town of *Tecoantepeque*, but without any profit to themselves. At *Guatulco*, they plundered some plantations, and obtained provisions in ransom for prisoners. Whilst they lay there at anchor, they saw a vessel in the offing, which from her appearance, and manner of working her sails, they believed to contain the people they were seeking; but the wind and sea set so strong on the shore at the time, that neither their vessels nor boats could go out to ascertain what she was; and after that day, they did not see her again.

In

CHAP. 24.

1687.

December.

In
Amapalla
Bay.

In the middle of December they returned to the *Bay of Amapalla*, which they had fixed upon for the place of their departure from the shores of the *South Sea*. Their plan was, to march by the town of *Nueva Segovia*, which had before been visited by Buccaneers, and they now expected would furnish them with provisions. According to Lussan's information, the distance they would have to travel by land from *Amapalla Bay*, was about 60 leagues, when they would come to the source of a river, by which they could descend to the *Caribbean Sea*, near to *Cape Gracias a Dios*.

Whilst they made preparation for their march, they were anxious to obtain intelligence what force the Spaniards had in their proposed route, but the natives kept at a distance. On the 18th, seventy Buccaneers landed and marched into the country, of which adventure Lussan gives the account following. They travelled the whole day without meeting an inhabitant. They rested for the night, and next morning proceeded in their journey, but all seemed a desert, and about noon, the majority were dissatisfied and turned back. Twenty went on; and soon after came to a beaten road, on which they perceived three horsemen riding towards them, whom they way-laid so effectually as to take them all. By these men they learnt the way to a small town named *Chiloteca*, to which they went and there made fifty of the inhabitants prisoners. They took up their quarters in the church, where they also lodged their prisoners, and intended to have rested during the night; but after dark, they heard much bustle in the town, which made them apprehensive the Spaniards were preparing to attack them, and the noise caused in the prisoners the appearance of a disposition to rise; upon which, the Buccaneers slew them all except four, whom they carried away with them, and reached the vessels without being molested in their retreat.

Massacre of
Prisoners.

The

The prisoners were interrogated ; and the accounts they gave confirmed the Buccaneers in the opinion that they had no better chance of transporting themselves and their plunder to the *North Sea*, than by immediately setting about the execution of the plan they had formed. To settle the order of the march, they landed their riches and the stores necessary for their journey, on one of the Islands in the Bay ; and that their number might not suffer diminution by the defection of any, it was agreed to destroy the vessels, which was executed forthwith, with the reserve of one galley and the canoes, which were necessary for the transport of themselves and their effects to the main land. They made a muster of their force, which they divided into four companies, each consisting of seventy men, and every man having his arms and accoutrements. Whilst these matters were arranging, a detachment of 100 men were sent to the main land to endeavour to get horses.

They had destroyed their vessels, and had not removed from the Island, when a large Spanish armed ship anchored in *Amapalla Bay* ; but she was not able to give them annoyance, nor in the least to impede their operations. On the 1st of January, 1688, they passed over, with their effects, to the main land, and the same day, the party which had gone in search of horses, returned, bringing with them sixty-eight, which were divided equally among the four companies, to be employed in carrying stores and provisions, as were eighty prisoners, who besides being carriers of stores, were made to carry the sick and wounded. Every Buccaneer had his particular sack, or package, which it was required should contain his ammunition ; what else, was at his own discretion.

Many of these Buccaneers had more silver than themselves were able to carry. There were also many who had neither silver nor gold, and were little encumbered with effects of their

own :

CHAP. 24.

1687.

December.

In
Amapalla
Bay.

The
Buccaneers
burn their
Vessels.

1688.

January.

CHAP. 24.

1688.

January.

In
Amapalla
Bay.

own: these light freighted gentry were glad to be hired as porters to the rich, and the contract for carrying silver, on this occasion, was one half; that is to say, that on arriving at the *North Sea*, there should be an equal division between the employer and the carrier. Carriage of gold or other valuables was according to particular agreement. Lussan, who no doubt was as sharp a rogue as any among his companions, relates of himself, that he had been fortunate at play, and that his winnings added to his share of plunder, amounted to 30,000 pieces of eight, the whole of which he had converted into gold and jewels; and that whilst they were making ready for their march, he received warning from a friend that a gang had been formed by about twenty of the poorer Buccaneers, with the intention to waylay and strip those of their brethren, who had been most fortunate. On considering the danger and great difficulty of having to guard against the machinations of hungry conspirators who were to be his fellow-travellers in a long journey, and might have opportunities to perpetrate their mischievous intentions during any fight with the Spaniards, Lussan came to the resolution of making a sacrifice of part of his riches to insure the remaining part, and to lessen the temptation to any individual to seek his death. To this end he divided his treasure into a number of small parcels, which he confided to the care of so many of his companions, making agreement with each for the carriage.

Retreat
of the
Buccaneers
over land
to the West
Indian Sea.

January the 2d, in the morning, they began their march, an advanced guard being established to consist of ten men from each company, who were to be relieved every morning by ten others. At night they rested at four leagues distance, according to their estimation, from the border of the sea.

The first part of Lussan's account of this journey has little of adventure or description. The difficulties experienced were what

what had been foreseen, such as the inhabitants driving away cattle and removing provisions, setting fire to the dry grass when it could annoy them in their march; and sometimes the Buccaneers were fired at by unseen shooters. They rested at villages and farms when they found any in their route, where, and also by making prisoners, they obtained provisions. When no habitations or buildings were at hand, they generally encamped at night on a hill, or in open ground. Very early in their march they were attended by a body of Spanish troops at a small distance, the music of whose trumpets afforded them entertainment every morning and evening; 'but,' says Lussan, 'it was like the music of the enchanted palace of Psyche, which was heard without the musicians being visible.'

CHAP. 24.
1688.
January.
Retreat
of the
Buccaneers
over land
to the
West Indies.

On the forenoon of the 9th, notwithstanding their vigilance, the Buccaneers were saluted with an unexpected volley of musketry which killed two men; and this was the only mischance that befel them in their march from the Western Sea to *Segovia*, which town they entered on the 11th of January, without hindrance, and found it without inhabitants, and cleared of every kind of provisions.

'The town of *Segovia* is situated in a vale, and is so surrounded with mountains that it seems to be a prisoner there. The churches are ill built. The place of arms, or parade, is large and handsome, as are many of the houses. It is distant from the shore of the *South Sea* forty leagues: The road is difficult, the country being extremely mountainous.'

Town of
New
Segovia.

On the 12th, they left *Segovia* and without injuring the houses, a forbearance to which they had little accustomed themselves; but present circumstances brought to their consideration that if it should be their evil fortune to be called to account, it might be quite as well for them not to add the burning of *Segovia* to the reckoning.

CHAP. 24.

1688.

January.

Retreat
over land.

The 13th, an hour before sunset, they ascended a hill, which appeared a good station to occupy for the night. When they arrived at the summit, they perceived on the slope of the next mountain before them, a great number of horses grazing (Lussan says between twelve and fifteen hundred), which at the first sight they mistook for horned cattle, and congratulated each other on the near prospect of a good meal; but, it was soon discovered they were horses, and that a number of them were saddled: intrenchments also were discerned near the same place, and finally, troops. This part of the country was a thick forest, with deep gullies, and not intersected with any path excepting the road they were travelling, which led across the mountain where the Spaniards were intrenched. On reconnoitring the position of the Spaniards, the road beyond them was seen to the right of the intrenchments. The Buccaneers on short consultation, determined that they would endeavour under cover of the night to penetrate the wood to their right, so as to arrive at the road beyond the Spanish camp, and come on it by surprise.

This plan was similar to that which they had projected at *Guayaquil*, and was a business exactly suited to the habits and inclinations of these adventurers, who more than any other of their calling, or perhaps than the native tribes of *North America*, were practised and expert in veiling their purpose so as not to awaken suspicion; in concealing themselves by day and making silent advances by night, and in all the arts by which even the most wary may be ensnared. Here, immediately after fixing their plan, they began to intrench and fortify the ground they occupied, and made all the dispositions which troops usually do who halt for the night. This encampment, besides impressing the Spaniards with the belief that they intended to pass the night

night in repose, was necessary to the securing their baggage and prisoners. CHAP. 24.

1688.

January.

Retreat
over land.

Rest seemed necessary and due to the Buccaneers after a toilsome day's march, and so it was thought by the Spanish Commander, who seeing them fortify their quarters, doubted not that they meant to do themselves justice; but an hour after the close of day, two hundred Buccaneers departed from their camp. The moon shone out bright, which gave them light to penetrate the woods, whilst the woods gave them concealment from the Spaniards, and the Spaniards kept small lookout. Before midnight, they were near enough to hear the Spaniards chanting Litanies, and long before daylight were in the road beyond the Spanish encampment. They waited till the day broke, and then pushed for the camp, which, as had been conjectured, was entirely open on this side. Two Spanish sentinels discovered the approach of the enemy, and gave alarm; but the Buccaneers were immediately after in the camp, and the Spanish troops disturbed from their sleep had neither time nor recollection for any other measure than to save themselves by flight. They abandoned all the intrenchments, and the Buccaneers being masters of the pass, were soon joined by the party who had charge of the baggage and prisoners. In this affair, the loss of the Buccaneers was only two men killed, and four wounded.

In the remaining part of their journey, they met no serious obstruction, and were not at any time distressed by a scarcity of provisions. Lussan says they led from the Spanish encampment 900 horses, which served them for carriage, for present food, and to salt for future provision when they should arrive at the sea shore.

On the 17th of January, which was the 16th of their journey, they came to the banks of a river by which they were to

Rio de
Yare, or
Cape River.

CHAP. 24. descend to the *Caribbean Sea*. This river has its source among
 1688. the mountains of *Nueva Segovia*, and falls into the sea to the
 January. South of *Cape Gracias a Dios* about 14 leagues, according to
 Retreat D'Anville's Map, in which it is called *Rio de Yare*. Dampier
 across the makes it fall into the sea something more to the Southward,
 Isthmus to the West and names it the *Cape River*.
 Indian Sea.

The country here was not occupied nor frequented by the Spaniards, and was inhabited only in a few places by small tribes of native Americans. The Buccaneers cut down trees, and made rafts or catamarans for the conveyance of themselves and their effects down the stream. On account of the falls, the rafts were constructed each to carry no more than two persons with their luggage, and every man went provided with a pole to guide the raft clear of rocks and shallows.

In the commencement of this fresh-water navigation, their maritime experience, with all the pains they could take, did not prevent their getting into whirlpools, where the rafts were overturned, with danger to the men and frequently with the loss of part of the lading. When they came to a fall which appeared more than usually dangerous, they put ashore, took their rafts to pieces, and carried all below the fall, where they re-accommodated matters and embarked again. The rapidity of the stream meeting many obstructions, raised a foam and spray that kept every thing on the rafts constantly wet; the salted horse flesh was in a short time entirely spoilt, and their ammunition in a state not to be of service in supplying them with game. Fortunately for them the banks of the river abounded in banana-trees, both wild and in plantations.

When they first embarked on the river, the rafts went in close company; but the irregularity and violence of the stream, continually entangled and drove them against each other, on which account the method was changed, and distances preserved.

preserved. This gave opportunity to the desperadoes who had conspired against their companions to commence their operations, which they directed against five Englishmen, whom they killed and despoiled. The murderers absconded in the woods with their prey, and were not afterwards seen by the company.

The 20th of February they had passed all the falls, and were at a broad deep and smooth part of the river, where they found no other obstruction than trees and drift-wood floating. As they were near the sea, many stopped and began to build canoes. Some English Buccaneers who went lower down the river, found at anchor an English vessel belonging to *Jamaica*, from which they learnt that the French Government had just proclaimed an amnesty in favour of those who since the Peace made with *Spain* had committed acts of piracy, upon condition of their claiming the benefit of the Proclamation within a specified time. A similar proclamation had been issued in the year 1687 by the English Government; but as it was not clear from the report made by the crew of the *Jamaica* vessel, whether it yet operated, the English Buccaneers would not embark for *Jamaica*. They sent by two Mosquito Indians, an account of the news they had heard to the French Buccaneers, with notice that there was a vessel at the mouth of the river capable of accommodating not more than forty persons. Immediately on receiving the intelligence, above a hundred of the French set off in all haste for the vessel, every one of whom pretended to be of the forty. Those who first arrived on board, took up the anchor as speedily as they could, and set sail, whilst those who were behind called loudly for a decision by lot or dice; but the first comers were content to rest their title on possession.

The English Buccaneers remained for the present with the Mosquito Indians near *Cape Gracias a Dios*, 'who,' says *Lussan*, 'have an affection for the English, on account of the many

CHAP. 24.

1688.

Retreat
across the
Isthmus
to the West
Indian Sea.
February.

CHAP. 24. 'many little commodities which they bring them from the
1688. 'Island of *Jamaica*.' The greater part of the French Buccaneers went to the French settlements; but seventy-five of them who went to *Jamaica*, were apprehended and detained prisoners by the Duke of Albemarle, who was then Governor, and their effects sequestrated. They remained in prison until the death of the Duke, which happened in the following year, when they were released; but neither their arms nor plunder were returned to them.

The *South Sea* was now cleared of the main body of the Buccaneers. A few stragglers remained, concerning whom some scattered notices are found, of which the following are the heads.

La Pava. Seixas mentions an English frigate named *La Pava*, being wrecked in the *Strait of Magalhanes* in the year 1687; and that her loss was occasioned by currents*. By the name being Spanish (signifying the Hen) this vessel must have been a prize to the Buccaneers.

Captain
Straiton. In the Narrative of the loss of the *Wager*, by Bulkeley and Cummins, it is mentioned that they found at *Port Desire* cut on a brick, in very legible characters, "Captain Straiton, 16 cannon, 1687." Most probably this was meant of a Buccaneer vessel.

Le Sage. At the time that the English and French Buccaneers were crossing the *Isthmus* in great numbers from the *West Indies* to the *South Sea*, two hundred French Buccaneers departed from *Hispaniola* in a ship commanded by a Captain Le Sage, intending to go to the *South Sea* by the *Strait of Magalhanes*; but having chosen a wrong season of the year for that passage, and finding the winds unfavourable, they stood over to the coast of *Africa*, where they continued cruising two years, and returned to the
West

* *Theatro Naval*. fol. 61, 1.

West Indies with great booty, obtained at the expence of the CHAP. 24.
Hollanders.

The small crew of French Buccaneers in the *South Sea* who were a part of those who had separated from Grognet to cruise near *California*, and for whom Le Picard had sought in vain on the coast of *New Spain*, were necessitated by the smallness of their force, and the bad state of their vessel, to shelter themselves at the *Tres Marias Islands* in the entrance of the *Gulf of California*. It is said that they remained four years among those Islands, at the end of which time, they determined, rather than to pass the rest of their lives in so desolate a place, to sail Southward, though with little other prospect or hope than that they should meet some of their former comrades; instead of which, on looking in at *Arica* on the coast of *Peru*, they found at anchor in the road a Spanish ship, which they took, and in her a large quantity of treasure. The Buccaneers embarked in their prize, and proceeded Southward for the *Atlantic*, but were cast ashore in the *Strait of Magalhanes*. Part of the treasure, and as much of the wreck of the vessel as served to construct two sloops, were saved, with which, after so many perils, they arrived safe in the *West Indies*.

Small Crew
of
Buccaneers
at the
Tres Marias.

Their
Adventures,
and Return
to the
West Indies.

Le Sieur Froger, in his account of the Voyage of M. de Gennes, has introduced a narrative of a party of French Buccaneers or Flibustiers going from *Saint Domingo* to the *South Sea*, in the year 1686; which is evidently a romance fabricated from the descriptions which had been given of their general courses and habits. These *protégés* of Le Sieur Froger, like the Buccaneer crew from the *Tres Marias Islands* just mentioned, were reduced to great distress,—took a rich prize afterwards on the coast of *Peru*,—were returning to the *Atlantic*, and lost their ship in the *Strait of Magalhanes*. They were ten months

Story
related by
Le Sieur
Froger.

CHAP. 24. months in the *Strait* building a bark, which they loaded with the best of what they had saved of the cargo of their ship, and in the end arrived safe at *Cayenne**. Funnel also mentions a report which he heard, of a small crew of French Buccaneers, not more than twenty, whose adventures were of the same cast; and who probably were the *Tres Marias* Buccaneers.

It has been related that five Buccaneers who had gamed away their money, unwilling to return poor out of the *South Sea*, landed at the Island *Juan Fernandez* from Edward Davis's ship, about the end of the year 1687, and were left there. In 1690, the English ship *Welfare*, commanded by Captain John Strong, anchored at *Juan Fernandez*; of which voyage two journals have been preserved among the MSS in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum, from which the following account is taken.

The Farewell arrived off the Island on the evening of October the 11th, 1690. In the night, those on board were surprised at seeing a fire on an elevated part of the land. Early next morning, a boat was sent on shore, which soon returned, bringing off from the Island two Englishmen. These were part of the five who had landed from Davis's ship. They piloted the *Welfare* to a good anchoring place.

Buccaneers
who lived
three years
on the
Island Juan
Fernandez. In the three years that they had lived on *Juan Fernandez*, they had not, until the arrival of the *Welfare*, seen any other ships than Spaniards, which was a great disappointment to them. The Spaniards had landed and had endeavoured to take them, but they had found concealment in the woods; one excepted, who deserted from his companions, and delivered himself up to the Spaniards. The four remaining, when they learnt that the Buccaneers had entirely quitted the *South Sea*, willingly embarked

* *Relation du Voyage de M. de Gennes*, p. 106. Paris, 1698.

embarked with Captain Strong, and with them four servants or slaves. Nothing is said of the manner in which they employed themselves whilst on the Island, except of their contriving subterraneous places of concealment that the Spaniards should not find them, and of their taming a great number of goats, so that at one time they had a tame stock of 300.

CHAP. 24.

C H A P. XXV.

Steps taken towards reducing the Buccaneers and Flibustiers under subordination to the regular Governments. War of the Grand Alliance against France. The Neutrality of the Island Saint Christopher broken.

CHAP. 25.

WHILST these matters were passing in the *Pacific Ocean*, small progress was made in the reform which had been begun in the *West Indies*. The English Governors by a few examples of severity restrained the English Buccaneers from undertaking any enterprise of magnitude. With the French, the case was different. The number of the Flibustiers who absented themselves from *Hispaniola*, to go to the *South Sea*, alarmed the French Government for the safety of their colonies, and especially of their settlements in *Hispaniola*, the security and defence of which against the Spaniards they had almost wholly rested on its being the place of residence and the home of those adventurers. To persist in a rigorous police against their cruising, it was apprehended would make the rest of them quit *Hispaniola*, for which reason it was judged prudent to relax in the enforcement of the prohibitions; the Flibustiers accordingly continued their courses as usual.

1686. In 1686, Granmont and De Graaf prepared an armament against *Campeachy*. M. de Cussy, who was Governor of *Tortuga* and the French part of *Hispaniola*, applied personally to them to relinquish their design; but as the force was collected, and all preparation made, neither the Flibustiers nor their Commanders would be dissuaded from the undertaking, and De Cussy submitted. *Campeachy* was plundered and burnt.

Campeachy
burnt.

A measure

A measure was adopted by the French Government which certainly trenched on the honour of the regular military establishments of *France*, but was attended with success in bringing the Flibustiers more under control and rendering them more manageable. This was, the taking into the King's service some of the principal leaders of the Flibustiers, and giving them commissions of advanced rank, either in the land service or in the French marine. A commission was made out for Gran-
 1686. CHAP. 25.
 Granmont, appointing him Commandant on the South coast of *Saint Domingo*, with the rank of Lieutenant du Roy. But of Granmont as a Buccaneer, it might be said in the language of sportsmen, that he was game to the last. Before the commission arrived, he received information of the honour intended him, and whilst yet in his state of liberty, was seized with the wish to make one more cruise. He armed a ship, and, with a crew of 180 Flibustiers in her, put to sea. This was near the end of the year 1686; and what afterwards became of him and his followers is not known, for they were not again seen or heard of.

In the beginning of 1687, a commission arrived from *France*,
 1687. appointing De Graaf Major in the King's army in the *West Indies*. He was then with a crew of Flibustiers near *Carthagera*. In this cruise, twenty-five of his men who landed in the *Gulf of Darien*, were cut off by the Darien Indians. De Graaf on his return into port accepted his commission, and when transformed to an officer in the King's army, became, like Morgan, a great scourge to the Flibustiers and *Forbans*.

In consequence of complaints made by the Spaniards, a Proclamation was issued at this time, by the King of *Great Britain*, James the II^d, specified in the title to be 'for the
 ' more effectual reducing and suppressing of Pirates and Privateers in *America*, as well on the sea as on the land, who in

Proclamation against Pirates.

CHAP. 25. ' great numbers have committed frequent robberies, which hath
1688. ' occasioned great prejudice and obstruction to Trade and
' Commerce.'

Danish
Factory
robbed by
the
Buccaneers.

A twenty years truce had, in the year 1686, been agreed upon between *France* and *Spain*, but scarcely a twentieth part of that time was suffered to elapse before it was broken in the *West Indies*. The Flibustiers of *Hispaniola* did not content themselves with their customary practice: in 1688 they plundered the Danish Factory at the Island *St. Thomas*, which is one of the small Islands called *the Virgins*, near the East end of *Porto Rico*. This was an aggression beyond the limits which they had professed to prescribe to their depredatory system, and it is not shewn that they had received injury at the hands of the Danes. Nevertheless, the French West-India histories say, ' Our Flibustiers (*nos Flibustiers*), in 1688, surprised the ' Danish Factory at *St. Thomas*. The pillage was considerable, ' and would have been more if they had known that the chief ' part of the cash was kept in a vault under the hall, which was ' known to very few of the house. They forgot on this occa- ' sion their ordinary practice, which is to put their prisoners to ' the torture to make them declare where the money is. It is ' certain that if they had so done, the hiding-place would have ' been revealed to them, in which it was believed there was ' more than 500,000 livres.' Such remarks shew the strong prepossession which existed in favour of the Buccaneers, and an eagerness undistinguishing and determined after the extraordinary. Qualities the most common to the whole of mankind were received as wonderful when related of the Buccaneers. One of our Encyclopedias, under the article *Buccaneer*, says, ' they were transported with an astonishing degree of enthu- ' siasm whenever they saw a sail.'

In this same year, 1688, war broke out in Europe between
the

the French and Spaniards, and in a short time the English joined against the French.

CHAP. 25.

1689.

July.

The English
driven from
St. Chris-
topher.

England and *France* had at no period since the Norman conquest been longer without serious quarrel. On the accession of William the III^d. to the crowns of *Great Britain*, it was generally believed that a war with *France* would ensue. The French in the *West Indies* did not wait for its being declared, but attacked the English part of *St. Christopher*, the Island on which by joint agreement had been made the original and confederated first settlements of the two Nations in the *West Indies*. The English inhabitants were driven from their possessions and obliged to retire to the Island *Nevis*, which terminated the longest preserved union which history can shew between the English and French as subjects of different nations. In the commencement it was strongly cemented by the mutual want of support against a powerful enemy; that motive for their adherence to each other had ceased to exist: yet in the reigns of Charles the II^d. and James the II^d. of *England*, an agreement had been made between *England* and *France*, that if war should at any time break out between them, a neutrality should be observed by their subjects in the *West Indies*. See p. 38.

This war continued nearly to the end of King William's reign, and during that time the English and French Buccaneers were engaged on opposite sides, as auxiliaries to the regular forces of their respective nations, which completely separated them; and it never afterwards happened that they again confederated in any buccaneer cause. They became more generally distinguished by different appellations, not consonant to their present situations and habits; for the French adventurers, who were frequently occupied in hunting and at the *boucan*, were called the Flibustiers of *St. Domingo*, and the English adventurers,

who

CHAP. 25. who had nothing to do with the *boucan*, were called the *Buccaneers of Jamaica*.

1690.

July.

The English
retake
St. Chris-
topher.

The French had not kept possession of *St. Christopher* quite a year, when it was taken from them by the English. This was an unfortunate year for the French, who in it suffered a great defeat from the Spaniards in *Hispaniola*. Their Governor De Cussy, and 500 Frenchmen, fell in battle, and the Town of *Cape François* was demolished.

The French Flibustiers at this time greatly annoyed *Jamaica*, making descents, in which they carried off such a number of negroes, that in derision they nicknamed *Jamaica* 'Little Guinea.' The principal transactions in the *West Indies*, were, the attempts made by each party on the possessions of the other. In the course of these services, De Graaf was accused of misconduct, tried, and deprived of his commission in the army; but though judged unfit for command in land service, out of respect to his maritime experience he was appointed Captain of a Frigate.

No one among the Flibustiers was more distinguished for courage and enterprise in this war than Jean Montauban, who commanded a ship of between 30 and 40 guns. He sailed from the *West Indies* to *Bourdeaux* in 1694. In February of the year following, he departed from *Bourdeaux* for the coast of *Guinea*, where in battle with an English ship of force, both the ships were blown up. Montauban and a few others escaped with their lives. This affair is not to be ranked among buccaneer exploits, *Great Britain* and *France* being at open War, and Montauban having a regular commission.

C H A P. XXVI.

Seige and Plunder of the City of Carthagená on the Terra Firma, by an Armament from France in conjunction with the Flibustiers of Saint Domingo.

IN 1697, at the suggestion of M. le Baron de Pointis, an officer of high rank in the French Marine, a large armament was fitted out in *France*, jointly at the expence of the Crown, and of private contributors, for an expedition against the Spaniards in the *West Indies*. The chief command was given to M. de Pointis, and orders were sent out to the Governor of the French Settlements in *Hispaniola* (M. du Casse) to raise 1200 men in *Tortuga* and *Hispaniola* to assist in the expedition. The king's regular force in M. du Casse's government was small, and the men demanded were to be supplied principally from the Flibustiers. The dispatches containing the above orders arrived in January. It was thought necessary to specify to the Flibustiers a limitation of time; and they were desired to keep from dispersing till the 15th of February, it being calculated that M. de Pointis would then, or before, certainly be at *Hispaniola*. De Pointis, however, did not arrive till the beginning of March, when he made *Cape François*, but did not anchor there; preferring the Western part of *Hispaniola*, 'fresh water being better and more easy to be got at *Cape Tiburon* than at any other part.' M. du Casse had, with some difficulty, kept the Flibustiers together beyond the time specified, and they were soon dissatisfied with the deportment of the Baron de Pointis, which was more imperious than they had been accustomed to from any Commander.

C H A P. 26.

1697.

March.

M. de

CHAP. 26.

1697.

Character
of the
Buccaneers
by M. de
Pointis.

M. de Pointis published a history of his expedition, in which he relates that at the first meeting between him and M. du Casse, he expressed himself dissatisfied at the small number of men provided; 'but,' says he, 'M. du Casse assured me that the Buccaneers were at this time collected, and would every man of them perform wonders. It is the good fortune of all the pirates in these parts to be called Buccaneers.' These freebooters are, for the most part, composed of those that desert from ships that come upon the coast: the advantage they bring to the Governors, protects them against the prosecution of the law. All who are apprehended as vagabonds in France, and can give no account of themselves, are sent to these Islands, where they are obliged to serve for three years. The first that gets them, obliges them to work in the plantations; at the end of the term of servitude, somebody lends them a gun, and to sea they go a buccaneering.' It is proper to hint here, that when M. de Pointis published his Narrative, he was at enmity with the Buccaneers, and had a personal interest in bringing the buccaneer character into disrepute. Many of his remarks upon them, nevertheless, are not less just than characteristic. He continues his description; 'They were formerly altogether independent. Of late years they have been reduced under the government of the coast of *St. Domingo*: they have commissions given them, for which they pay the tenth of all prizes, and are now called the King's subjects. The Governors of our settlements in *Saint Domingo* being enriched by them, do mightily extol them for the damages they do to the Spaniards. This infamous profession which an impunity for all sorts of crimes renders so much beloved, has within a few years lost us above six thousand men, who might have improved and peopled the colony. At present they are pleased to be called the King's subjects; yet it is with so much

‘ much arrogance, as obliges all who are desirous to make use
 ‘ of them, to court them in the most flattering terms. This
 ‘ was not agreeable to my disposition, and considering them as
 ‘ his Majesty’s subjects which the Governor was ordered to
 ‘ deliver to me, I plainly told them that they should find
 ‘ me a Commander to lead them on, but not as a companion
 ‘ to them.’

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 1697.

The expedition, though it was not yet made known, or even yet pretended to be determined, against what place it should be directed, was expected to yield both honour and profit. The Buccaneers would not quarrel with a promising enterprise under a spirited and experienced commander, for a little haughtiness in his demeanour towards them; but they demanded to have clearly specified the share of the prize money and plunder to which they should be entitled, and it was stipulated by mutual agreement ‘ that the Flibustiers and Colonists should, man for
 ‘ man, have the same shares of booty that were allowed to the
 ‘ men on board the King’s ships.’ As so many men were to embark from M. du Casse’s government, he proposed to go at their head, and desired to know of M. de Pointis what rank would be allowed him. M. du Casse was a mariner by profession, and had the rank of Captain in the French Navy. De Pointis told him that the highest character he knew him in, was that which he derived from his commission as *Capitaine de Vaisseau*, and that if he embarked in the expedition, he must be content to serve in that quality according to his seniority.

M. du Casse nevertheless chose to go, though it was generally thought he was not allowed the honours and consideration which were his due as Governor of the French Colonies at *St. Domingo*, and Commander of so large a portion of the men engaged in the expedition. It was settled, that the Flibustiers should embark partly in their own cruising vessels, and partly on board the

CHAP. 26. ships of 'M. de Pointis' squadron, and should be furnished
1697. with six weeks provisions. A review was made, to prevent any but able men of the Colony being taken; negroes who served, if free, were to be allowed shares like other men; if slaves and they were killed, their masters were to be paid for them.

Two copies of the agreement respecting the sharing of booty were posted up in public places at *Petit Goave*, and a copy was delivered to M. du Casse, the Governor. M. de Pointis consulted with M. du Casse what enterprise they should undertake, but the determination wholly rested with M. de Pointis. 'There was added,' M. de Pointis says, 'without my knowledge, to the directions sent to Governor du Casse, that he was to give assistance to our undertaking, without damage to, or endangering, his Colony. This restriction did in some measure deprive me of the power of commanding his forces, seeing he had an opportunity of pretending to keep them for the preservation of the Colony.' M. du Casse made no pretences to withhold, but gave all the assistance in his power. He was an advocate for attacking the City of *San Domingo*. This was the wish of most of the colonists, and perhaps was what would have been of more advantage to *France* than any other expedition they could have undertaken. But the armament having been prepared principally at private expence, it was reasonable for the contributors to look to their own reimbursement. To attack the City of *San Domingo* was not approved; other plans were proposed, but *Carthage* seems to have been the original object of the projectors of the expedition, and the attack of that city was determined upon. Before the *Flibustiers* and other colonists embarked, a disagreement happened which had nearly made them refuse altogether to join in the expedition. The officers of De Pointis' fleet had imbibed

the sentiments of their Commander respecting the Flibustiers or Buccaneers, and followed the example of his manners towards them. The fleet was lying at *Petit Goave*, and M. de Pointis, giving to himself the title of General of the Armies of *France* by Sea and by Land in *America*, had placed a guard in a Fort there. M. du Casse, as he had received no orders from *Europe* to acknowledge any superior within his government, might have considered such an exercise of power to be an encroachment on his authority which it became him to resist; but he acted in this, and in other instances, like a man overawed. The officer of M. de Pointis who commanded the guard on shore, arrested a Flibustier for disorderly behaviour, and held him prisoner in the fort. The Flibustiers surrounded the fort in a tumultuous manner to demand his release, and the officer commanded his men to fire upon them, by which three of the Flibustiers were killed. It required some address and civility on the part of M. de Pointis himself, as well as the assistance of M. du Casse, to appease the Flibustiers; and the officer who had committed the offence was sent on board under arrest.

The force furnished from M. du Casse's government, consisted of nearly 700 Flibustiers, 170 soldiers from the garrisons, and as many volunteer inhabitants and negroes as made up about 1200 men. The whole armament consisted of seven large ships, and eleven frigates, besides store ships and smaller vessels; and, reckoning persons of all classes, 6000 men.

The Fleet arrived off *Carthagena* on April the 13th, and the landing was effected on the 15th. It is not necessary to relate all the particulars of this siege, in which the Buccaneers bore only a part. That part however was of essential importance.

M. de Pointis, in the commencement, appointed the whole of the Flibustiers, without any mixture of the King's troops, to a service of great danger, which raised a suspicion of partiality

April.
Siege of
Carthagena
by the
French.

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tiality and of an intention to save the men he brought with him from *Europe*, as regarding them to be more peculiarly his own men. An eminence about a mile to the Eastward of the City of *Carthagera*, on which was a church named *Nuestra Senora de la Poupa*, commands all the avenues and approaches on the land side to the city. 'I had been assured,' says M. de Pointis, 'that if we did not seize the hill *de la Poupa* immediately on our arrival, all the treasure would be carried off. 'To get possession of this post, I resolved to land the *Buccaneers* in the night of the same day on which we came to anchor, they being proper for such an attempt, as being accustomed to marching and subsisting in the woods.' M. de Pointis takes this occasion to accuse the *Buccaneers* of behaving less heroically than M. du Casse had boasted they would, and that it was not without murmuring that they embarked in the boats in order to their landing. It is however due to them on the score of courage and exertion, to remark, though in some degree it is anticipation, that no part of the force under M. de Pointis shewed more readiness or performed better service in the siege than the *Buccaneers*.

There was uncertainty about the most proper place for landing, and M. de Pointis went himself in a boat to examine near the shore to the North of the city. The surf rolled in heavy, by which his boat was filled, and was with difficulty saved from being stranded on a rock. The proposed landing was given up as impracticable, and M. de Pointis became of opinion that *Carthagera* was approachable only by the lake which makes the harbour, the entrance to which, on account of its narrowness, was called the *Bocca-chica*, and was defended by a strong fort.

The Fleet sailed for the *Bocca-chica*, and on the 15th some of the ships began to cannonade the Fort. The first landing was effected at the same time by a corps of eighty negroes, without
any

any mixture of the King's troops. This was a second marked instance of the Commander's partial attention to the preservation of the men he brought from *France*. M. de Pointis despised the Flibustiers, and probably regarded negroes as next to nothing. He was glad however to receive them as his companions in arms, and it was in honour due from him to all under his command, as far as circumstances would admit without injury to service, to share the dangers equally, or at least without partiality.

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April.

Siege of
Carthagena.

The 16th, which was the day next after the landing, the Castle of *Bocca-chica* surrendered. This was a piece of good fortune much beyond expectation, and was obtained principally by the dexterous management of a small party of the Buccaneers; which drew commendation even from M. de Pointis. 'Among the chiefs of these Buccaneers,' he says, 'there may be about twenty men who deserve to be distinguished for their courage; it not being my intention to comprehend them in the descriptions which I make of the others.'

De Pointis conducted the siege with diligence and spirit. The *Nuestra Senora de la Poupa* was taken possession of on the 17th; and on the 3d of May, the City capitulated. The terms of the Capitulation were,

May.
The City
capitulates.

That all public effects and office accounts should be delivered to the captors.

That merchants should produce their books of accounts, and deliver up all money and effects held by them for their correspondents.

That every inhabitant should be free to leave the city, or to remain in his dwelling. That those who retired from the city should first deliver up all their property there to the captors. That those who chose to remain, should declare faithfully, under penalty of entire confiscation, the gold, silver, and
jewels,

CHAP. 26. jewels, in their possession ; on which condition, and delivering
 1697. up one half, they should be permitted to retain the other half,
 May. and afterwards be regarded as subjects of *France*.

At That the churches and religious houses should be spared
 Carthagena. and protected.

The French General on entering the Town with his troops, went first to the cathedral to attend the *Te Deum*. He next sent for the Superiors of the convents and religious houses, to whom he explained the meaning of the article of the capitulation promising them protection, which was, that their houses should not be destroyed ; but that it had no relation to money in their possession, which they were required to deliver up. Otherwise, he observed, it would be in their power to collect in their houses all the riches of the city. He caused it to be publicly rumoured that he was directed by the Court to keep possession of *Carthagena*, and that it would be made a French Colony. To give colour to this report, he appointed M. du Casse to be Governor of the City. He strictly prohibited the troops from entering any house until it had undergone the visitation of officers appointed by himself, some of which officers it was supposed, embezzled not less than 100,000 crowns each. A reward was proclaimed for informers of concealed treasure, of one-tenth of all treasure discovered by them. ‘ The hope of securing a part, with the fear of bad neighbours and false friends, induced the inhabitants to be forward in disclosing their riches, and Tilleul who was charged with receiving the treasure, was not able to weigh the specie fast enough.’

M. du Casse, in the exercise of what he conceived to be the duties of his new office of Governor of *Carthagena*, had begun to take cognizance of the money which the inhabitants brought in according to the capitulation ; but M. de Pointis was desirous that he should not be at any trouble on that head.

High

High words passed between them, in consequence of which, Du Casse declined further interference in what was transacting, and retired to a house in the suburbs. This was quitting the field to an antagonist who would not fail to make his advantage of it; whose refusal to admit other witnesses to the receipt of money than those of his own appointment, was a strong indication, whatever contempt he might profess or really feel for the Flibustiers, that he was himself of as stanch Flibustier principles as any one of the gentry of the coast. Some time afterwards, however, M. du Casse thought proper to send a formal representation to the General, that it was nothing more than just that some person of the colony should be present at the receipt of the money. The General returned answer, that what M. du Casse proposed, was in itself a matter perfectly indifferent; but that it would be an insult to his own dignity, and therefore he could not permit it.

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May.
At
Carthagena.

The public collection of plunder by authority did not save the city from private pillage. In a short time all the plate disappeared from the churches. Houses were forcibly entered by the troops, and as much violence committed as if no capitulation had been granted. M. de Pointis, when complained to by the aggrieved inhabitants, gave orders for the prevention of outrage, but was at no pains to make them observed. It appears that the Flibustiers were most implicated in these disorders. Many of the inhabitants who had complied with the terms of the capitulation, seeing the violences every where committed, hired Flibustiers to be guards in their houses, hoping that by being well paid they would be satisfied and protect them against others. Some observed this compact and were faithful guardians; but the greater number robbed those they undertook to defend. For this among other reasons, De Pointis resolved to rid the city of them. On a report,
which

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At
Carthagena.

which it is said himself caused to be spread, that an army of 10,000 Indians were approaching *Carthagena*, he ordered the Flibustiers out to meet them. Without suspecting any deception, they went forth, and were some days absent seeking the reported enemy. As they were on the return, a message met them from the General, purporting, that he apprehended their presence in the city would occasion some disturbance, and he therefore desired them to stop without the gates. On receiving this message, they broke out into imprecations, and resolved not to delay their return to the city, nor to be kept longer in ignorance of what was passing there. When they arrived at the gates they found them shut and guarded by the King's troops. Whilst they deliberated on what they should next do, another message, more conciliating in language than the former, came to them from M. de Pointis, in which he said that it was by no means his intention to interdict them from entering *Carthagena*; that he only wished they would not enter so soon, nor all at one time, for fear of frightening the inhabitants, who greatly dreaded their presence. The Flibustiers knew not how to help themselves, and were necessitated to take up their quarters without the city walls, where they were kept fifteen days, by which time the collection of treasure from the inhabitants was completed, the money weighed, secured in chests, and great part embarked. De Pointis says, 'as fast as the money was brought in, it was immediately carried on board the King's ships.' The uneasiness and impatience of the Flibustiers for distribution of the booty may easily be imagined. On their re-admission to the city, the merchandise was put up to sale by auction, and the produce joined to the former collection; but no distribution took place, and the Flibustiers were loud in their importunities. M. de Pointis assigned as a reason for the delay, that the clerks employed in the business had not made

up

up the accounts. He says in his Narrative, 'I was not so ill served by my spies as not to be informed of the seditious discourses held by some wholly abandoned to their own interest, upon the money being carried on board the King's ships.' To allay the ferment, he ordered considerable gratifications to be paid to the Buccaneer captains, also compensations to the Buccaneers who had been maimed or wounded, and rewards to be given to some who had most distinguished themselves during the siege;—and he spoke with so much appearance of frankness of his intention, as soon as ever he should receive the account of the whole, to make a division which should be satisfactory to all parties, that the Buccaneers were persuaded to remain quiet.

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Carthageua.

The value of the plunder is variously reported. Much of the riches of the city had been carried away on the first alarm of the approach of an enemy. De Pointis says 110 mules laden with gold went out in the course of four days. 'Nevertheless, the honour acquired to his Majesty's arms, besides near eight or nine millions that could not escape us, consoled us for the rest.' Whether these eight or nine millions were crowns or livres M. de Pointis' account does not specify. It is not improbable he meant it should be understood as livres. Many were of opinion that the value of the booty was not less than forty millions of livres; M. du Casse estimated it at above twenty millions, besides merchandise.

Value of
the Plunder.

M. de Pointis now made known that on account of the unhealthiness of the situation, he had changed his intention of leaving a garrison and keeping *Carthageua*, for that already more Frenchmen had died there by sickness than he had lost in the siege. He ordered the cannon of the *Bocca-chica Castle* to be taken on board the ships, and the Castle to be demolished. On the 25th of May, orders were issued for the

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troops

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Carthageria.

troops to embark; and at the same time he embarked himself without having given any previous notice of his intention so to do to M. du Casse, from whom he had parted but a few minutes before. The ships of the King's fleet began to take up their anchors to move towards the entrance of the harbour, and M. de Pointis sent an order to M. du Casse for the Buccaneers and the people of the Colony to embark on board their own vessels.

M. du Casse sent two of his principal officers to the General to demand that justice should be done to the Colonists. Still the accounts were said not to be ready; but on the 29th, the King's fleet being ready for sea, M. du Pointis sent to M. du Casse the Commissary's account, which stated the share of the booty due to the Colonists, including the Governor and the Buccaneers, to be 40,000 crowns.

What the customary manner of dividing prize money in the French navy was at that time, is not to be understood from the statement given by De Pointis, which says, 'that the King had been pleased to allow to the several ships companies, a tenth of the first million, and a thirtieth part of all the rest.' Here it is not specified whether the million of which the ships companies were to be allowed one-tenth, is to be understood a million of *Louis*, a million crowns, or a million livres. The difference of construction in a large capture would be nearly as three to one. It requires explanation likewise what persons are meant to be included in the term 'ships companies.' Sometimes it is used to signify the common seamen, without including the officers; and for them, the one-tenth is certainly not too large a share. That in any military service, public or private, one-tenth of captures or of plunder should be deemed adequate gratification for the services of all the captors, officers included, seems scarcely credible. In the *Carthagena* expedition it is
also

also to be observed, that the dues of the crown were in some measure compromised by the admission of private contributions towards defraying the expence. The Flibustiers had contributed by furnishing their own vessels to the service.

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At
Carthageua.

Du Casse when he saw the account, did not immediately communicate it to his Colonists, deterred at first probably by something like shame, and an apprehension that they would reproach him with weakness for having yielded so much as he had all along done to the insulting and imperious pretensions of De Pointis. Afterwards through discretion he delayed making the matter public until the Colonists had all embarked and their vessels had sailed from the city. He then sent for the Captains, and acquainted them with the distribution intended by M. de Pointis, and they informed their crews.

C H A P. XXVII.

*Second Plunder of Carthagenæ. Peace of Ryswick, in 1697.
Entire Suppression of the Buccaneers and Flibustiers.*

CHAP. 27.

1697.

May.

THE share which M. de Pointis had allotted of the plunder of *Carthagenæ* to the Buccaneers, fell so short of their calculations, and was felt as so great an aggravation of the contemptuous treatment they had before received, that their rage was excessive, and in their first transports they proposed to board the *Sceptre*, a ship of 84 guns, on board which M. de Pointis carried his flag. This was too desperate a scheme to be persevered in. After much deliberation, one among them exclaimed, ‘ It is useless to trouble ourselves any farther about such a villain as De Pointis ; let him go with what he has got ; he has left us our share at *Carthagenæ*, and thither we must return to seek it.’ The proposition was received with general applause by these remorseless robbers, whose desire for vengeance on De Pointis was all at once obliterated by the mention of an object that awakened their greediness for plunder. They got their vessels under sail, and stood back to the devoted city, doomed by them to pay the forfeit for the dishonesty of their countryman.

The matter was consulted and determined upon without M. du Casse being present, and the ship in which he had embarked was left by the rest without company. When he perceived what they were bent upon, he sent orders to them to desist, which he accompanied with a promise to demand redress for them in *France* ; but neither the doubtful prospect of distant redress held out, nor respect for his orders, had

had any effect in restraining them. M. du Cassé sent an officer to M. de Pointis, who had not yet sailed from the entrance of *Carthagera Harbour*, to inform him that the Buccaneers, in defiance of all order and in breach of the capitulation which had been granted to the city, were returning thither to plunder it again; but M. de Pointis in sending the Commissary's account had closed his intercourse with the Buccaneers and with the Colonists, at least for the remainder of his expedition. M. du Cassé's officer was told that the General was so ill that he could not be spoken with. The Officer went to the next senior Captain in command of the fleet, who, on being informed of the matter, said, 'the Buccaneers were great rogues, and ought to be hanged;' but as no step could be taken to prevent the mischief, without delaying the sailing of the fleet, the chief commanders of which were impatient to see their booty in a place of greater security, none was taken, and on the 1st of June the King's fleet sailed for *France*, leaving *Carthagena* to the discretion of the Buccaneers. M. de Pointis claims being ignorant of what was transacting. 'On the 30th of May,' he says, 'I was taken so ill, that all I could do, before I fell into a condition that deprived me of my intellect, was to acquaint Captain Lévi that I committed the care of the squadron to him.'

June.

If M. de Pointis acted fairly by the people who came from *France* and returned with him, it must be supposed that in his sense of right and wrong he held the belief, that 'to rob a rogue is no breach of honesty.' But it was said of him, '*Il étoit capable de former un grand dessein, et de rien épargner pour le faire réussir;*' the English phrase for which is, 'he would stick at nothing.'

On the 1st of June, M. du Cassé also sailed from *Carthagena* to return to *St. Domingo*. Thus were the Flibustiers abandoned

to

CHAP. 27. to their own will by all the authorities whose duty it was to
 1697. have restrained them.

June. The inhabitants of *Carthagen*a seeing the buccaneer ships
 At returning to the city, waited in the most anxious suspense
*Carthagen*a. to learn the cause. The Flibustiers on landing, seized on all
 the male inhabitants they could lay hold of, and shut them up
 in the great church. They posted up a kind of manifesto in
 different parts of the city, setting forth the justice of their
 second invasion of *Carthagen*a, which they grounded on the
 perfidy of the French General De Pointis (*'que nous vous
 ' permettons de charger de toutes les maledictions imaginables,'*)
 and on their own necessities. Finally, they demanded five
 millions of livres as the price of their departing again without
 committing disorder. It seems strange that the Buccaneers
 could expect to raise so much money in a place so recently
 plundered. Nevertheless, by terrifying their prisoners, putting
 some to the torture, ransacking the tombs, and other means
 equally abhorrent, in four days time they had nearly made up
 the proposed sum. It happened that two Flibustiers killed two
 women of *Carthagen*a in some manner, or under some circum-
 stances, that gave general offence, and raised indignation in the
 rest of the Flibustiers, who held a kind of trial and condemned
 them to be shot, which was done in presence of many of the
 inhabitants. The Buccaneer histories praise this as an act of
 extraordinary justice, and a set-off against their cruelties and
 robberies, such as gained them the esteem even of the Spa-
 niards. The punishment, however merited, was a matter of
 caprice. It is no where pretended that they ever made a law
 to themselves to forbid their murdering their prisoners; in
 very many instances they had not refrained, and in no former
 instance had it been attended with punishment. The putting
 these two murderers to death therefore, as it related to them-
 selves,

selves, was an arbitrary and lawless act. If the women had been murdered for the purpose of coming at their money, it could not have incurred blame from the rest. These remarks are not intended in disapprobation of the act, which was very well; but too highly extolled.

CHAP. 27.

1697.

June.

At
Carthageria.

Having almost completed their collection, they began to dispute about the division, the Flibustiers pretending that the more regular settlers of the colony (being but landmen) were not entitled to an equal share with themselves, when a bark arrived from *Martinico* which was sent expressly to give them notice that a fleet of English and Dutch ships of war had just arrived in the *West Indies*. This news made them hasten their departure, and shortened or put an end to their disputes; for previous to sailing, they made a division of the gold and silver, in which each man shared nearly a thousand crowns; the merchandise and negroes being reserved for future division, and which it was expected would produce much more.

The Commanders of the English and Dutch squadrons, on arriving at *Barbadoes*, learnt that the French had taken *Carthageria*. They sailed on for that place, and had almost reached it, when they got sight of De Pointis' squadron, to which they gave chase, but which escaped from them by superior sailing.

On the 3d or 4th of June, the Flibustiers sailed from *Carthageria* in nine vessels, and had proceeded thirty leagues of their route towards *Hispaniola*, when they came in sight of the English and Dutch fleet. They dispersed, every one using his best endeavours to save himself by flight. The two richest ships were taken; two were driven on shore and wrecked, one of them near *Carthageria*, and her crew fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who would have been justified in treating them as pirates; but they were only made to work on the fortifications. The five others had the good fortune to reach *Isle*

An English
and Dutch
Squadron
fall in
with the
Buccaneers.

Avache.

CHAP. 27. *Avache.* To conclude the history of the Carthagena expedition, a suit was instituted in *France* against M. de Pointis and the *armateurs*, in behalf of the Colonists and Flibustiers, and a decree was obtained in their favour for 1,400,000 livres; but the greater part of the sum was swallowed up by the expenses of the suit, and the embezzlements of agents.

The Carthagena expedition was the last transaction in which the Flibustiers or Buccaneers made a conspicuous figure. It turned out to their disadvantage in many respects; but chiefly in stripping them of public favour. In September 1697, an end was put to the war, by a Treaty signed at *Ryswick*. By this treaty, the part of the Island *St. Christopher* which had belonged to the French was restored to them.

September.
Peace of
Ryswick.

In earlier times, peace, by releasing the Buccaneers from public demands on their services, left them free to pursue their own projects, with an understood license or privilege to cruise or form any other enterprise against the Spaniards, without danger of being subjected to enquiry; but the aspect of affairs in this respect was now greatly altered. The Treaty of 1670 between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, with the late alliance of those powers against *France*, had put an end to buccaneering in *Jamaica*; the scandal of the second plunder of *Carthagena* lay heavy on the Flibustiers of *St. Domingo*; and a circumstance in which both *Great Britain* and *France* were deeply interested, went yet more strongly to the entire suppression of the cruising of the Buccaneers, and to the dissolution of their piratical union; which was, the King of *Spain*, Charles the II^d. being in a weak state of health, without issue, and the succession to the crown of *Spain* believed to depend upon his will. On this last account, the kings of *Great Britain* and *France* were earnest in their endeavours to give satisfaction to *Spain*. Louis XIV. sent back from *France* to *Carthagena* the silver ornaments

Causes
which led
to the
suppression
of the
Buccaneers.

ornaments of which the churches there had been stripped ; and distinction was no longer admitted in the French Settlements between Flibustier and Pirate. The Flibustiers themselves had grown tired of preserving the distinction ; for after the Peace of *Ryswick* had been fully notified in the *West Indies*, they continued to seize and plunder the ships of the English and Dutch, till complaint was made to the French Governor of *Saint Domingo*, M. du Casse, who thought proper to make indemnification to the sufferers. Fresh prohibitions and proclamations were issued, and *encouragement* was given to the adventurers to become planters. The French were desirous to obtain permission to trade in the Spanish ports of the *Terra Firma*. Charlevoix says, ‘ the Spaniards were charmed by the sending ‘ back the ornaments taken from the churches at *Carthagena*, ‘ and it was hoped to gain them entirely by putting a stop to ‘ the cruising of the Flibustiers. The commands of the King ‘ were strict and precise on this head ; that the Governor should ‘ persuade the Flibustiers to make themselves inhabitants, and ‘ in default of prevailing by persuasion, to use force.’

Many Flibustiers and Buccaneers did turn planters, or followed their profession of mariner in the ships of merchants. Attachment to old habits, difficulties in finding employment, and being provided with vessels fit for cruising, made many persist in their former courses. The evil most grievously felt by them was their proscribed state, which left them no place in the *West Indies* where they might riot with safety and to their liking, in the expenditure of their booty. Not having the same inducement as formerly to limit themselves to the plundering one people, they extended their scope of action, and robbed vessels of all nations. Most of those who were in good vessels, quitted the West Indian Seas, and went roving to different parts of the world. Mention is made of pirates or buccaneers being in the *South Sea* in the year 1697, but their particular deeds

CHAP. 27. are not related; and Robert Drury, who was shipwrecked
1697. at *Madagascar* in the year 1702, relates, ‘King Samuel’s messenger then desired to know what they demanded for me? To which, Dcaan Crindo sent word that they required two *buccaneer* guns.’

At the time of the Peace of *Ryswick*, the *Darien* Indians, having quarrelled with the Spaniards, had become reconciled to the *Flibustiers*, and several of the old *Flibustiers* afterwards settled on the *Isthmus* and married *Darien* women.

Providence
Island.

One of the *Lucayas*, or *Bahama Islands*, had been settled by the English, under the name of *Providence Island*. It afforded good anchorage, and the strength of the settlement was small, which were conveniencies to pirates that induced them to frequent it; and, according to the proverbial effect of evil communication, the inhabitants were tempted to partake of their plunder, and assist in their robberies, by purchasing their prize goods, and supplying them with all kinds of stores and necessities. This was for several years so gainful a business to the Settlement, as to cause it to be proverbial in the *West Indies*, that ‘Shipwrecks and Pirates were the only hopes of the *Island Providence*.’

1700-1.
Accession
of
Philip Vth.
to the
Throne of
Spain.

In three years after the Peace of *Ryswick*, Charles the II^d of Spain died, and a Prince of the House of Bourbon mounted the Spanish Throne, which produced a close union of interests between *France* and *Spain*. The ports of Spanish America, both in the *West Indies* and in the *South Sea*, were laid open to the merchants of *France*. The *Noticia de las Expediciones al Magalhães* notices the great resort of the French to the *Pacific Ocean*, ‘who in an extraordinary manner enriched themselves during the war of the Spanish succession.’ In the French Settlements in the *West Indies* the name of *Flibustier*, because it implied enmity to the Spaniards, was no longer tolerated.

On the breaking out of the war between *Great Britain* and
France


France which followed the Spanish succession, the English drove the French out of *St. Christopher*, and it has since remained wholly to *Great Britain*. M. le Comte de Gennes, a Commander in the French Navy, who a few years before had made an unsuccessful voyage to the *Strait of Magalhanes*, was the Governor of the French part of the Island at the time of the surrender*.

During this war, the Governors of *Providence* exercised their authority in granting commissions, or *letters of reprisal*; and created Admiralty Courts, for the condemnation of captured vessels: for under some of the Governors no vessels brought to the adjudication of the Court escaped that sentence. These were indirect acts of piracy.

The last achievement related of the Flibustiers, happened in 1702, when a party of Englishmen, having commission from the Governor of *Jamaica*, landed on the *Isthmus* near the *Sam-bullas Isles*, where they were joined by some of the old Flibustiers who lived among the Darien Indians, and also by 300 of the Indians. They marched to some mines from which they drove the Spaniards, and took 70 negroes. They kept the negroes at work in the mines twenty-one days; but in all this exploit they obtained no more than about eighty pounds weight of gold.

Here then terminates the History of the Buccaneers of *America*. Their distinctive mark, which they undeviatingly preserved

* Père Labat relates a story of a ridiculous effort in mechanical ingenuity, in which M. de Gennes succeeded whilst he was Governor at *Saint Christopher*. He made an Automaton in the likeness of a soldier, which marched and performed sundry actions. It was jocosely said that M. de Gennes might have defended his government with troops of his own making. His automaton soldier eat victuals placed before it, which he digested, by means of a dissolvent,—P. Labat, Vol. V. p. 349.

CHAP. 27. preserved nearly two centuries, was, their waging constant war against the Spaniards, and against them only. Many peculiarities have been attributed to the Buccaneers in other respects, some of which can apply only to their situation as hunters of cattle, and some existed rather in the writer's fancy than in reality. Mariners are generally credited for being more eccentric in their caprices than other men; which, if true, is to be accounted for by the circumstances of their profession; and it happens that they are most subjected to observation at the times when they are fresh in the possession of liberty and money, earned by long confinement and labour. 

It may be said of the Buccaneers that they were, in general, courageous according to the character of their leader; often rash, alternately negligent and vigilant, and always addicted to pleasure and idleness. It will help to illustrate the manners and qualifications of the Buccaneers in the *South Sea*, to give an extract from the concluding part of Dampier's manuscript journal of his Voyage round the World with the Buccaneers, and will also establish a fact which has been mentioned before only as a matter surmised*. Dampier says,

Extract
from
Dampier.

' September the 20th, 1691, arrived in the *Downs* to my
' great joy and satisfaction, having in my voyage ran clear
' round the Globe.—I might have been master of the ship we
' first sailed in if I would have accepted it, for it was known
' to most men on board that I kept a Journal, and all that
' knew me did ever judge my accounts were kept as correct
' as any man's. Besides, that most, if not all others who kept
' journals in the voyage, lost them before they got to *Europe*,
' whereas I preserved my writing. Yet I see that some men
' are not so well pleased with my account as if it came from
' any of the Commanders that were in the *South Sea*, though
most

* See p. 207, near the bottom.

‘ most of them, I think all but Captain Swan, were incapable
 ‘ of keeping a sea journal, and took no account of any action,
 ‘ neither did they make any observations. But I am only to
 ‘ answer for myself, and if I have not given satisfaction to my
 ‘ friends in what I have written, the fault is in the meanness of
 ‘ my information, and not in me who have been faithful as to
 ‘ what came to my knowledge.’ CHAP. 27.

Countenanced as the Buccaneers were, it is not in the least surprising that they became so numerous. With the same degree of encouragement at the present time, the Seas would be filled with such adventurers. It was fortunate for the Spaniards, and perhaps for the other maritime Nations of *Europe*, that the Buccaneers did not make conquest and settlement so much their object as they did plunder; and that they took no step towards making themselves independent, whilst it was in their power. Among their Chiefs were some of good capacity; but only two of them, Mansvelt and Morgan, appear to have contemplated any scheme of regular settlement independent of the European Governments, and the time was then gone by. Before *Tortuga* was taken possession of for the Crown of *France*, such a project might have been undertaken with great advantage. The English and French Buccaneers were then united; *England* was deeply engaged and fully occupied by a civil war; and the jealousy which the Spaniards entertained of the encroachments of the French in the *West Indies*, kept at a distance all probability of their coalescing to suppress the Buccaneers. If they had chosen at that time to have formed for themselves any regular mode of government, it appears not very improbable that they might have become a powerful independent State.

In the history of so much robbery and outrage, the rapacity shewn in some instances by the European Governments in their
 West-

CHAP. 27. **West-India** transactions, and by Governors of their appointment, appears in a worse light than that of the Buccaneers, from whom, they being professed ruffians, nothing better was expected. The superior attainments of Europeans, though they have done much towards their own civilization, chiefly in humanising their institutions, have, in their dealings with the inhabitants of the rest of the globe, with few exceptions, been made the instruments of usurpation and extortion.

After the suppression of the Buccaneers, and partly from their relicks, arose a race of pirates of a more desperate cast, so rendered by the increased danger of their occupation, who for a number of years preyed upon the commerce of all nations, till they were hunted down, and, it may be said, exterminated. Of one crew of pirates who were brought before a Court of Justice, fifty-two men were condemned and executed at one time, in the year 1722.

PART II.

VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES

IN THE

S O U T H S E A,

AFTER THE RETREAT OF THE BUCCANEERS.

VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES

IN THE

SOUTH SEA,

AFTER THE RETREAT OF THE BUCCANEERS.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage of Captain John Strong to the Coast of Chili and Peru.

IN the War between *Great Britain* and *France* which ensued CHAP. 1.
on the accession of William the III^d and Mary to the British Throne, *Spain* being at the same time at war with *France*, some merchants in *England* joined in the equipment of a ship for the purpose of trading with the Spanish Settlements in the *South Sea*. They obtained a commission from the Admiralty for their ship to cruise upon the French, which was granted with a proviso that the commander of the said ship should keep an exact journal of his proceedings, and transmit a copy thereof from time to time to the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of *England*. Another object proposed in this undertaking was to search after 'a rich wreck or two, at or near the Point of *Santa Elena* not far from the *Bay of Puna*, and to endeavour to fish up some of the lost treasure.'

The ship fitted up for this voyage was London built, of 270 tons burthen; was provided with cannon, and with a cargo of merchandise, consisting chiefly of cloths, arms, and iron-work; had a crew of ninety men, and was commanded by Mr. John Strong.

1689.
Ship fitted out for the South Sea, commanded by Captain John Strong.

PART II.

1689.

The most extravagant hopes were entertained of the success of this voyage. Some of the owners expected no less a return than 1600 per cent. The celebrated Dr. Radcliff had a large share, it is said one half, in both ship and cargo.

A Journal of the voyage of the *Welfare*, written by Captain Strong, is preserved in the *British Museum*; and likewise a narrative entitled *Observations made during a South Sea Voyage*, which was written by Richard Simson who sailed in the same ship.

October.
From the
Downs.

October the 12th, 1689, the *Welfare* sailed from the *Downs*, and on the 1st of November from *Plymouth*. December the 15th, she crossed the equinoctial line. Captain Strong intended to have put in at *Port Desire* on the coast of *Patagonia*, but near that Latitude they found the wind so constant from the Westward that they could not get in with the American coast.

1690.
January.
Arrive at
John Davis's
Southern
Islands.

On January the 27th, 1690, they came in sight of John Davis's *Southern Islands*, concerning which, and the navigation of the *Welfare* among them, Captain Strong has given the following account.

A Sound or
Straits
discovered.

' Monday the 27th, we saw the land. When within three or
' four leagues we had 36 fathoms. It is a large land, and
' lyeth East and West nearest. There are several keys [small
' Islands] that lye along the shore. We sent our boat to one,
' and she brought on board abundance of penguins and other
' fowls, and seals. We steered along shore E b N, and at eight
' at night we saw the land run Eastward* as far as we could
' discern. Latitude 51° 5' S. Tuesday the 28th. This morning
' at four o'clock, we saw a rock that lyeth from the main Island
' four or five leagues. It makes like a sail*. At six we stood
' into a Sound that lies about 20 leagues from the Westernmost
' land we had seen. The Sound lyeth South and North nearest.
' There

* In the English Chart of these Islands, this Rock is named the *Eddystone*, and is laid down within two leagues distance from the larger land. It was called *White Conduit* by Sir Richard Hawkins.

' There is 24 fathoms depth at the entrance, which is four leagues wide. We came to an anchor six or seven leagues within, in 14 fathoms water. Here are many good harbours. We found fresh water in plenty, and killed abundance of geese and ducks. As for wood, there is none.'

CHAP. 1.

1690.

January.

At
John Davis's
Southern
Islands.

' They stopped in a harbour on the western side of the Sound till the 31st, when they sailed on Southward, and found a clear passage to the open sea in that direction. ' On the 31st,' says Captain Strong, ' in the morning, we weighed from this harbour with the wind at WSW. We sent our long-boat ahead of the ship to sound before us. At eight o'clock in the evening we anchored in nine fathoms. The next morning, we weighed and sent our boat before us. At ten, we were clear out of the Sound. At twelve, we set the West Cape [of the Southern entrance] bearing NNE, which we named *Cape Farewell*. This Sound, *Falkland Sound* as I named it, is about 17 leagues long. The first entrance lies SbE, and afterwards SbW.'

February
1st.The Sound,
named
Falkland
Sound.

Here it appears that the name of *Falkland* was given by Captain Strong to the *Sound* or *Passage* through which he sailed (which was a discovery of his own), and that he did not intend to disturb any name before given to the lands, which he calls in his journal, *Hawkins' Land*. By some accident or misapprehension, however, the name *Falkland* has been adopted by the English for the general name of all these Islands.

Simson remarks that the *Sound* was in several places so full of weeds that the ship could hardly be forced on by the sails: ' it was rather as if we were sailing through a meadow than an arm of the sea.' They saw foxes on this land, which, Simson says, ' were twice as big as those in England. Having brought greyhounds with us, we caught a young fox alive, which we kept on board some months: but on the first firing our great guns in the *South Sea*, he was frightened overboard, as were likewise some *St. Jago* monkies. As to the antiquity of these

Foxes
found on
the Islands.Conjectures
concerning
them.

PART II.
1690.

'foxes, as they cannot fly, and it is not likely they should swim so far as from *America*, nor again is it probable that any would be at the pains of bringing a breed of foxes so far as *Hawkins' Island* is from any other land, it will follow that there has either been two distinct creations, or that *America* and this land have been formerly the same Continent.' There are means more within the common course of nature than those which occurred to Simson, by which foxes may have become inhabitants of this land. Islands of ice are met at sea in much lower Southern latitudes, many of which no doubt are formed in the bays and rivers of the Continent. Seals and sea-birds repose on the edge of the shore, whether it is ice or land, and foxes or other animals in search of prey will frequently be carried away on the large pieces of ice which break off and are driven out to sea.

February.
In the
Strait of
Magalhanes.

The *Welfare* after quitting *Falkland Sound* sailed Westward for the *Strait of Magalhanes*. About midway they had soundings at 30 fathoms, and observed the variation of the compass to be 22° 40' Easterly. February the 12th, in the morning, they entered the *Strait of Magalhanes*, and by noon had nearly passed through the *First Narrow*, when the wind failing and the flood tide being spent, they anchored in 36 fathoms. When the tide of ebb was at its greatest strength, Captain Strong ascertained its velocity by the log, and found it to run at the rate of nine knots, or geographical miles, per hour. This was at the spring tides.

March.

The *Welfare* was above three months making her passage through the *Strait*, and in that time anchored in a variety of places. Their boat went to fish with a large seine on shore at *Batchelors River*. Some natives were there. Richard Simson relates, 'these natives were amicable with us till our people went to fish where some of them were. They had also small nets with which they supplied and contented themselves, till unfortunately they saw our people fishing with our seine which

Natives.

' was

' was 80 fathoms long. The great number of fishes we caught, raised first their amazement, and then their indignation, which increased to that height that they began to give our men disturbance by pelting them with clods, and some ran into the woods to get their arms, and to gather together the rest of their companions.' The English found themselves obliged to repel this attack with their muskets, by which some of the natives were wounded; but the quarrel should have been avoided by offering to share the fish with them.

CHAP. 1.
1690.

The 23d of May, they were clear of the *Strait*, and in the *South Sea*.

May.

June the 10th, Strong arrived at the *Island Mocha*. He remarks, ' There is much broken ground on the West side of this Island, and at the SW end is a reef of rocks that lies six miles off to sea.' He landed, and found the Island without inhabitants. Horses, dogs, and the ruins of two deserted towns were seen, and turnips were growing in abundance.

June.
The Island
Mocha.

The 24th, they were near *Baldivia*, and as they stood in for the harbour, the ship was fired at from the forts. Strong sent a boat to the shore with a flag of truce, but she was not allowed to land. The like attempt was made to obtain communication with the Spaniards at *La Serena*, and at other places more Northward, and with the same want of success. Orders had been given every where along the coast to prohibit all commerce with strangers.

Baldivia.

August the 9th, they anchored near the entrance of the *River of Tumbez*. Here some Spaniards came to them, and engaged in a contraband trade, by which they disposed of as much merchandise as produced 7000 pieces of eight, and a supply of provisions. On the 19th, they sailed from the *River of Tumbez*; and the 21st, they anchored on the North side of *Point Santa Elena*, two miles within the point, in 10 fathoms.

August.
On the
Coast of
Peru.

Strong learnt here that a French privateer had within the last six weeks done much mischief on the coast, and that two

At Point
S^a Elena.

Spanish

PART II.

1690.

On the
Coast of
Peru.At Point
S^a Elena.

Spanish ships of war were in search of her. A Padre at *Santa Elena* likewise told him that a year before, a Frenchman named Lodovicus de la Roche, in company with an Englishman, had plundered along the coast, giving no quarter, and that they had cut off the heads of thirty Spaniards at one time. The circumstances here meant, but misunderstood with respect both to name and date, were most probably the barbarities practised by the Buccaneers in 1686 and 1687, in the *Bay of Panama* and at *Guayaquil*.

‘ *Point Santa Elena* maketh like an Island, and like the ‘ *Bill of Portland*.’ Captain Strong made search with his boats along the coast on both sides of the *Point*, and found the remains of a vessel that had been stranded three years before; but of the rich wrecks he came to ‘seek, no marks were discovered. ‘ The master of a Spanish vessel that anchored near ‘ us, told me,’ says Captain Strong, ‘ that the wreck I looked ‘ for lay eight leagues within *Point Santa Elena*, in four fathoms ‘ water, sandy ground, about half a mile from the shore. He ‘ told me farther that she had been there about 25 years, and ‘ that she is entirely buried in the sand, so that now there is no ‘ sign of her. The Spaniards worked upon her with divers, and ‘ did recover some treasure, till by the greatness of the sea the ‘ sand covered her over. The Spanish captain said that there ‘ was twelve millions of monies still in her.’ Captain Strong employed his boats a week in searching near the spot pointed out by the master of the Spanish vessel; but nothing was found; in the mean time, some more of the merchandise was sold to the Spaniards. Nevertheless, from what they heard, as well as from what they had experienced, of the disposition of the Spanish Governors in the *South Sea*, Captain Strong was not encouraged to visit any more of their Settlements, nor to remain longer on the coast. It appears in his journal, that he had given chase to vessels on the coast, and had fired at some
for

for not shewing their colours; but he says, when he found them to be Spaniards, he did them no wrong.

From *Point Santa Elena* the *Welfare* sailed to the Island *Mas-a-fucro*, where they could not find anchorage; but they got off a boat-load of wood and some goats, and caught fish. They then stood over to *Juan Fernandez*, and were well in with the Island on the evening of the 11th of October. They were surprised at seeing a fire on an elevated part of the land during the night. Early next morning, a boat was sent on shore, which returned, bringing from the Island two Englishmen. These were two of the five men who had left the ship of the Buccaneer Commander *Edward Davis*, when he touched at *Juan Fernandez* on his return to the *Atlantic*, as related in p. 296 of the *History of the Buccaneers*. With their assistance, the *Welfare* was piloted to a good anchoring place in a Bay at the Eastern part of the Island, where she lay about three cables length from the shore, in 18 fathoms sand and clay, the outer points of the Bay bearing East and NNW.

These Buccaneers had landed on *Juan Fernandez* in December 1687. One of the five had delivered himself up to some Spaniards who had touched at this Island. The rest kept themselves concealed, and now learning that the Buccaneers had entirely quitted the *South Sea*, they willingly embarked with Captain Strong, and with them four servants or slaves.

October the 22d, Strong left *Juan Fernandez*, and being willing to make one more effort to dispose of his cargo, he sailed again to the coast of *Chili*.

November the 10th, being near the entrance of the River *Biobio*, he sent a boat to the shore; but the sea running high, she could not pass the bar of the river, or find landing. The next day, the sea was not so rough, and the boat entered the river. By Strong's direction, the crew of the boat pretended to the inhabitants that they were Dutch, and that the ship came from *Holland*. There was no reason for supposing that the Dutch

CHAP. I.

1690.

October.

Mas-a-fucro.

Juan Fernandez.

Four
Buccaneers
who had
lived there
nearly three
years.

November
10th.

11th.

PART II.

1690. Dutch would be more welcome than the English, and as the ship had so lately stopped at places along the coast, the deception was the more likely to be detected. The inhabitants who came to the place where the boat landed, said they might have no traffic with strangers without leave being obtained from the Governor of *La Concepcion*. On the day following, Strong sent his chief mate with a letter directed to the Governor; but on the crew landing, they were seized by the Spaniards, and eleven men out of fourteen were made prisoners. Three escaped with the boat, and returned to the ship.

November.

12th.

13th.

Upon this, Captain Strong on the 13th, sent the boat again with another letter, in which he desired that the men who were detained should be treated with kindness, for that the Spaniards would be called upon to answer for their conduct. It was not judged safe farther to trust themselves to the Spaniards, and therefore the letter was placed on a rock in their sight. This was the only step Strong took in favour of the men who had been seized. On the same day, as soon as the boat returned, he got the ship under sail, and pursued his course for the *Strait of Magalhanes*, without again landing or stopping at any other part of the coast of *Chili*. He entered the *Strait* by the Western entrance on December the 5th.

Among the men detained by the Spaniards, were three of the Buccaneers who had just before been taken on board the ship at *Juan Fernandez*. And whilst the *Welfare* was on the coast of *Chili*, Strong's people received information concerning Lieutenant Thomas Armiger, who was left at *Baldivia* by Captain Narbrough, in 1670. Simson relates the unfortunate fate of Lieutenant Armiger, who settled at *Baldivia* among the Spaniards, as perforce he was necessitated to do. Having some skill in fortification, he taught them to fortify *Baldivia*. After more than sixteen years residence among the Spaniards, they accused him of treason, and he was executed, probably for no other reason than because they were apprehensive he would endeavour

your to escape to join the „Buccaneers. There is cause for surprise that no step appears to have been taken by the British government for the release of this Officer from his long and unjust captivity.

CHAP. I
1690-1.

The 12th of December, Strong repassed the Eastern entrance of the *Strait*, whence he sailed first to the *West Indies*, and afterwards to *England*, where he arrived in June 1691, December

The owners sustained a loss of 12,000*l.* by the voyage of the *Welfare*, although in her return when near home she took two prizes, which were condemned, and helped to defray the charges. It is to be remarked that this voyage was made without any license from the Spanish government to visit the ports of *Chili* and *Peru*. If license was applied for and refused, it was undertaken at great risk. If no application was made, which most probably was the case, the loss must be attributed to the negligence of the owners in this particular.

The discovery of *Falkland Sound*, is a circumstance which must always keep this Voyage in remembrance.

C H A P. II.

Notices of the Discoveries of two Islands whose Situations have not been ascertained. Voyage of M. de Gennes to the Strait of Magalhanes. Of Gemelli Careri.

PART II.
1691.

Floating
Weeds near
California,
called the
Señas.

Island
de San
Sebastian,
in 18° 20' N.

GEMELLI CARERI mentions a discovery made in the year 1691, by a vessel which sailed from the *Philippine Islands* bound for *New Spain*: It is only incidentally noticed by him, in advice which he has given for that navigation. He says, 'In latitude 37°, we sailed East, which was in our proper course, for if ships do not place themselves enough to the Northward before they meet the *Señas*, or floating weeds, which are called *Señas* because they are regarded as signals or indications of approach to the Land of *California*, it will be difficult for them afterwards to get to the Northward. So it happened six years ago to the *Pink* that set out for *New Spain* after the galeon *San Josef* was wrecked; for having sailed to 35° N, and not keeping up to that latitude, she could never meet the *Señas*, being too much to leeward, and the crew had all died for want of provisions, if Providence had not ordered that they should put into an unknown Island in 18° 20' N, which was discovered on St. Sebastian's day, and was named *St. Sebastian*. Here they got water out of a small lake, and meat by killing abundance of birds called *bobos*. The Island was small, flat, and full of pleasant trees*.'

This Island does not appear in the Spanish Charts. According to the above account, it is an uninhabited lagoon Island; concerning its situation in longitude, no conjecture can be made, as it is not noticed whether at the time of the discovery, the *Pink* was far advanced in her passage, or was on her return to the

* Translation in Churchill, Vol. IV. p. 462

the *Philippines*. There is an Island *de Sebastián Lobos* in the Spanish charts, 11° of longitude East of the Island *Guahan*; but in latitude 25° 30' N. CHAP. 2.
1691.

In the Chart of the *South Sea* by De Vaugundy, for M. de Brosse's *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*, and also in Bellin's *Atlas Maritime*, an Island *Juan de Gallego* in 1695, is marked about one degree North of the equinoctial line, and twelve degrees Westward of all the *Galapagos Islands*; also intermediate Islands *connues des Espagnols*. M. de Brosse has not mentioned these Islands in his History, nor has any other notice concerning such a discovery been met with in any account which has been consulted for this Work*.

In 1695, the French Government fitted out a squadron of ships for an expedition against the Spaniards in the *South Sea*. A Narrative of this expedition was published soon after its termination, by M. François Froger, a person who served in the quality of engineer on board the ship of the Commander in Chief, of which an English translation was published in 1698. It was undertaken at the instance of M. de Gennes, a captain in the French Marine, who, M. Froger says, was incited thereto by the representations of a buccaneer named Macerty, who having been successful in the *South Sea*, was willing to try his fortune there once more. The French Government listened to the proposal of M. de Gennes with more than ordinary favour: he was appointed to command the expedition, with leave to chuse such of the King's ships as he thought most fit for the purpose; and many young persons of distinguished families eagerly enlisted to serve in his squadron. 1695.
Voyage of
M. de
Gennes to
the Strait of
Magalhanes.

On June the 3d, 1695, M. de Gennes sailed from *Rochelle* with six ships named as follows; *Le Faucon Anglois*, of 46 guns and 260 men, in which ship M. de Gennes sailed; *Le Soleil d'Afrique*, Departure
from
Rochelle,
June 3d.

* Don Josef de Espinosa mentions in his *Memoria Segunda*, that a South Sea Whaler saw an Island in 0° 50' S and 98° W of Cadiz (104° 17' W of Greenwich), supposed to be the *J. del Gallego*.

PART II. *d'Afrique*, of 32 guns and 220 men; *Le Seditieux*, of 26 guns and 140 men; *La Felicité*, of 8 guns and 40 men; and two store ships named *La Gloutonne* and *La Féconde*.

July. July the 3d, they made *Cape de Verde*, and the same day anchored near the *Island Goree*, which was then in possession of the French. The following particulars concerning this Island are given by Froger*. '*Goree* is one league distant from the Continent, and four leagues from *Cape de Verde*. The Hollanders were the first Europeans who established themselves at *Goree*. It was taken from them by the French in 1678; and from the French by the English in 1692. The French retook it in 1693, and at this time (in 1695) there were settled on the Island about one hundred French, and some families of free Negroes.'

In the River The squadron sailed next to the *River Gambia*, where was a British Fort named *Fort St. James*, which surrendered on being summoned. This was on July the 24th. Such of the effects found in the fort as M. de Genne wished to preserve, he ordered to be taken on board the squadron. The store ship *La Féconde* was ordered to carry a number of Slaves which the English had collected, and which made the principal part of the booty, to the *West Indies*, and likewise the officers of the English garrison, who were to be sent thence to *France*. One hundred and fifty slaves were put on board this ship:

Barbarous treatment of Slaves. 'These poor wretches were shut in the hold to prevent them from attempting to escape, where, having scarcely any air to breathe, they cast themselves upon one another in despair, and thirty-four were found suffocated.'

The Fort was demolished, and the *Féconde* sailed for *Cayenne*. M. de Genne remained in the *River Gambia* till the 25th of August, when he sailed for the coast of *Brasil*; but afterwards changed

* *Voyage de M. de Genne au Détroit de Magellan. Par le S. Froger.* Paris, p. 37.